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Language analysis of Dmytro Dontsov's contributions on the aspect of political science, philosophy, teaching of humanitarian disciplines is particularly relevant at present, when the factor of the heroic past, respect for traditions, leveling of national identity began to gain heavy momentum. The importance of the paper is that for the first time the understanding of state-building principles is systematized through the prism of political linguistics.

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# The Maxim Nation Through the Optic of Dmytro Dontsov's Publications (Linguistic Aspect)

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## ABSTRACT

*Language analysis of Dmytro Dontsov's contributions on the aspect of political science, philosophy, teaching of humanitarian disciplines is particularly relevant at present, when the factor of the heroic past, respect for traditions, leveling of national identity began to gain heavy momentum. The importance of the paper is that for the first time the understanding of state-building principles is systematized through the prism of political linguistics. The goal of the research is to find out and show the lingual specific features of the maxim nation for the approval of state-building views. The article defines the definitions of the maxim nation basing on the works of D. Dontsov, compares the understanding of the maxim nation in diachrony and synchrony, which is accumulated by the works of scholars and journalists of interwar time. An attempt to complete the characteristics of the analysed maxim was made; the traditional and individual-authorial content of the indicated lexeme was identified as a factor for the construction and development of the state. The analysed language means show the challenges faced by the Ukrainian nation, characterize its identity, which promotes the understanding of political situation, gives psychological references for the formation of the worldview. The analysis of the texts of D. Dontsov gives not only informative documentation on the events of that time, but also allows to distinguish those factors that contributed to the establishment of state-building principles. The interdisciplinary level of the politic-journalistic texts research shows the language as a national system that forms a personality.*

**Keywords:** the maxim nation, definition, linguistic means, state-building worldview, dmytro dontsov.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The long-term ideological, territorial, linguistic occupation of Ukraine are those historical and political factors that have prevented numerous diaspora works from entering Ukraine, hence the national culture of the totalitarian era has been deprived of the creative heritage of political thinkers of the interwar period. In particular, D. Dontsov's works were forbidden, having been focused on Ukrainian-centric views and reproducing such ideological postulates on the construction of a state that did not fit into the framework of communist-imperial system of that time. Today, despite the period of 27 years, when the independence of Ukraine has been restored, when the process of decommunisation and decolonization of Ukraine takes place there is a need to study the texts of journalistic and scientific-journalistic styles that serve the ideological sphere of human life.

Since one of the tasks of political linguistics is to study the influence of language on the formation of the worldview, it is important today to consider the heritage of Dmytro Dontsov, whose journalism has formed generations of fighters, beginning with the Organization for the Liberation of Ukraine, the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who fought for independent Ukraine against the occupation of the Polish, fascist and the Soviet communist regimes. The Dontsov's contributions are of great importance for the reconstruction of the modern Ukrainian state, since all of his works are of an interdisciplinary nature, thus referring to political

science, history, literature, philosophy, psychology, which a language component accumulates in itself.

The state-building thinking formation on D. Dontsov's works is one of the political linguistics aspects, since it allows us to interpret the current political situation through the prism of understanding the political factors of the past. Also, the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries' events for Ukraine are a major test of the strength of the state. The Revolution on Granite at the times of L. Kuchma, the Orange Revolution, the Revolution of Dignity, current Russian-Ukrainian war, which has begun in 2014, and the full-scale invasion started on February 24, 2022 are those factors that have had the very basis of ideology, the theoretical foundations of which follow from the works of D. Dontsov.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is gratifying that today the works of D. Dontsov are returned to the wide public for reading, first of all, thanks to the Scientific-Ideological Center of D. Dontsov (the head is Oleh Bahan), who published the 10-volume corpus of works of an outstanding political thinker. A prominent Ukrainian historian Y. Dashkevych (Dashkevych 2007) made an investigation of the heritage of D. Dontsov, which was subjected to interpretations according to different ideologies. The scientist and political analyst O. Bahan showed the views evolution of the publicist against the background of Ukrainian history, reproduced the political-ideological concept of the thinker that dates back to Antiquity and is present in the European classical idealistic philosophy and gave an understanding of the aphorism of his language (Bahan 2008). The factor of philosophical hermeneutics in the works of D. Dontsov, the ideological aspect of his personality, the interpretation of the social past, and the essayist nature of the interpretations of various political concepts was considered by the educational and public figure S. Kvit (Kvit 2013). The issue of Ukrainian nationalism in the aspect of Dmytro Dontsov's works is also the subject of consideration by such scholars as T. Erlacher (Erlacher 2014), I. Barinov (Barinov 2014), H.

Coleman, Y. Hrytsak, T. Hundorova, M. Shkandrij (Coleman 2017), R. Caruso (Caruso 2015) and O. Zaitsev (Zaitsev 2015).

Since political linguistics touches upon a wide range of linguistic problems, the basis of the article is the state-building thinking formation. A principal issue for the analysed problem is the study of national Ukrainian concepts and evaluative-expressive metaphor, made by I. Holubovska (Holubovska 2004). Interpretation of the text based on the writer's thinking, reproduction of the written work through the prism of the reader's understanding and understanding of the conceptual picture of the world reflected in the human psyche were analysed by A. Zahnitko (Zahnitko 2006). Bases of applied linguistics as structurally broad science were submitted by N. Bidiuk (Bidiuk 2017, 3). Synthetic study of the philosophical aspect of language and psychological peculiarities of human behaviour based on anthropocentrism was made by N. Bardina (Bardina 1997). The specificity of cognitive categorization, the relationship of language, society and politics; the history of multimodal and political linguistics are considering objects in the book of I. Biskub (Biskub 2018). Data of the corpus linguistics (Dikareva 2013) and cognitive linguistics (Nesterova 2015) are also pertinent to the work.

Goal of the research is to find out and show the lingual specific features of the maxim *nation* for the development of state-building views. The target goal is supposed to accomplish the following tasks:

- To find out the role of the cultural and political background for the perception of the maxim *nation*;
- To compare the features of the interpretation of the maxim *nation* in the generally accepted vocabulary practice and in the texts of political figures;
- To analyze linguistic means of influence on the formation of the worldview.

The following methods were used to solve the accomplished tasks: a) The method of complex analysis, which helps to interpret linguistic

aspects through the prism of literature, political science, philosophy, etc.; b) The method of informational-semantic analysis, which is reproducing the knowledge about the world in terms of the author's position; c) The method of conceptual analysis, which is reproducing the analyzed concept through the prism of influence on consciousness; d) The method of contextual analysis, which allows the inclusion of context data as a meaning-creative factor.

The interpretation, scientific observation, descriptive, comparative, generalization methods were used as auxiliary.

An appeal to the linguistic personality of D. Dontsov in the aspect of political linguistics is the basis of the following linguistic disciplines: a) Personology, since it is worth updating unjustifiably ignored figures, who formed the whole generation of fighters; b) Linguistics of communicative influence, being the development of the basics in the field of management, to achieve the goal; c) Cognitive science, which is related to the influence on consciousness; d) Political linguistics, which forms the state thinking and ideologically reinforces the said; e) Psycholinguistics, which reveals the mechanisms of psychological influence on the production of ideas; f) Teaching methods of a native language to form a state-building worldview.

Data sources are the texts of D. Dontsov "Nationalism", "The spirit of our past" and "Literary Essays". In addition, the texts of the writers of the interwar period and dictionaries of different historical periods were involved in the analysis.

The importance of the work is that at all times and for all peoples language is a universal source of preservation and transmission of information, therefore, especially today at the time of the Russian-Ukrainian war, which lasts from 2014 until the present day, it is important to actualize the creativity of those writers, publicists, thinkers, who have made a significant contribution to the development of the Ukrainian state.

The need for data collection is also conditioned by the following factors: a) Creativity of political

figures and writers of the 20<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is usually studied by writers, partly by philosophers and political scientists. However, there are no linguistic works that can show how linguistic means influence the formation of a worldview; b) The problems of political publicists of that time retain its relevance and significance; c) The journalistic texts were not the subject of a thorough study, although they are a cut of the political situation of a certain time; d) The study of linguistic personality of D. Dontsov, a Ukrainian nationalism ideologue (born in Melitopol that is the eastern territories of Ukraine, which are now partially occupied) is extremely important.

### III. DATA ANALYSIS

The object of the study is the maxim *nation*, which is considered diachronically in the Ukrainian vocabulary tradition and which was actualized by the works of Dmytro Dontsov. As a result of the texts study, three basic blocks, which reproduce the maxim *nation* in the aspect of applied problems of linguistics, were distinguished:

- The maxim *nation*, which is updated in the lexical-semantic system of the language by dictionaries and journalistic writings;
- Lexical means (antithesis, metaphor, comparisons), which reproduce the socio-ideological atmosphere of interwar time and are relevant today;
- The maxim *nation* with attributive modifier, which manifests the position of the author.

### IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Ukraine, which suffered political enslavement at least since the Pereyaslav Council in 1654, when our state fell under the power of Russia, is little known about worldwide. In addition, the methods of Ukrainian extermination were the most diverse: we had survived three Famines (resulting in deaths of more than 10 million people), numerous repressions over the Ukrainian language (over 300) from the time of the Valuev circular and the Ems decree, when the publishing of books, theatrical performances and the original

and translated literature import were forbidden. As well the Russification of Dnieper Ukraine and Western Ukraine occurred not only by the methods of political repressions, but also by interference in language phenomena. As a result, the Spelling System of the language (which is significant for the existence of the state) was annihilated, numerous grammatical word forms, words themselves and syntactic constructions were prohibited. Thus, the eliminated original Ukrainian language was reflected in diaspora, which was not a subject to Soviet-era prohibitions.

It is worth to note that unnecessary tags were tied to the texts of the ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism, resulting in a significant layer of literature of the interwar period (between the First and Second World Wars) was not investigated. In addition, some people treat Dmytro Dontsov with enthusiasm, others with fear. The enthusiasm arises in strong and daring, the fear – in those, whose mind is adapted to slavery, and who has the fear of struggle, freedom and victory affirmed by the imperial system of the USSR. Therefore, today it is worth studying the development of political journalism from the standpoint of a fundamentally different perspective on the processes of that time. It is also important to study the national language through the reconstruction of qualities of the national character (Hryhorenko 2013, 17).

The scientific novelty of the paper is that the study of the linguistic personality of D. Dontsov is the result of an outlook change of the numerous Ukrainian communities, as he promoted the formation of the elite, respect for sources, set himself the target to return the faith of Ukrainians to their own strength and create an independent state. Now, in the time of Russian-Ukrainian war the system of state-building views of D. Dontsov once again provides guidelines for understanding the heroism and dignity of Ukrainians and builds faith in their own strength.

The concept *nation* is the subject of analysis of philosophers, political scientists, historians, philologists, etc. Therefore, the definitions of this complex concept are numerous; even some scholars find it impossible to interpret the

mentioned maxim. In this regard, V. Lisovyi is correctly pointing that the notion *nation* is a bunch of concepts, each of which highlights a certain aspect of this issue (Lisovyi 2000, 595).

There are multiple ways to name the considered concept in linguistics. Numerous studies prove that the exact name is a concept, since it is a culturally determined mental concept that is the core of human spirituality and unique to each culture (Holubovska 2004, 91–92). Concepts are the subject of linguistics (potential value), cognitive science (a phenomenon of a mental nature) and cultural studies (as a cell of culture) (Litiaha 2013). The word *nation* can be considered in the aspect of lexical semantic meaning, thus forming a term field and presenting the possibility of its functioning in the terminology of various branches. However, in my opinion, it is appropriate to formulate the concept of maxim (and not the concept) for the consolidation of the Ukrainian multi-century tradition of creating an independent state and the formation of a state-created world outlook.

“Maxim [from lat. maxima (sententia) – the main rule, principle] – a formula that is expressing some sort of moral requirement, logical or ethical principle” (Slovník inshomovnykh slov 2000, 336). The token maxim can be considered as a derivative of the token maximalism, meaning something excessive. However when it comes to the excesses, the Holy Scripture explains well by the fact that there is always a need to be hot or cold, but in no case lukewarm. D. Dontsov in his work “The spirit of our past” clarifies this as follows: “This division is somewhat similar to Spengler’s division into ‘predators or herbivores’ or Aristotle’s division of animals living in an attack or escape” (Dontsov 2011, 104). Consequently, the study of the worldview that allowed the idea of an independent state to be confirmed is a maxim in the political life of Ukraine.

Until now, the maxim *nation* (according to the texts of the interwar period) was not the subject of linguistic analysis in terms of the state thinking formation. The diachronic cut most clearly reflects the defining characteristics of this concept.

It is worth noting that at the UN General Assembly on February 28, 2022, the maxim *nation*, in particular, the Ukrainian nation was the subject of discussion. The representative of Moscow tried to tell that their goal is to wipe Ukraine off the face of the earth, therefore the Moscow authorities definitely understand that the concept of nation is central to the existence of the state and the formation of worldview. Instead, the British representative emphasize the necessity to stop the war. The modern struggle of the Ukrainians is a demonstration of the maxim *nation* in reality, because Ukrainians are fighting for their existence under the fire of the enemy army.

- The most accurate definition of the maxim of nation, as a large corpus model, is provided by the Etymological dictionary: “The nation – through the Polish language is adopted from Latin; lat. *nātiō* ‘birth, origin, genus; people, nation’, associated with ancient Indian, ‘birth, family’, ‘relative’, with Greek ‘origin, birth’, with Gothic ‘genus, generation” (Etymolohichniy slovnyk 2003, 53). Etymon is always compared with birth; therefore, it foresees the continuous connection of generations. The “Political Dictionary” that dates back to 1940 (the time of the Second World War) sets out the definition as the nation of a tyrant Stalin, whose cult was even denounced by the Party Congress in Soviet times. According to the definition of this dictionary, nation is the stability of people, which has developed historically and has a common language, territory, its unifying element is an economic, psychological and cultural factors (Politychniy slovnyk 1940, 398). It goes without saying that further there states a lie about the free development of nations, which was completely impossible in the USSR, but the definition does not cause any remarks. The Soviet “Political Dictionary” (Politychniy slovnyk 1982, 397) and the Dictionary of Foreign Words (Slovnyk inshomovnykh sliv 2000, 379) duplicate the definition of nation. Hence all the Ukrainian lexicographic works agree on the commonality of territories, the unity of language and the

totality of cultural and historical heritage. It is important to mention that only the Explanatory Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language (in the second sense) (Slovnyk ukrainskoi movy 1974, 232) identifies the nation and the state. This position is evidenced by the heritage of prominent thinkers Ivan Puliui (physicist and at the same time the first interpreter of the Holy Scripture) and Ivan Franko (classics, encyclopedist of the Ukrainian literature). Therefore “at the time of entering the stage of the history of nations, the notion of language – nation – state is identified” (Farion 2017, 194), namely the nation- and state-building functions of the language are decisive. This view is pivotal not only in the Ukrainian political thought. P. Alter convinces: “If the pursuit of state independence is an important element in the definition of a nation, then this indicates that the nation and the state do not necessarily determine each other but at least are closely linked” (Alter 2000, 586).

By the way, the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics 2005), which acquaints with the most important political realities of our time, does not present the concept of *nation* at all. Instead, the registered article *nationalism*, authored by the political science teacher, professor of politics of sport Lincoln Alison, uses the concept of nation from the first sentence. Thus, “*nationalism* is the transformation of the commitment to its nation into firm principles and programs” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics 2005, 432). In fact, the definition of *nation* is given in the article *nation-state*; that is, “the population within a state that has a common culture, language and ethnicity, which is characterized by the strong historical continuity” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics 2005, 435). This particular article (written by Paul Ingram, head of the Oxford University research group) focuses on the key issues for Ukraine, since the construction of national states took place in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, only now the Ukrainian state is actively forming its national priorities to support the own ideological and socio-economic

development. All strong European states are built on a national foundation and became strong due to the national ideology created by the English, Polish, German, Czech, Bulgarian, Romanian and other nations.

It is worth paying attention to the basic theses concerning the definition of a *nation* by Dmytro Dontsov. The task of the publicist was to affirm the *nation* as a spiritual essence on the territory of Ukraine, which arose on the basis of the heroic past, to show its cultural and traditional uniqueness and to set the correct optics of the future. S. Kvit, the researcher of D. Dontsov's contributions, believes that numerous definitions of political thinkers evolved, they were different, yet "the consideration about the uniqueness of the *nation* by D. Dontsov does not grow into the philosophy of superiority. Ukrainians are not better than the others. They just do not want to be offended. Like each and every 'modern' *nation* they deserve an independent political life in their own country" (Kvit 2013, 127). Today we have a strong awareness of the maxim *nation* in the time of war, because Moscow's war against Ukraine is an attempt to destroy Ukrainians as a nation, to destroy freedom and the right to live on their land.

Dmytro Dontsov provides an incredibly expressive definition of the maxim *nations*: "*Nation* – as an expediently directed will – is not only the connection of people, who inhabit their land in the given time, but also the connection of all generations that populated the same space in the past and will populate there in future times" (Dontsov 2011, 122). A similar definition is given by Dariia Vikonska, a writer-erudite, intellectual of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and at the same time a vulnerable and emotional contemporary of D. Dontsov: "A *nation* is the same people, who live in the same place" (Vikonska 2013, 39). In addition to the length of time (present, past, future) the text "The spirit of our past" adds to the understanding of nation a triune factor: will, memories, readiness, that is, "the common will in the present", "memories of the past doings of the ancestors", "readiness for further great deeds in the future" (Dontsov 2011, 120). Actually, these postulates consolidate the *nation*; therefore,

everything that weakens the power of the nation, must be "removed from the road". The topicality of D. Dontsov's words is obvious, because one of the main demands for a ceasefire that Putin says is denationalization.

The great publicist constantly appeals to the national will, the national idea, as the *nation* is eternal in the interpretation of the ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism, when its will is not a sum of individual wills, but an independent one. On the basis of reading of numerous texts by D. Dontsov, the theoretician of nationalism, O. Bahan concludes: "It is necessary to rehabilitate in the public consciousness the ideological traditions of nationalism that can raise in the society national dignity, heroic sensuality, responsibility, organicity in culture, nobility and breadth of political thinking, etc." (Bahan 2016, 573). This is exactly the kind of rehabilitation of the notion *nation* we see during the current Russian-Ukrainian war. In an open interview with CNN and Reuters, President of Ukraine V. Zelenskiy actually confirmed the significant ideas of D. Dontsov and emphasized that we (Ukrainians) are the nation that lives on its land, so "we do not hold back, we fight, and this nation will fight to the end"(Zelenskiy's open interview with CNN and Reuters, March 1, 2022).

According to the convictions of Dmytro Dontsov, the *nation* can rule only through the universal sides of its genius. Also, a *nation* that wants to play its role in the world "must once and for all get rid itself of the outlook of the devastated races and master the dramatic, volitional world of the strongest peoples of the rulers" (Dontsov 2006, 225). The identity of the *nation* is confirmed by the following words: "Every *nation* has its own law, its own truth, and it must obey only them" (Dontsov 2006, 221). These postulates are now violated by the Russian Federation, which is waging war against Ukrainians and denying the unconditional right of Ukrainians to freedom and democratic values.

In the context of catastrophes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, the pampered age, "which bloody outcome was made by the First World War" D. Dontsov provides the following definition to the maxim

*nation*: “One of the most beautiful emanations of will to struggle and struggle for freedom” (Dontsov 2006, 25). As the starting point, the author of “Nationalism” sees only one law that is not a subject to time – this is the law of struggle, which Heraclitus called the beginning of all things, the law of eternal rivalry of *nations*. The author is convinced that “the world belongs to those, who knows how to want”, instead our age has begun to forget what the will is, what the struggle is. The whole world saw the Ukrainian heroic struggle, about which D. Dontsov once wrote.

Numerous definitions of a *nation* excite the imagination in the psyche of people; as there is an idea from W. v. Humboldt that every person perceives what is said according to an individual experience (later the Kharkiv professor Oleksandr Potebnia expressed those thoughts in Ukraine). Consequently, the vocabulary definitions are clear and comprehensive, but the ideological orientation of the definitions of the maxim *nation* by Dmytro Dontsov is psychologically directed at the formation of statesmen, to appeal to the conscious part of citizens, to recreate the original features of Ukraine. Diachronic analysis (according to vocabulary definitions and scientific works) is important for the formation of the corpus of ideological dictionaries that allow to recreate the linguistic evolution and to show the shifting of emphases of the language thinking in every political-ideological time.

- The second aspect of the paper is to consider the maxim *nation* in the texts of Dmytro Dontsov through the prism of emotionally-expressive means of language: antitheses, metaphors, comparisons.

The political task of D. Dontsov was to create strong Ukrainians and the path to this goal is illustrated by the most convincing linguistic figure – antithesis. In the preface to the third edition of his defining work “Nationalism” (Dontsov 2006), Dontsov explains the ideology of *nationalism*, which, in contrast to *socialism* and *dragomanism* (the essence of which is “a Ukrainian is asking for a little”), craved and gained “*everything*” (Dontsov 2006, 20). Then the question arose:

“What is the purpose of the *nation*?” Again (as opposed to the *lukewarm-sentimental love of tranquillity and idyll*), the author determines that this is the *pathos of Shevchenko’s, not split, “one love” to his nation* (Dontsov 2006, 20). The antithesis here is, on one hand, *the ideology of nationalism*, on the other one, *socialism and dragomanism*. Another definitive antithesis of D. Dontsov for understanding the maxim *nation* is a need for Ukrainians *to get everything*, while an inadmissible option is when a Ukrainian is *asking for a little*. There is another antithesis to accumulate the arguments: *the love of tranquillity and idyll*, as opposed to *Shevchenko’s inflammatory love for their nation*. The original Ukrainian realities include the knowledge not only the terms as *socialism, nationalism*, but also personomen (or anthroponymic markers) and the knowledge of Ukrainian history, literature and culture. For example, D. Dontsov creates a negative lexeme *dragomanism*, since M. Drahomanov was a supporter of unity with Russia, did not think about the separate cultural and political development of Ukraine, recognized cosmopolitanism and liberalism, which the author categorically did not accept. As for the *lukewarm-sentimental love*, the representatives of such eulogy of Ukraine were P. Myrny, H. Kvitka and others. This is again denied by the author, as it is important for him to fight for the establishment of an independent state, and not to seat quietly in the ideological slavery.

The following quote should be convincing for the Ukrainians:

“While we do not urge in ourselves the creation of our world from external chaos, while the “*Little Russian*” *tenderness* does not replace in us the *stubborn love of dominion*, while the *theorems* do not become *axioms, dogmas*; “*shyness*” does not turn into “*brutality*”, and *invertibrate “love of people”* into *aggressive nationalism*; – until that time Ukraine will not become a *nation*“ (Dontsov 2006, 202–203).

This definition, which formulates the maxim *nation* in Ukraine, is a condition and at the same time the basis for solving many political, social and psychological problems. Therefore, these

antitheses are of particular relevance: “*Little Russian*” *tenderness – stubborn love of dominion; theorems – axioms, dogmas; shyness – brutality, invertebrate “love of people” – aggressive nationalism*. In the opinion of the scientist and publicist O. Bahan the cause of numerous defeats of Ukrainians today is that “the society has turned through total unscrupulousness in the jelly mass – sleepy, without any principles or ideas, unorganized and chaotic in its intentions (Bahan 2016, 572). Today's Russian-Ukrainian war brings to the surface completely different words: “*pride*”, “*heroism*”, “*dignity*”, “*nobility*” - these tokens about the Ukrainian nation now are known and understood all around the world.

Texts of D. Dontsov are the sources of the state creating information, which may not be known to the reader, however, such categorical and principled statements of the author give a kind of world-wide understanding of the problems, shape the worldview and cause various associations that are a psychological element of the language thinking. It is clear that the Provencal people are known to the world community in the aspect of the French state. However, D. Dontsov gives his own understanding of the Ukrainian Provencals and Ukrainian Provencalism, which defines as timid to the political demands stratum, devoid of state aspirations. Since the Provencal people were concerned only with the present of their people, they did not need to identify the *nation*, especially the *political nation*, so they began to care about people, more precisely, about the *plebs*. Thus D. Dontsov opposes the maxim *nation* and the *plebs*, explaining that even in Rome, the opposite of the *patriciate*, it was a *crowd* that lived only with its own interests (Dontsov 2006, 110). Hence the antithesis of the maxim *nation* in the texts of the thinker is a *plebs*, a *crowd*, a *province* that has a negative connotation and creates the position that directs the reader to the understanding of the peculiarities of the state-building of the postcolonial people.

D. Dontsov raises the question of *nation* to explain various realities. For example, characterizing intellectualism, the author shows how this supposedly positive trend is extremely

negative for Ukraine. Intellectualism has led our national idea to the abandonment of our own national ideal, to universalism, so that the thinker proved that the intellectuals did not understand that different nations had different feelings and desires, as what was *true* for one nation, for the other one was a *lie*. These language antonyms in the text create an ideological opposition concerning the understanding of the position of the *nation*. The fact of absence of the “worldwide truth” is evidenced by the research of the thinker, linguist, academician O. Potebnia. Considering the problems of the nation and language in the works “Language and Nationality”, “The problem of denationalization”, “On nationalism”, the linguist proves that there is no greater degradation than the alienation of the language from the peoples, and concludes that the guarantee of the nation unity and its most certain sign is the language (Farion 2016, 36). Today, during the war, we have interesting confirmation of the determining factor of language, in particular, the word “*palianytsia*” (a type of Ukrainian bread) became somewhat of a test word, because Russian soldiers cannot pronounce in a right way. Meanwhile, Kremlin propagandist Olga Skabeyeva at her television program said that “*palianytsia*” (bread) is “*polunytsia*” (strawberry), so we have here a paronymic effect imposed on ignorance.

An important clarifying mean of the ideology of D. Dontsov is a metaphor. The ideologue of nationalism argumentatively presents the historical evidence concerning again the “character”, on the basis of which the large *nations* are formed. The author tells metaphorically how important it is *to say to the heart of the nation*, as the most dangerous weapon in the war is not heavy cannons, but *the ability (of the leaders) to fasten the hearts* (Dontsov 2006, 181).

It is noteworthy that the political thinker shows important aspects of the formation of the nation. For example, when a Ukrainian idea wants to win and become dominant, it should *leave the damned legacy of slave times* (Dontsov 2006, 208), and also *the nation must love the freedom*. Therefore: “To be free, *the nation must love the*

*freedom* more than its herds, goats, cheese and the loved ones; more than the benefits, and even the physical existence of certain generations that fall in the campaign” (Dontsov 2009, 554).

The psychological aspects of linguistics can be traced on the basis of numerous linguistic means combined at the same time. Basing on the explanation of the Ukrainian Provençals views, the author creates an antithesis (all is nothing, the purpose of the nation is the benefits of the unit, the nation as a whole is the nation as a mechanical collector, own state is a foreign state), metaphor (spiritual castrated eunuchs, to drown in the Provençal marsh, he could see the province from the height of his own garbage, the Provençals gathered in the crowd, the Provençal people’s internationalism is a quiet retreat), comparison (the Provençals gathered like a herd of sheep before the thunderstorm), which are very important for understanding of the ideas of the author.

The combination of comparisons (the nation as a soft iron, as an induction magnet), antitheses (the nation as a soft iron – the nation as a steel), and metaphors (the nation must saturate itself with magnetic energy, the wing-spread of freedom) gives the understanding of the nation. Therefore, we have such a universal definition for the establishment of a state-building worldview: “When a nation wants to become like steel, to saturate itself with ‘constant’ magnetic energy, it must get it in its own idea” (Dontsov 2006, 222). As a conclusion: political, social, cultural, religious ideology must be adapted to the “mentality and psyche of the nation”, and this requires a “wing-spread of freedom” (Dontsov 2006, 223).

Consequently, such a large number of linguistic expression means confirms the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that the specifics of people’s thinking correspond to the language of communication. Thus, to form a political *nation*, to awaken a sense of patriotism, to build a state, Dmytro Dontsov uses not only the knowledge of philosophy, history, language, but also the emotional and expressive means (antithesis, metaphor,

comparisons), which form the imaginative thinking.

- The third aspect of the paper is to clarify the maxim nation in the texts of Dmytro Dontsov through the definition of attributive modifiers: the Ukrainian nation, the political nation, the ruling nation, the nation-applicant, the nation-host, the nation-master, the nation-parasite. It is noteworthy that these attributes, expressed by the appositions, give not only the second name to a notion, but are peculiar symbols in the Ukrainian mentality. For example, it is well-known that bread-salt is Ukrainian hospitality; mother-father is a symbol of the family. Dmytro Dontsov introduces these particular distinctive components in the text in order to form a political and state-building worldview. For example, “the Ukrainian nation needs to expand, but definitely in the same direction as the nation-parasite” (Dontsov 2006, 69).

The concept of Ukrainian *nation* in Soviet times was formulated as follows: “sovietness” excluded politics, and Ukraine (by their definition) became one of the branches of the Russian people, Ukraine had to participate in the nationwide life of Russia, the Ukrainian cause became a matter of “purely cultural”. Dmytro Dontsov emphasizes on the significance of Ukrainian question by the apposition because he introduces the maxim *the nation-host* and cites S. Yefremov (from 1912): “Between the Ukrainian *nation-host* and its parasite (Russia) ... there is no chance to talk about ‘national enlightenment or antipathy’” (Dontsov 2006, 90). In his speech on the sixth day of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Boris Johnson said: “Zelenskiy inspires and mobilizes the whole world” (B. Johnson. Leadership and Courage, March 1, 2022).

D. Dontsov presents the incredible argumentation of thinking of the Bolsheviks, who recognized only the consolidation of their power in Ukraine. This position is explained by the ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism through the maxim *nation-master*, namely: “the instinct of members of the *nation-master* was spoken in them”

(Dontsov 2006, 99). The conclusion is obvious: “A *nation* that wants to dominate should have the master’s mentality of *the peoples-ruler*” (Dontsov 2006, 208). And now we are sending the world clear message that we are the rulers of our land and will never allow to seize our territory.

The attributes *political* (*nation* that must be formed in Ukraine) and *the dominant* (*nation*, that is, Russian) reproduce the events of that time. Thus, “those, who rejects the notion of a political nation, should come to a denial of the notion of nation in general, which cannot exist without its own state political competitions” (Dontsov 2006, 74).

Consequently, attributive modifiers contribute to the clarity of the above, form the extraordinary characteristics of political realities; reproduce the psychological foundations of the author’s thinking and thus influence the reader.

## V. CONCLUSION

This study is an attempt at systematic analysis of interpretations of the maxim *nation*, which is a complex in its essence, as a result of a several-centuries distortion of this concept by numerous ideologue of the Soviet era. Therefore, the studies of political linguistics, which allow you to use the data of political science, history, literature, philosophy, psychology to solve specific state-political tasks, are of great importance. In addition, political linguistics allows you to focus your eyes on the past to gain the knowledge for the future. Today, the analysis of the maxim *nation* based on the works of D. Dontsov fully corresponds to the current linguistic and political situation in Ukraine. Maxim *nation* is verbalized through the formation of its vertical growth, it is about not being sad and oppressed, but, on the contrary, to be strong and brave. Ukrainian nation shows incredible courage in the struggle against the Moscow enemy, that is, the tokens of understanding of our nation today are “*honor*”, “*pride*”, “*memory of the glorious Cossack past*” (and in no case our tokens are “*suffering*” or “*weeping for the better*”). And our sympathy for Russia was completely unjustified. Muscovite Russia burned Kyiv in 1169, then we suffered

enslavement from the Tsardom of Russia and Russian Empire and were repressed throughout the existence of the Soviet Union. That is why Russia is not a “strategic partner” for Ukrainians, it is an eternal historical enemy.

An appeal to linguistic features of Dmytro Dontsov’s texts in the political aspect illustrates the impact on society, in the philosophical aspect allows us to find out the theories of different doctrines, in the teaching aspect teaches to be able to formulate their own opinions, and in the psychological aspect helps to form a world-view position.

The paper presents three trajectories of a scientific research: 1) definitions, 2) visualizing emotional and expressive language means (antitheses, metaphors, and comparisons), 3) attributive modifiers that illustrate a fundamentally important maxim *nation*.

To understand the political realities in the texts of Dmytro Dontsov different types of analysis are used which psychologically and politically influences the understanding of the difficult situation in Ukraine today, when the responsibility of the nation is to build a Ukrainian state. Therefore the maxim *nation* is a gift of God, it is the right to be in the world, the eternal right which Moscow denies, and instead revives imperialism and colonialism, Ukrainian nation is keeping Europe from the enemy. We will win because we are on the side of truth, goodness and justice, therefore the Ukrainian nation is indestructible. And the works of D. Dontsov affirm the defining postulates of our existence, the most important of which are our land, our rules.

As a result of the study, it was found out that consideration of the maxim *nation* contributes to the formation of a generation of fighters for the independence of their state, reproduces the outlook of the fighters, cultivates the national values that the modern European world gained in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Ukraine has only recently begun to develop them.

The maxim *nation* is always inseparable from the relevant ideas of the present. The Russian-Ukrainian war united the Ukrainian nation. As the

President of Ukraine V. Zelenskiy said on March 3, 2022 “We have nothing to lose but our own freedom and dignity. And this is the greatest treasure for us” (Zelenskiy to Russia).

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