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Aims and Scope

Russian Journal of Linguistics is a peer-reviewed international academic journal publishing research in Linguistics. It is international with regard to its editorial board, contributing authors and thematic foci of the publications.

The goal of the journal is to promote scholarly exchange and cooperation among Russian and international linguists, disseminate theoretically grounded research, and advance knowledge in a broad range of interdisciplinary issues pertaining to the field of Linguistics. The editors aim to publish original research devoted to language, culture and cognition and give emphasis to comparative studies of languages, intercultural communication, pragmatics, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and translation.

Contributions to the journal should show awareness of current research trends in these areas, and explore their implications. Methodologies for data collection and analysis can be quantitative or qualitative, and must be grounded in Linguistic practices in this area. General Journal Sections: *comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, intercultural communication, language and culture, theory and practice of translation*.

As a Russian journal with an international character, the journal also welcomes articles that advance research in relevant intercultural/linguistic themes, and/or explore the implications of intercultural issues in communication generally.

In addition to research articles the journal also welcomes book reviews, literature overviews, conference reports and research project announcements.

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THEORY AND PRACTICE (II)

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ДИСКУРС-АНАЛИЗ В 21 ВЕКЕ: ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА (II)

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1. INTRODUCTION

This issue of *Russian Journal of Linguistics* continues the focus on Discourse Analysis which we began with the first special issue devoted to the topic (2016, 4). The aim of our publication is to stimulate discussion and the exchange of ideas on these rich subjects, in order to benefit the international community of discourse analysts. In the first volume, we presented some theoretical perspectives on Discourse Analysis, including recent research in discourse pragmatics, stylistics and speech genres, with work illustrative of current trends in both Russian and Western discourse analytical traditions. They have, once again, demonstrated that there is, as yet, no universal theory of discourse. However, the incremental growth of interest in research on discourse is an irreversible process, because, as A. Kibrik rightly pointed out, discourse is "the only real linguistic object of language". One cannot disagree with the reasoning of the scientist: "People talk to each other in discourses, rather than sentences, much less morphemes or phonemes ... Therefore, the natural evolution of linguistics as a science should start with discourse studies, and only on this basis should it explore the smaller units, obtained as the results of analytical procedures" (Kibrik 2009).

In this second issue, we present chapters in both languages, on a variety of topics of interest, some of which have a more theoretical focus, while others could be thought of more in terms of the application of DA methodologies to data from a variety of social contexts, and of the role of language units of different levels in the construction of a particular type of discourse.

The first part of the issue presents research in discourse semantics and pragmatics; we then have chapters on discursive practices and on political discourse.

2. DISCOURSE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

Problems in discourse semantics and pragmatics are the focus of many scientists who work in Russia and worldwide (Baranov, Plungian, Rakhilina 1993, Ponomarenko 2004, Sinelnikova 2013, Chernjavskaja 2012; Alba-Juez and Mackenzie 2016, Kecskes 2014, Leech 2014, Wierzbicka 1991/2003 and many others), who deal with issues of nomination and the functioning of different language units, reflecting the processes involved in speaker-hearer interaction.

The volume starts with the article by J.R. Martin, one of the best-known scholars working in Systemic Functional Linguistics, the functional approach to language developed by M.A.K. Halliday that has been influential in many fields of language research, including Critical Discourse Analysis. Among his many significant contributions to linguistic theory (Martin 2007, 2013; Martin and Rose 2003, 2008 etc.) is the Appraisal Framework (Martin and White 2005), a taxonomy of semantic and interpersonal resources that has proved invaluable in many types of Discourse Analysis. His chapter deals with new avenues in Appraisal theory. In SFL, and in Appraisal, meaning is seen in terms of a network of options open to the speaker/writer, with a marked focus on the interpersonal dimension. Meaning is formalized in terms of networks of options, and especially realised in interactive contexts — thus words do not 'have' meaning; rather, they 'do' it. At the heart of this chapter then, is what Martin terms a 'relational perspective on meaning'.

Martin explores a lot of the background to the creation of the Appraisal Framework, in pages that will interest a wider audience than users of the framework alone. His chapter explains the processes of synthesis involved in arriving at 'core' elements of his semantic taxonomy, using the multiple entries for each item in Roget's Thesaurus. For the Systemic Functional linguist, he says, the ‘dream’ relates to the notion of lexis as 'delicate grammar'. However, when we seek to apply these systems beyond the semantic feature of the individual word, to larger bodies of text, we start to move beyond ‘the grammarian’s dream, to the discourse analyst’s nightmare!’ One of the problems relates to the availability of large enough corpora, able to provide data to confirm or refute the analyst’s intuitions about the semantic feature s/he is interested in. In this context, he discusses work by Bednarek (2008). Martin proposes a typological/topological distinction, and illustrates how a topological approach to the lexical study of individual semantic areas may represent a fruitful pathway for this research.

Another significant focus for discursive and semantic research is metaphor. Metaphor is an important means of categorization of reality, and one of the significant discursive units which has been studied by many scientists, in various aspects and types of discourse (Arutyunova 1990, Budaev and Chudinov 2006, Chudinov 2001, Lakoff and Johnsen 2003, Musolff 2016 and many others). **Andrew Goatly** analyzes it alongside certain grammatical resources, in an ecological context. Goatly argues in his paper *Metaphor and grammar in the poetic representation of nature*, that, because of the seriousness of the threat to the climate, Critical Discourse Studies with an ecological focus should take precedence over all other kinds of critical discourse work. In terms of grammar, he uses Systemic Functional Linguistic analysis of many examples, from a variety of cultural contexts, to support his view that our language tends to reflect a Newtonian worldview rather than one based on current ecological principles. Metaphors tend to reflect an anthropocentric vision, though this is increasingly challenged by current environmental science. These ideas are explored in a comparative analysis, of an ecological scientific text, 'the state of the world', produced by the Worldwatch Institute, and some nature poetry by various authors, including Edward Thomas, William Wordsworth and Alice Oswald. While Nature in the first text is seen generally as a passive resource, acted upon by human agents, in the latter group of texts it assumes an active role, with its own voice. This is reflected both in the grammatical forms and in the metaphors used to represent it. Goatly argues that poetry and science share elements of a vision, of intrinsic union between the human and natural worlds, which we would do well to heed in the current precarious climate.

The analysis of metapragmatic components of Judicial discourse is represented by **Tatyana Dubrovskaya**'s chapter, *the Metapragmatics of administering justice in Russian and English judicial discourse,* which compares courtroom discourse in England and Russia, demonstrating that judicial meta-utterances have parallel functions in Russian and English, though minor differences are discovered, for which cultural differences are responsible.

The paper proposes a three-fold classification of metapragmatic courtroom speech, beginning with speech whose purpose is to 'regulate' the courtroom context — here, the judge explains procedures, regulates turn-taking, introduces new elements, and so on. The second is 'constructing the reality of the crime', in which judges also figure prominently. The third is 'framing the law', i.e. specifying details of law as this becomes necessary; again, this is usually the task of the judge. All three categories show differences between Russian and English patterns in realising these metapragamatic functions. English judges frequently use mitigation strategies and forms of indirectness in relating to witnesses, while Russians tend to be more direct, for example using the imperative form. This is explained in terms of differing norms of politeness between the two nations. The chapter thus accounts for the role of metapragmatic discourse in the judicial context, showing how it is used both to sustain the court as a social institution and how it contributes to the judge's own identity construction as a figure of power.

Ekaterina Khrisonopulo's chapter, *Discourse motivations of mental construal and the expression of stance in speech: a case study of English*, deals with the topic of speaker stance and the subjective/objective dimension. Speakers can either express their degree of certainty through a subjective formula ("I am sure that") or by an impersonal one ("It is certain that"). What she calls the 'S-subject' (for 'Setting') is the more objectifying resource, while the 'P-subject' (for 'participant') is typically realised by the use of a pronoun. The author draws on both Russian and Western sources (Leontiev, Kubryakova, Berman, Langacker etc.) to ground her work in current research, and presents an analysis of a corpus of about 350 examples taken from English-language fiction. What emerges is the claim that the choice between subjective and objective representation patterns depends on cognitive factors, including the distinction between event schemas and mental experiences. The chapter is a thorough exploration of the nuances in literary expressiveness that can be achieved by the use of these resources, as well as their representing a strategic resource for authors in characterisation and plot development.

3. DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

The second section of the issue is devoted to some discursive practices in different types of discourse.

Lucia Abbamonte and **Flavia Cavaliere** present a chapter entitled: *Shopping as 'best practice' — analyzing Walmart's debated sustainability policies*. Like Goatly's paper, it has an ecological focus, underlining the current importance of this research trend within linguistics. The American retail giant, Walmart, advances claims to 'sustainability' in a number of promotional videos highlighting the company's positive attitudes to fundamental issues like Energy, Waste, Products and Responsible Sourcing. The chapter uses an integrated Critical Discourse Analysis approach exploring nuances in this marketing and branding strategy. The authors' conclusion is that the Walmart videos use multimodal resources to craft a range of attractive images associating them with green values and social issues like poverty. The gist of these videos is that shopping itself becomes an ecological activity; as long, naturally, as one shops at Walmart. The authors do not directly suggest that Walmart is being duplicitous; indeed, they highlight positive aspects of the company's business practise. However, they do indicate that it is vital in such cases to measure promotional rhetoric against actual social practices.

Larissa Galchuk studies the problem of verbalization of socially important concepts in modern business English. In her article with an evaluative title, *The twenty percent solution: the concept of social capital through the new words in English business discourse at the turn of the 21st century*, she examines the neologisms in this context through extra- and intralinguistic motivators of their emergence in the language. Having analysed the formal and semantic structure of these lexical units, and their functions in business discourse, the author argues that the majority of them possess metaphorical potential, while their intensive use in modern business communication results in a violation of its traditional norms. Thus, English business discourse tends to experience the loss of its conventionality in favour of the increased efficiency of every single communicative act. The author concludes that the role of emotional, rhetorical, phatic and representational language functions tends to increase in business communication where traditionally, the field has been dominated by the cognitive language function with its focus on reality conceptualization, specifically through coining new words to fill the language gap.

The idea of violation of conventional norms, leading to blurring of styles and genres, finds its continuation in the article by **Svetlana Ivanova** entitled *Commencement speech as a hybrid polydiscursive practice*, where she examines the phenomenon of polydiscursiveness. She defines the specificity of the realization of polydiscursive practices as a feature of modern communication within commencement speech (commencement address / graduation speech), which, in compliance with modern trends, is delivered by outstanding media personalities (politicians, athletes, actors, etc.). The findings of the study show that institutional character is not the only feature of a commencement speech. Besides institutional discourse, commencement speech represents didactic discourse, personal discourse, memoire discourse, and is closely related to ironic discourse. The results of the study, which is illustrated by a lot of significant examples, enable the author to conclude that the harmonious combination of polydiscursive practices contributes to commencement speech hybridization, which in turn increases the degree of persuasiveness in commencement speeches.

4. POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this issue, we also continue the focus on **Political Discourse Analysis** that constituted a whole section of our first number, thanks to the unabated interest it has generated amongst our contributors. In a fascinating window on modern Iran, **Azizullah Mirzaei**, **Zohreh R. Eslami** and **Fatemeh Safari** present a chapter entitled *Exploring rhetorical-discursive practices of Rouhani's presidential campaign and victory of his prudence-and-hope key: a discourse of persuasion.* Their approach is broadly critical, drawing on Fairclough (2010), and focuses on three dimensions of his discourse: phonological, lexical and syntactical. They explore his use of tropes, and find that, like many western politicians, his discourse is rich in three-part lists, parallelism, alliteration and metaphor, all of which have a persuasive intention. The authors' research project involved the recording and transcription of many hours of television and radio debates, in the weeks leading up to the 2013 election. Among the most telling instances of persuasive rhetoric, they identify his use of cultural allusion, to a well-known Iranian poem, by Akhavan-e-Sales, that a 'Spring' is waiting, behind the long winter of Ahmadinejad's government. Their study thus crosses cultural borders, and shows that the same techniques of discursive persuasion are practised in Iran that we find in Washington or Westminster today.

The political theme continues with **El-Zawawy**, **Amr M.**, whose chapter is called *Towards a new linguistic model for detecting political lies.* The author addresses the delicate question of politicians and truth-telling, referring to an interesting website, 'Politifact', which collects statements that are graded according to their degree of truthfulness, with the last dimension, 'ridiculously untrue' classified as 'pants on fire'. The focus is the discourse of the two opposing US presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, who were both repeatedly accused of uttering falsehoods. Use of the Politifact site enables the author to avoid a potentially difficult methodological issue; namely, on what basis to classify political statements as 'lies', given that neither speaker would admit to something like an 'intent to deceive the hearer', which might be one of Searle's 'felicity conditions' for this particular speech act. An attempt is made, using the Praat spectogram, to connect voice patterns with the act of telling a political lie, using data from both Trump and Clinton. The author proposes a 'New Model' for classifying lies in political discourse, which is a modified version of the model that appeared in Burgoon et al. (2012).

For the analysis of Media Discourse, **Vladimir Ozyumenko** has written a chapter, *Media discourse in an atmosphere of information warfare: from manipulation to aggres-*

sion, which highlights changes in modern media functions. Defining distinctions between persuasion, manipulation and aggression, the author argues that, in the atmosphere of information warfare, the function of information aggression is gaining momentum, and can be viewed within the framework of manipulative discourse, as manipulative persuasion. The author considers media aggression as a binary process, related both to the referent (affective aggression) and to the audience (cognitive aggression). The study, conducted through critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2001, Van Dijk 2006, 2009; Wodak 2007; Weiss, Wodak 2007) and the multimodal approach (Ivanova 2010, Ponton 2016), reveals various strategies and means of linguistic manipulation and media aggression. It also shows that the main aim of linguistic manipulation, accentuated by verbal and non-verbal aggression, is to deliberately mislead the audience imposing on it the desired idea of ideological subordination.

5. CONCLUSION

Discourse analysis is a relatively new scientific paradigm for the study of language, and all of its components at a level higher than that of the individual sentence — the level of discourse. To attempt to define it in a few words would be an impossible task. An uninitiated reader of our two issues might well find themselves in the same position as the blind men in Saxe's famous poem about the elephant. The answer to the question: *What is Discourse Analysis?* depends entirely on what part of it one approaches for the first time; what specific tool one picks up and attempts to use on discourse.

As the papers collected in these two volumes amply demonstrate, Discourse Analysis is a rich and diverse field of research, capable of uncovering important insights, across a broad range of academic disciplines. Within its bounds, it encompasses many heterogeneous approaches to discourse, many analytical tools and methodologies. It comprises many schools of thought that have evolved over time, some of which have disappeared but left crucial traces for their successors to inherit and incorporate in their own approaches. Increasingly, as has been pointed out above, Discourse Analysis is a multidisciplinary scientific field; it is not confined to Linguistics but has been adopted by other disciplines, mainly within the Humanities, and adapted to suit their own purposes.

Our theoretical articles reviewed the current state of the art, explained the relation of Discourse Analysis to other research traditions, both Russian and international and traced pathways for future research in Pragmatics, Semantics, Stylistics and Genre Theory, among other fields. On the theoretical side, the challenge is to develop notions able to account for the various components of a communicative situation which contribute to the formation of meaning, in the broadest possible sense of this general term, and to create a comprehensive classification of discourse types.

Discourse analysis is in constant evolution, and continues to expand in the range and scope of its research activities. On the applied front, the various theoretical perspectives and analytical methodologies are used on actual text, to reach a range of conclusions, which may be, as we have seen, broadly explicative/descriptive or critical in kind. We have seen it applied to texts from fields as diverse as Media and Business Studies, Law, Ecology and Politics, in studies which shed light on many different topics.

Commencing our joint project, we did not expect to get comprehensive answers to all the questions raised. Nevertheless, we believe that readers of these two issues on

Discourse Analysis will be able to find grist for their own analytical mills, and we sincerely hope that the process of dialogue and interchange between between analysts working in Russia and worldwide, which these volumes symbolise, will continue to bear fruit in future. Many sincere thanks to our authors, who have contributed so much, from the wealth of their own knowledge and research experience within Discourse Analysis.

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1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Этот номер нашего журнала является продолжением тематического выпуска (2016, 4), посвященного дискурс-анализу. Выбирая данную тему, мы хотели вызвать дискуссию по широкой исследовательской области, которой является дискурс, и стимулировать обмен идеями по ряду актуальных и неоднозначных вопросов, что может быть полезно для международного сообщества дискурсологов.

В первом номере были представлены некоторые теоретические подходы к анализу дискурса известных зарубежных и российских ученых, касающиеся в том числе его связи с рядом пограничных областей — прагматикой, стилистикой и жанроведением. Они в очередной раз показали, что никакой универсальной теории дискурса пока не существует. Однако перенос интереса исследователей на дискурс — это необратимый процесс, поскольку, как справедливо отмечает А.А. Кибрик, дискурс — это «единственный заведомо реальный лингвистический объект языка». Нельзя не согласиться с аргументацией ученого: «Люди разговаривают между собой дискурсами, а не предложениями и тем более не морфемами или фонемами... Поэтому естественное построение лингвистики как науки и следовало бы начинать с исследования дискурса, а лишь с учетом этого уровня исследовать более мелкие единицы, полученные в результате аналитических процедур» (Кибрик 2009).

Во втором номере, который также является двуязычным, мы предлагаем вашему вниманию статьи по целому ряду вопросов, как теоретической, так и практической направленности, показывающих возможность применения теории дискурса к анализу языка в различных социальных контекстах и роли разноуровневых языковых единиц в построении того или иного типа дискурса.

Первый раздел номера содержит статьи, касающиеся, главным образом, семантических и прагматических аспектов дискурса, второй — дискурсивных практик в различных контекстах, третий посвящен политическому дискурсу.

2. ДИСКУРСИВНАЯ СЕМАНТИКА И ПРАГМАТИКА

Проблемы дискурсивной семантики и прагматики находятся в центре внимания многих российских и зарубежных лингвистов (Баранов, Плунгян, Рахилина 1993, Кечкеш 2014, Пономаренко 2004, Синельникова 2013, Чернявская 2012; Alba-Juez, Mackenzie 2016, Kecskes 2014, Leech 2014, Wierzbicka 1991/2003 и др.), которые рассматривают вопросы номинации и функционирования различных языковых единиц, отражающих процесс взаимодействия говорящего и слушающего.

Открывает наш номер профессор **Джеймс Мартин** — один из самых известных ученых, работающих в области системно-функциональной лингвистики, основанной на разработанном М.А.К. Халлидеем функциональном подходе к языку. Данный подход оказал существенное влияние на многие области лингвистических исследований, в том числе на критический дискурс-анализ. Среди наиболее значимых научных разработок Дж. Мартина — теория оценки (Appraisal Theory), которая доказала свою значимость при анализе различных типов дискурса, а также работы по функционально-семантической грамматике, дискурсу, жанрам и многие другие (Martin 2007, 2013; Martin and White 2005, Martin and Rose 2003, 2008 и др.).

Статья, публикуемая в нашем журнале — *The discourse semantics of attitudinal relations: continuing the study of lexis* (*Дискурсивная семантика передачи эмоционального отношения: перспективы исследования лексики*), посвящена новым направлениям в теории оценки. В ее основе лежит реляционный подход к значению. Значение рассматривается как пучок вариантов, предлагаемых производителю речи (устной или письменной). Оно формируется и реализуется в интерактивных контекстах на основе межличностного фактора. Таким образом, слова не «имеют» значение, они, скорее, «создают» его. В данной статье на основе детального анализа Тезауруса Роже Дж. Мартин объясняет процесс синтеза основных элементов семантической таксономии. Слово, которое кажется простым и понятным в словаре, оказавшись на просторах текста, может выйти за свои семантические рамки и предстать перед исследователем дискурса в противоположном значении. Так, например, «сон» (dream) может превратиться в «кошмар» (nightmare). Одна из проблем дискурсивной семантики связана с отсутствием достаточного корпуса данных для того, чтобы подтвердить или опровергнуть предположение исследователя об интересующей его семантической особенности того или иного слова. В этом контексте обсуждается работа М. Беднарек (Bednarek 2008), которая, используя корпусные данные, поставила под сомнение некоторые наблюдения, изложенные в канонической работе Дж. Мартина и П. Уайта (Martin, White 2005). В статье предлагается различать типологический и топологический подходы к лексическим исследованиям и отмечается, что топологический подход к анализу отдельных семантических областей может оказаться весьма плодотворным.

Другой серьезной проблемой дискурсивно-семантических исследований является метафора. Метафора как важное средство категоризации реальности и одна из значимых дискурсивных единиц являлась объектом рассмотрения многих ученых и изучалась в различных аспектах и типах дискурса (Арутюнова 1990; Будаев, Чудинов 2006, Чудинов 2001, Лакофф 2004, Musolff 2016 и многие другие). **Эндрю Гоутли** анализирует ее наряду с некоторыми грамматическими средствами языка в экологическом аспекте. В статье *Metaphor and grammar in the poetic representation of nature* (*Метафора и грамматика в поэтическом изображении природы*) он утверждает, что из-за серьезных климатических проблем экологическая направленность исследований в области критического дискурс-анализа должна стать одной из приоритетных. Рассмотрев с применением системно-функционального анализа большое количество различных текстов, он выдвигает идею о том, что современный язык отражает ньютоновскую картину мира, а не основывается на актуальных экологических принципах. Метафоры, как правило, отражают антропоцентрическое видение мира, что идет в разрез с экологической наукой. Эта идея подтверждается результатами сопоставительного анализа экологического научного текста о состоянии мира с поэтическими текстами о природе ряда авторов — Эдварда Томаса, Уильяма Вордсворта и Элис Освальд. В то время как в научном тексте природа выступает в основном как пассивный ресурс, подвергающийся воздействию человека, в поэтических текстах она играет активную роль и имеет собственный голос, что находит свое отражение как в грамматических формах, так и в метафорах, используемых для ее описания. Автор утверждает, что поэзия и наука имеют ряд общих элементов мировидения, свидетельствующих о внутреннем союзе человека и природы, что стоит учитывать в ситуации опасных климатических изменений.

Метапрагматическим элементам судейского дискурса посвятила свою статью **Т.В. Дубровская**. Она сопоставляет дискурсивные практики, характерные для английского и русского судебного дискурса, выявляя как их сходства, так и различия, обусловленные культурными особенностями. В статье предлагается классификация метапрагматических элементов в судейском дискурсе в соответствии с тремя типами реальности, выделяемыми Дж. Гиббонсом (Gibbons 2003). Первая группа метапрагматичеких элементов, цель которых — регулировать ход заседания, способствует созданию первичной реальности, т.е. реальности судебного заседания. Вторая группа помогает формировать вторичную реальность, т.е. реальность преступления или правонарушения. Третья группа конструирует реальность права. Во всех трех группах метапрагматические элементы проявляют функциональные различия. Так, например, английские судьи часто используют стратегии смягчения в отношении свидетелей, в то время как русские более прямолинейны и часто используют императив, что объясняется разным пониманием вежливости. В статье отмечается роль метапрагматических элементов в судебном контексте, показывается, как они используется для поддержания статуса суда как социального института и способствует формированию идентичности судьи как представителя власти.

Е.Ю. Хрисонопуло, которая изложила результаты своего анализа в статье *Discourse motivations of mental construal and the expression of stance in speech: a case study of English* (*Дискурсивные факторы ментальной дифференциации и выражение пропозициональной установки в речи (на материале английского языка*), рассматривает выражение субъективного и объективного отношения говорящего к реальности, которое может передаваться конструкциями с подлежащими, ассоциируемыми с двумя концептуальными архетипами: «партиципантом» (П), на который указывает местоимение I лица (*I am certain that*), и «абстрактным сеттингом» (С), выражаемым вводным местоимением it (*It is certain that*). В статье представлены результаты исследования, в ходе которого, с опорой на российские и западные теоретические источники (А.А. Леонтьев, Е.С. Кубрякова, R. Berman,

R. Langacker и др.), был проанализирован нарративный и диалогический дискурс в текстах англоязычной художественной литературы. Автор приходит к выводу о том, что выбор между субъектными и объектными моделями зависит от ряда когнитивных факторов, включая различия между событийным планом и ментальным. В статье тщательно анализируются различные экспрессивные оттенки, которые могут быть переданы при помощи данных моделей, представляющих собой важный ресурс автора для описания и развития сюжета.

3. ДИСКУРСИВНЫЕ ПРАКТИКИ

Второй раздел журнала посвящен рассмотрению некоторых дискурсивных практик в различных типах дискурса. **Лючия Аббамонте** и **Флавия Кавальери** представили статью под названием *Shopping as 'best practice' — analyzing Walmart's debated sustainability* policies («Передовой опыт» Уолмарта: анализ неоднозначной экополитики). Как и в статье Гоутли, здесь снова поднимается вопрос об экологической ответственности, что свидетельствует об актуальности данной проблемы в том числе и для лингвистических исследований. В ней речь идет об американском гиганте розничной торговли Уолмарт (Walmart), который выдвигает идею экологической ответственности в ряде рекламных видеороликов, освещающих позитивное отношение компании к таким фундаментальным проблемам, как энергетика, отходы и др. В статье используется комплексный критический дискурс-анализ, с помощью которого изучаются нюансы стратегий маркетинга и брендинга. Вывод авторов состоит в том, что в видеороликах использовались мультимодальные средства для создания ряда привлекательных образов, ассоциирующихся с охраной природы и социальными проблемами, такими как бедность. Суть этих видеороликов сводится к тому, что, делая покупки, вы заботитесь о природе, если вы выбираете магазин Уолмарт. Авторы прямо не говорят о двойственном характере деятельности Уолмарта. Напротив, они подчеркивают ее позитивные стороны, указывая, в то же время, что оценивать рекламную риторику необходимо на фоне реальных социальных практик.

Л.М. Гальчук рассматривает проблему вербализации социально значимых концептов в современном английском языке в сфере деловой коммуникации. В статье с интригующим названием «*„Двадцатипроцентное решение“: концепция социального капитала сквозь призму неономинаций в английском деловом дискурсе конца XX — начала XXI вв.*» автор анализирует неономинации с точки зрения экстра- и интралингвистических причин их появления в лексическом составе языка. В ходе анализа особенностей формальной и семантической структур рассматриваемых лексем, их функциональной роли в контексте делового общения автор приходит к выводу о том, что реализация прагматического потенциала таких лексических инноваций в английском деловом дискурсе ведет к нарушению конвенциональных норм в интересах повышения эффективности конкретного коммуникативного акта. Данный вывод позволяет, по мнению автора, говорить о тенденции к росту значимости эмотивной, риторической, репрезентационной и фатической функций языка в сфере делового общения, где доминирующей традиционно была когнитивная функция, ориентированная на концептуализацию действительности, в том числе путем заполнения лексико-семантических лакун.

Идея нарушения конвенциональных норм, приводящая к размытости стилей и жанров, находит свое продолжение в статье **С.В. Ивановой** *«Актовая речь как гибридная полидискурсивная практика»*, где рассматривается такое интересное явление современной коммуникации, как полидискурсивность. Для своего анализа она выбрала жанр актовой речи — напутственной речи для выпускников, прежде всего американских университетов, с которой, в соответствии с современной тенденцией, выступают видные медиаперсоны: политики, спортсмены, актеры и др. На большом эмпирическом материале автор наглядно показывает, что рассматриваемый жанр относится к институциональному дискурсу, представляя собой ритуальный жанр публичной речи, и дидактическому дискурсу, поскольку суть актовой речи состоит в том, чтобы дать выпускникам напутствия и ориентиры в жизни. Тем не менее в него активно интегрируются речевые практики из других дискурсов: бытийного, мемуарного и иронического. В результате образуется гибридный дискурс, характеризующийся высокой степенью конвергенции и обладающий повышенной степенью воздействия на адресата.

4. ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ ДИСКУРС

В связи с неослабевающим интересом наших авторов к политическому дискурсу, которому уже был посвящен целый раздел предыдущего выпуска, в этом номере мы продолжаем эту тему.

Азизулла Мирзаи, **Зохрэ Еслами** и **Фатима Сафари** в статье *A Discourse of Persuasion: Exploring Rhetorical-Discursive Practices of Rouhani's Presidential Campaign and Victory of his Prudence-and-Hope Key* (*Дискурс убеждения: риторические и дискурсивные практики в президентской избирательной кампании рухани и победа его принципа благоразумия и надежды*) приоткрывают окно в политическую жизнь Ирана. Для исследования дискурса Рухани они применяют критический дискурс-анализ и опираются на трехмерную парадигму Н. Фэйрклафа (Fairclough 2010), включающую фонологический, лексический и синтаксический аспекты. Исследуя используемые Рухани тропы, авторы обнаружили, что, как и многие западные политики, он часто прибегает к параллелизмам, аллитерации и метафорам. Все перечисленные средства имеют интенцию убеждения. Материалом исследования послужили записи и транскрипты многочасовых теле- и радиодебатов, предшествующих президентским выборам 2013 г. Среди наиболее показательных примеров риторики убеждения оказались культурные аллюзии к хорошо известной иранской поэме Ахавана Салеса, что вселяет аудитории мысль о том, что после долгой зимы, под которой имеется в виду период работы правительства Ахмадинежада, придет весна. Таким образом, данное исследование пересекает культурные границы и показывает, что сегодня в Иране используются те же приемы дискурсивного убеждения, что и в Вашингтоне или Вестминстере.

Политическую тему продолжает **Амр М. Эль-Завави** в статье *Towards a New Linguistic Model for Detecting Political Lies*) (*На пути к новой лингвистической модели определения политической лжи*). Автор рассматривает деликатный вопрос о том, что далеко не всегда речь политиков бывает правдивой. Исследование выполнено на основе интересного веб-сайта 'PolitiFact', который собирает выступления политиков и дифференцирует их в зависимости от степени правдивости. В центре внимания — дискурс кандидатов на пост президента США — Дональда Трампа и Хиллари Клинтон, которые были неоднократно обвинены во лжи. Использовав сайт 'PolitiFact', автор смог решить важную методологическую проблему и найти основание для классификации рассматриваемых политических заявлений как «ложь», хотя ни один из выступающих не согласился бы с тем, что у него было «намерение ввести слушающего в заблуждение». Для анализа изменений голоса при произнесении лжи использовалась программа Praat. Автор предлагает новую модель для классификации лжи в политическом дискурсе, которая является модифицированной версией модели, представленной в работе Burgoon и др. (2012).

В.И. Озюменко в статье *«Медийный дискурс в ситуации информационной войны: от манипуляции — к агрессии»* продемонстрировал изменение функций медийного дискурса. Пытаясь разграничить понятия *убеждение, манипуляция* и *агрессия*, автор делает вывод о том, что в условиях информационной войны формируется и усиливается функция информационной агрессии, которая может рассматриваться в рамках манипулятивного дискурса как манипулятивное убеждение. Информационная агрессия, осуществляемая как вербальными, так и невербальными средствами, рассматривается автором двупланово — по отношению к референту (*аффективная агрессия*) и по отношению к адресату (*когнитивная агрессия*). Результаты анализа, проведенного с применением критического дискурс-анализа (Fairclough 2001, Van Dijk 2006, 2009; Weiss, Wodak 2007, Wodak 2007 и др.) и мультимодального подхода (Иванова 2010, Ponton 2016 и др.), позволили выявить различные приемы и средства манипуляции и показать, что основной целью информационной агрессии является преднамеренное введение аудитории в заблуждение и внушение нужной идеи с целью ее идеологического подчинения.

5. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Дискурс-анализ представляет собой относительно новую научную парадигму исследования языка и всех его компонентов на более высоком уровне — уровне дискурса. Как показали представленные в нашем двухтомном тематическом выпуске исследования, дать однозначное определение дискурс-анализу в нескольких словах невозможно. Ответ на вопрос, *Что такое дискурс-анализ?,* целиком и полностью зависит от того, какая его часть рассматривается и какие конкретно инструменты для его анализа используются. Собранные в этих двух томах статьи наглядно демонстрируют, что дискурс-анализ представляет собой богатую и разнообразную область исследования, в результате изучения которой выявляются интересные данные, касающиеся широкого спектра научных дисциплин. В пределах своих границ он включает в себя разнородные подходы, аналитические инструменты и методологии. Он объединял и объединяет различные научные школы. Некоторые из них уже исчезли, но заложили основу для дальнейших исследований. Будучи междисциплинарным научным направлением, дискурс-анализ не ограничивается рамками лингвистики, а охватывает многие другие гуманитарные дисциплины и развивается на их основе с учетом собственных целей.

В теоретических статьях нашего двухтомного выпуска представлено текущее состояние дел, дано объяснение того, каким образом дискурсивные исследования соотносятся с другими научными традициями, как российскими, так и западными, намечены пути для будущих исследований в области дискурсивной прагматики, семантики, стилистики, жанроведения и других областей. Для теории дискурса важной задачей является разработка понятий, способных учитывать различные компоненты коммуникативной ситуации, которые способствуют формированию значения в самом широком смысле этого общего термина, а также созданию всеобъемлющей классификации типов дискурса.

Дискурс-анализ находится в постоянном развитии, и область дискурсивных исследований, которые могут носить объяснительный, описательный или критический характер, продолжает расширяться. Она охватывает самые разные тексты — политические, экологические, медийные, юридические и т.д., анализ которых производится с применением различных подходов и методологий, что было показано нашими авторами.

Начиная наш совместный проект, мы не надеялись найти исчерпывающие ответы на все поставленные вопросы. Тем не менее мы ожидаем, что читатели нашего двухтомного выпуска по дискурс-анализу найдут в нем много полезного для своих будущих исследований, и искренне надеемся, что процесс диалога и обмена между российскими и зарубежными лингвистами, являющийся целью нашего журнала, будет продолжен и принесет свои плоды. Мы сердечно благодарим всех наших авторов, которые внесли свой вклад в осуществление нашего проекта и поделились своими знаниями и опытом исследования дискурса.

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THE DISCOURSE SEMANTICS OF ATTITUDINAL RELATIONS: CONTINUING THE STUDY OF LEXIS

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Abstract. This paper explores some aspects of the problem of categorizing attitudinal relations in English, as part of a description of evaluation informed by systemic functional linguistics (SFL) — APPRAISAL. It reviews paradigmatic and syntagmatic orientations to lexis within this tradition, and the development of typological and topological representations of systemic relations. Corpus based argumentation is considered in relation to work on evaluation by Bednarek 2008; and proposals for continuing the study of lexis are suggested, focusing on resources for negotiating sadness and negative reactions to behavior (e.g. *embarrassed*, *ashamed*) and the affordances of topological representation. The paper highlights the possibilities and challenges involved in continuing the study of lexis in descriptions using SFL as their informing theory.

Keywords: Appraisal, attitude, affect, topology, lexis, discourse semantics

1. THEORY AND DESCRIPTION

In late 2012 I was approached by a very concerned research student who reported that some people were saying ‘Appraisal Theory’ wasn’t a theory at all, but just a description. To which I replied: “Yes, of course. That’s right. Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) is the theory. APPRAISAL is a description of resources for evaluation in English”.

A comparable confusion around the relation of theory to description arises in the introduction to a recent collection of papers on language education informed by SFL (Whittaker et al. 2009: 2): “While SFL recognised an ‘interpersonal’ component of meaning, the model as stated did not readily support the analysis of speaker attitudes in text. During the 1990s, Peter White, Jim Martin and others developed an approach to attitudinal analysis, complementary to SFL, called ‘Appraisal Theory’”. Chapter 1 of Martin & White’s *The Language of Evaluation* on the other hand is quite explicit that its “model of evaluation evolved within the general theoretical model of SFL” (2005: 7) and introduces appraisal resources in relation to relevant dimensions of SFL theory, including metafunction, realization, axis, system, structure, instantiation, genesis, register and genre. It concludes by situating “appraisal as an interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics” (2005: 33). To my mind, the relation of theory to description is made clear. That said, colleagues working with APPRAISAL, and I include myself among them, have made countless references to 'Appraisal Theory' in presentations and publications, as a short-hand for a 'description of APPRAISAL resources in English within the general theoretical framework of SFL'. We need to be more careful.

The confusion at play here is of course between theory and description, or what Bernstein (2000: 131—141) refers to as L1 (the internal language of description) and L2 (the external language of description). As Maton 2014: 127 explains (elaborating Bernstein's (2000: 132) definitions): "L1 'refers to the syntax whereby a conceptual language is created' or how constituent concepts of a theory are interrelated; and L2 'refers to the syntax whereby the internal language can describe something other than itself' or how a theory's concepts are related to referents". In these terms SFL is the L1 informing APPRAISAL, which is the L2. As Matthiessen & Nesbitt 1996 clarify, there is no such thing as a theory neutral description. Descriptions which purport to be theory neutral are simply assuming a naturalized taken for granted theorisation, much as citizens who claim to be free of ideology enact a naturalized hegemony in which only those trying to redistribute power are viewed as political. I won't pursue the discussion of internal and external language of description here; for elaboration see Muller 2007 on verticality and grammaticality, and Maton 2014 (especially his discussion of specialization, semantic gravity and semantic density). But the distinction between what linguists think of as theory and as description is crucial, and one aspect of the relation between L1 and L2 as far as the categorization of attitudinal relations is concerned is the main focus of this paper.

2. SFL AS A RELATIONAL THEORY OF MEANING

As is well known, SFL has evolved as a theory of language foregrounding paradigmatic relations as the basic organizing principle of both theory and description. Formalisation of these relations on the basis of the structures through which they are realized gives rise to crucial derived concepts such as rank, metafunction and stratification — which function as comments on the bundling of paradigmatic relations in the organisation of language. As such, the theory builds on Saussure's understanding of the sign and valeur, Hjelmslev's interpretation of language as a stratified system of signs and Firth's notion of meaning as function in context. For a basic introduction to these ideas see Matthiessen & Halliday 2009 and Martin 2013. The critical concept arising from this intellectual history is the idea that language is a network of relations, an orientation shared with what was originally known as stratificational linguistics (Lamb 1996, Lockwood 1972), which has a comparable theoretical heritage. As far as meaning is concerned, this gives rise to a relational theory of meaning in which meaning is formalized as networks of options. In an L1 of this kind, language is conceived as a resource, and meaning as choice. Asking what a choice means involves explicitly relating that choice to other options in relevant systems (on a higher or lower rank, on a higher or lower stratum, and in one or another metafunction).

It is important to contrast this relational theory of meaning with the common sense referential one that is often taken as the basis for alternative conceptualisations in linguistics, philosophy and psychology. In common sense terms it makes sense to ask what a word means, and answer by pointing to some concrete object it refers to, or, where this is not possible, to offer a definition (the dictionary strategy). In this approach, words for example are conceived as having meaning (as realizing or encoding meaning if we want to say this more formally). From a relational perspective on the other hand, words don't have meaning; rather they do meaning — they mean in relation to the other words that might have been chosen. Similarly groups and phrases mean in relation to other groups and phrases, clauses in relation to other clauses, exchanges in conversation in relation to other exchanges, phases of discourse is relation to other phases, genres in relation to other genres and so on. So the task of description in a relational model of language is to relate choices to one another, as explicitly as possible (as opposed to offering definitions or relating meanings to real world entities or cognitive concepts). As far as APPRAISAL resources are concerned, this means describing how evaluative meanings are related to one another. And if we are focusing on feelings (i.e. ATTITUDE), as we are in this paper, this means building up a picture of the feelings we mean, describing how they are related to one another (looking round), specifying how they are realized (looking down) and outlining what they realize (looking up).

Note in practical terms that a relational theory of meaning implies that a good thesaurus is going to be a much more valuable resource than a dictionary. On the whole, definitions in dictionaries are not very well coordinated with one another, since dictionary makers tend to work a word at a time rather than with sets of related meanings. It also implies that consulting a translator will be far more insightful than introspecting about the meaning of an attitudinal expression. This is because most of us are not very good at bringing the relational meaning of a feeling expression to consciousness, whereas translators spend their whole life worrying relationally about the meaning of a word in one language and its relation to alternative translations in another. Their relational perspective is an invaluable resource in this regard (cf. de Souza 2010 on translating evaluative language from English into Portuguese). The basic message I am trying to get across here is that a relational perspective on meaning means that we need to think relationally. Formally speaking, this means looking closely at how paradigmatic relations are modeling typologically and topologically as far as the discourse semantics of APPRAISAL is concerned.

3. TYPOLOGY AND TOPOLOGY

SFL's usual strategy for formalizing paradigmatic relations is a system network. A system network is a two-dimensional static display of logical relations among choices for meaning. In Fig. 1 below, the kind of traffic light system used in Hjelmslev 1947 to illustrate Saussure's concepts of the sign and valeur is formalized in SFL terms as a system network with three options (technically features). The basic meaning of each choice is its relation to other choices (its valeur). Since this is a very simple semiotic system, there is not much to say from round about, above or below, since choices do not bundle into metafunctions, ranks or strata. Out of respect for Saussure's concept of the sign I have used a yin/yang symbol to represent each option, and double-labeled each sign with respect to its fusion of *signifié* and *signifiant* (stop/red, speed up/yellow and go/green). The arrow and square bracket organize the signs as alternatives; in this system you have to choose one of the three options (not none and not more than one).

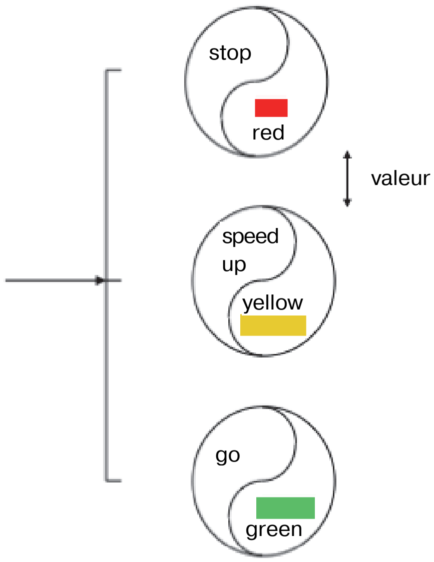

Fig. 1: Traffic light typology (after Saussure and Hjlemslev)

System networks also afford the possibility of cross-classification as in Fig. 2 below. In this abstract network, the choice of [a][1] or [b] is simultaneous with the choice of [c] or [d], and so [a/c], [a/d], [b/c] and [b/d] are all possible combinations of meanings. Where two systems are involved the relations involved can be easily displayed as a paradigm — a two-dimensional static display table with rows (for one system) and columns (for the other). The boxes in the table can then be used to show how features are realized. Tables of this kind are often used in language teaching materials for languages with portmanteau morphemes (i.e. morphemes realizing more than one system, such as verb inflections in Romance languages — which may realise TENSE and MOOD, PERSON and NUMBER). Syntagms typically realize more than one system, and so paradigms are commonly used in SFL to display the realisations of simultaneous group, phrase, clause, clause complex, exchange or genre systems. The limitation of paradigms is that they effectively display the interaction of two simultaneous systems but a third dimension (involving reformulation as an imaginary cube) makes them difficult to view[2]; and

[1] I follow here the standard SFL convention of enclosing features in square brackets (for this and related conventions see Martin 2013).

[2] Consider in this regard the front over of the third edition of Halliday & Matthiessen's *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2004) where three dimensions are deployed (for strata, metafunction and instantiation) and a fourth dimension (rank) has been pulled out as a parallel image.

a fourth dimension strains the visual affordances of a two-dimensional page or screen. System networks on the other hand can cross-classify any number of systems using the curly bracket (the brace) — which specifies the [a/b] system as simultaneous with the [c/d] system in Fig. 2.

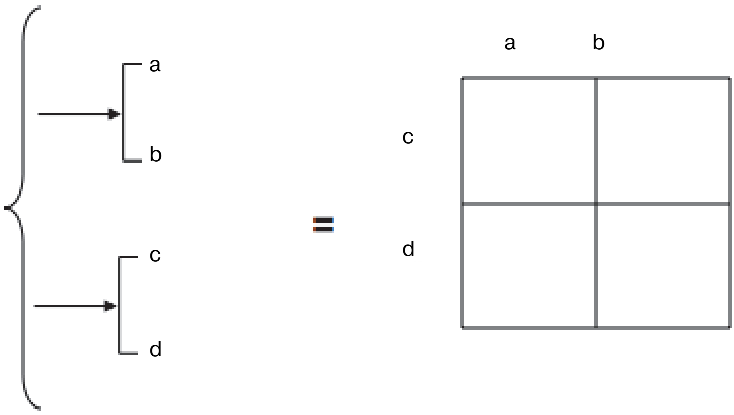

Fig. 2: Cross-classification in relation to a paradigm

Turning to the relation of typology to topology as far as modeling paradigmatic relations is concerned we need to introduce the notion of clined systems. Clined systems scale meanings from one pole to another. There is no standard representation for this kind of system in SFL; in Fig. 3 I have tilted the systems clock-wise to signal that they involve a cline rather than a categorical opposition between features [a] and [b] and between features [c] and [d]. Where two systems are involved, this kind of network can be re-expressed as a topology — with one clined system taken as the vertical axis and the another clined system as the horizontal one. This creates a space in which meanings can be graded as more or less [a] or [b] and more or less [c] or [d]. Theoretically speaking a topology is not limited to two dimensions; but practically speaking (as with paradigms) a third dimension is challenging as far as viewing is concerned, and additional dimensions require considerable ingenuity to display. The advantage of the topological perspective is that meanings can be graded in relation to one another instead of categorically opposed.

Interpersonal meanings in particular[3] (e.g. Halliday's account of the semantics of MODALITY in English in Chapter 10 of Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) lend themselves to description of this kind. For further discussion of the complementarity of modeling paradigmatic relations as typology and topology in SFL see Martin & Matthiessen 1991. As indicated in Fig. 3, the regions construed in a topological display can be further interpreted as having their own centre/margin structure, with the centre deployed for ideal types (e.g. prototypical [a/c] below) and the margins for the less ideal (e.g. extreme [a] or almost [b] or extreme [c] or almost [d] below).

[3] Compare however the PROCESS TYPE topology on the front cover of the second edition of Halliday & Matthiessen's *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1994) or Martin & Rose's 2008 topologies for register and genre.

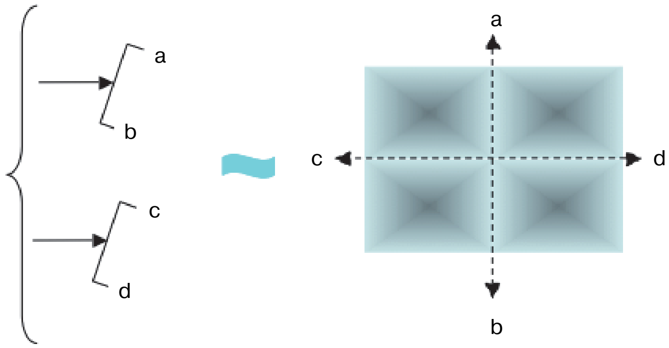

Fig. 3: Simultaneous clined systems in relation to topology

The complementarity of typology and topology will be familiar to linguists from their introductory courses in phonetics and phonology, where vowel systems tend to be presented typologically in terms of ideal types, and their phonetic realisations topologically in relation to tongue position. For Australian and New Zealand English, which have the same vowel system phonemically speaking, a topological diagram such as that in Fig. 4 might be used to show how New Zealand short vowels are spoken higher and further back than Australian ones (so that an Australian might hear New Zealand /sæks/ as /seks/, New Zealand /seks/ as /siks/ and New Zealand /siks/ as /suks/ and so on and delight in such misunderstandings).

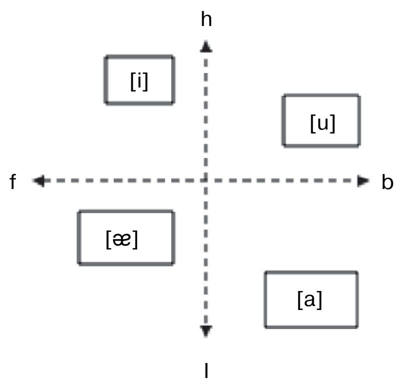

Fig. 4: A topological display for vowel articulations

For an exemplary exploration of the complementarity of typology and topology in relation to APPRAISAL see Bednarek 2007. Below I will review the two modeling strategies in relation to English ATTITUDE, in particular AFFECT, as presented in Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2007 discusses typology and topology across a fuller range of ATTITUDE systems.

4. BEGINNING THE STUDY OF LEXIS

For Halliday's teacher Firth, "The first principle of phonological and grammatical analysis is to distinguish between structure and system" (1957/1968: 186). As far as the structure of lexis is concerned Firth emphasized the importance of studying mutual expectancies between words as texts unfold, which expectancies he referred to as collocation. This corpus perspective on lexis was developed by Sinclair and his colleagues at Birmingham, beginning with his seminal 1966 paper 'Beginning the study of lexis'. Hunston 2011 presents an overview of the contributions of this work to our understanding of evaluative language, including critical contributions by Bednarek (2006, 2008). The complementary lexis as system perspective was developed by Halliday (1961, 1966), in relation to his proposal that the "grammarian's dream is (and must be, such is the nature of grammar) of constant territorial expansion. He would like to turn the whole of linguistic form into grammar, hoping to show that lexis can be defined as "most delicate grammar"" (1961: 267). This proposal was insightfully explored by Hasan 1987[4] in relation to a small set of material processes (*gather*, *collect*, *accumulate*; *scatter, divide*, *distribute*; *strew*, *spill*, *share*). Her typology takes material processes of disposal and their interaction with benefaction as a starting point and pushes the description in delicacy until the realization of choices can be specified in terms of specific disposal lexis.

I'll use an interpersonal example here to illustrate this conception of lexis as delicate grammar — drawing on Halliday & Matthiessen's classification of Comment Adjuncts (2014: 190—193). Their first distinction is between what they call propositional and speech-functional comment (I use the features [feeling] vs [dialogism] for this in order to orient the discussion towards work on the appraisal system ENGAGEMENT). The more attitudinal comments only appear in statements (group 1 below), whereas the dialogic ones position a speaker's voice in statements and invite the addressee to position hers in questions (group 2 below).

Fortunately, we won the match.
*Fortunately, did we win the match?
*Fortunately, win the match.

Honestly, they won the match.
Honestly, did they win the match?
*Honestly, win the match.

Halliday & Matthiessen then break the dialogic comments down into a what they call a qualified and an unqualified comment; the criteria they use for this distinction is the ability of the qualified type to be followed by the word *speaking*: e.g. *generally speaking*, *frankly speaking*, *strictly speaking* (cf. **admittedly speaking*, **actually speaking*).

Honestly speaking, I doubt they'll win.
Strictly speaking, it's invoking not inscribing feeling.

Admittedly, they won.
*Admittedly speaking, they won.

Actually, it's invoking.
*Actually speaking, it's invoking.

[4] For a book length exploration of lexis as delicate grammar, see Tucker 1998 on the lexicogrammar of adjectives.

The qualified type is subsequently split, without explanation, into validity (*generally*, *broadly*, *roughly* etc.) and personal engagement subtypes. The distinctions introduced to this point are formalized as a system network below (which has as its unspecified point of origin the feature [indicative] in the system MOOD — since imperative clauses cannot be commented on).

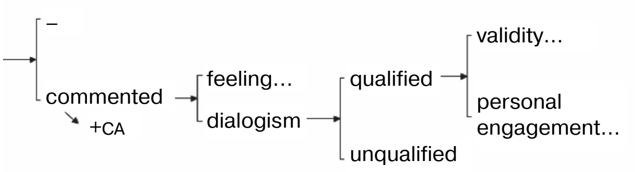

Fig. 5: Comment Adjunct systems
(cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014)

The personal engagement class is then divided, without explanation, into [honesty] (e.g. *frankly*), [secrecy] (e.g. *confidentially*), [individuality] (e.g. *personally*), [accuracy] (e.g. *strictly*) and [hesitancy] (*tentatively*). The last of these categories, hesitancy, has only one realisation — *tentatively*. This means that we have reached the point where we can in fact lexicalise the realisation of the feature [hesitancy] as the lexical item *tentatively*. This additional delicacy is formalised in Fig. 6 below (with the feature [qualified] from Fig. 5 as its point of origin); the realisation statement CM::*tentatively* specifies the realisation of the feature [hesitancy] as the lexical item *tentatively*.

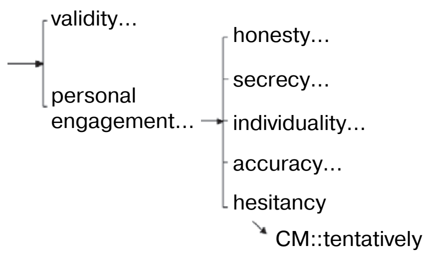

Fig. 6: Comment Adjunct systems, further delicacy

In effect what SFL is doing here is treating the relation between function words like *do* and open class lexical items like most nouns and verbs as a cline. From a paradigmatic perspective the difference is simply that function words realise grammatical options that are more general in delicacy than those realised by lexical items. In English, *do* for example is part of the realisation of general choices in MOOD, [negative] and [imperative] for example (i.e. *Don't look now!); tentatively* on the other hand realises more delicate options — via the realisation path [major: indicative: commented: dialogism: qualified: personal engagement: hesitancy].

Note particularly that Halliday & Matthiessen motivate the [feeling/dialogism] opposition via interaction with MOOD and the [qualified/unqualified] distinction via potential combination with *speaking*, but that no criteria are offered for [validity] vs [personal engagement]. Similarly, no grounds are offered for differentiating types of personal engagement. This reflects a general problem as far as argumentation is concerned, namely that as we move from relatively closed system items to word classes with more members, the kind of motivations for features we are used to deploying for more general 'grammar' systems get harder to find.

5. CONTINUING THE STUDY OF LEXIS: ATTITUDE

In section 4 above we exemplified the way in which an analysis of feeling can be approached from the perspective of lexis as delicate grammar. Significantly, this meant taking one dimension of grammar (indicative mood to be precise) as a starting point and asking how Comment Adjuncts can be deployed to negotiate an attitude towards a declarative or interrogative clause — for example *Sadly, they lost*. But unhappiness can be realized through a number of grammatical resources, not just Comment Adjuncts. Across languages, nominal groups appear to provide the richest lexical resources for expressing feeling, through attitudinal Epithets (e.g. *a sad fan*). But feelings can also be realized as Circumstances of manner (e.g. *they walked home sadly*), and as mental processes (e.g. *the loss distressed them*) or behavioural ones (*they frowned*).

a <u>sad</u> fan	(nominal group Epithet)
they walked home <u>sadly</u>	(Manner circumstance)
the loss <u>distressed</u> them	(mental process)
they <u>frowned</u>	(behavioural process)

And grammatical metaphor can of course be deployed to reconstrue any of these realisations of unhappiness as a Thing in a nominal group:

It is with great <u>sadness</u> that I have to inform you that they lost.
The fans' <u>sadness</u>...
They walked home in <u>sadness</u>.
Their <u>distress</u> at the loss...
Their <u>frown</u>...

This means that as far as feeling is concerned the grammarian's dream has to be pursued in several regions of a grammar, each it must be acknowledged with a distinctive set of relational resources for negotiating feeling. That said, positioning lexis as delicate grammar means we cannot in lexicogrammar generalise the kinds of attitude that may be realised across different lexicogrammatical systems. To capture these generalisations we have to move up a level in abstraction to discourse semantics and make room for APPRAISAL. We move in other words from the grammarian's dream to a discourse analyst's nightmare!

Not knowing quite where else to turn, our basic strategy for proposing attitudinal relations was to lean on grammar, implicitly based on the feeling that if the grammar can be bothered generalising parameters related to evaluation, they might prove useful. Note in passing the assumption here of a 'natural' relation between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics at play, in relation to SFL's conception of a stratified content plane (as lexicogrammar and discourse semantics in a model such as that proposed in Martin 1992 and assumed in Martin & Rose 2003/2007 and here). Although we will focus on just AFFECT at this point in the discussion, space precludes a detailed presentation of the relevant grammatical parameters. In short, as summarized in Table 1 below, our [irrealis/realis] opposition derives from the distinction between desiderative and emotive mental process (*I **wanted** them to win/I **like** them winning*); our [desire/fear] opposition from the distinction between positive and negative expanding purpose clauses (*They played aggressively **so that** they'd win/they played conservatively **lest** they lose*); our [surge/disposition] opposition from the distinction between behavioural and mental processes (*I **cried** when they lost/It **upset** me that they lost*); our [mood/directed at] opposition from the distinction between relational and mental processes (*I felt **sad** (but wasn't sure what made me feel that way)/The loss upset me*); our [high/median/low] opposition on MODALITY (*They're **certainly/probably/possibly** upset*); and our [positive/negative] opposition on POLARITY (*I **was/wasn't** sad*).

Table 1

Grammatical sources for AFFECT relations

discourse semantics	lexicogrammar	relevant valeur
AFFECT		
irrealis/realis	PROCESS TYPE	desiderative/emotive
desire/fear	EXPANSION	purpose *so that/lest*
surge/disposition	PROCESS TYPE	behavioural/mental
mood/directed at	PROCESS TYPE	relational/mental
high/median/low	MODALITY	median/outer: high/low
positive/negative	POLARITY	positive/negative

This left us with the problem of sorting out kinds of emotion, for which the grammar didn't seem to be offering generalizable support. I was parenting a small child at the time and suggested categories based on my reading of his emotional repertoire in relation to his parents coping (or not) with his moments of distress — basically asking whether he was unhappy because he wanted his mother or father (contented sociability), or because he wanted the comfort of his security blanket (which he called 'baggy'), or because he wanted the satisfaction of his bottle ('bopple'). This gave us the [unhappiness/happiness], [insecurity/security] and [dissatisfaction/satisfaction] oppositions outlined in Table 2.

Table 2

Additional AFFECT parameters

	'parenting'	'space grammar'
un/happiness	Mummy/Daddy	bonding
in/security	baggy	binding
dis/satisfaction	bopple	promenade

In retrospect, if work on space grammar had already been available at the time, I might equally well have drawn on Stenglin's (e.g. 2009) notions of bonding (in relation to [un/happiness]) and binding (in relation to [in/security]), and McMurtrie's (e.g. 2013) concept of promenade (in relation to the telos oriented notion of [dis/satisfaction]).

The oppositions reviewed in Tables 1 and 2 above are consolidated typologically[5] as a system network in Fig. 7 below, with the strength of a feeling, [high/median/low], treated as a clined system. Since we are focusing on AFFECT in this paper I've labelled the [mood/directed at] opposition introduced above as a [moody/triggered] system.

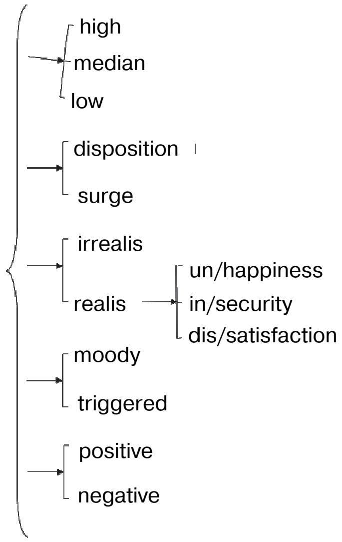

Fig. 7: English AFFECT systems (after Martin & White 2005)

In Martin & White 2005 these oppositions were presented in the form of paradigms, in spite of the number of simultaneous dimensions[6] involved. For AFFECT, [ir/realis], [un/happiness], [in/security] and [dis/satisfaction] feelings were presented in separate tables such as that illustrated for [un/happiness] below. The [surge/disposition] opposition was used for columns and the [positive/negative] opposition for rows; then, by subdividing rows, moods were opposed to directed feelings (the [moody/triggered] opposition in Fig. 7); and by further subdividing these subdivisions feelings were scaled as [positive/negative] and as [high/median/low]. The table cells formed through this organization were then used to exemplify the feeling at play; the lexical item *sad* in Table 3 for example represented a feeling negotiated in terms of the features [median], [disposition], [realis: un/happiness], [moody] and [negative]. As noted in section 3 above, this degree of dimensionality severely strains the paradigm as a tool for representing oppositions. Paradigms like that in Table 3 do however offer a relational overview of the feelings at play, even if they are restricted to focusing on one part or another of the range of emotions negotiated verbally in discourse at a time.

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[5] As noted in Martin & White 2005: 48, irrealis feelings are always triggered, and so the features [irrealis] and [triggered] need to be tied together using a conditional marking convention in a more precise representation.

[6] This presentation strategy in effect involves taking the type of feeling as a first cut (irrealis, un/happiness, insecurity, dis/satisfaction), cross-classifying each feeling as [positive/negative] and [surge/disposition], and subclassifying the resulting cells as [moody/triggered] and as [high/median/low] — imposing delicacy, for practical display purposes, where there is none.

Table 3

English AFFECT oppositions for [un/happiness]
(Martin & White 2005)

	[surge] (of behaviour)	**[disposition]**	
[unhappiness/moody] ‘misery’	*whimper* *cry* *wail*	*down* *sad* *miserable*	[low] [median] [high]
[unhappiness/triggered] ‘antipathy’	*rubbish* *abuse* *revile*	*dislike* *hate* *abhor*	
[happiness/moody] ‘cheer’	*chuckle* *laugh* *rejoice*	*cheerful* *buoyant* *jubilant*	
[happiness/triggered] ‘affection’	*shake hands* *hug* *cuddle*	*fond* *loving* *adoring*	

As indicated in Table 3 Martin & White also provided consolidating cover terms for the intersection of choices from the [irrealis/realis], [moody/triggered] and [positive/negative] systems. So ‘misery’ in Table 3 above stands as a cover term[7] for [un/happiness, moody, negative], ‘antipathy’ for [un/happiness, triggered, negative], ‘cheer’ for [un/happiness, moody, positive] and ‘affection’ for [un/happiness, triggered, positive]. It is important to note that these terms are not lexical items exemplifying the realization of discourse semantic features; they are in fact a short-hand for specific ATTITUDE oppositions. For the remainder of this paper I enclose these feature consolidating discourse semantic terms in single quotes to help avoid confusing them with the lexical items which realize them.

In order to emphasise that the lexical items included in the paradigms were simply graded examples of relevant realisations, Martin & White 2005: 51 drew on *Roget’s Thesaurus* to illustrate the range of alternatives at play, focusing on moody unhappiness. This cell is blown up in Table 4 below (although by no means exhaustively), and gives us some indication of the scope of the task of developing the description of AFFECT to the point where it differentiates all the core and non-core lexical items realizing unhappiness from one another. It is also important to clarify at this point that the lexical items in the paradigms exemplify how discourse semantic systems are realised in lexicogrammar; the paradigms thus relate one stratum of meaning to another.

Table 4

A range of realisations for unhappiness (drawing on *Roget’s Thesaurus*)

affect	**[positive]**	**[negative]**
[un/happiness] ‘cheer/misery’	*cheerful, buoyant, jubilant; fond, loving, adoring*	*sad, melancholy, despondent; cut-up, heart-broken... broken-hearted, heavy-hearted, sick at heart; sorrowful... grief-stricken, woebegone... dejected... ; dejected, joyless, dreary, cheerless, unhappy, sad; gloomy, despondent, ... downcast, low, down, down in the mouth, depressed... ; weepy, wet-eyed, tearful, in tears..*

[7] These cover terms are comparable to Halliday & Matthiessen’s 2014: 136 use of terms like statement to consolidate the speech function features [give, information].

6. CORPUS BASED ARGUMENTATION

In section 4 above I raised the issue of motivating features in delicate lexicogrammatical systems; the same kind of problem arises for discourse semantic ones. One possible recourse is to bring corpus evidence to bear on classification schemes, as exemplified in Bednarek 2008. We'll deal with her discussion of 'fear' and 'surprise' here.

The relevant paradigm for her discussion of 'fear' is presented as Table 5 below. For Martin & White the [positive/negative] opposition at play here is between emotional reactions to things we want to happen and things we don't — between 'desire' and 'fear'. As far as surges of 'desire' are concerned, they suggest verbal process realisations graded according to the strength of the feeling they invoke.

Table 5

Irrealis AFFECT systems (Martin & White 2005)

	[surge] (of behaviour)	**[disposition]**
[disinclination] 'fear'	*tremble* *shudder* *cower*	*wary (have qualms/scare)* *fearful (fear/frighten)* *terrified (dread/terrify)*
[inclination] 'desire'	*[suggest]* *[request]* *[implore]*	*incomplete (miss)* *lonely (long for)* *bereft (yearn for)*

On the basis of corpus evidence Bednarek argues that realisations of 'fear' combine freely with triggers that are already present (e.g. *the noise frightened her*) and that such emotions are therefore not irrealis. As a first step in exploring this concern let's deal with the labeling issue. As noted above, the grammatical opposition inspiring the [realis/irrealis] affect opposition does indeed involve what linguists regularly term irrealis meaning. In an enhancing clause complex context the opposition is clearly between what we want to happen and what we don't — positive and negative 'purpose' if you will.

I studied so that I'd pass : lest I fail ::
I studied because I wanted to pass : out of fear of failing[8]

This grammatical opposition is then recontextualised by Martin & White to oppose feelings about what we do and don't want to happen to others. Since the terms realis and irrealis hadn't in fact been set up as features in Halliday's functional grammar (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) they adopted the terms. It is in this discourse semantics context that they suggest that 'fear' (i.e. [irrealis/negative/triggered] emotion) concerns what might happen or not, not whether a trigger is materially present or not. In other words, when someone frightens us, are we afraid of them, or are we afraid because of what they might do? It follows that the most likely reading of *It frightened me that he'd come*, to my mind, is 'it frightened me that he <u>would</u> come', not 'it frightened me that he <u>had</u> come'. For *It startled me that he'd come* on the other hand, which realizes 'surprise' (i.e. triggered realis insecurity), the most likely reading, to my mind, is 'it startled me he <u>had</u> come', not 'it startled me he <u>would</u> come.' The alternative readings are possible; but *It frightened me that he had come* implies, for me, fear about what he might do. Similarly, *It startled me that he would come* makes sense, for me, in a context where it implies that it was hearing the news that he would come that startled me.

[8] The punctuation here, a : b :: c : d, formalizes the proportionality 'a' is to 'b' as 'c' is to 'd'.

We also need to keep in mind at this point in the discussion that in a relational theory of meaning removing 'fear' from negative irrealis affect[9] means putting it somewhere else — re-grouping it perhaps as a parameter of insecurity. At stake here is our reading of a text like the following, from a children's picture book (Wolfer & Harrison-Lever 2005). Martin & White would read *shock* as realizing insecurity, in relation to the soldiers having been wounded, and *terror* as realizing 'fear', in relation to what might come (pain, death, capture, defeat etc.). Reworking 'fear' as a dimension of insecurity raises the question of how exactly *shock* differs from *terror*, in terms of force perhaps (high, median, low) or some other yet to be established parameter.

> *Jack fired his gun. He saw shock and terror in the Japanese soldier's eyes as they fell. Jack wanted to drop his rifle and cover his ears, but it was impossible to block the cries of the injured and dying men.* [Wolfer & Harrison-Lever 2005]

My basic point here is that labeling is not defining. Terms for classifying AFFECT have to come from somewhere, and we don't in linguistics have much terminological heritage to draw on in this regard. A term like irrealis needs to be carefully interpreted with regard to the realis feelings it opposes (not just in terms of the meaning of imperfective and perfective clauses in the grammar of ASPECT), just as a term like positive has to be interpreted in relation to the negative feelings it opposes (not simply in terms of positive or negative POLARITY and the grammar of MOOD). So what we really need to know from corpus evidence is not whether a trigger is materially present or not as far as realisations of 'fear' are concerned, but whether 'fear' can be shown (or not) to be about what might happen — as opposed to 'surprise', which is arguably about what has already occurred. How exactly such a study might be formulated as a piece of corpus research I am not sure.

Another of Bednarek's concerns has to do with 'surprise', specifically with whether it in fact realizes negative in/security. The relevant dimensions of insecurity are outlined in Table 6 below.

Table 6

English AFFECT oppositions for [in/security] (Martin & White 2005)

	[surge] (of behavior)	**[disposition]**
[insecurity/moody] 'disquiet'	*restless* *twitching* *shaking*	*uneasy* *edgy* *freaked out*
insecurity/triggered] 'surprise'	*start* *cry out* *faint*	*disturbed (bother)* *startled (hassle)* *shattered (harass)*
[security/moody] 'confidence'	*[declare]* *[assert]* *[proclaim]*	*together* *confident* *assured*
[security/triggered] 'trust'	*[delegate]* *[commit]* *[entrust]*	*comfortable with* *confident in/about* *trusting*

[9] Note that Bednarek is not proposing removing the category of negative irrealis affect entirely, which would be realized through lexis involved unwillingness (e.g. *reluctant, disinclined, unwilling; refuse*); this involves interpreting negative dis/inclination rather literally, in terms of a grammatical understanding of POLARITY, as 'not inclined'.

For Bednarek, 'surprise' seems to be the odd term out if we expect positive and negative emotions to, in her terms, 'mirror' one another:

'cheer' : 'misery' :: 'affection' : 'antipathy' ::
'interest' : 'ennui' :: 'pleasure' : 'displeasure' ::
'confidence' : 'disquiet' ≠ 'trust' : 'surprise'

This may simply be a question of labeling. Would the following revision help make the negative terms correspond more proportionally to one another?

'cheer' : 'misery' :: 'affection' : 'antipathy' ::
'interest' : 'ennui' :: 'pleasure' : 'displeasure' ::
'confidence' : 'nervousness' :: 'trust' : 'perturbance'

But is 'surprise' in fact [negative]? Bednarek argues this discourse semantic category is not, drawing on the following pieces of corpus evidence.

i. the lexical item *surprise* is associated, as a noun, verb and adjective, with behavioural surges related to both positive and negative emotions:

squeals (delight)
laughter, smiles (delight, pleasure, affection)

screams, shouts (fear)
wide eyes (fear)
freezing (fear)

ii. the lexical item *surprise* is conjoined paratactically equally with both positive and negative emotion terms:

relief and surprise, surprise and admiration, surprise and pleasure, surprised and interested

embarrassment and surprise, fear and surprise, sad and surprised, surprised and irritated

iii. the lexical item surprise is associated with positive volition:

hoping to surprise, wanted to surprise, urge someone to surprise, it would be nice to surprise

iv. as an Epithet, the lexical item surprise can modify both positive and negative lexis

surprise party/surprise attack

Taking the lack of 'mirroring', and corpus evidence from i-iv into account, Bednarek argues 'surprise' should be removed from [in/security] and set up as a separate category of AFFECT. Her proposed revision is outlined in Fig. 8 below.

Bednarerk's use of corpus evidence in relation to classifying AFFECT is an important step as far as developing argumentation in relation to categorizing meanings is concerned and lays the foundation for important developments along various lines.

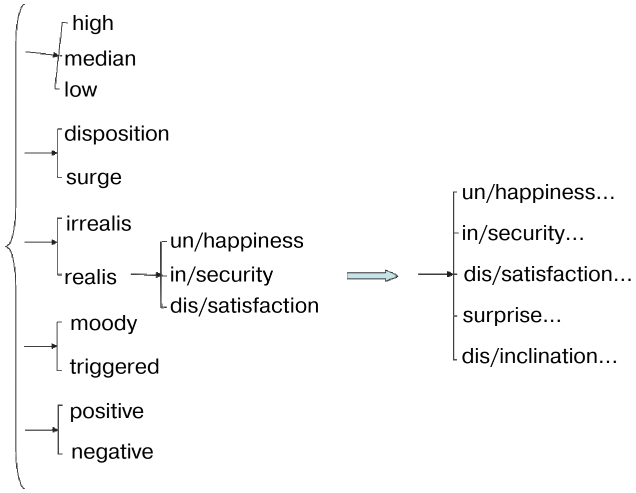

Fig. 8: Bednarek's 2008 revision of AFFECT categories

One important issue that immediately arises however is that of core and non-core lexis. All of Bednarek's 2008 examples in relation to the discourse semantic category 'surprise' are in fact for the lexical item *surprise*, with one exception (*shock*, which in fact has negative associations). A stronger case for re-categorisation could be made if a wide range of realisations were considered, showing for example that all of the following realisations of 'surprise' are associated with both positive and negative emotion terms (a pattern of association I would find quite surprising):

> *disturbed, shocked, unsettled, stunned, astounded, shaken, rattled, shattered, staggered, thrown, taken aback, bowled over, caught unawares, caught napping, caught off one's guard, jolted, dazed.*

The problem here is that we don't yet have corpora big enough to give enough examples of this range of realisations. *Surprise* was apparently the only lexical item which occurred frequently enough for Bednarek to establish patterns. As far as ATTITUDE is concerned, a large corpus of spoken pre-school discourse revealing the ontogenesis of core attitudinal lexis would be ideal — by way of extending Painter's case study (2003). Data of this kind is unfortunately the most costly kind of data to compile and one of the more unlikely kinds of data to be funded by commercial interests.

It would also be useful to know what effect the corpus linguistic concept of 'semantic prosody' (e.g. Stewart 2010) has on particular lexical items. Does the occurrence of the lexical item *surprise* in recurrent evaluations such as *what a nice surprise*, or *a surprising success,* mean that a positive appreciation of a thing or event in some sense rubs off on this particular lexical item and is over time in part responsible for the mixed positive/negative associations for *surprise* in Bednarek's corpus?

7. A TOPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Since the promise of corpus-based argumentation seems unlikely to be fulfilled in the short term, due to lack of appropriate data (and enough researchers to thoroughly explore the data we have!), in this section I'll explore a topological perspective on ATTI-

TUDE a little further — as one possible direction in which we might continue the study of lexis. We'll begin with the feelings outlined as a paradigm in Table 3 above. The feelings there are reconfigured as a topology in Fig. 9 below, privileging the [positive/negative] and [surge/disposition] oppositions as axes. The lexical items used in Table 3 to exemplify the realisation of the relevant feelings have been positioned in the relevant region of the topology.

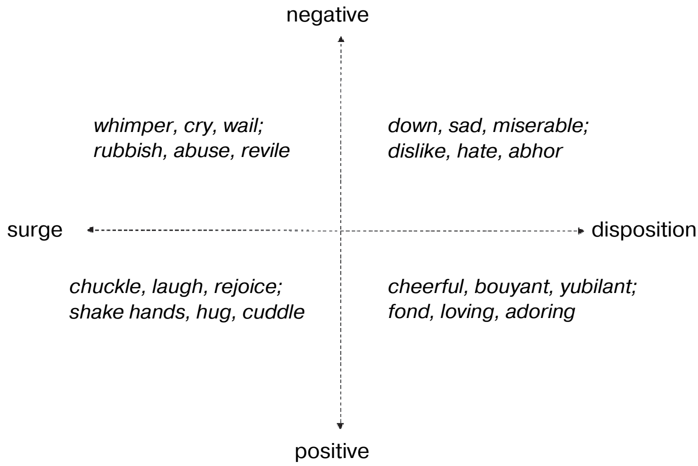

Fig. 9: ATTITUDE topology for [un/happiness]

If we then home in on the [negative/disposition] region of the topology (its upper right quadrant), the force of the feelings and the [moody/triggered] opposition can be privileged as axes (Fig. 10 below). This allows us to arrange lexical items exemplifying feelings on a cline from high to low (e.g. *miserable, sad, down; abhor, hate, dislike*), and makes room for additional realisations (not specified in Fig. 10), arranged by degree at different points along the horizontal axis.

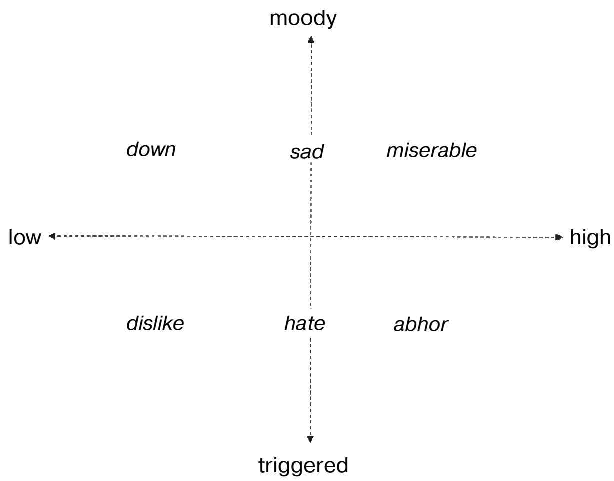

Fig. 10: ATTITUDE topology for [negative/disposition] feelings

This gets us in position to begin to tackle the range of realisations of moody AFFECT introduced in Table 4 above. We'll focus on high values in Fig. 11 (homing in once again on the upper right quadrant). At this point we need to move beyond the oppositions presented in Table 3. The horizontal axis proposes a relational parameter opposing embodied feelings (e.g. *heart-broken, gutted*) to general ones (e.g. *mournful, despondent*), where the embodied feelings are lexicalized in relation to some dimension of human physiology. The vertical axis proposes a relational parameter opposing feelings of loss about something we had (e.g. *heart-broken, mournful*) to feelings of failure about something we didn't achieve (e.g. *gutted, dejected*). General feelings (e.g. *wretched, miserable*) which might be associated with either loss or frustration can then be positioned at a half-way point on the vertical axis.

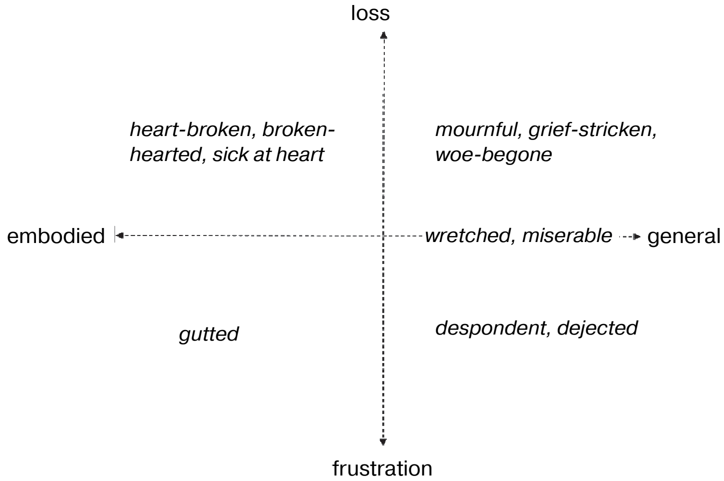

Fig. 11: ATTITUDE topology for [high/moody] feelings

I won't pursue development of this topology any further here. The critical problem has to do with proposing appropriate axes on the basis of arguable oppositions among lexical items. As Bednarek has shown, the nature of triggers is potentially criterial; can we find corpus evidence to show that we feel *grief-stricken* about something we have had and lost, but *despondent* about something we wanted but never got (a 'better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all' opposition)? And pending corpus evidence, can we set up convincing frames to test the relevance of an axis?

He was grief-stricken about her death.
?He was grief-stricken about having failed.

He was despondent about having failed.
?He was despondent about her death.

A key problem here is that examples seem more or less likely, rather than clearly 'right' or 'wrong', so that the grammarian's strategy of exploring grammatical and ungrammatical structures to define the meaning potential of a language is very awkward to deploy. Perhaps the best we can do at this stage is to propose topologies for regions of attitude that serve discourse analysts' needs, as part of their focus on one or another register, in relation to one or another practical concern.

In this regard let's consider an unusual set of lexis that Martin & White (2005: 60) propose as arguably realising both AFFECT and JUDGEMENT, which they exemplify as follows: *guilty, embarrassed, proud, jealous, envious, ashamed, resentful, contemptu-*

ous.... This region of meaning deals in particular with emotional reactions to social behaviour, most of which are oriented to disaffiliation (i.e. social bonds at risk; for discussions of bonding in relation to identity in SFL see Stenglin 2009, Knight 2013, Martin 2010b, Martin et al 2013). Within this set *proud* seems to be the odd term out, since it enacts satisfaction with one's achievements in positive[10] terms; the other terms negotiate negative reactions to behavior.

As far as the negative reactions are concerned, a number of possible axes of opposition suggest themselves here. Table 7 proposes an analysis organizing types of reaction as [irrealis], [un/happinesss], [in/security] or [dis/satisfaction] and as [positive] or [negative]. What is interesting here is that the 'positive' reactions are positioned as excessive — as inappropriate desire (e.g. *jealous*), inappropriate affection (e.g. *dote on*), inappropriate trust (e.g. *credulous*) or inappropriate pleasure (e.g. *smug; awestruck*). The negative irrealis reactions also focus on excess (e.g. *paranoid* as 'too fearful'); the realis reactions are triggered by misbehavior and/or flawed character.

Table 7

Negative and excessively positive reactions to behavior/character

	[irrealis]	[realis]		
		[un/happinesss]	[in/security]	[dis/satisfaction]
[positive] 'excess'	'desire': *jealous, envious, covet*	*idolize, dote on*	*unsuspecting, credulous*	*complacent, overconfident; smug, gloat; overawed, awestruck*
[negative]	'fear': *paranoid, phobic; daunted, intimidated*	*resentful, aggrieved; contemptuous, disdainful*	*embarrassed*	*guilty, ashamed, remorseful; indignant*

The misbehaviour and/or flawed character triggering these reactions may relate either to behavior and character for which the emoter is responsible, or to behavior and character beyond their purview. Reactions are reclassified in these terms in Table 8 below. The analysis for irrealis reactions suggests opposing fears about what one has to do (*daunted, intimidated*) to fears about what someone else might do (*paranoid, phobic*), even though in both cases someone or something else triggers the fear.

Table 8

Reactions to one's own vs other's behavior/character

	[irrealis]	[realis]		
		[un/happinesss]	[in/security]	[dis/satisfaction]
one's own behavior/ character	*daunted, intimidated*	*dote on*	*embarrassed*	*complacent, overconfident; smug, gloat; guilty, ashamed, remorseful*
others' behavior/ character	*paranoid, phobic; jealous, envious, covet*	*idolize; resentful, aggrieved; contemptuous, disdainful*	*unsuspecting credulous*	*indignant; overawed, awestruck*

[10] That said, in western culture pride is a dangerous emotion; enacting too much pride in the wrong place at the wrong time quickly invites censure and accusations of arrogance.

As a final step, as far as the analysis here is being pursued, Table 9 considers the kind of judgements[11] triggering the reactions canvassed in Tables 7 and 8. The Table suggests that reactions and judgements do not freely combine, but in the absence of corpus evidence it is hard to know whether we are talking about tendencies or categorical distinctions. For example, the Table proposes that we can feel *aggrieved* about someone else's dishonesty or impropriety (social sanction), but not about their cowardice, stupidity or misfortune (social esteem). What, one day, might a corpus large enough to reveal patterns about non-core items such as *aggrieved* tell us about how they are in fact used?

Table 9

Reactions to judgements of one's own vs other's behavior/character

	[social esteem]			[social sanction]	
	[normality]	[capacity]	[tenacity]	[veracity]	[propriety]
one's own achievements	*embarrassed; complacent, overconfident; smug, gloat*	*daunted, intimidated; embarrassed; complacent, overconfident; smug, gloat*	*daunted, intimidated; embarrassed; smug, gloat; guilty, ashamed, remorseful*	*embarrassed; guilty, ashamed, remorseful*	*embarrassed; guilty, ashamed, remorseful*
others' achievements	*dote on; paranoid, phobic; resentful; overawed, awestruck*	*dote on, idolize; paranoid, phobic; jealous, envious, covet; idolize; resentful; overawed, awestruck*	*idolize; paranoid, phobic; jealous, envious, covet; idolize; resentful; contemptuous, disdainful; indignant; overawed, awestruck*	*idolize; resentful, aggrieved; contemptuous, disdainful; credulous; indignant; overawed, awestruck*	*idolize; resentful, aggrieved; contemptuous, disdainful; unsuspecting; indignant; overawed, awestruck*

As Table 9 in effect acknowledges, the lexical items negotiating feeling in this region of meaning can arguably be double-coded as inscribing both AFFECT and JUDGEMENT. The possibility of blending thus acknowledged, it is important to note that these items generally fit snugly into our most effective colligational frame for AFFECT and are out of place in our most effective one for JUDGEMENT; it is this patterning that underlies the inscribed AFFECT, invoked JUDGEMENT analysis suggested in Martin & White 2005: 68):

I felt angry that I did that. AFFECT
I felt guilty that I did that.

It was brave of them to do that. JUDGEMENT
*It was guilty of them to do that.

Reviewing this exercise, a number of points arise from the proposals encoded in Tables 7, 8 and 9 — many of which call Malinowski's comments on the 'gaps, gluts

[11] For the JUDGEMENT systems assumed here see Tables 10 and 11 in Appendix 1.

and vagaries' of Trobriand Island gardening terminology to mind (1935: 65). As far as 'gaps and gluts' are concerned, the feelings at play here are overwhelmingly negative; pride is arguably the only 'feel good' reaction we negotiate about our achievements or others. Beyond this, as far as negative reactions are concerned, the cells in Tables 7, 8 and 9 are populated very differently — some with few realisations and others with several (the more populous cells of course call out for further exploration, probably along the lines of that modeled in Figures 9, 10 and 11 above). The teleological orientation of the affect category [dis/satisfaction] perhaps explains some of the skewing, since it deals with emotions arising from participation in one or another activity sequence. But a more general account of 'gaps and gluts' is well beyond, and perhaps forever beyond, our understanding of the contextual history of the lexical items involved. Perhaps a corpus revealing the ontogenesis of this region of meaning could give us a glimmer of understanding; but as noted above, corpora monitoring language development are currently prohibitively costly to assemble.

As far as 'vagaries' are concerned, the doubts I raised above about the placement of lexical realisations in Table 9 indicate the usefulness of a topological perspective alongside a typological one — since realisations can then be positioned along clined axes (e.g. as reacting to a greater or lesser extent to [normality], [capacity], [tenacity] and so on). That said I have not attempted a topological display for the meanings at stake in this region, in part because my account is a partial one, and in part because, in spite of this, there are several simultaneous axes already in play (i.e. types of AFFECT, positive or negative, in relation to one's own behavior or that of others, in relation to kinds of JUDGEMENT) — and I have no principled basis for privileging one or another of these axes in the kind of displays presented in Figures 9—11 above (where the privileging was equally arbitrary). As noted above, this is not a theoretical issue; a topology is in principle an 'x'-dimensional space. Rather the problem is representational. What is needed perhaps is a form of electronic representation which allows different axes to be foregrounded, in effect affording multiple windows of perspective on the complex agnation involved. This would rework the arbitrary privileging of axes in Figures 9 through 11 as a question of perspective, in relation to a discourse analyst's concerns. For recent developments in representation moving beyond the affordances of a 2-dimensional diagram on page or screen see Almutairi 2013, Zappvigna 2011.

The multidimensionality involved here recalls van Leeuwen's work on what he calls parametric systems (van Leeuwen 2009, Martin 2011) — semiotic resources involving a number of simultaneous systems, consisting of two terms, which are graded in relation to one another. In his work on voice quality, colour and typography the systems tend to freely combine, and so a typological representation such as that introduced in Fig. 3 above is appropriate. The 'gaps and gluts' of lexical realisations means however that a representation of this kind overgeneralizes the meanings involved, proposing too many feature combinations that don't get realized and not providing enough delicacy for combinations that do. In this regard it is instructive to reflect on the complexity of the wiring in Hasan's 1987 lexis as delicate grammar initiative (e.g. her Fig. 4.2) where the possibilities afforded by simultaneous systems are all constrained with complex left-facing wiring so that only lexicalized meanings are realized.

8. A GRAMMARIAN'S VISION (AND BEYOND)

In this paper we have explored some of the issues arising from what Halliday 1961 has characterized as the grammarian's dream of formalizing lexis as delicate grammar. As far as attitudinal lexis is concerned we have in fact shifted our focus from lexicogrammar to discourse semantics, in order to generalize across the range of systems enacting attitude — from the grammarian's dream to a discourse analyst's nightmare.

Why nightmare? My hunch is that the bad dreams derive in part from grammarians' vision of the nature of SFL as an L1. SFL's conceptual architecture is basically derived from work on grammar — on axial relations (the particular complementarity of system and structure engineered by Halliday and his colleagues in the 1960s) and the conception of rank, metafunction and stratification arising directly from SFL's distinctive privileging of paradigmatic relations (for foundational papers see Halliday & Martin 1981). Representation was a key part of this enterprise, with system networks evolving as a formalization of systemic relations — canonically for English clauses and verbal groups. Critically a tradition of cryptogrammatical reasoning (Davidse 1998) evolved which gave rise to networks cross-classifying a small number of more general systems (e.g. PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY, MOOD and POLARITY, or THEME and INFORMATION) and then extending these systems and their interactions in delicacy until relevant structural distinctions had been accounted for. Lexical insertion rules did arise as part of this process, for closed system items such as English *do*; but for the most part the formalization of lexical relations was positioned as a second step, dependent (in delicacy) on the general grammatical relations just reviewed.

One result of this is that a robust tradition of reasoning about lexical relations has not developed in SFL; there is nothing comparable to the decades of cryptogrammatical reasoning about grammatical relations in English and other languages. And uncertainty about how to motivate distinctions undermines our work on lexical relations whether we attempt to formalize these as delicate grammatical or discourse semantic oppositions. Work in corpus linguistics has shown us one possible path forward, as illustrated from Bednarek 2008 above; but corpora aren't anywhere near big enough at present to support the kind of fine-grained analysis we need. We know that we have to think relationally, and that the meaning of a word is its relationship with other words. But in the absence of corpus evidence, we don't know how to argue for one kind of relation or another, and for one kind of relation among relations or another. Clearly we need to move beyond a grammarian's vision of SFL; but how can we best prod our L1 to evolve?

As implicated in this paper, and the work inspired by Martin & White 2005, the development of L2s addressing lexical relations will be a critical part of this process — especially where the L2s are designed for text analysis (and especially where the text analysis is oriented to social problems arising in fields such as educational, clinical or forensic linguistics). For attitudinal relations, topology appears to be a more promising form of representation than typology — since there are so many relevant axes to consider and so many of them are clines. This reflects perhaps the sense in which lexical relations are a qualitatively different kind of phenomenon than grammatical ones. Lexis after all fine-tunes the meaning potential of a culture; there are many more lexical distinctions than grammatical ones. And lexis is also at a culture's cutting edge; words come and go as social practices ebb and flow. So the gaps, gluts and vagaries that currently frustrate our SFL L1 in fact afford our culture. We need to embrace this challenge, not hide from it — continuing to develop L2s that confound our L1. Otherwise most of the fine-gained meaning potential of a culture will remain untheorised. As functional linguists and semioticians, we need our L1 to do better than that.

Appendix 1: Judgement systems

Table 10

Judgements of social esteem

	[positive] 'admire'	**[negative]** 'criticise'
[normality] (how special?)	*lucky, fortunate, charmed* *normal, natural, familiar* *in, fashionable, avant garde...*	*unlucky, hapless, star-crossed* *odd, peculiar, eccentric* *dated, daggy, retrograde...*
[capacity] (how capable?)	*powerful, vigorous, robust* *insightful, clever, gifted* *balanced, together, sane...*	*mild, weak, whimpy* *slow, stupid, thick* *flaky, neurotic, insane...*
[tenacity] (how dependable?)	*plucky, brave, heroic* *reliable, dependable* *tireless, persevering, resolute...*	*rash, cowardly, gutless* *unreliable, undependable* *weak, distracted, dissolute...*

Table 11

Judgements of social sanction

	[positive] 'praise'	**[negative]** 'condemn'
[veracity] (how honest?)	*truthful, honest, credible* *frank, direct, candid* *discrete, tactful...*	*dishonest, deceitful, mendacious* *deceptive, manipulative, devious* *blunt, blabbermouth...*
[propriety] (how far beyond reproach?)	*good, moral, ethical* *law abiding, fair, just* *sensitive, kind, caring...*	*bad, immoral, evil* *corrupt, unfair, unjust* *insensitive, mean, cruel...*

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ДИСКУРСИВНАЯ СЕМАНТИКА ПЕРЕДАЧИ ЭМОЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ОТНОШЕНИЯ: ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ЛЕКСИКИ

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В данной статье рассматриваются некоторые аспекты проблемы категоризации оценочных отношений в английском языке как части описания оценки (Appraisal), основанной на системно-функциональной теории лингвистических исследований. В рамках данной традиции рассматриваются парадигматические и синтагматические подходы к лексике, а также развитие типологических и топологических представлений о системных отношениях. В статье высказывается отношение к возможности изучения оценки на основе корпусных данных, проведенного Беднарек (Bednarek 2008). Предлагается изучение лексики, выражающей негативные эмоции (грусть) и негативные реакции на поведение (например, смущение и стыд) на основе топологического подхода. Намечаются перспективы дальнейшего изучения лексики с применением основных положений системно-функциональной лингвистики.

Ключевые слова: оценка, системные отношения, эмоции, топологический подход, дискурсивная семантика

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METAPHOR AND GRAMMAR IN THE POETIC REPRESENTATION OF NATURE

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Abstract. This article is based on two assumptions which have already been evidenced in the literature of environmental discourse analysis. The first is that the normal congruent active material process clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), if the empathy hierarchy (Langacker 1991) is imposed upon it, tends to represent humans as acting in a unidirectional way upon a passive environment (Goatly 2002, 2007). The second is that much pro-environmental discourse, such as the Worldwatch Institute's reports, for the most part adopts this grammar and thereby undervalues the power of nature as a force independent of humans but with power over them (Goatly and Hiradhar 2016). This article builds on work already done in Goatly (2000, 2007) and Goatly and Hiradhar (2016) on non-congruent grammar, co-ordination, along with personification and other forms of metaphor, to represent the human-nature relationship in ways which are more in keeping with modern science, and more helpful from an ecological viewpoint. The poetic texts discussed are taken from Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, Edward Thomas' *Collected Poems* and Alice Oswald's *Woods etc.* Besides the use of grammatical co-ordination and metaphor/literalisation to blur the human nature boundary, they illustrate the use of nominalisations, ergative verbs, the activation of tokens and existents, the emphasis on nature as sayer and experiencer, rather than goal, which is a grammar (and use of metaphor) quite different from the patterns in so-called environmental and news discourse.

Keywords: environmental discourse analysis, metaphor, personification, poetic texts

1. THE NEED FOR AN ECOLOGICAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change recently warned us:

> Human influence on the climate system is clear, and recent anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases are the highest in history. Recent climate changes have had widespread impacts on human and natural systems. Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes are unprecedented over decades to millennia. The atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished, and sea level has risen. Each of the last three decades has been successively warmer at the Earth's surface than any preceding decade since 1850. The period from 1983 to 2012 was likely the warmest 30-year period of the last 1400 years in the Northern Hemisphere, where such assessment is possible (medium confidence). (http://ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/syr/AR5_SYR_FINAL_SPM.pdf retrieve 28/7/2015)

The consequences of global warming could be disastrous: extreme weather, causing droughts, heatwaves and floods, and the resulting loss of life, infrastructure and agriculture. Melting permafrost would release methane (a far more dangerous greenhouse gas than CO_2), multiplying these threats.

In these circumstances pro-ecological Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) should be prioritised over anti-capitalist, anti-sexist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist CDA. As a contribution to ecological CDA this paper asks how vocabulary and grammar represent ecology/the environment and the ways humans relate to it. It demonstrates that so-called environmental texts reinforce an unhelpful representation, emphasising human power over nature, and treating nature as natural capital. However, its main purpose is to demonstrate that poems by Wordsworth, Edward Thomas and Alice Oswald represent nature in alternative ways, more conducive to ecological and human survival.

2. FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY: SUMMARY OF SOME WORK ON VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR IN ECOLOGICAL CDA

This section summarises work on the mismatch between standard lexico-grammatical representations and modern scientific theory, and possibilities of using metaphor and grammatical modifications to improve this representation (Goatly 2007). It begins with metaphorical vocabulary and then turns to grammar.

2.1. Metaphorical vocabulary in ecological CDA

The importance and problem of metaphor for ecological CDA is evident in the word *environment* itself. In its meaning “surroundings” it instantiates the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, suggesting that humans are central and thus more important than nature. More positively, metaphor can be used to blur the human-nature boundary by exploiting the metaphor themes LANDSCAPE IS HUMAN BODY and HUMAN BODY IS EARTH in the lexicon of English.

It is quite common to personify natural landscapes. Firstly, we can use parts of the human body as metaphors, e.g. **face** “front slope of a hill or mountain”, **mouth** either “estuary” or “entrance to a cave”, **backbone/spine** “central row of hills or mountains”. Secondly, actions performed on the landscape can metaphorically be actions on a human body, often violent, not **environmentally-friendly**: **gash** “deep trench”, **rape** “environmental destruction”. Thirdly, verbs and adjectives normally used for humans can describe landscape: **bald/bare** can mean “without vegetation”, **virgin** “unused, uncultivated”. One of the advantages of such personification is that it portrays environmental destruction in terms of morality (for example, *rape of the countryside*) (Harvey 1996: 389).

The converse is dis-personification. Types of soil or rock can be applied to humans, often evaluatively, as nouns or adjectives: **grit** “bravery”, **clod** “stupid person”, **flinty** “severe and hostile”, **craggy** “strong rough and attractive”. Landscape gives metaphors for the human body and its parts: **contour** “shape of the body”, **tract** “connected tubes in the body” or **furrow** “lines or wrinkles in the forehead”. Physiological processes may be associated with earthquakes and volcanoes: **eruption** “pimple or spot, such as acne, that suddenly appears on the skin”, **tremor** “nervous shaking of the body”. Adjectives can indicate physical state, physique or character: **parched** “extremely thirsty”, **rugged** “rough and strong”.

Both these metaphor themes blur the human-nature boundary, and problematize the distinction fundamental to our categorisation processes. Metaphor is, indeed, a means of undoing the naturalised categories imposed by the languages we speak (Goatly 2011).

Metaphor is also involved in another technique for blurring the human-nature distinction, the use of a word metaphorically and literally in the same text, what has been called 'literalisation' (Goatly 2011) or 'situational triggering' (Semino 2008). For example in *Macbeth* Duncan first uses *guest* metaphorically of a bird, a house martin, and then literally of himself:

The guest of summer
The temple-haunting martlet
....
We are your guest tonight. (*Macbeth* Act 1, Scene 6, 3—24)

Table 1

Transitivity and Processes in Hallidayan Grammar

PROCESS	MEANINGS	PARTICIPANTS	EXAMPLE
Existential	existence	Existent	There **are** 6 moons of Uranus (Ext)
Relational	states, relationships	Token, Value Carrier/Attribute	Peter (T/C) **remained** a teacher (V/A)
Material	actions, events	Actor, Affected, Recipient	Snow (Act) **blocked** the road (Aff) Jane (Act) **gave** me (Rec) a waffle (Aff)
Mental	perception emotion thought	Experiencer, Experience	The cat (Ex...cer) **saw** the bird (Exper...ce) Mat (Ex...cer) **hated** dogs (Ex...ce) He (Ex...cer) **decided** to go home (Ex...ce)
Verbal	speaking, writing communicating	Sayer, Receiver, Verbiage	Paul (S) **told** Mindy (R) he would go home (V) Deirdre (S) **whistled**

In this table, and henceforth, participant-referring phrases will be underlined and process-referring bolded.

2.2. Modern science and the need for grammatical modification

The English language in its most simple material process grammar represents the world in ways reflecting a worldview based on Newtonian physics, rather than on modern scientific/ecological theory. (For analytical purposes henceforth I shall be using Hallidayan, Systemic Functional Grammar; see Table 1 for the relevant terminology.)

Newtonian dynamics concerned itself with the laws of motion (Prigogine and Stengers 1985: 62). By concentrating on changes involving movement (rather than chemical or evolutionary changes), Newton represented objects as basically passive or inert until acted upon by external force. This representation transferred to our dealings with nature, and, operationalised during the Industrial Revolution, caused many of our current ecological problems. Human external Actors apply force to an apparently inert nature, separate from us.

Three aspects of 20th century science challenged the Newtonian worldview. Firstly, relativity theory undermined the belief in the existence of permanent things:

> Indeed it is not possible in relativity to obtain a consistent definition of an extended rigid body, because this would imply signals faster than light... Rather... [this has] to be expressed in terms of events and processes (Bohm 1980: 123—124).

Secondly, the second law of thermodynamics and the theory of entropy challenged the idea that natural objects can be completely controlled: it is impossible to make an engine which continuously transforms heat into an equivalent amount of mechanical work. So the energy in the universe is spontaneously being lost, or dissipated.

> Thus the "negative" property of dissipation shows that, unlike [Newtonian] dynamic objects, thermodynamic objects can only be partially controlled. Occasionally they "break loose" into spontaneous change (Prigogine and Stengers 1985: 120).

A modern ecological theory, such as James Lovelock's *Gaia* hypothesis (Lovelock 1988), recently endorsed by geophysicists (Goatly 2007), both supports these challenges to the Newtonian worldview and represents a third. Lovelock believes the earth, *Gaia* — including the atmosphere, the oceans, living things, the rocks and minerals of the crust — functions as one large organism. The living sub-systems of the *Gaia* system actively and continuously work to keep the environment suitable for life. *Gaia* theory implies the first challenge to Newton since *Gaia* is a set of interacting processes. And it obviously reinforces the second challenge, because the earth goddess *Gaia* is not passive, but constantly organizes and regulates herself.

Table 2

Grammar, expressions and meanings in the clause

Traditionally	*fishermen*	*caught*	*100,000 tons of fish*	*a year*	*in the North Sea*
Circumstance (temporal)	Participant (Actor)	Process (Material)	Participant (Affected)	Circumstance (temporal)	Circumstance (locational)
Adverbial	Nominal Subject	Finite Verb	Nominal Object	Adverbial	Adverbial

Moreover, *Gaia* theory makes a third challenge: human and other systems of the biosphere are interdependent, and not separate, so exploiting nature as a resource becomes an obvious threat to the well-being of the human race as part of it.

Our problem is that English grammar (and any Standard Average European language) typically structures reality according to a Newtonian worldview. Consider the ordinary sentence 'Fisherman traditionally caught 100,000 tons of fish per year in the North Sea', analysed in Table 2. This encourages us to think in ways which are Newtonian in essence, but according to modern science, misguided in three ways.

1. The division into nouns, referring to permanent things — fisherman, fish, the North Sea — and verbs, referring to processes — catching. It would be more scientific to think of fish, fisherman, catching, and the North Sea as four interacting processes.

2. The division into the Actors who apply force or energy, the fishermen, and the inert or passive Affected, the fish. Representing the fish as inactive ignores feedback within the Gaia mechanism, as though cause and effect only operate in one direction. Actually, the fish and their commercial value cause the fishermen to catch them.

Note, also, that the subject participant (the fishermen) performs the action volitionally, while the object participant (fish) is non-volitional. The choice of subject participant is partly determined by the empathy hierarchy (Langacker 1991) — the following kinds of entity take the role of subject participant with decreasing likelihood:

speaker > hearer > human > animal > physical object > abstract entity

This hierarchy accounts for the following data:

The dog chased me.	I was chased by the dog.
I chased the dog.	?? The dog was chased by me.

This last clause is unlikely because the subject referent, the dog, is lower in the empathy hierarchy than the speaker.

Speakers, hearers, humans, and animals, the probable subject agents, are capable of volition, whereas, commonsensically, physical objects and abstract entities are not. This increases the likelihood that subject referents (Actors) will be exercising volition.

Consequently, the empathy hierarchy reinforces the following prototypical representation of a material process clause: a human volitional Actor acts upon a passive (perhaps non-human) Affected.

3. This sentence marginalises the 'environment' or location circumstance, suggesting the North Sea is either powerless, or is not affected. However, catching so many tons of fish obviously changes the North Sea's ecosystem. This too denies the interrelatedness stressed by Gaia theory.

We need a grammar which constructs a worldview which better reflects modern scientific/ecological theory, and I have suggested elsewhere (Goatly 2007: 306—315) structures and grammatical resources which could be used in this way. These include the following:

Location Circumstance as Actor.

Instead of marginalising the environment by referring to it in a location circumstance, we have the option of turning it into a subject, or Actor.

Ants are crawling all over the bed → The bed is crawling with ants.

The environment, the bed, becomes a participant in the process, not separate or in the background.

Ergativity

An increasing number of verbs belong to the ergative paradigm (Halliday 1994: 163—172), for example, *sail, tear* and *cook* (see Table 3).

Table 3

Ergative clause patterns

Intransitive/Middle			**Transitive/Effective**		
MEDIUM	PROCESS		INSTIGATOR	PROCESS	MEDIUM
The boat	sailed	v.	Mary	sailed	the boat
The cloth	tore	v.	The nail	tore	the cloth
The rice	cooked	v.	Pat	cooked	the rice

The difference between ergative and non-ergative verbs is that when two participants are involved, i.e. Actor + Affected or Instigator + Medium, in transitive/effective clauses, the clause extends in a different directions: with non-ergatives to the right, with ergatives to the left. Compare *John ate/John ate the grape* with the ergative *the climate changed/humans changed the climate.*

Middle ergative verbs, without an object, represent changes to a participant, the Medium, as self-generated. For example, 'the door opened' suggests the energy for this process originated in the door. This reflects the second thermodynamic challenge to Newton. 'Occasionally [objects] "break loose" into spontaneous change' (Prigogine and Stengers 1985: 120). Incidentally, in Australian aboriginal languages ergative middles also reinforce the identity between people and things (Muhlhäusler 1996: 123).

Nominalisation

Nominalisation represents processes as nouns. By blurring the process/thing distinction, nominalisation can suggest that things are in fact processes, reflecting the first scientific challenge to Newton. Moreover, nominalisations often exclude reference to agents or external causes, suggesting, like middle ergatives, a self-generated process.

However, in ecological discourse, ergativity and nominalisation are double-edged. By obscuring human agency they may avoid telling us who is responsible for destroying the environment (Schleppegrell 1996).

Animation or Personification

Besides using metaphorical vocabulary in the dictionary of English which blurs the distinction between humans and the landscape, grammar modification can represent nature as less than inert, as animate.

First, we can metaphorically reconstruct Experiences in mental process clauses as though they were Actors in material processes, termed 'activation of Experiences'. For instance, *I noticed the river → the river arrested my gaze*.

Second, we can metaphorically reconstruct relational and existential processes into material ones, termed 'activation of Tokens /Existents', making nature active rather than static. For example: *There are five trees in the valley/five trees are in the valley → Five trees stand in the valley*.

Besides these specific activations, there are general patterns of animation and personification: natural things, traditionally considered inanimate and non-volitional, may become subjects of verbs normally used for living things (animation) or humans (personification), e.g. *the echoes died, the wind complained*.

Co-ordination

Besides these grammatical 'metaphors' the use of co-ordination can suggest that the human and non-human belong to the same category. For instance in the lines from Edward Thomas

> And **I and star and wind and deer**
> Are in the dark together

the human, astronomical, meteorological and animal are not only listed together but are joint subjects of the predicate 'are in the dark together'.

Table 4

Natural participants in clauses

Participant	Examples	Number	%
Affected	programs that **improve** the environment; metals are **recycled**; values that **protected** animals and habitats	127	48
Actor transitive	the forest now **provides** the village with food; different species of coral **build** structures of various sizes	36	13.5
Token-Carrier	water is **becoming** scarce; they [rabbits] **are** also responsible for serious erosion problems;	32	12
Medium middle	phytoplankton have **increased**; their [corals'] shell or skeleton may even start to **dissolve**;	14	5.5
Experience	why **worry about** a few thousand rare species that no one has ever **heard about**?; **enjoy** exciting and diverse nature;	13	5
Actor intransitive	a tree **falls** in the forest; a long-suffering waterway that **flows** through the nation's capital;	12	4.5
Medium effective	40% of vegetables...were **grown** in home and community gardens; composting ...**builds up** soil nutrients;	5	2
Other		28	10.5

Table 5

Natural participants in nominalisations

Participants	Examples	Number	%
Affected	the **degradation** of our shared environment; forest **management**; **control** of our atmosphere, land, forests, mountains and waterways;	167	78.5
Medium	climate **stabilization**; oil **spill**; soil **erosion**;	9	4
Actor intransitive	**flows** of minerals; saltwater **intrusion**; land **subsidence**;	8	4
Experience	**attention to** the environment; **knowledge** and **information about** weather;	7	3
Actor transitive	climate **shocks**; drought **strikes**; **impacts** of GM soy;	5	2.5
Other		17	8

3. ANTHROPOCENTRISM AND THE GRAMMAR OF ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE IN *THE STATE OF THE WORLD 2012*

Against this theoretical backdrop of an anti-ecological Newtonian grammar and alternative pro-ecological grammatical structures I analysed an 'environmental' scientific text, the 2012 Worldwatch Institute report, *The State of the World 2012* (*SOTW*).

I identified all nouns referring to natural phenomena that were participants in clauses. And also nouns in nominalisations, whenever their participant roles in the equivalent de-nominalised clause could be discerned. These were then classified according to the Hallidayan scheme of transitivity (See Table 1) including the ergative option (Table 3) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The main finding was that the grammatical choices continue to reflect the dominant Newtonian paradigm of humans acting on a passive nature.

Tables 4 and 5 indicate that nature is predominantly an Affected, both in clauses, 48%, and even more in nominalisations, 78.5%. Natural elements as Transitive Actors and Tokens-Carriers have some significance in clauses, but natural elements in the other categories are negligible.

The most common nominalised phrases are *climate change* (59 times), *land use* (23 times) and *air pollution* (10 times). With *land use* the unstated Actors are obviously humans, and an external Actor or agent is responsible for air pollution. However, *climate change* nominalises an ergative verb, which makes the Medium more powerful, and, problematically, might also excuse those changing the climate, the Instigators, from some of the responsibility.

3.1. Most important processes by which nature is affected

The figures in Tables 4 and 5 show that verbs and their nominalisations assume a (human) power over nature. In places the report even presumes that humans create natural products:

> meat, egg and dairy production; chicken production; farmers who previously produced small quantities of low-quality honey; etc. etc.

Apparently bees, chickens and cows contribute little to this process!

Patterns of interaction with the environment also stress human power over nature. Firstly the environment, especially land and water, is used by humans:

> land use (23 times); water usage (3 times); water use (3 times); the use of mangrove areas; cereals that were used for animal feed; etc.

Use is very often a matter of *consumption*:

> meat consumption (2 times); fish consumption per person; water consumption, etc.

This consumption usually refers to *eating* and *feeding*:

> corn and soyabean are fed to animals, animals are fed to us; cereals that were used for animal feed; people in industrial regions still eat much more meat; etc.

Another kind of human domination of the environment is the extraction of minerals:

> to extract precious metals; the extraction of oil, gas and coal, etc.

Human use of the environment often leads to excessive exploitation:

> exploit the turtle population; commercial fish stocks are fully exploited; severe overexploitation of sturgeon; etc.

The effects of this human use, consumption, and exploitation are negative on ecology. Degradation:

> land degradation (3 times); ecosystem degradation (2 times); human induced soil degradation; etc.

Or pollution:

> air pollution (10 times); pollute the air, atmosphere, soil or water, etc.

Or more severely, destruction;

habitat destruction (2 times); the destruction of planet earth; companies that were destroying Indonesian rainforests; etc.

SOTW envisages the solutions to environmental problems as more human action on the environment. It needs to be managed:

water management (3 times); river basin management; forest management; etc.

Negative effects need to be prevented by preserving or saving it:

preserving all life in all its forms; preserving an ecosystem and its services intact. etc. save the planet; saving coral reefs; etc.

Or reversed by restoration:

restoring ecosystems like forests and wetlands; restore Earth's systems;
the restoration of public and marginal lands; etc.

To sum up: humans act on a passive nature, by using and exploiting it and therefore degrading, polluting and even destroying it, and the solution is more human intervention and action on a relatively powerless nature.

3.3. The representation of active nature

However, though mainly represented as powerless Affecteds, in 13.5% of clauses natural elements are powerful transitive Actors (Table 4). These clauses mostly represent nature as providing and supplying goods/services to sustain and support human populations:

Provide

the ecological systems that provide us with fresh water, soil, clean air, a stable climate .... pollination and dozens of other ecosystem services; ecosystems provide essential services; the services that ecosystems provide to humans; etc.

Sustain, support, supply

the ability of the planet's ecosystems to sustain future generations; ecosystems support human well-being; the 60 billion livestock animals that now supply the world's meat, eggs and dairy products; etc.

Indeed nature is often represented in terms of economic units such as assets, money or capital:

earth's natural capital (3 times); natural assets; common assets, and eco-system services; the world's common biological wealth; environmental bankruptcy; etc.

Note, too, under the heading *provide,* the repeated word *services*. The suggestion is that, in accordance with neo-liberalism, the way to save the planet's ecology is to make it marketable as an asset valued in monetary terms. (For arguments against this 'natural capital agenda' see Monbiot 2014 and Harvey 1996: 152—155).

To sum up. Analysis of these grammatical patterns and the most commonly used verbs in clauses and nominalisations shows clearly *SOTW*'s depiction of nature is predominantly anthropocentric. Nature is used by humans, and if over- /mis-used the resulting environmental destruction is important simply because it threatens nature's ability to provide humans with necessary resources and services.

4. NATURE POETRY

As a contrast, let's turn to poetry and its grammatical representation of natural elements. Firstly we can quantitatively compare *SOTW* with *the Collected Poems of Edward Thomas* and Wordsworth's *The Prelude.*

4.1. Sayers and actors in *state of the world* contrasted with Edward Thomas and Wordsworth

In Edward Thomas 31.5% of natural element participants in clauses are Actors/Sayers; in *SOTW* the total is 23.5% including Mediums. Of these there are no Sayers and more than half, 13.5%, are transitive Actors, mainly those supplying or providing goods and services to humans.

Table 6

Actors and Sayers in Thomas' poems and State of the World

	Experiences	Transitive Actors	Intransitive Actors	Sayers	TOTAL Actors + Sayers
Thomas	10.5%	10.5%	15%	6%	31.5%
SOTW	5%	13.5%	10%	0%	23.5%

Actors

In Thomas natural elements are more frequently intransitive Actors (15%) than transitive (10.5%), and the figures for animals and birds in Wordsworth are even more different (9.2% intransitive, 0.7% transitive (Table 7, column 2)). These figures give an opposite pattern to that in *SOTW* (10%, if we include ergative middles, to 13.5%). While natural elements in *SOTW 2012* have to make an impact and benefit humans to be Actors, in *The Prelude* natural elements' actions are worth describing, quite apart from any effect on entities beyond themselves.

The eagle **soars** high in the element
That lowly bed whence I had heard *the wind*
Roar and *the rain* **beat** hard

Landscape, as a proportion of participants, also figures quite frequently in *The Prelude* as an intransitive Actor or Medium (Table 7, column 4). The following passage describes the young Wordsworth ice-skating, and the the last nine lines illustrate a dynamic interaction between humans and nature, as though the skater's movement makes him aware of an energy inherent in the banks and cliffs:

So through the darkness and the cold we flew,
And not a voice was idle; with the din
Smitten, *the precipices* **rang** aloud;
The leafless trees and *every icy crag*
Tinkled like iron; ....
....
.... and oftentimes,
When we had given our bodies to the wind,
And *all the shadowy banks* on either side

Came sweeping through the darkness, *spinning* still
The rapid line of motion, then at once
Have I reclining back upon my heels,
Stopped short; yet still *the solitary cliffs*
Wheeled by me even as if the earth had rolled
With visible motion her diurnal round!

Ergative verbs are prominent here: *sweep, spin, wheel, ring* and *tinkle*.

Landscape Actors in intransitive clauses give us an example of a second kind of pro-ecological grammatical modification. The examples below promote what is literally a location circumstance into an Actor (or perhaps Sayer).

... and all *the pastures* **dance** with lambs
... the broad world **rang** with the maiden's name

The land all **swarmed** with passion........

My soul, ...
A rock with torrents **roaring**

Compare these with 'lambs dance in all the pastures', 'the maiden's name rang through the broad world', 'passion swarmed over the land', and 'torrents roared around/over the rock'.

We have been looking at the way landscape features as Actor in intransitive clauses. However, in *The Prelude* landscape is an Actor 50% more in transitive clauses than intransitive (Table 7, column 4), and it is this active nature of the landscape in Wordsworth which sets it apart from landscape as commonsensically conceived. Typically mountains feature as these transitive Actors:

I had seen ....
The western mountain **touch** his setting orb

A huge peak, black and huge,
As if with voluntary power instinct
Upreared its head.

And *mountains* over all, **embracing** all.

Weather is the most important transitive Actor (Table 7. column 5), but, whereas landscape seems to act on other natural objects, weather affects humans and the poet in particular. The very opening of *The Prelude* demonstrates:

Oh there is blessing in *this gentle breeze*,
A visitant that while it **fans** my cheek
Doth seem half-conscious of the joy it **brings**

In another famous passage the boy Wordsworth feels the wind (and grass and rock) supporting him as he climbs steep crags:

...... I have hung
Above the raven's nest, by knots of grass
And half-inch fissures in the slippery rock
But ill **sustained**, and almost (so it seemed)
Suspended by *the blast* that blew amain,
Shouldering the naked crag... .

In sum, what distinguishes the Actors in *The Prelude* is the energy of natural elements usually regarded as lifeless—weather, water, and even landscape.

Sayers

Sayers are totally absent from *SOTW 2012*. In fact, the report expects the United Nations Environment Program 'to serve as the voice of the environment'.

By contrast Edward Thomas and Wordsworth see nature as a communicator. Almost two-thirds (47/72) of natural element Sayers in Thomas are birds. For instance:

> This was the best of May — *the small brown birds*
> Wisely **reiterating** endlessly
> What no man learnt yet, in or out of school. ('Sedge Warblers')

Sayers in *The Prelude* are associated with both animals and birds (Table 7 column 2) where 10.7% of the natural elements, and also rivers and streams (column 3) 5.8%. Let's look at some examples of animals and birds first:

> By the still borders of the misty lake,
> Repeating favourite verses with one voice,
> Or conning more, as happy as *the birds*
> That round us **chaunted**.

> *The heifer* **lows**, uneasy at the voice
> Of a new master; **bleat** *the flocks* aloud.

As for bodies of water as Sayers, Wordsworth is, by his own admission

> .... a spoiled child... in daily *intercourse*
> With those crystalline rivers, solemn heights,
> And mountains, ranging like a fowl of the air.

Indeed, in Wordsworth's ideal world, human interference should not inhibit their powers of communication:

Table 7

Participant roles as a percentage of all noun phrases within natural categories in *The Prelude*

	Animals/Birds	Water	Landscape	Weather	Plants
Actor Trans	0.7%	5.8%	4.8%	22.6%	5.8%
Actor Intrans	9.2%	6.2%	3.2%	24.8%	9.7%
Sayer	10.7%	5.8%	1.1%	3%	1.8%
Experiencer	4.6%	1.2%	1.4%	0.75%	1.1%
Experience	19.8%	4.6%	4.4%	3.8%	6.9%
Affected	19.8%	9.3%	16%	16.6%	15.5%

NB The percentages do not add up to 100, because the 100% includes participants in relational and existential clauses, and non-participants, e.g. NPs in post- or pre-modifying structures or adjuncts.

> The famous brook, who, soon as he **was boxed**
> Within our garden, found himself at once,
> As if by trick insidious and unkind,
> Stripped of his voice ...

4.2. Nature as Experience rather than Affected

Just as natural Sayers affect human consciousness so do Experiences, which are twice as frequent in Thomas as in *SOTW 2012* (10.5% compared to 5% in Table 6). For example,

All things **forget** *the forest*
Excepting perhaps me, when now I **see**
The old man, the child, the goose feathers at the edge of the forest,
And **hear** all day long *the thrush repeat his song* ('The Green Roads')

And in Wordsworth we see a significant representation of nature as Experiences in birds and animals (19.8% in Table 7 column 2) and plants (6.9% in column 6).

At leisure, then, I ***viewed***, from day to day,
The spectacles within doors, *birds and beasts*
Of every nature

...............**see** that pair, *the lamb*
And the lamb's mother, and their tender ways

In Thomas the affective mental process responses to Experiences of nature are crucial, in, for example, these lines from 'November'.

Few **care for** the mixture of earth and water,
Twig, leaf, flint, thorn,
Straw, feather, all that men **scorn**,
Pounded up and sodden by flood,
Condemned as mud[4]
....

Another **loves** earth and November more dearly
Because without them, he **sees** clearly,
The sky would be nothing more to his eye
Than he, in any case, is to the sky;
He **loves** even the mud whose dyes
Renounce all brightness to the skies.

In this and the previous section we have shown that in Thomas and Wordsworth nature, especially birds, animals and water are more serious communicators than their counterparts in *SOTW 2012* and therefore figure more as Experiences to which we pay attention. In *SOTW*, by contrast, they are never Sayers, and the ratio of Experiences to Affecteds is much lower.

Thomas and Wordsworth emphasise that nature can speak to us as a Sayer or affect us as an Experience. Being receptive to nature's messages as Experiencers gives us a direction for our scientific and technological advances different from exerting material power over an affected nature.

4.3. Activation of Experiences, Tokens

Upgrading Experiences to Actors is widespread and stylistically significant in *The Prelude*. It applies most obviously to plants, landscape and weather. In a more common-sense syntax the following clauses would be mental, though paraphrasing into such syntax (attempted in brackets) can be problematic:

Till *the whole cave*, so late a senseless mass,
Busies the eye with images and forms
Boldly assembled
(cf. I saw the whole cave...)

Oh there is blessing in *this gentle breeze,*
A visitant that while it fans my cheek
Doth seem half-conscious of the joy *it* **brings**
From the green fields, and from yon azure sky.
(cf. I enjoyed (the breeze fanning my cheek)

.............*my favourite grove*,
Tossing in sunshine its dark boughs aloft,
As if to make the strong wind visible,
Wakes in me agitations like its own
(cf. I fear my favourite grove/my favourite grove worries me)

Another significant pattern in Wordsworth and Thomas is the activation of Tokens or Existents (2.2), making nature more active than static:

.... *The garden* **lay**
Upon a slope **surmounted** by <u>a plain</u>
Of a small bowling-green; beneath us ***stood**
A grove

There **rose** *a crag,*
That, from the meeting-point of two highways
Ascending, ***overlooked** them both

Instead of 'being at the top of' an eminence or slope or two highways, the plain or crag 'surmounts' or 'overlooks' them, and in this environment even *stood* seems to take on more energy. Such activations partly account for the high percentage (16%) of landscape as Affected in the Prelude (Table 7).

Similar activations of Tokens in Thomas include:

The fields beyond that league **close in** together
  And **merge** [cf. 'are together and indistinguishable']

The road, the wood that **overhangs** [cf. 'is above']
  And ***underyawns** [cf. 'is below'] it

A white house ***crouched** ['was in a low position'] at the foot of a great tree.

Typically paths and roads are not just positioned next to a place or between two places but *run, mount,* or *take* you from one to the other:

Where the firm soaked road
***Mounts** beneath pines

On all sides then, as now, paths ***ran** to the inn;
And now a farm-track ***takes you** from a gate.

4.4. Personification, co-ordination dissolving the human-nature distinction

Some activations of Experiences/Tokens/Existents above have been asterisked, to indicate personification or animation, problematizing the human-nature boundary. LANDSCAPE IS HUMAN BODY, discussed earlier, is a specific sub-set of such personifications. Personification is particularly common in Thomas, whether of light:

> When mist has been **forgiven**
> And the sun **has stolen out**,
> **Peered, and resolved** to shine at seven

Or plants

> On the prone roof and walls the nettle **reigns**.

Or weather

> All day the air triumphs with its two *voices*
> Of wind and rain:
> As loud as if in anger it **rejoices**

Sometimes the personification is used very subtly, as in 'Aspens':

> Over all sorts of weather, men, and times,
> Aspens must shake their leaves and men may hear
> But need not listen, more than to my rhymes.
>
> Whatever wind blows, while they and I have leaves
> We cannot other than an aspen be
> That ceaselessly, unreasonably grieves,
> Or so men think who like a different tree.

Literalisation is quite complex in these lines. They confuse the literal with the personifying metaphor by co-ordinating the trees with the poet, 'they and I' and 'we', and using predicates that apply metaphorically to one and literally to the other: 'have leaves' (metaphorically sheets of paper) and 'cannot other than an aspen be' are both literal for aspens and metaphorical for the persona; and 'unreasonably grieves' is literal for the persona, metaphorical for aspens. Literalisation is clearly at work here.

Blurring the human and natural by co-ordination is also particularly common in Thomas. In earlier lines from 'Aspens' we have:

> And *trees and us* — imperfect friends, *we men*
> *And trees* since time began; and nevertheless
> Between us still we breed a mystery.

'Breed' suggests they belong to the same species. Or, another example:

> ...... kind as it can be, this world being made so,
> To *stones and men and beasts and birds and flies*,
> To all things

4.5. Summary

We can now summarise the findings of section 4. In terms of a comparison between *SOTW* and Thomas/Wordsworth:

- Nature is more frequently an Actor/Sayer than an Affected in Thomas / Wordsworth than in *SOTW*.

- In Thomas and Wordsworth there a large number of natural Sayers, whereas there are none in *SOTW*.
- Among the natural Actors Thomas and Wordsworth have a higher ratio of intransitive to transitive, and *SOTW* the reverse, though landscape and weather are important transitive Actors in Wordsworth.
- Nature as Experience is much more common in Thomas and Wordsworth than in *SOTW.*

In addition, we noted the following pro-ecological techniques in Wordsworth and Thomas:

- Frequent use of the ergative middle in Wordsworth.
- Widespread activation of Experiences, Tokens and Existents.
- Personification (literalisation) and co-ordination to blur the human-nature divide.

5. ANALYSING INDIVIDUAL POEMS BY EDWARD THOMAS AND ALICE OSWALD

The poet Shelley claimed 'poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world'. We can best appreciate the ways in which poetry uses language to legislate an alternative representation of nature by looking at whole poems.

July by Edward Thomas

Naught **moves** but clouds, and in the glassy lake	1. Intransitive Actors — Ergative Middle
Their doubles and the shadow of my boat.	
The boat itself stirs only when I break	2. Nominalisation of nature as Transitive Actor
This drowse of heat and solitude afloat	
To prove if what I **see** be bird or mote,	3. Experience
Or **learn** if yet the shore woods be **awake**.	4. Experience
Long hours since dawn **grew**, — **spread**, — and	5. Personification
passed on high	6. Activation of Existents
And deep below, — I have **watched** the cool reeds hung	7. Experience
Over images more cool in imaged sky:	
Nothing there was worth **thinking** of so long;	8. Experience
All that the ring-doves **say**, far leaves among,	9. Sayer
Brims my mind with content thus still to lie.	10. Verbiage of birds as Transitive Actor / Instigator — verb made Ergative
	11. Dis-personification
	12. Literalisation

Some of these observations are obvious—the ergative middle (1), the common occurrence of nature as Experience (3, 7, 8) and the personification (5). But 2, 'the drowse of heat' is interesting as one likely interpretation would make 'heat' an Actor/Instigator and 'drowse' a nominalisation of the verb *to drowse*. This verb is normally simply intransitive, but this interpretation would make the equivalent un-nominalised clause ergative effective— 'the heat/solitude causes me to drowse'. Similarly, the verb *brim* (10), normally simply intransitive, is turned into an ergative effective verb. Compare the more normal grammar of ‘My mind brims with all that the ring doves say.’ Moreover applying *brim*, a verb literally used of water to the mind (11) (12), blurs the distinction between human persona and the literally brimming lake on which he is floating, a literalisation or situational trigger in Semino’s terms. As for (6), the verbs ‘grew’ ‘spread’ and ‘passed’ are a kind of activation of Existents, equivalent to ‘came into existence’, ‘established its existence’ and ‘ceased to exist’, respectively (see also note (2) in the next poem).

The Mill-water by Edward Thomas

Only the **sound** remains	1. Process noun
Of the old mill;	
Gone is the wheel;	2. Activation of Existent
On the prone roof and walls the nettle **reigns**.	3. Personification — Actor intransitive
Water that **toils** no more	4. Personification — Actor intransitive
Dangles white **locks**	5. Personification Instigator effective
And, **falling**, **mocks**	6. Actor intransitive,
	7. Personification — Sayer
The music of the mill-wheel's busy **roar**.	8. Personification Nominalisation of verbal process
Pretty to see, by day	
Its sound is naught	
Compared with thought	
And talk and noise of labour and of play.	
Night **makes** the difference.	9. Actor transitive activation of Token (?)
In calm moonlight,	
Gloom infinite,	
The sound comes **surging** in upon the sense:	10. Actor intransitive, Activation of Experience
Solitude, **company**, —	11. Literalisation
When it is night, —	
Grief or delight	
By it must **haunted** or **concluded** be.	12. Personification — Actor intransitive, Activation of Experience
Often the silentness	
Has but this one	
Companion;	13. Personification 11. Literalisation
Wherever one **creeps** in the other is:	14. Animation
Sometimes a thought is **drowned**	15. Literalisation 16. Actor transitive
By it, sometimes	Activation of Experience
Out of it climbs;	17. Concretisation 18. Literalisation
All thoughts begin or end upon this sound,	
Only the **idle** foam	19. Personification
Of water **falling**	20. Actor intransitive
Changelessly **calling**,	21. Personification — Sayer in verbal process
Where once men had a work-place and a home.	

Nettles (3), night (9), and, more often, water (4) (5) (7) (21), its foam (19), and the sound of water/mill wheel (8) (12) (13) (14) are personified (animated) in quite straightforward ways. They are usually represented as human Actors, or as sayers (7) (21). As Actors they are transitive/effective (5) (9) (16), or more often intransitive (3) (4) (6) (10) (12) (20), reflecting patterns we observed in the previous quantitative analysis of Wordsworth and Thomas. But less simply, we might consider that when the sound of water is a (personified) actor (10) (12) (16), this is equivalent to the activation of experiences — the sound impinges on the consciousness of an experiencer, 'surges in upon the sense' (10). *Sound* is a process noun (1), like a nominalisation, and as a noun it can be recoded as an Actor. Night is activated too, changing from token/circumstance to actor—compare 'Night is different'/'It is different at night' with 'Night makes a difference' (9).

The poem also illustrates interesting uses of literalisation or situational triggering. The sound of the water is metaphorically a companion (11) echoing the literal company which it haunts or ends (concludes), thereby blurring the human-water boundary. In a similar blurring the water, which can literally drown, metaphorically drowns human thought (15), suggesting it materially affects the mental process of cognition. And the thought in the brain can metaphorically climb out of this (sound of) water, literal in context (18). By these literalisation techniques, humans and human thought processes are confused with water and the sound of water.

Sonnet by Alice Oswald

towards winter flowers, forms of *ecstatic* water,	1. Personification passim
chalk **lies** dry with all its *throats* open.	2. Activation of Token
winter flowers **last** maybe one frost	3. Activation of Existent?
chalk **drifts** its heap through billions of slow sea years;	4. Intransitive → ergative
rains and **pools** and **opens** its *wombs,*	effective.
bows its *back*, **shows** its *bone*.	5. Actor intransitive and
both **closing** towards each other	self-directed transitive
at the *dead* end of the year—one	6. Activation of Token
woken through, the others **thrown** into flower,	
holding their wings ***at the ready*** in an increasing state	7. Past participles
of crisis.	8. Present participles
burrowed into and **crumbled**, **carrying**	7. Past participles
these small *supernumerary* powers **founded** on *breath*:	
chalk with all its *pits* and *pores*,	
winter flowers, **smelling** of a sudden **entering** elsewhere	9. Experience
	10. Nominalisation

Most obviously this poem exploits of the metaphor theme LANDSCAPE/EARTH IS HUMAN BODY. All the italicised vocabulary personifies the chalk in this way (1). 'Pits', a conventional metaphor for small depressions in the skin, reverses the metaphor. Even 'supernumerary' personifies, as it usually refers to a temporary employee or extra member of a social group. The chalk/body is often sexualised. So 'breath' is ambiguous. It could be the heavy breathing of the chalk through its open throats waiting for the penetration by flowers. Or the carbon dioxide which forms the basis of the calcium carbonate of the chalk, and which the flowers take in and photosynthesise into oxygen.

Turning to the grammar of processes, in the context of so much sexualised personification 'lies' (2) activates 'chalk' from a Token into an intransitive Actor, as though lying on a bed. 'Last' (3) might be seen as an activation of an Existent—"continues to exist". Straightforwardly we note chalk as an intransitive Actor of the verbs 'rains' and 'pools' (5). When it is a transitive Actor subject of 'opens', 'bows', 'shows' and 'drifts' (5, 4) chalk is not acting on anything beyond itself, rather like the intransitive Actors noted in Wordsworth's representation of animals and birds. 'Drifts' (4), like 'brims' in 'July', exemplifies the conversion of an intransitive verb into an ergative effective verb. As we perceive the chalk's shapes and formations it is static. But from the perspective of billions of years of geological processes these verbs make us see the shapes of the chalk as active — a radical activation of nature. A more familiar kind of Token activation is 'closing' (6) equivalent to 'the flowers and the chalk are close to each other'.

In (7) the Actors of the past participles 'woken', 'thrown', 'burrowed', 'crumbled', 'founded' may be inferred from the context in most cases—it is probably the flowers that have woken, burrowed and crumbled the chalk. But who threw the flowers and founded the chalk is less certain. This resembles a pattern common in Thomas: frequent use of passives and past participles suggests a (divine?) force behind the natural world (Goatly in press). Although the present participles 'holding' and 'carrying' (8) are transitive verbs with presumably the flowers and chalk as Actors, the flowers' action of holding their wings only affects themselves. In (9) winter flowers are an Experience of the process 'smelling' (9). However, could the flowers also be an Experiencer sensing a sudden entering or penetration elsewhere? Anyway, the nominalisation creates ambiguity as to the Actor/Affected—water entering the chalk, or flowers the chalk? Paradoxically it seems to be the flowers, traditionally seen as female, that are more like males entering the throat or womb of the chalk. The fact that we cannot easily identify the specific Actor, perhaps hints at the primacy of process, as in quantum mechanics.

Birdsong for Two Voices by Alice Oswald

a spiral ascending the morning,	
climbing by means of a song into the sun,	
to be **sung** reciprocally by two birds at intervals	1. Sayer
in the same tree but not quite in time.	
a song that **assembles** the earth	2. Nominalisation as transitive
out of nine notes and silence.	Actor—creative process
out of the unformed gloom before dawn	3. Nominalisation as transitive
where every tree is a problem to be **solved** by birdsong.	Actor
Crex Crex Corcorovado,	4. Transitive Actor
letting the pieces fall where they may,	5. Ergative middle
every dawn **divides** into the distinct	6. Nominalisation
misgiving between alternate voices	

	7. Sayer
sung repeatedly by two birds at intervals	
out of nine notes and silence.	8. Personification
while the sun, with its **fingers** to the earth,	9. Intransitive Actor
as the sun **proceeds** so it **gathers** instruments:	10. Transitive Actor ....
	11. Nominalisations
it gathers the yard with its **echoes** and **scaffolding**	
sounds,	12. Nominalisation
it gathers the **swerving** away sound of the road,	13. Personification
it gathers the river **shivering** in a wet field,	
it gathers the three small bones in the dark of the eardrum;	
	...10. Transitive Actor
it gathers the big bass silence of clouds	14. Sayer
and the mind **whispering** in its **shell**	15. Dispersonification
and all trees, with their **ears** to the air,	16. Personification/
seeking a steady state and **singing** it over till it	literalisation
settles	17. Co-ordination of human +
	natural
	18. Actor and Sayer

As in Thomas generally, this poem celebrates the power of birds as Sayers, birdsong. As transitive Actor birdsong 'assembles the earth' at dawn, solves the problems of the tree, and lets 'the pieces fall' (2, 3, 4). But this powerful Actor is itself a process, a nominalisation of *(birds) sing*. Moreover, if you *sing a song*, the song does not exist independent of the process in the verb *sing*. The poem blends this song with the sun, phonologically, of course, 'by means of a song into the sun to be sung', and because the sun ends up 'singing' as well (18), but also because the sun too is a powerful transitive Actor or Instigator (10): it 'gathers ... instruments ... the yard ... the sound of the road ... the river ... silence of clouds ... the mind ... all trees ... bones in the ... eardrum', with this latter emphasising nature's power over humans. Notice how the human mind is co-ordinated the silence of the clouds, and all trees, suggesting an equivalence (17). It also seeks a steady state (18) — a state that does not change over time 'not quite in time', unlike the 'dawn'. The gathering is done with the sun's 'fingers' (8) personifying it, just as 'shivering' (13) personifies the river, and 'ears' (16) the trees. This latter metaphor echoes the literal 'eardrum', suggesting a deliberate literalisation, confusing humans and nature. Conversely 'shell' (15) referring to the skull or brain, by dis-personification, blurs the human-nature distinction in the opposite direction.

There are other nominalisations which emphasise process—'scaffolding' (11) could be the actual metal bars but it only produces sounds in the process of assembly/disassembly. 'Echoes' (11) and 'swerving' (12) are clear nominalisations, and less obviously 'sound/s' refer to processes or the results of processes. The nominalisation 'misgiving' (6), rather than emphasising process, might remove an explicit Experiencer. 'Eardrum' and 'misgiving' and 'mind' hint at an Experiencer, but human presence is downplayed, and the trees with 'their ears to the air' are just as likely the Experiencers. In any case, 'misgiving' is ambiguous and might be nominalising a material process, meaning "the giving of the birdsong which is faulty because not quite in time". So the absent Experiencer is also possibly a hidden recipient.

The only place where human consciousness is obviously present is in 'the mind whispering' (14). But this inner verbal process is comparatively weak, soft and uncommunicative compared with the all-powerful creative song of the birds and the sun.

Besides the nominalisations of the form *-ing* we have several present participles: 'shivering', 'whispering', 'seeking' and 'singing' suggesting ongoing and repeated processes.

This poem uses nominalisation to emphasise the process basis, the vibrations as of instruments producing sounds, reflecting the theory of quantum mechanics. Moreover, by the use of the phrase 'steady state' and the emphasis on repetition ('sung', 'singing', 'sung repeatedly') it may hint that this steady state can be achieved by the repetitive processes behind the dynamic equilibrium that *Gaia* theory celebrates.

***Song** of a Stone* by Alice Oswald 1. Nominalisation/Personification

there was a woman from the north	
picked **a stone** up from the **earth**.	2. Literalisation 3. Literalisation
when the stone began to **dream**	4. Personification
it was a **flower folded** in	5. Animation 6. Past participle/passive
when the flower began to fruit	
it was **a circle** full of **light**,	7. De-animation 8. Literalisation?
when the light began to **break**	9. Ergative verb
it was a **flood** across a plain	10. Nominalisation
when the plain began to **stretch**	11. Ergative verb
the **length** **scattered** from the **width**	12. Nominalisation 13. Ergative 14. Concretisation
and when the **width** began to **climb**	15. Nominalisation. 16. Animations
it was **a lark** above a cliff	
the lark **singing** for its life	17. Verbal process/Sayer
was the muscle of a **heart**	18. Personification
the **heart** flickering away	19. Literalisation 20. De-animation
was an **offthrow** of the sea	21. Nominalisation
	22. Personification/Actor
and when the sea began to **dance**	23. Personification/Actor
it was the labyrinth of a conscience	
when the conscience pricked **the heart**	19. Literalisation
it was a man lost in **thought**	24. Nominalisation
like milk that sours in the **light**,	8. Literalisation?
like vapour **twisting** in the **heat,**	25. Ergative 26. Nominalisation
the thought was fugitive — **a flare** of gold —	27. Nominalisation. 28. Concretisation
it was **an iris in a field**	29. Animation/Dis-personification?
and when the man began to murmur	
it was a question with no **answer**,	30. Nominalisation
when the question changed its form	
it was the same point driven home	

it was a problem a **lamentation**:	31. Nominalisation
‘What the buggery is going on?	
This **existence** is an outrage	32. Nominalisation
Give me the arguer to shout with!’	
and when the arguer appeared	
it was an angel of the Lord	
and when the angel touched his chest	
it was his **heartbeat** being pushed	33. Nominalisation
and when his **heart** began **to break**	19. Literalisation 34. Ergative
it was the **jarring** of an **earthquake**	35. Nominalisation 36. Dis-personification
when the **earth** began to **groan**	3. Literalisation. 37. Personification/Sayer
they laid him in it six by one	
dark bigger than his head,	38. Nominalisation
pain swifter than his blood,	
as good as gone, what could he do?	
as deep as **stone**, what could he know?	2. Literalisation

We can note the familiar patterns of natural elements as a Sayer in a verbal processes (1) (17), (37) Instigator in an ergative material process (9, 11, 13, 25, 34), Actor in a nominalised noun phrases (22) (23) and use of passive/past participle with unstated Actor (6). But, most of the processes in this poem are relational, and, correlating with this is the compounding or layering of metaphors. The compounding makes identification of the literal and metaphorical problematic.

Stone (literal) is flower (metaphorical),
Flower (literal) is circle full of light (metaphorical)
Light (literal) is flood (metaphorical)

etc., etc.

This layering or compounding pattern makes literalisation so common that I have not noted it in these cases.

An alternative, and, perhaps, preferable interpretation of the poem is to regard it as phenomenalistic metaphor (Levin 1977). This occurs when, instead of interpreting local metaphors according to a familiar common-sense world, we imagine a (metaphorical) world in which the statements are literal. So, for example, in reading animal fables, when we read a sentence like ‘the mouse spoke to the lion’, we do not interpret ‘spoke’ as meaning “squeaked”, but we imagine a world in which mice can speak to lions.

According to this interpretation, the poem describes a series of interpenetrating processes, qualities and transitory things, where neither stones, flowers, light, floods, plains, heart, sea, conscience, man, thought, flare, heartbeat, earthquake, indeed existence itself, are permanent, but shifting aspects of fleeting perception. That many of these are impermanent processes can be detected in the nominalisations of verbs: ‘flood’, 'offthrow', 'thought', 'flare', 'answer', 'lamentation', 'existence', 'heartbeat', 'jarring', 'earthquake'. But we also note the nominalisations of adjectives: 'length', 'width', 'heat', and 'dark'.

These processes, qualities and things shift between the abstract, the animate (animal) the human, and the concrete/inanimate, which accounts for the concretisation (14) (28), personifications (1) (4) (18) (22) (23) (37), animations (5), (16), dis-personifications (29), (36), and de-animations (7), (20). Our commonsense categories are further jumbled, and our sense of fluctuating impermanence heightened by the literalisations extra to those arising from compounding (2), (3), (8), (19). The literalisation of earth and stone (2) (3), framing the beginning and end of the poem, suggest a circular repetition of processes. As in Gaia theory, the concrete/inanimate, the animate, and the human, merge into an interdependent unity of interconnected and re-emerging entities and processes. The poem suggests an ignorance on the part of man predicated on his transitoriness and his dependence on and involvement in these processes.

6. SUMMARY AND POSTSCRIPT

Though the data from just a few poems is limited, they illustrate patterns observable in the larger Thomas and Wordsworth corpus.

- Ergative verbs are used or created to construct nature (landscape) as possessing its own energy
- Experiences are activated into Actors making the experience of nature very powerful
- Nature is frequently a Sayer or Experience, communicating and affecting human consciousness
- Tokens and Existents are activated into Actors: nature *does* rather than *is*
- Nominalisations emphasise the process-basis of nature, and these processes become powerful Actors
- Passives suggest a powerful natural (or divine) force

And in addition Thomas and Oswald blur the human-nature distinction through:

- Personification, animation (and their reverse)
- Literalisation — using metaphors triggered by the literal context
- Co-ordination of the human and non-human

The view of the natural world represented by these poets, reflected in their grammar and metaphors, provides a much better model for our survival than *SOTW 2012*. It emphasises our inclusion within nature, nature's power to act and communicate, and our need to respond to it as Experience and recognise it as process. In this latter respect, poetry and science seem in accord with each other and to resist representing nature in a common-sense way as a passive resource. We had better take note of Wordsworth, Thomas, and Oswald, the physicists and the ecologists, if we are to avoid the dire predictions of the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change.

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МЕТАФОРА И ГРАММАТИКА В ПОЭТИЧЕСКОМ ИЗОБРАЖЕНИИ ПРИРОДЫ

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Данная статья основана на двух положениях, которые уже были доказаны в литературе по анализу экологического дискурса. Первое — это то, что в активных предложениях с конгруэнтной функцией (Halliday, Matthiessen 2004), человек предстает как исполнитель однонаправленных действий, совершаемых им над пассивной природой (Goatly 2002, 2007). Второе положение заключается в том, что в большинстве случаев в экологическом дискурсе, как, например, в сообщениях Института всемирного наблюдения (Worldwatch Institute), где такая грамматика используется, недооценивается сила природы, которая не зависит от человека и способна властвовать над ним (Goatly, Hiradhar 2016). Автор опирается на уже проведенные ранее исследования (Goatly 2000, 2007, Goatly, Hiradhar 2016), в которых показано использования неконгруэнтных грамматических форм, различных видов метафор для описании отношений между человеком и природой в русле современной науки. Автором проанализирован ряд поэтических текстов, среди которых «Прелюдии» Уильяма Вордсворта, избранные стихотворения Эдварда Томаса и поэтический сборник Элис Освальд «Woods». Исследование показало, что, помимо грамматического согласования и метафор, используемых для размывания границ между человеком и природой, в них встречаются субстантивация, эргативные глаголы, очувствление символов. Подчеркивается, что природа способна говорить и чувствовать, что существенно отличается от приемов, используемых в экологическом и новостном дискурсах.

Ключевые слова: экологический дискурс, метафора, персонификация, поэтический текст

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METAPRAGMATICS OF ADMINISTERING JUSTICE IN RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH JUDICIAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract. This paper is intended as a contribution to a body of research on metapragmatics in courtroom settings, particularly in Russian and English judicial discourse, and presents the results of functional analysis of metapragmatic elements. In the article, I claim that meta-utterances are inherent in judicial discourse and perform specific functions that are essential for practising judicial power and discretion in court as well as administering justice. The paper discusses functions of meta-utterances as they are presented in recent scholarship and offers a three-group classification of metapragmatic elements in judicial discourse, according to the types of reality distinguished in (Gibbons 2003). The first group contributes to constructing the primary reality, i.e. the reality of the courtroom; the second group assists in framing the secondary reality, i.e. the reality of the crime or misdemeanor; the third group deals with framing the legal reality. Altogether, these groups of metapragmatic elements construct an organizational frame for the trial. Data for the analysis are drawn from a few trial transcripts of modern Russian and English cases (1998—2008). By using Russian and English data for the analysis, it is demonstrated that the principal functions of judicial meta-utterances are marked by parallelism in Russian and English, while minor differences discovered are related to some other pragmatic categories, e.g. politeness, that are more nationally and culturally specific.

Keywords: metapragmatics, judicial discourse, function, courtroom, Russian, English

1. INTRODUCTION

> The White Rabbit put on his spectacles. 'Where shall I begin, please your Majesty?' he asked.
> 'Begin at the beginning', the King said gravely, 'and go on till you come to the end: then stop'.
> *L. Carrol.* Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

Metadiscourse in different types of situational context has been a subject intensely explored in pragmatics. Recent papers on metadiscourse include both those focusing on theoretical aspects of the phenomenon and those considering specifics of meta-utterances in different types of discourse. Already vast and multi-faceted, the body of scholarship on metadiscourse is continuing to grow. Apparently, there are a few reasons for this. Enumerating aspects of interest and importance in the study of metadiscourse, Vande Kopple points to at least three of them: metadiscourse studies demonstrate how intricate the language structure can be and how attentive to detail one should be when doing research in language; research on metadiscourse opens up intriguing questions about ethics, including the question how fair and just (or unfair and unjust) ways of using metadiscourse can be; language studies reveal differences in using metadiscourse in similar texts in different languages (Vande Kopple 2012: 40—41). All of the aforementioned reasons for further development of metadiscourse studies pertain to a greater or lesser degree to judicial discourse, which is the object of analysis in this paper.

The aim of this paper does not presuppose getting involved into terminological disputes (for the discussion of differences between and approaches to metalanguage, metacommunication, metalinguistic messages, reflexive language, metadiscourse see e.g. (Hübler & Bublitz 2007)). I only need to explain the logic of using terminology in this paper. When quoting other authors, I will use their terms. However, my terminological preference in this study is 'metapragmatics'. By the term 'metapragmatics' I refer to "the pragmatics of metacommunicative utterances in use", following Hübler & Bublitz (2007: 1), who "investigate how interactants actually employ meta-utterances to intervene in on-going discourse". Understanding of metapragmatics as "the management of discourse" (Caffi 2006: 85) is most relevant to the aims of the present study.

Unlike abundant research in metapragmatics in some non-institutional and institutional spheres, e.g. everyday communication, academic settings, politics, newspaper discourse, etc. (Haberland 2007; Gillaerts & Van de Velde 2010; Schubert 2012; Mur-Dueñas 2007, 2011; Suzuki 2007; Thompson 2003; Hyland 2004; Ilie 2003; Viktorova 2011; Khabbazi-Oskouei 2013), research of legal metapragmatics seems to be limited to only a few publications. Janney distinguishes metapragmatic framing strategies employed by an attorney in courtroom examination to comment on the adequacy, clarity, relevance and truthfulness of the defendant's answers (Janney 2007). Carranza concentrates on reflexive elements in closing arguments of Argentinian criminal trials and identifies the functions of metapragmatics in this courtroom genre (Carranza 2008). Andrus makes enquiry into language ideology in Anglo-American law, which understands some types of utterances to be more objective than others (Andrus 2009).

As can be seen, none of these works discusses the specifics of metapragmatics in judicial utterances. This paper is intended as a contribution to a body of research on metapragmatics in courtroom settings, particularly in the speech of judges, i.e. judicial discourse. I will illustrate that meta-utterances are inherent in judicial discourse and possess enormous pragmatic potential, performing specific functions that are essential for constructing the judge's identity, practising power in court and administering justice. Meta-utterances in judicial speech construct an organizational frame for the trial. By using Russian and English data for the analysis, it will be demonstrated that the principal functions of judicial meta-utterances are parallel in Russian and English, while minor differences discovered are related to some other pragmatic categories, e.g. politeness, that are more nationally and culturally specific.

Data for analysis are drawn from trial transcripts of a few cases: the trial against Jehovah's Witnesses (Russia, 1998—2002); David Irving v. Penguin Books & Deborah Lipstadt (UK, 2000); Regina v. Harold Shipman (UK, 1999—2000), as well as from handwritten notes taken by the author in the process of trial observations (2008).

In Section 2 of the article I will summarise approaches to metapragmatic utterances based on their functions. Section 3 will define specific functions of metapragmatic utterances in Russian and English judicial discourse and comment on their particular linguistic realisations. Conclusions will be drawn in Section 4.

2. META-UTTERANCES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Discussion of meta-utterances usually involves two intersecting issues: functional potential of meta-utterances and their formal characteristics. Speaking of formal features of metadiscourse, "a truly wide-ranging, disparate set of data is included under this heading" (Ifantidou 2005: 1326), and such a wide array of heterogeneous linguistic resources is at speakers' disposal that researchers face the problem of finding a unified formal criterion to define what metapragmatic acts are. Hyland & Tse (2004: 158) point out that:

> there are no simple linguistic criteria for identifying metadiscourse. Not only is it an open category to which new items can be added to fit the writer's needs, but the same items can function as metadiscourse in some parts of the text and not in others. Consequently, metadiscourse studies begin with functional classifications and analyses of texts.

Functions of metapragmatic utterances present the other side of the coin. Scholars of metadiscourse studies ascribe a number of subfunctions to metalinguistic utterances which constitute together a more general function of managing discourse and interpersonal relations between communicants.

Hyland characterises metadiscourse as "those aspects of the text which explicitly refer to the organization of the discourse or the writer's stance towards either its content or the reader" (Hyland 1998: 438). In a later work, Hyland & Tse (2004: 158) indicate two main functions of metadiscoursal comments: textual and interpersonal. The former organises discourse, while the latter explicates the writer's attitude to the text and makes it comprehensible to the reader.

In the same vein as Hyland, the authors of another study claim: "Metadiscourse, then, focuses our attention on aspects of a text which organize the discourse, engage the audience and signal the writer's attitude" (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001: 1292).

Stubbs offers a wide interpretation of metacommunication (1983: 48):

> Metacommunication seems to include: messages about the channels of communication, checks on whether they are open and working; messages which serve to keep communication ticking over smoothly; control over who speaks and how much, and cues for speakers to stop talking or to interrupt (e.g. cues for turn-taking); checks on whether messages have been received and understood; and control over the content of acceptable communication.

Some studies place more emphasis either on text-structuring or communication-oriented aspects of metadiscoursal elements. The former receives attention in Thompson's study of metadiscourse in academic lectures (Thompson 2003). Defining the role of metadiscourse, Thompson indicates its text-structuring function and focuses on how both "metadiscourse and intonation are used by academic speakers to help an audience form a coherent 'mental map' of the overall talk and how its parts are interconnected" (Thompson 2003: 5).

Communicative value of metapragmatics discourse is central to some other studies. Penz analyses the functions of metacommunicative comments in international project work and discovers how they are used to organise the process of group work (Penz 2007). A few functions of metacommunication are distinguished which go beyond structuring the text and are essential for social interaction: summing-up of what has been done, suggesting further directions, negotiating the process of group work.

Analysing classroom activities, Ciliberti & Anderson (2004: 146) also emphasise social aspects of metapragmatic discourse and argue that it "serves to establish, maintain and modify the academic, participatory, instructional and intertextual frames on which this understanding is based". Moreover, reflexive activities structure the participation and socialisation of pupils.

Thus, two principal functional aspects of metapragmatics are highlighted: textual and interactional. On the one hand, metapragmatic utterances serve to structure the body of the discourse; on the other hand, they organise, regulate and modify the situation of speech interaction.

In their attempt to summarise and systematise types of metapragmatic acts, Hübler & Bublitz develop a taxonomy based on metapragmatic functions (Hübler & Bublitz 2007). The taxonomy rests on a general illocutionary force defined by the authors as the function of monitoring. Hübler & Bublitz (2007: 17) indicate: "In many cases, monitoring is certainly an important or even the central purpose. In other cases, it may be the common denominator of a wide array of more specific functions that could be explicated, where required or desired". These specific communicative functions, the scholars argue, can be lumped together into three main groups: (1) evaluative; (2) communication oriented (including interpersonal and means-related) and (3) instrumentalized (Hübler & Bublitz 2007: 18). The last group, which — along with a subfunction of reinforcing a communicative norm — includes a subfunction of constructing identity, is particularly valuable for our study. Constructing identity through metapragmatic means is a function that is less widely explored as compared to text-structuring and interactional functions. However, in an institutional context, constructing identity is not only an integral part of communication; it is central to performing institutional duties by speakers. Judicial discourse provides an apt example of how metapragmatic utterances contribute to constructing both the identity of a judge and social institution of justice.

3. METAPRAGMATICS OF JUDICIAL DISCOURSE

The importance of understanding of the situational context for interpretation of metapragmatic units in discourse has already been emphasised in previous studies. Hyland claims that metadiscourse "is not an independent stylistic device which authors can vary at will. It is integral to the contexts in which it occurs and is intimately linked to the norms and expectations of particular cultural and professional communities" (Hyland 1998: 438). Paraphrasing Hyland, Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001: 1292) note: "...To understand the pragmatics of metadiscourse we must situate it in its appropriate setting and genre".

To situate the consideration of metapragmatics in judicial discourse, there is a need to outline the specifics of courtroom settings which presuppose particular ways of using language by trial participants.

An essential characteristic of courtroom interaction is the asymmetry of statuses among its interactants. In a trial, participants with professional statuses are granted more power and freedom in their verbal activities. Although restricted by legal procedures in this or that way, professional participants take the lead and manage courtroom discourse, unlike non-professional participants, who are not supposed to explicate speech initiative. This also applies to metapragmatic acts.

> In principle, of course, metapragmatic acting is reciprocal and egalitarian, i.e., each participant involved is entitled to act metapragmatically at any time. However, this general principle finds its limits in the distinctive conditions of the current discourse type or interactive frame <...> While, e.g., in everyday conversations the right to act metapragmatically is usually symmetrically distributed between persons of equal status, other discourse types such as courtroom interrogation <...> or instructional discourse <...> are asymmetrical in this respect, with one party being privileged. (Hübler & Bublitz 2007: 15)

With respect to courtroom discourse, it is expedient to talk about a hierarchy of roles: at the top of this hierarchy is the judge, who controls both professionals (prosecutors, barristers) and non-professionals (witnesses, defendants, experts); at a lower level are professional lawyers, who exert control over non-professionals; at the bottom of the hierarchy are non-professional participants, who receive very limited freedom of self-expression.

Metapragmatic units are distributed correspondingly between the participants of courtroom interaction, with the largest body of metapragmatics belonging — for an obvious reason — to the judge. The greatest freedom in terms of metapragmatic commenting in court is in the hands of judges, who play a key role in organising a trial and perform a ruling function on a metapragmatic level. The issues of courtroom control and loss of it were previously discussed by Philips who writes: “Courtroom control centrally refers to the judge’s ability literally to exert command from a distance over the actions of the physical bodies of those in his courtroom without recourse to physical coercion. This command is carried out through speech and largely involves control over the speech of others” (Philips 1998: 89). The scholar enumerates several key reasons why courtroom control presents a very important issue for the judiciary. One of them is that “loss of control can destroy the legal validity of a procedure. Words can be uttered that are inconsistent with the legal reality being constructed <...>” (Philips 1998: 92). In other words, improper speech contributions of trial participants can destroy the trial as a socially consistent procedure.

Secondly, courtroom discourse is a phenomenon whose complexity is predetermined not only by a large number of interactants but also by intersecting planes of reality. Gibbons (2003: 129) explains the difference between various realities and points out:

> <...> Two intersecting planes of reality are manifested in courtroom discourse: the primary courtroom reality, consisting of the courtroom itself and the people present; and the secondary reality, the events that are the subject of the litigation<...> The two layers are in constant interaction.

Along with these two realities of a trial, Gibbons (2003: 129) distinguishes a third one: “A third plane that comes into play is the law itself”.

I view the three intersecting realities distinguished by Gibbons as an appropriate ground for building a classification of metapragmatic units that would reflect the specifics of courtroom interaction and the judges’ role in it. I claim that metapragmatic units in judicial discourse can be grouped into three types depending on the reality they are constructing or remodeling.

3.1. Regulating the courtroom reality

Metapragmatic units of the first group are aimed at regulating the primary reality, i.e. the reality of courtroom, maintaining standard legal procedures and norms of behaviour. These metapragmatics comments are addressed mostly to non-professional participants, people who are not familiar with the legal sphere and need guidance on what to do in court.

The judge starts the examination with **imposing particular duties** on a witness[1]:

(1) *Судья: Теперь переходим к допросу свидетеля. Паспорт пожалуйста ваш.... Называйте правильно вашу фамилию, имя, отчество. Вы допрашиваетесь по делу в качестве свидетеля. Вы несете уголовную ответственность за дачу ложных показаний и за отказ от дачи показаний, должны говорить только правду. Подойдите, распишитесь... Скажите нам, где вы работаете?* (С.И.)

[*Judge: Now we are proceeding to the witness examination. Your passport, please... Give your last name, first name, patronymic. You are examined as a witness in the case. You have a legal responsibility for giving false evidence and refusing to give evidence. You must tell only truth. Come up, sign...Tell us, where do you work?* (J.W.)]

The utterance, which is metapragmatic in its character, presents an obvious example of practising procedural power by a judge. The affirmative forms *are examined*, *have* transform metapragmatic instructions into statements of fact that are not subject to discussion. The modal construction *must tell* imposes a procedural obligation on a witness, while imperative structures *come up, sign, tell* provide step-by-step instructions.

At the end of the examination the judge **enforces restrictions** on a witness, reminding her of the necessity to keep everything in secret and not discuss the evidence with anybody:

(2) *Judge: <...> Mrs. Woodruff, I am sure I don't need to tell you this but forgive me if I just remind you that whilst you are giving your evidence you must not talk about any aspect of this case or any aspect of your evidence to anybody at all unless I give you permission to do so. Only I can give permission. I am sure you understand that.* (Sh.)

The judge's explicitly expressed prohibition *must not talk, unless I give you permission* is mitigated — to some degree — by his preceding polite remark *I don't need to tell you* and an apology *forgive me*. However, these linguistic means of politeness have a purely formal character and do not imply any freedom on the part of the witness. The judge finishes the utterance unambiguously *Only I can give permission*.

Judicial metapragmatic commentaries prove to be necessary when speech behaviour of trial participants appears to be inconsistent with their role in court. For instance, witnesses can only answer questions, but they are not allowed to ask them. In example (3) this rule is violated, and the judge reminds the witness of his duties:

(3) *Адвокат: ...Т.е. вы считаете, что приемлемо заменять зависимость от наркотиков на православную, но неприемлемо на неоиндуистскую, или как?*

[1] Hereinafter, Russian examples will be accompanied by fluent English translations. Where specific grammatical forms are meaningful, I will also provide necessary comments on them.

Свидетель: А вы как-то сталкивались с системой самого Маршака?
Адвокат: Нет, не сталкивался.
Судья: Отвечайте, отвечайте на вопрос. (С.И.)
[*Barrister: So you believe that it is acceptable to substitute a dependence on drugs with the dependence on orthodox religion, but it is unacceptable to do so with neo-Hinduism, or what?*
Witness: Have you encountered the system by Marshak?
Barrister: No, I haven't.
Judge: Answer, answer the question! (J.W.)]

The distinctive features of courtroom communication are its **planned character** and precise distribution of speech roles. The parties know in advance what kind of statements they are supposed to make at a particular stage of the trial. However, the judge constantly manages the trial by **announcing further activities** in the courtroom, and with metapragmatic fragments of considerable length the judge informs trial participants of his plans:

(4) *Judge: ...There are one or two points that I think I ought to put really to both sides. I will do that whenever it is convenient to you both. I will either do it before or during or after, whichever you find convenient — probably after, I suspect.* (Ir.)

In the following example the judge intends to finish the hearing and acquaints the parties with his plans, thus, forcing them to stop:

(5) *Judge: ...Now I realize time is passing but it is obviously sensible to conclude everything today, and I hope I can perhaps do it in this comprehensive way.* (Ir.)

Managing the primary reality also involves **regulation of turn-taking**. Turn-taking often occurs in the form of interruptions of other participants by the judge, who marks turn-taking either by brief apologies as in example (6),

(6) *Judge: Sorry, we are talking about the Müller document, are we not?*
Claimant: We are talking about the Müller document. (Ir.)

or by longer metapragmatic structures which explain why the interruption is necessary as in example (7):

(7) *Claimant: My Lord, to my knowledge, I have challenged...*
Judge: Yes. If I may intervene and say that I would find it easier if there were not such an overt reaction to what you are saying on the other side of the court. (Ir.)

Metapragmatic comments also concern **the language** that the participants use to convey information. In example (8) the claimant corrects the word usage in the judge's utterance, but the latter insists on his intentional lexical choice:

(8) *Judge: ...What I will ask you to do though is this. If you either dispute that you ever made the concessions that the Defendants say you made, or you want now to reconsider —*
Claimant: Resign.
Judge: Well, I was trying not to use that word actually — to reconsider, then would you write to me and to the Defendants, shortly setting out what you say you said, or what you now say? (Ir.)

Metapragmatic units in the judge's speech may be aimed at regulating not only speech activities performed by other trial participants but also their **physical actions**, e.g. leaving the court, as in examples (9) and (10):

(9) *Judge: Thank you very much, Mrs. Woodruff. You are free to go and that will apply to all witnesses unless I give a specific direction to the contrary.* (Sh.);

(10) *Судья: У Вас нет больше вопросов к свидетелю? Все, спасибо. Вы уже можете присесть или идти домой.* (С.И.)
[*Judge: You don't have any other questions to the witness? That's all. Thank you. You may take a seat or go home.* (J.W.)]

In both examples (9) and (10) the judges thank the witnesses, but the English instruction features formal vocabulary (*will apply, specific direction, to the contrary*) and sounds more official.

Apart from procedural mistakes that can be explained by a lack of procedural knowledge, witnesses also make mistakes of violating widely accepted norms of behavior in public, and judges' metapragmatic commentaries **correct such misbehaviour**. In Russian courts visitors often fail to switch off their mobiles, although judges give warnings at the beginning of a proceeding. Later on, during the trial the judge has to discipline the witness:

(11) *Во время допроса свидетеля у него в кармане звонит телефон.*
Судья: Телефон у кого-то? Чей? Отключите. (Р.З.)
[*During the examination of a witness a mobile phone is ringing in his pocket.*
Judge: Somebody's telephone? Whose? Switch it off. (H.N.)]

The English data do not reveal similar examples, apparently because it is prohibited to bring technical devices into the English court.

In metapragmatic units judges may choose to explicitly refer to their power to prove the legitimacy of their demands, as happens in the following example:

(12) *Свидетель вышел давать показания и жует жевательную резинку.*
Судья: Смирнов, перестаньте жевать. Это общественное место. И это — суд, одна из ветвей власти. Представьте, что перед Вами президент Российской Федерации. Вы же не будете перед ним жевать. Суд тоже власть. Чтоб не проглотить, выплюньте. (Р.З.)
[*A witness is about to give evidence and is chewing gum.*
Judge: Smirnov, stop chewing. This is a public place. And it is the Court — one of the branches of power. Imagine there is the President of the Russian Federation in front of you. You would not chew in front of him, would you? The Court is power, too. If you don't want to swallow it, spit it out. (H.N.)]

The judge points twice to the misbehaviour (*chew*), two times accentuates that the court is a power institution and gives two instructions formulated as imperatives (*stop, spit out*).

Thus, metapragmatic units in judicial speech that belong to the first type and are employed to build the reality of the courtroom are mostly regulative. Their linguistic forms transpire through means of deontic modality, which embrace imperatives, modal verbs as well as affirmative statements.

3.2. Constructing the reality of the crime

Metapragmatic units of the second group are aimed at creating the secondary reality, the reality of the crime or misdemeanor and other events outside the courtroom which are being reconstructed in witnesses' and defendants' evidence. It is traditionally considered that key persons responsible for shaping witnesses' evidence are a prosecutor and a barrister. Very little attention has been paid so far to the influence of judicial remarks on the picture of the secondary reality resulting from courtroom examination. However, the data analysis demonstrates that judges, especially sitting alone, do shape the secondary reality, in many situations — through meta-utterances or smaller metapragmatic units.

Management of evidence by the judge is performed, first of all, through **topic management**. In example (13) the judge provides an explicit comment on his speech action (*ask you to do*), which predetermines the following speech behaviour of the claimant:

(13) *Judge: What I will ask you to do though is this. If you either dispute that you ever made the concessions that the Defendants say you made, or you want now to reconsider...* (Ir.)

In English judicial speech, metapragmatic topic management and intervention in examination often take the polite form of a question:

(14) *JUDGE: Mr Irving, before you say what you want to say and before Mr Rampton starts, can I just say this.* (Ir.).

Apparently, the judge is not supposed to ask for permission to interrupt, and the metapragmatic framing in example (14) actually serves to attract and hold attention on a particular topic.

The necessity to define a thematic circle of examination arises when a witness (or any other non-professional participant) feels unsure because the sphere of issues covered by the examination is rather wide. In the following example the judge enumerates paramount topics needed to be covered by the witness, as they form the prosecution case:

(15) *Судья: ...Вот вы были Свидетелем Иеговы. И нам расскажите, на сегодня ставится вопрос о ликвидации этой общины, в связи с тем, первое, что они понуждают, разжигают религиозную рознь, что они разрушают семью, что они склоняют к самоубийству и т.д. Вот на эти вопросы нам и отвечайте.* (С.И.)
[*Judge: You were a Jehovah's witness. Now tell us, at present there has been raised an issue about the prohibition of the congregation because, firstly, they force, incite religious conflicts, they destroy families, they motivate suicides, etc. You should answer these particular questions.* (J.W.)]

Judges do not only initiate discussions around particular topics; they also exert pressure on trial participants and force them back to certain topics which were not dealt with properly according to judicial discretion. The example from an English trial illustrates the situation when the judge compels the witness to return to an earlier suggestion made by the defendant:

(16) *Judge: Whilst I am asking you questions, I am not sure you have really responded to the suggestion that was implicitly being put to you by Mr Irving which is that these objects that one can see on the roof of the gas chamber, alleged gas chamber,*

are, in fact, drums containing some sort of sealant. You have not actually dealt with that suggestion.
Witness: No, and I would like to deal with that, if it is possible? (Ir.)

In a Russian trial, when a witness avoids direct answers, the judge exercises her power and — with a metapragmatic utterance — makes him reconsider the topic:

(17) *Судья: Вы опять уходите. Изоляция от общества. Расскажите, пожалуйста.* (С.И.)
[*Judge: You are leaving (changing the subject) again. Isolation from society. Tell us, please.* (J.W.)]

In two languages the same communicative function is shaped differently in terms of linguistic forms. When urging the witness to revisit the topic, the English judge resorts to a declarative (*You have not actually dealt with that suggestion*) which is an indirect speech act. It is notable that the witness deciphers the judge's communicative intention correctly and chooses to follow the judicial instruction (*I would like to deal with that*). The Russian judge sounds more direct since she employs a direct imperative (*расскажите — tell us*).

Managing the quantity and quality of evidence is another function realised by judicial metapragmatic units. Controlling the quantity of evidence can take opposite forms: inducing discourse production and limiting it.

Carrying out the task of extracting complete information from witnesses, judges practise their power to prompt speakers to concentrate on specific issues and produce longer utterances:

(18) *JUDGE: On the other hand, it is matter for you because I am letting you say pretty much what you want to say...* (Ir.);

(19) *JUDGE: Let us concentrate on this one* (Ir.).

On the other hand, managing the quantity of evidence often takes the form of **time control**, when the judge gives short signals of understanding to speed up the examination and make it more dynamic: *Поняла. Дальше, пожалуйста* (*I see. Continue, please*), *Дальше* (*Continue*), *Достаточно* (*Enough*).

In example (20) the judge reproaches the witness for using formulations that are not economical enough:

(20) *Свидетель: ...Они расхваливают себя в нравственном смысле, это не христианская черта.*
Судья: Хвалят себя. Все, поняла. Вы так много говорите, а в результате можно было сказать одним словом. (С.И.)
[*Witness: ...They are praising themselves in terms of morality, but it is not a Christian feature.*
Judge: Praising themselves. That's all, I see. You are saying so much, but you could cover everything with one word as a result. (J.W.)]

When discussing an issue, the English judge restricts a witness and refers to the fact that some information can be drawn from the written report:

(21) *Judge: I just want to get the full picture. I do not want you to spend very long on this, but you deal with this in your report, do you not, at some length?*
Witness: In detail, yes. (Ir.)

With respect to judicial control of time, the question arises whether it may limit witnesses' freedom and cause gaps or misrepresentations in the reconstruction of the secondary reality. It seems, this danger is partly offset by judicial attention to the quality of evidence. Management of courtroom discourse quality is performed through judicial metapragmatic comments, one group of which is intended **to control relevance**. All irrelevant information is dismissed, and judges express their explicit demand to observe the relevance principle:

(22) *Судья: Многим наркоманам помогли?*
Свидетель: Ну, как сказать, порядка там 20 человек, которые достаточно долго употребляли достаточно разные наркотики и тяжелые наркотики.
Судья: Хорошо, это к нам не имеет отношения. (С.И.)
[*Judge: Have you helped many drug addicts?*
Witness: Well, what can I say, around 20 people who had been using for quite a long time rather different drugs and heavy drugs.
Judge: All right, it has nothing to do with the case. (H.N.)]

In examples (23) and (24) the claimant's evidence is evaluated by the judge in terms of relevance, and explicit metapragmatic markers *(relevant; relevance)* clarify the communicative intention of the judge:

(23) *Judge: Is that not relevant only to costs? Tell me if I am wrong, but that would be the way I would see it.* (Ir.);

(24) *Judge: I do not see the relevance of telling me that unless and until it comes to the question of costs.* (Ir.)

Another demand that judges put forward to shape evidence and — through it — the secondary reality is the **demand for precise and clearly presented factual information**. Provided the judge receives accurate and exact information, the chance is slim that the picture of the secondary reality is distorted. Linguistically, this demand tends to take the interrogative form in English and imperative form in Russian. Remarks in both languages may contain specific lexical markers which manifest the judge's intention to clarify information *have (not) understood*, *to elaborate, конкретно (exactly)*, *уточним (make it clear)*:

(25) *Judge: Yes, make your point on this because I have not understood it yet.* (Ir.)

(26) *Judge: Professor van Pelt, can I just make sure I have understood it, that when you say that these show the projections, whatever they may have been, you are talking about — can you see — that smudge there, that smudge there, that smudge there?* (Ir.)

(27) *Barrister: No, I'm sorry, that is one error that cannot be allowed to pass. There is a fourth leg, forensic chemical analysis both in 1945, 1988 and 1994.*
Judge: Just to elaborate that, of Leichenkeller I at crematorium II? (Ir.)

(28) *Судья: Скажите конкретно, Вы знаете, к чему это привело?* (С.И.)
[Judge: Tell us exactly, do you know what it lead to? (J.W.)]

(29) *Давайте уточним. Вы машину продали без двери?* (Р.З.)
[*Let us make it clear. Did you sell the car without the door?* (H.N.)]

It is notable that in example (25) the judge claims personal responsibility for the lack of understanding. This kind of judicial behaviour is typical of English judges only and can be viewed as a remedial action, which mitigates interruption and imposition of the judge's will on a witness.

Another function of metapragmatic units in judicial speech consists in **pushing** the witness **towards deductions and conclusions** based on evidence. The judge may ask different questions prompting the witness to logically finish his evidence. The judge addresses the expert witness with the following question:

(30) *Judge: What have you found on that wall? What are the options?* (H.N.)

(31) *Судья: В «Сторожевой башне» написано 40 тысяч. У бывшего руководителя — 67 тысяч. Вы говорите, что в эту цифру входят... Да, есть же те, которые действительно выведены из общества вот за те вещи, которые вы перечисляли, правильно? Но есть те, которые вышли по своему желанию, ну и что из этого?* (С.И.)
[*Judge: In Watch Tower it is written 40 thousand. The former leader writes 67 thousand. You say, this figure includes... Yes, there are those who were excluded for the reasons that you have enumerated, right? But there are those who left in accord with their own wish. So what?* (J.W.)]

These questions do not automatically presuppose satisfactory answers to them unless they are answers of an expert, whose responsibility includes giving professional conclusions based on facts.

Generalising and summarising can be accomplished not only by witnesses but also by judges, who sum up facts and draw preliminary conclusions in the course of the hearing. In the following example the metapragmatic unit *anyway* is used by the judge to mark the end of the discussion and the beginning of the summary:

(32) *Judge: Anyway, your position is you do not deny its authenticity, but you do say that the provenance is unsatisfactory.* (Ir.)

Construction of the secondary reality in courts involves an array of metapragmatic resources with various functions in judicial speech. The analysis demonstrates that management of evidence is performed not only by the parties in the litigation but also by judges.

3.3. Framing the law

The third group of metapragmatic units and utterances is directed at framing juridical aspects of the trial. These metapragmatic units contribute to the identity of the judge as a representative of judicial power, who does not only own the legal right to rule the trial but also has knowledge of law that is absolutely necessary to manage the trial.

The necessity for comments on law arises before the judge when a witness is about to violate legal principles or rules. In the following example the judge e**xplains** to the witness **the basic principles of the trial** when the latter is going to use written materials when giving evidence:

(33) *Свидетель: Ну, во-первых, я хотел бы сказать, что...*
Судья: Что это перед вами?
Свидетель: Это мои материалы, которые я хотел бы, к которым я хотел бы обращаться.

Судья: Нет, уважаемый, вы ведь свидетель. Я вам делаю замечание в этом плане. Вы можете смотреть, если даты какие-то, если цифры какие-то, пожалуйста.
Свидетель: Цитаты можно?
Судья: Ну, цитаты, если есть такая необходимость, конечно, естественно. А так вы непосредственно все говорите...
Свидетель: Все, хорошо. Я просто не знал.
Судья: ... все свои показания, устно, непосредственно — это принцип судебного процесса. (С.И.)

[*Witness: Well, first of all, I would like to say that...*
Judge: What is that in front of you?
Witness: These are my materials which I would like, to which I would like to refer.
Judge: No, dear (respected), you are a witness. I give you a warning in this respect. You may check to see if there are any dates, or figures, please.
Witness: Are quotations allowed?
Judge: Well, quotations, if there is necessity, are allowed, of course. Otherwise, you speak spontaneously...
Witness: All right. I just didn't know.
Judge: ...All your evidence, orally, spontaneously — this is the principle of the trial. (J.W.)]

In fact, the judge quotes the text of the Procedural Code, which establishes the basic principles of the trial. The trial should be spontaneous, oral and continuous.

Trial participants are supposed to understand many aspects of current and past events in terms of law. However, non-professional participants are not always ready to perceive the reality from the legal perspective, and the judge turns out to play the role of a guide who **explains legal concepts** to witnesses and, through this, gives them points of reference.

In example (34) after the prosecutor's question whether the victim evaluated the damages as considerable, the judge interrupts to explain what is meant by considerable damages:

(34) *Судья: Я Вам объясню, что это категория оценочная. То есть Вы были поставлены в затруднительное положение, Вам нечего было есть, негде было спать.* (Р.З.)
[*Judge: I will explain to you that it is an assessment category. It means you were put into a predicament; you had nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep.* (H.N.)]

It is notable that the legal category is explained in everyday terms, i.e. it is deciphered and made comprehensible for the non-professional. In a similar way, the judge expands on the meaning of the question about loan responsibilities:

(35) *Судья: Долговые обязательства повлияют на Ваши показания? Правду будете нам говорить или соврете?* (Р.З.)
[*Judge: Will loan responsibilities influence your evidence? Will you tell us the truth or lies?* (H.N.)]

In these metapragmatic instances of courtroom speech, a transformation occurs that can be presented as «legal category → everyday concepts». This transformation is brought about by the judge so that the witness can appropriately evaluate the events in terms of legal reality.

The direction of the transformation may be opposite. In this case the events of real life get interpreted through legal categories and qualifications: «everyday concepts → legal category». For instance, the judge qualifies in legal terms the actions of the witness who bought a stolen car door from the criminals:

(36) *Судья: Это называется подстрекательство к совершению преступления. Да, Храмкин? (апелляция к подсудимому — Т.Д.) Это причина, способствующая совершению преступления. Если бы Вы не согласились купить дверь, он бы не совершил преступление и не сидел на скамье подсудимых.* (Р.З.)
[*Judge: It is called incitement to committing a crime. Right, Khramkin? (an appeal to the defendant — T.D.) This is a reason conducive to a crime commitment. If you had not agreed to buy the door, he would not have committed the crime and would not be sitting in the dock.* (H.N.)]

In the following short dialogue, the judge unambiguously informs the victim of the rule of law and the impossibility to ignore it in legal environment. The victim reported a theft to the police but later on he wants to withdraw the application:

(37) *Потерпевший: Я хотел забрать (заявление — Т.Д.).*
Судья: Здесь такого не может быть. Дал, забрал... (Р.З.)
[*Victim: I wanted to withdraw (the application — T.D.).*
Judge: It cannot be like this here. Reporting and then withdrawing... (H.N.)]

The adverb *здесь* (*here*) signifies 'the territory of law', where trial participants can only accept rules and regulations. They are not allowed to comment on law or perform duties of professional participants. When a witness tries to comment on the legal reality it causes the judge's discontent followed by an interruption:

(38) *Судья: ...Вот, вовлечение несовершеннолетних. Что вы имеете в виду?*
Свидетель: Вовлечение тех людей, которые не достигли 18 лет.
Судья: Я поняла. Что вы имеете в виду? Я поняла, кому нет 18 лет — это суду объяснять не надо. Что вы под этим имеете в виду?
Свидетель: Ну то, что как бы проповедуется тем лицам, которые... то есть, вовлекаются лица в организацию, которые... не достигли совершеннолетия. (С.И.)
[*Judge: ...So, involving underage people. What do you mean?*
Witness: Involving people who haven't reached the age of 18.
Judge: I have understood. What do you mean? I know, who hasn't reached the age of 18. You don't have to explain this to the court. What do you mean by this?
Witness: Well, that somehow it is preached to people who...that is, people are involved in the organisation who haven't come of age. (H.N.)]

As can be seen in the example, the witness misinterprets the judge's question. Instead of considering factual information, he turns to the meaning of the legal concept 'an underage person', which is not only excessive but also destructive to the usual distribution of functions in the courtroom. The role of the mediator between the legal reality and the primary reality of the courtroom belongs to a judge, not a witness, and it is made manifest through the metapragmatic comment of the judge.

Professional participants are more aware of the distribution of roles in court and leave the right of interpreting law to the judge. The following excerpt presents the situation in which the claimant, who is conducting the examination, does not take the responsibility of explaining the concept of 'burden of proof' to the witness and refers the witness to the judge. The judge provides a detailed instruction on how the case should be dealt with and what procedure applies:

(39) *Claimant: Professor van Pelt, I think that his Lordship will educate you as to the burden of proof in an English defamation action.*
Judge: I am not sure that is really quite right. If you are not saying that these are fakes, and I think you just told me that you were not putting forward that positive case, then it does not seem to me that it is necessary for this witness to refer to the expert analysis at all. But, if you are saying it is a forgery or has been tampered with in some way, then it may be that we do need to see what the expert said. (Ir.)

Moreover, judges practise their power in court by allowing trial participants to perform actions which may seem not in accordance with the official procedure. In the following fragment the metapragmatic remark of the judge is based on his personal subjective opinion on the appropriateness of speech actions that the claimant is going to perform:

(40) *Claimant: ...That is the kind of material that I would have put to them.*
Judge: Well, I am not sure that is actually right, as a matter of law, but I am taking a liberal approach. Say what you have indicated you intend to say in due course. (Ir.)

Exercising judicial discretion appears to be part of justice administration as well as construction of judicial identity.

4. CONCLUSION

Metapragmatic comments constitute an essential part of judicial discourse. These comments contribute to constructing the primary reality, i.e. the reality of the courtroom, the secondary reality, i.e. the reality of a misdemeanor or a crime, and the reality of law. Based on this, metapragmatic utterances can be grouped in three types. Their general function being regulative, judicial metapragmatic units perform a number of more specific functions which allow the judge to organize a trial in a consistent way, to exercise judicial power and discretion and — through these — to construct the judicial identity and administer justice.

Functional specifics of judicial metapragmatic utterances are predetermined by legal and procedural norms as well as legal culture of participants. Lack of courtroom experience leads to procedural and behavioural violations, that are corrected by judicial metapragmatic remarks.

From a formal perspective, metapragmatics involves a wide array of linguistic means — from separate lexical units and introductory constructions to complete utterances consisting of a few sentences.

Russian and English judicial metapragmatic remarks reveal differences in their linguistic realizations. While English judges tend to mitigate instructions and resort to indirect speech acts (declaratives and interrogatives) to perform judicial control, Russian judges are more direct and exploit imperatives and modal verbs. This leads to the conclusion that linguistic realization of metapragmatics is to some degree predetermined by national specifics of other communicative categories, e.g. politeness category.

The metapragmatic component of judicial discourse should not be viewed as a mere supplement to the factual content, as it plays a principal role in sustaining court as a social institution, constructing judge's identity as a figure of power and, as a result, administering justice.

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МЕТАПРАГМАТИКА ОСУЩЕСТВЛЕНИЯ ПРАВОСУДИЯ В ДИСКУРСЕ РОССИЙСКИХ И АНГЛИЙСКИХ СУДЕЙ

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Настоящая статья делает вклад в исследование метапрагматики в условиях судебной коммуникации, в частности в дискурсе русских и английских судей, и представляет результаты функционального анализа метапрагматических элементов. В статье утверждается, что метавысказывания являются свойством судейского дискурса, в котором они выполняют особые функции, связанные с реализацией власти и судейского усмотрения, а также с осуществлением правосудия. Обсуждаются функции метавысказываний, выделяемые в научной литературе, и предлагается классификация метапрагматических элементов в судейском дискурсе в соответствии с тремя типами реальности, выделяемыми Дж. Гиббонсом (Gibbons 2003). Первая группа метапрагматических элементов способствует созданию первичной реальности, т.е. реальности судебного заседания; вторая группа помогает формировать вторичную реальность, т.е. реальность преступления или правонарушения; третья группа конструирует реальность права. Взятые вместе, все типы метапрагматических элементов создают организующую рамку судебного процесса. Речевые данные для анализа включают стенограммы современных судебных заседаний (1998—2008). Применение русских и английских данных позволяет продемонстрировать, что основные функции метавысказываний в судейском дискурсе обнаруживают значительный параллелизм, в то время как незначительные различия связаны с другими прагматическими категориями, в которых проявляется национально-культурная специфика коммуникации, например, с вежливостью.

Ключевые слова: метапрагматика, судейский дискурс, функция, зал суда, русский, английский

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DISCOURSE MOTIVATIONS OF MENTAL CONSTRUAL AND THE EXPRESSION OF STANCE IN SPEECH: A CASE STUDY OF ENGLISH

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Abstract. This paper presents an account of the phenomenon of mental construal manifested in English expressions of stance through the distinction of clauses that are headed by subjects associated with two conceptual archetypes: participant (P) invoked by the first-person pronoun (*I am certain that*) and abstract setting (S) conveyed by anticipatory *it* (*It is certain that*). With recourse to the main theoretical points on the anchoring of linguistic meaning in the acts of speech activity (Leontiev A.A.), mental construal (Langacker R.), processes of discourse-driven conceptualization and categorization (Kubryakova E.S.) and with reference to discourse oriented studies of stance (Biber D., Finegan E., Kärkkäinen E.), the conducted analysis focuses on a corpus of about 350 examples that represent narrative and dialogic discourse in English-language fiction. As evidenced by linguistic data, the choice of stance expressions with P- and S-subjects is motivated, respectively, by the distinctions that arise in discourse between actual and mentally represented types of reality, the contrast between reference-making and viewing as types of cognitive events and the distinction between event-schemas and mental experiences. These discursively relevant distinctions are further shown to be related to narrative and dialogic strategies that are used in literary texts for the expression of stance with the alternative stance-clauses.

Keywords: mental construal, stance, discourse, speech, clausal subject, type of reality, cognitive operation

1. INTRODUCTION: MENTAL CONSTRUAL IN THE DISTINCTION OF CONCEPTUAL ARCHETYPES

One of the cognitive abilities that is regularly reflected in uses of linguistic items and expressions is mental imagery, or construal. According to the basic assumptions of cognitive grammar, as presented in R. Langacker (2000a; 2000b), mental construal consists in the ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways, with recourse to different linguistic means that evoke distinct facets of the described situation alongside such parameters as specificity, perspective, prominence, background and some others. There is convergent evidence that construal is involved in the meaning structure of a wide variety of linguistic expressions that can both convey some conceptual content and reflect one's subjective attitudes, or stances, towards that content. For instance, in English the expression of epistemic, perceptual and emotional stance can involve choosing between alternative stance clauses like those in (1), (2) and (3), respectively:

(1) *I am certain that — It is certain that.*
(2) *I felt as if — It was as if.*
(3) *I am glad that — It is good that.*

The above clauses are treated among linguistic markers of stance in English which occur, according to the corpus studies of D. Biber and E. Finegan (1989), D. Biber, S. Johansson *et al.* (2004, p. 965—986), across a variety of styles and registers. As shown in the studies on the expression of stance in English conversation (Kärkkäinen, 2003; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Kärkkäinen, 2007; Keysanen, 2007), academic writing (Hyland, 2005; Hyland, Tse, 2005) and in various kinds of texts in different languages (Berman, 2004), the speaker's choices in communicating his or her positioning towards the content expressed are dependent on such factors as the type of discourse, the context and the interactive dimension of communication. These factors are analyzed in the studies on stance from the point of view of their relatedness to the meaning and functional properties of stance expressions taken as a whole and included into particular contexts of oral or written communication. However, the choice of composite expressions of stance like those in (1)—(3) may be influenced — to a greater or lesser degree — by a particular conceptual and/or communicative contribution of the expressions' constituents, such as clausal subjects and predicates (as suggested, for instance, in Langacker, 2000a, p. 152).

From a cognitive perspective, the contrast between the clausal subjects in (1)—(3), can be described as a distinction between two conceptual archetypes: participant and setting (Langacker, 1987). Generally, a conceptual archetype is defined in Langacker's theory of cognitive grammar (Langacker, 2000a, p. 24) as a conceptual structure which is grounded in experience and which includes various sorts of "the experience of perceiving, of thinking and of feeling emotions". It is assumed, according to the suggested view, that the conceptual archetype "participant" is a discrete dynamic entity, typically a person that plays a key role in the structuring of a (clausal) situation or event. The archetype "setting" in turn is characterized as a kind of location or region that has spatial and/or temporal extension. It is considered that this conceptual archetype can take the form of abstract setting, or mental expanse that delineates "a scope of awareness" in a particular context of discourse (Langacker, 2011, p. 206—208).

In examples (1)—(3), the first-person pronoun points to a participant, or stance-taker. On the other hand, anticipatory *it* indicates in each case the (respective) stance-taker's scope of awareness, or abstract setting. Consequently, the *I* and the *it* in these examples are not entirely dissociated, but rather, related to each other metonymically: whereas the participant [P]-pronoun (*I*) invokes a person as the subject of judgment-making, the setting [S]-pronoun (*it*) makes reference to the person's mental sphere activated in a discourse. In actual usage events, a speaker can either choose between clauses headed by P- or S-subjects or use them alternatively, as in (4) and (5):

(4) ***You*** *feel as if the whole universe were hostile* [...]. *Your feeling of security vanishes, and* ***it*** *seems that everything about your life is horribly brittle and destructible* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 125).

(5) ***It*** *was interesting* [...] *to note that Fleischmann's obvious tenderness for her* [...] *communicated itself to Reich and myself* [...]. ***I*** *should also note that the lust experienced by Reich and myself was not the usual male desire to possess a strange female* [...] (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 147).

Obviously in (4), the clauses headed by P- *vs*. S-subjects (*you* and *it*, respectively) convey very similar perceptual and epistemic stances of the *I*-narrator. In (5), the similarity of modal and emotional stances expressed by the clauses with *it* vs. *I* is stressed through the use of *also* (in the second clause) as a marker of cohesion.

Alternative uses of clauses with P- and S-subjects are also to be found in dialogic interactions, as in the following fragment of conversation:

(6) '[...] *But did* ***you*** *never have the feeling he got assistance from above as well as from the agents he afterwards acquired?'*
'No. No, I never did. ***It*** *never occurred to me.'* (Le Carré J., *The Spy who Came In from the Cold*, p. 78).

The dialogue in (6) illustrates the case of alternations in the expression of uncertain supposition. Whereas the question is expressed by a P-subject clause (*Did you never have the feeling*), the answer contains both P- and S-subject clauses used synonymously (*I never did. It never occurred to me*).

The question that examples like (4), (5) and (6) posit is the motivation for the speaker-conceptualizer to start a stance-clause by invoking a stance-taker as a participant in the use of a referring expression (typically a personal pronoun) or by the implicit reference to the stance-taker's scope of awareness, or setting, in the use of non-referential anticipatory *it*.

2. AIMS, DATA AND THEORETICAL PREREQUISITES OF THE STUDY

The aim of the proposed paper is to reveal the nature and discourse motivations of mental construal manifested in choosing the above mentioned stance-clauses headed by either P- or S-subjects. To this end, the following questions are addressed: (1) the discursively relevant facets of the conceptual content that are invoked through alternations of P- and S-subjects; (2) the nature of contextual factors that make the use of a particular stance-clause felicitous or non-felicitous.

With the general discourse orientation of the study, the paper takes up the following theoretical points: (a) the assumption on the anchoring of linguistic meaning in the acts of speech activity that is structured by motives, purposes and speech performance as such, with the latter constituted by speech actions and speech operations (Leontiev, 1975; 1981; 2006a; 2006b), including sign operations of designation, or giving a name, and predication, or attributing a property to a designated thing or phenomenon (Kubryakova, 1986); (b) the assumption on the role of the processes of discourse-driven conceptualization and categorization in making choices of linguistic items for the generation of utterances (Kubryakova, 2004; 2012); (b) the claims substantiated in S. Garrod and M.J. Pickering (2004; 2013), J. Stewart, O. Gapenne and E.A. Di Paolo (2010) on the crucial role of dialogic interactions and coordinating activities in the generation, shaping and enactment of meaning, in particular linguistic meaning, as shown in D. Bottineau (2010).

The proposed analysis is based on data that come from literary texts, namely, the detective novel "The Spy who Came In from the Cold" by John Le Carré (2000), the book of stories "The Rendezvous and Other Stories" by Daphne Du Maurier (2008) and the philosophical and psychological novel "The Mind Parasites" by Colin Wilson (2000). The overall corpus of correlative stance-clauses like those in (1)—(3) includes about 350 examples that occur both in dialogical and narrative parts of the texts.

Generally, stance expressions in which the speakers (including the *I*-narrator) pronounce their judgments about the described events are used rather frequently in all the mentioned texts. In some cases the correlative clauses occur in different parts of narration, which implies the narrator's choice of one available expression over another one, as it happens in (7) and (8):

(7) *Next morning, at breakfast, **we** were glad to see that Fleischman was in sparkling spirits* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 113).

(8) ***It** was a pleasure to see how quickly he became transformed — to watch the energy and optimism straightening his shoulders and taking the lines out of his face* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 228).

Similarly, one of the alternative stance clauses may be chosen in dialogic discourse, as shown in (9) and (10):

(9) *'I know what you are going to tell me. But did **you** never have the feeling he got assistance from above as well as from the agents he afterwards acquired?'* (Le Carré J., *The Spy who Came In from the Cold*, p. 78).

(10) *'Was **it** your impression that the agent had been operating for some time before the first payment was made?* [...]' (Le Carré J., *The Spy who Came In from the Cold*, p. 87).

The analyzed texts also contain more subtle cases like (4), (5) and (6) mentioned previously and the one in (11) where the stance-clauses with the P- and S-subjects (*I* and *it*, respectively) co-occur in two subsequent clauses:

(11) *That evening* [...] ***I** was feeling a little lonely, and was glad to talk. Even the subject of the excavations had ceased to be unbearable to me, and **it** gave me pleasure to tell him the "inside story of our work* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 60).

In (11), the choice of the stance-clauses with P- and S-subjects is accompanied by the explicit contrast of the latter, which may be indicative of some discursively relevant cognitive distinctions.

In addressing the previously mentioned research questions the subsequent analysis of linguistic data in section 3 focuses on the following two issues: (a) the possibilities of the communicative and syntactic structuring of stance-clauses with the chosen P- *vs.* S-subjects; (b) the discursive motivations and/or purposes that underlie the choice and (sometimes) contrastive uses of clauses.

3. THE PARTICIPANT-SETTING DISTINCTION IN THE CONTEXT OF SPEECH ACTIVITY

The regularities of the communicative perspective and the syntactic sequencing of a clause with a chosen subject (here: P or S) are reflected both in the choice of linguistic items that collocate with the subject in question and in the potential for the discursive structuring of the content conveyed.

3.1. Predications with P- *vs.* S-subjects: felicity conditions and constraints

The choice of linguistic units and their sequencing in predications with P- and S-subjects manifest three important distinctions.

First, predications that can be attributed to P- and S-subjects are not totally identical in the expression of epistemic stance. Similarities between the respective clauses are usually fairly obvious in cases of expressing the epistemic state of belief or certainty, as in (12):

(12) ***I** am convinced / believe that* — ***It** is my conviction / belief that.*

The alternation of stance-clauses in the expression of the stance-taker's certainty occurs, for instance, in (13) where the speaker switches from the P-subject clause (*we have become convinced that*) to the one with the S-subject (*it is our conviction that*):

(13) *"But in recent weeks **we** have become convinced that we are facing something far more dangerous than a curse. **It** is our conviction that we have disturbed the sleep of forces that once dominated the earth* [...]." (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 154).

However, the epistemic state of (one's individual) knowledge or doubt can be attributed only to a P-subject (such as *I*), but not to the S-subject, expressed by anticipatory *it*, *cf.*:

(14) ***I** know / doubt that* — *****It** is my knowledge / doubt that.*

The demonstrated constraint shows that the S-subject *it* which invokes a stance-taker's scope of awareness, or mentally represented region, cannot be equated with the actual state of affairs that makes the content of one's knowledge or doubt. On the other hand, as shown in (12) and (13), mentally represented content that underlies a person's convictions or beliefs can be easily attributed to anticipatory *it*. To put it more generally, the choice of a stance-clause with a P- *vs*. S-subject in a discourse presupposes one of the formats in which a subsequent proposition is regarded: the format of actual reality (with a P-subject) or mentally represented reality (with the S-subject *it*).

Second, using a P-subject in a stance-clause always involves the operation of reference-making to a stance-taker. Reference-making is always in a communicative focus of a P-subject clause and the use of negation in such a clause entails a change of reference. Thus, a negative transformation of (15) in (16) results in negating the expressed epistemic stance and in switching to another stance-taker:

(15) *"I'm not sure, but **I** think we got a response."* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 227).
(16) *"**I** don't think we got a response."*

By contrast, applying negation to the stance-clause *it seems* which is very close to *I think* in terms of the epistemic attitude expressed does not entail a change of the mental structure signified by *it*, *cf*:

(17) ***It** now seems absurd that neither of us anticipated the consequences of our discovery* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 43).

(18) ***It** doesn't seem absurd that neither of us anticipated the consequences of our discovery.*

In (18), the negative particle *not* bears on the attributed stance (*does not seem absurd*) and on reference to the implied stance-taker (*'it' does not seem absurd to someone*). However, the S-subject *it* evokes the same scope of mental awareness. In both (17) and (18), anticipatory *it* identifies the activated mental sphere as a whole, which is followed by its further specification through the attributed stance (*seems / does not seem absurd*) and the subsequent complement clause. What comes into a communicative focus with the S-subjects here is the way the mentally represented picture (*it*) is identified through a particular epistemic positioning. Therefore, the choice between the expression of stance with P- and S-subjects in (15) and (17) is dependent on a discursively relevant distinction between the operations of reference (with P-subjects) and identification (with S-subjects).

Third, predications that can be attributed to P- *vs.* S-subjects differ in the way they are elaborated in representing a stance-taking event. Thus, P-subjects activate a typical schema of an event that has a temporal slot. In a P-subject stance-clause the slot can be filled by a temporal expression that refers to a particular point in time when the event happened, for instance:

(19) *But half an hour later **I** felt as though my mind was supporting a load the size of Mount Everest* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 26).

In (19), the adverbial *half an hour later* puts the stance-taking event *I felt* on a temporal plane with respect to another event described in the text.

Unlike P-subjects, anticipatory *it* invites a stance-predication that can specify a way in which the stance-taking event is internally experienced by the stance-taker. One of the most frequent experiences that happened to the *I*-narrator of C. Wilson's novel was that of unexpectedness. This is reflected in frequent uses of the adverb *suddenly* in S-subject clauses, as in (18):

(20) ***It** was suddenly as if we were in the middle of the noisiest crowd the world has ever known* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 231).

The distinction manifested in the attribution of very similar perceptual stances to P- vs. S-subjects (*I felt as though — It was as if*) in (19) and (20) points to the stance-taker's choice between a participant as a constituent of an event-schema (alongside its other constituents including temporal ones) and abstract setting (or scope of mental awareness) as a constituent of an internal experience.

All the three mentioned distinctions between P- and S-subjects occur in the acts of attributing stance-predications to them in discourse. Given that any discursive or utterance-generation event presents a systemic whole that is driven (as shown, for instance, in E.V. Sidorov (2009; 2011) with reference to linguistic material) by the mechanism of mutual alignment and coordination of the speaker-addressee speech activities, choosing one of the mentioned discursively relevant facet associated with the participant-setting distinction would also point to a contextually anchored communicative choice of the stance-taker.

3.2. The factor of adjustment to the utterance comprehension in choosing between P- *vs.* S-subjects

There are two addressees of the stance-taker's speech activity that are presupposed in the analyzed texts and whose comprehension (presenting also a type of speech activity) is at issue: one is a (generalized) reader of the text and the other is a fictional character involved in a dialogue with another character (including the *I*-narrator). Ensuring the comprehension of the stance-taker's positioning on the part of both addressees is effect-ed through the stance-taker's resort to communicative techniques that are adjusted to the context in which a particular stance is expressed. The language of the texts allows to distinguish three basic communicative factors that motivate the choice of P- or S-subjects in the expression of stance. It will be shown below that all these factors are directly related to the three mentioned distinctions between the respective conceptual archetypes.

First, by enacting the actuality format of reality in using a P-subject the stance-taker emphasizes the factivity status of the stance-taking event as a whole. By contrast, the use of the S-subject *it* amounts to the activation of the focus of attention in one's positioning towards a certain state of affairs described in the subsequent clause. The distinction between the communicative strategy of actualizing one's stance *vs*. that of establishing the focus of attention can be the source of rhetorical effects in oral speech, as in (21):

(21) *And now Fleischman suddenly remarked:*
"We've learned one interesting thing about the parasites. ***It****'s wrong to think of them as existing in some kind of space. The crowd attacking me here must have been more or less the same crowd who were attacking you two in Diyarbakir* [...]."
This had also struck myself and Reich earlier. But Fleischman saw another consequence.
"In that case, ***we****'re mistaken to think about the mind in terms of physical space.* [...]. *They don't have to travel to get from here to Diyarbakir. They are already in both places at once."* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 143).

In (21), the alternation in the expression of the same epistemic truth positioning with S- and P-subjects (*it's wrong to think — we're mistaken to think*) allows the stance-taker to switch from the summary mental image in the stance-taking event (*it*) to the actual stance-taker (*we*) who is supposed to take (further) steps on the basis of the actual positioning.

The actualization of the stance-taker's positioning may also be important in the expression of emotion, as in the following example:

(22) *'He tried to kiss me, and was, well, rather rough.* ***I*** *was so surprised that I wasn't prepared, you see, and — Oh, I hate telling you all this!'* (Du Maurier D., *Leading Lady* (*Stories*), p. 153).

The example in (22) describes a situation with two participants (referred to as *he* and *I*). The communicative necessity to present both participants as equally involved in the described situation motivates the use of a P-subject (*I*) in the expression of stance: *I was surprised that*.

Unlike (22), the example in (23) has only one prominent participant — the girl mentioned at the start of the initial sentence. The stance-taker, Mrs. Ellis, who is making judgments about the girl is represented with a lesser degree of salience. This motivates the establishment of the focus of attention (*it*) rather than making direct reference to the stance-taker in the expression of surprise (*it was a wonder*):

(23) *An ignorant, silly sort of girl, thought Mrs. Ellis.* ***It*** *was a wonder she had passed her test into the force. She thought they only employed intelligent women* (Du Maurier D., *Split Second* (*Stories*), p. 261).

The actualization of one's stance acquires a high degree of relevance when the expressed subjective positioning is no less important than situations to which a particular stance is taken. For instance, in (24) the speaker's emotional stance of relief is actualized through self-reference as a participant (*I*) in a highly emotional situation:

(24) ***'I****'m sincerely relieved he is not on the committee,' stated the Very Reverend Travers. It would put us all in a very embarrassing position. I feel it my duty to inquire into the whole business.* [...]' (Du Maurier D., *Adieu Sagesse*, p. 74).

In the given example the speaker is emotionally involved in the described situation, which is conveyed lexically by means of words and expressions referring to emotions (such as "be relieved", "feel", "a very embarrassing position"). On the other hand, in cases when it is a particular state of affairs which is at issue, rather than a stance towards the described situation, the choice of a stance clause with *it* appears to be more appropriate, as in (25):

(25) They would shoot Fiedler; that's what the woman said. Why did it have to be Fiedler — why not the old man who asked the questions, or the fair one in the front row between the soldiers, the one who smiled all the time [...]. **It** comforted her that Leamas and Fiedler were on the same side (Le Carré J., The Spy who Came In from the Cold, p. 202).

Second, the distinction between the operations of reference-making and identification involved in the differentiated uses of P- and S-subjects is usually triggered off by the stance-taker's dialogic choice between subjectivizing the reported stance in the first case and, on the contrary, objectivizing the stance in question by giving it a general identification (*it*). For instance, in (26), the epistemic event of mental apprehension (*began to see*) is presented with reference to specific individuals (*we*), which is aimed at establishing (cohesive) links with other individual events happening to the characters involved:

(26) *Reich said: "But if the parasites are between you and the source, they're probably obstructing you somehow."*
We *now began to see that this was a real possibility. The parasites had always used this "obstructing" method [...]. We had learnt how to prevent this: by penetrating to those depths of the mind from which the parasites normally operated."* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 194).

Contrastively to (26), the description of a similar epistemic event in a clause with the S-subject *it* (*it became clear*) in (27) is motivated by the dialogic technique of sharing the activated mental picture (*it*):

(27) ***It*** *became clear that there is a fundamental mistake about ordinary human existence — as absurd as trying to fill a bath with the plug out, or driving a car with the hand brake on* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 100).

The use of anticipatory *it* in the above example fits the generic construal of the situation described in the subordinate clause and contributes to its presentation in a more objective manner.

The use of anticipatory *it* for objectivizing one's stance is communicatively significant when the scope of mental awareness is intended to be shared by the participants of a conversation, as in (28):

(28) *'Darling, **it**'s good to be alive, isn't **it**? We're going to be happy, you and I, happy — happy.'* (Du Maurier D., *The Closing Door* (*Stories*), p. 197).

In (28), the dialogic appeal of the speaker (and stance-taker) is meant to activate one commonly shared mental picture (*it*) that can be negotiated or discussed (*isn't it*). In this context, the stance-taker's possible self-reference through the use of the pronoun *we* (*We are happy to be alive, aren't we?*) would subjectivize the expressed positive stance and would sound less interactively oriented. On the other hand, when a stance-taker's positive positioning cannot be the object of discussion, as in self-presentation in (29), the use of the requisite personal pronoun becomes the only possibility:

(29) *'**I** am pleased to present myself, Fritz Lieber, secretary of the International Society of Letters. Welcome to Geneva.'* (Du Maurier D., *The Rendezvous* (*Stories*), p. 119).

The contrast between clauses with P- and S-subjects as manifestation of the distinction between the discourse strategies of subjectivizing *vs.* objectivizing one's speech is also obvious in cases when the subjects are followed by modal predicates. Thus, the attribution of the modal predicate *should think* to the P-subject *I* in (30) serves to convey the uncertainty of the specific speaker in the expression of his epistemic positioning:

(30) '[...] *Your car turned into Bywater Street and our agent reported that you were dropped at number nine. That happens to be Smiley's house.'*
*'That's drivel,' Leamas declared. '**I** should think I went to the Eight Bells; it's a favorite pub of mine'* (Le Carré J., *The Spy who Came In from the Cold*, p. 180).

Owing to the specific reference of the P-subject *I* in the above example the stance clause with the modal predicate as a whole (*I should think*) is understood as a specific subjective positioning of the speaker. By contrast, the collocation of anticipatory *it* with a modal predicate in a correlative epistemic clause (*it would seem*) in (31) has no individualizing effects:

(31) *Annette Limoges lived, **it** would seem, only to retain what Scrivener cared to send her* [...] (Du Maurier D., *The Rendezvous* (*Stories*), p. 102).

The context of free indirect discourse representing the character's inner speech in which the above example occurs suggests that this very character (*Scrivener*) is the subject of the mentioned epistemic positioning. However, similar to the uses of *it* as S-subjects in (21), (23) and (25) the use of the pronoun in this case introduces a summary mental picture, which activates the interpretation of the subsequent modal predicate (*would seem*) as referring to the way the picture could be imagined independently of one's individual perceptions. This kind of interpretation invites the alignment of any (potential) reader with the expressed stance.

Third, the distinction between P- and S-subjects as constituents of event-schemas *vs*. those of internal experiences acquires communicative significance through the stance-taker's choice of either reporting a stance-event by filling its "slots", including a participant's slot, or commenting on this event by focusing on the activated mental sphere (*it*) and specifying the nature of experience in the stance-predication. As mentioned previously, the reporting mode of presenting a stance-event helps to associate its participant with the temporal location of the event in question and thus — to connect all the events in a network of their dynamic interrelationships. Thus, similar to the case in example (19), the report of a stance-event with the P-subject *he* in (32) allows to describe the event in question ("having an idea") in a series of other events that follow each other in a temporal sequence:

(32) *Too agitated to remain on the balcony, he went back into his room, and flinging himself in a chair began to read over the notes for his lecture. It was no use, though. He could not concentrate. Then* ***he*** *had an idea that she might, after all, have arrived back at the hotel* [...] (Du Maurie D., *The Rendezvous* (*Stories*), p. 106).

The epistemic experience of having an idea in the above example is presented as one event in a chain of others: the character (*he*) *went back into his room*, *began to read over the notes*, *could not concentrate*, *had an idea that*. The description of a similar epistemic state by a clause with anticipatory *it* (*it occurred to him*) produces somewhat different narrative effects:

(33) *A third martini did little to calm him; being a moderate drinker at all times, this sudden taking to spirits produced an intensity of fever.* ***It*** *occurred to him that some disaster might have overtaken her* [...] (Du Maurie D., *The Rendezvous* (*Stories*), p. 107).

The clause with anticipatory *it* in the above example does not relate the described epistemic state to the previously mentioned internal experience (the character's feeling "an intensity of fever"), but rather, introduces a comment on that experience.

Similar to (32), the use of a P-subject clause in (34) helps to present the experienced perceptual stance (*felt as if*) as directly related (here: through a causal link) to the previously mentioned event:

(34) *And then the realization came to me with such searing force that* ***I*** *felt as if I had been struck by lightning* (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 72).

Unlike (34), a comment on a similar perceptual stance-event in (35) motivates the choice of a clause with the S-subject (*it was as if*), which, again, places the focus on the activated domain of mental awareness (*it*) and zooms in on the event, rather than relates it to the previously mentioned one:

(35) *To begin with, the Graus protested "One at a time." Then, suddenly,* ***it*** *was as if we fell into step with Reich* [...]. (Wilson C., *The Mind Parasites*, p. 146).

Despite the use of the temporal indicator *then* in the above example, there is no obvious temporal link with the previously mentioned event, but rather, a close look at (or a comment on) the internal perceptual experience.

The discussed contrast between clauses with P- and S-subjects as associated with the distinction between event-frames and internal experiences, respectively, is reflected in different functions of the adverb *now* in these clauses. Thus, the use of *now* in a P-subject clause, as in (36), puts the described epistemic event (*was aware*) on a temporal plane with respect to the previously mentioned event (*he said*):

(36) *"You know," he said, and* ***he*** *was aware now that his words were a little slurred* (Du Maurier D., *The Rendezvous* (*Stories*), p. 110).

The use of *now* with the preceding *and* in the above example signals that there is a point in time (*now*) that separates the stance event (*he was aware*) from the prior speech event (*he said*). This use of now fits the definition of the adverb that is formulated in Cambridge Dictionary of the English Language in the following way: "used in stories or reports of past events to describe a new situation or event" (Cambridge Online: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/now).

Unlike (36), the use of *now* in the example below introduces the point at which the prior event(s) are interpreted rather than located in a temporal sequence:

(37) *London must have gone raving mad. He'd told them — that was the joke — he'd told them to leave her alone. And now* ***it*** *was clear that* [...] *from the very moment he left England [...] some fool had gone round* [...] *paying the bills, settling the grocer, the landlord; above all Liz* (Le Carré J., *The Spy who Came In from the Cold*, p. 191).

In (37), the clause with anticipatory *it* construes the epistemic positioning of the character (*it was clear that*) as an internal experience where *now* marks the point of mental apprehension which results from the analysis of the prior event (*he'd told them to leave her alone*). In this context, the adverb *now* can be defined in the following way: "used when describing a situation that is the result of what someone just said or did" (Cambridge Dictionary Online: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/now). The connotation of result that is introduced by *now* into the sentence as a whole comes from the implication of mental awareness and the associated sense of mental processing, or analysis, that is activated by anticipatory *it* in this discursive context. The connotation of analysis, in turn, contributes to the realization of narrative strategy of commenting on the epistemic experience by contrast with the strategy of reporting a similar experience (*it was clear that — he was aware that*) in a temporal sequence.

4. CONCLUSION

The conducted study of alternations in uses of stance-clauses headed by subjects that refer to either participants or abstract setting as two distinct types of conceptual archetypes has shown that cognitive differences between the linguistic units signifying the two conceptual structures (typically, personal pronouns *vs.* anticipatory *it*) are rooted in the discursively relevant facets of these structures and are motivated in actual discourse by communicative distinctions made in the context of speech. It has been established that the choice of stance expressions with participant- and setting-subjects is motivated, respectively, by the distinctions that arise in discourse between actual and mentally represented types of reality, the contrast between reference-making and viewing as types of cognitive events and the distinction between event-schemas and mental experiences. As evidenced by linguistic data, these discursively relevant distinctions are related to narrative and dialogic strategies that are used in literary texts for the expression of stance with the alternative stance-clauses.

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ДИСКУРСИВНЫЕ ФАКТОРЫ МЕНТАЛЬНОЙ ДИФФЕРЕНЦИАЦИИ И ВЫРАЖЕНИЕ ПРОПОЗИЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ УСТАНОВКИ В РЕЧИ (на материале английского языка)

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В статье представлен анализ явления мыслительной дифференциации, которая может выражаться в английском языке при передаче пропозициональной установки путем разграничения конструкций с подлежащими, ассоциируемыми с двумя концептуальными архетипами: «партиципантом» (П), на который указывает местоимение *I* лица (*I am certain that*), и «абстрактным сеттингом» (С), выражаемым вводным местоимением *it* (*It is certain that*). При опоре на основные теоретические положения об обусловленности языкового значения актами речевой деятельности (А.А. Леонтьев), ментальной дифференциации (Р. Лэнекер), процессами дискурсивно мотивированной концептуализации и категоризации (Е.С. Кубрякова), а также с учетом имеющихся дискурсивно ориентированных исследований выражения установки (Д. Байбер, Э. Финеган, Е. Карккаинен) в работе анализируются примеры (общим объемом около 350), представляющие нарративный и диалогический дискурс в текстах англоязычной художественной литературы. Языковые данные свидетельствуют в пользу того, что выбор конструкции пропозициональной установки с подлежащими П либо С мотивируется, соответственно, различиями, возникающими в дискурсе, между фактической и мысленно репрезентированной реальностью, противопоставлением референции и наблюдения как типов когнитивных операций, а также разграничением событийных схем и мысленных представлений. В работе показано, что данные дискурсивно значимые различия непосредственно связаны с нарративными и диалогическими стратегиями, которые используются в художественных текстах для выражения пропозициональной установки в предложениях с различными типами подлежащих.

Ключевые слова: ментальная дифференциация, установка, дискурс, речь, подлежащее, тип реальности, когнитивная операция

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SHOPPING AS 'BEST PRACTICE' — ANALYZING WALMART'S SUSTAINABILITY POLICIES*

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Abstract. Nowadays, companies who want to engage environment-friendly consumers increasingly rely on green-economy oriented campaigns. Such categories of (ethical) consumers are numerically increasing, and expressions evoking environmental friendliness are becoming particularly trendy. In this vein, words such as 'sustainability' have been variously recontextualized/reframed and have become an 'ought to' for media-savvy companies 'with a vision' — Walmart, the American multinational retail corporation, being a relevant case in point. It is no accident that, on the first Google page for 'sustainability', 'Walmart' proudly surfaces:http://corporate.walmart.com/global-responsibility/sustainability. The company has made an explicit commitment not just to expand the business but also to improve communities and enhance the sustainability of the products they sell, by encouraging more responsible production practices, while at the same time making product choices more affordable for customers, as reported on its website. However, as the world's largest company, Walmart is an easy target for attack mainly by environmentalists. Sometimes, Walmart gives its critics grounds for some legitimate criticism in a variety of fields ranging from the supply chain emissions to renewable energy and preserving habitat. Such criticism resonates across the media, owing to their 'lack of closure' (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), finalized to offer an unbiased perspective. Against this 'complexified' (Macgilchrist 2007) background, our study aims to examine, from a broadly Multimodal and Positive Discourse Analysis perspective, the Walmart website 'sustainability' pages with their variety of communicative strategies, advertising 'responsible' Walmart positive attitudes to fundamental issues like Energy, Waste, Products and Responsible Sourcing.

Keywords: green-economy, multimodal and positive discourse analysis, communicative strategies, advertising 'responsible'

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, companies increasingly rely on green-economy oriented campaigns, in order to engage the growing number of ethic, environment-friendly consumers. Expressions evoking environmental friendliness are becoming ever trendier and there is a widespread awareness that value-based needs rather than simple material needs must be met, in order to satisfy the consumers' wishes more effectively. Accordingly, popular words such as 'sustainability' have been variously re-contextualized/re-framed and have become an 'ought-to' for media-savvy companies 'with a vision'.

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* Although this paper is the product of joint research, the Sections Aims; Integrated Methodology; The Appraisal Framework Resources; Lines of Appeal; Data — *Walmart Sustainability* 2.0 Video; Discussion, were written by Lucia Abbamonte, while the Sections Positive Discourse Analysis — The Proactive Orientation; Ecolinguistics — The Cognitive Orientation; Corpus; Procedure; Data —*Walmart Today — A Sustainable Lifestyle*; Discussion were written by Flavia Cavaliere. The INTRODUCTION and the CONCLUDING REMARKS were written together by the authors.

Walmart, the American multinational corporation and the largest retailer in the world[1], is a relevant case in point, since its explicit, advertised goals are perfectly in line with the contemporary ‘green-oriented scenario’. Interestingly enough, Walmart’s advertising campaigns seem to echo the Sustainable Development Goals, as declared through the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development at the United Nations Summit on 25 September 2015. In the words of Helen Clark, the UN Development Program Administrator, “World leaders have an unprecedented opportunity this year to shift the world onto a path of inclusive, sustainable and resilient development”. The dedicated website foregrounds a graphic representation that shows such goals in a captivatingly symmetrical way, with bright colours and catchy iconic images, so as to make them visible/credible (figure 1)[2].

Figure 1. Sustainable Development Goals (retouched here for copyright reasons)

[1] In brief, in 1962, ‘Mr. Sam’ Walton opened the first Walmart store in Rogers, Ark., and nowadays Walmart has 2.3 million associates worldwide — 1.5 million in the U.S. alone, and each week, nearly 260 million customers visit Walmart’s 11,500 stores under 63 banners in 28 countries and e-commerce sites in 11 countries. The revenue for the fiscal year 2016 was of $482.1 billion.

[2] In detail, the Sustainable Development Goals are; 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere; 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages; 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all; 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all; 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all; 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all; 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation; 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries; 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable; 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts; 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development; 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss; 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels; 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development. Retrieved from http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda.html. Last accessed September 2016.

In this environment-sensitive scenario, many for-profit companies try to obtain the certification of *Benefit Corporations*. In order to be recognized as 'B-Corp' by the nonprofit B Lab, for-profit companies have to meet rigorous standards of social and environmental performance, accountability, and transparency. Nowadays, there is a growing community of more than 1,600 Certified B Corps from 42 countries and over 120 industries, whose unifying goal is working together to redefine success in business[3].

Walmart is increasingly acting as a B-Corp, e.g., in 2005, Walmart took a leading role in disaster relief, contributing $18 million and 2,450 truckloads of supplies to victims of hurricanes Katrina and Rita, and in 2010 committed $2 billion through the end of 2015 to help end hunger in the United States[4]. Furthermore, Walmart launched a global commitment campaign to sustainable agriculture, aiming to strengthen local farmers and economies, while providing customers access to affordable, high-quality food, and made a major commitment to environmental sustainability, announcing goals to create zero waste, use only renewable energy and sell products that sustain people and the environment[5]. In gist, the company's commitments are to expand the business while at the same time improving communities. Part of Walmart's efforts to that effect include its recent Restorative Justice programmes. Since shoplifters frequently target Walmart's shops, the company strongly needed to ease the burden on law enforcement by adopting non-coercitive, sustainable methods. Accordingly,

> Walmart has begun a novel experiment: deal with shoplifters internally by meting out its own version of law and order through an initiative called "Restorative Justice." The idea is to give some accused shoplifters, such as first-time offenders, the option of completing an online remedial program designed to deter through education, rather than jail time. [Josh Sunburn August 15, 2016, http://time.com/4439650/walmart-shoplifting-crime our italics].

Walmart's choice to turn to Restorative Justice programmes is in line with its social-oriented, discursive, empathic image:

> Restorative Justice (RJ), envisioned as a new model of coping with crime by changing criminal behaviours, has attracted many adherents over the last decades. [...] The aims of RJ essentially involve re-establishing social equality in relationships by promoting reconciliation and encouraging a sense of agency. Such goals are pursued through a process whereby parties with a stake in a specific offence cooperatively decide how to deal with its consequences [...] Discursive skills and *dialogistic* exchange are the *par excellence* medium in RJ negotiations. The latter are mainly based on the meeting between victims and offenders where the mediators expertise is essential to the positive outcome of such sessions. [Abbamonte and Cavaliere, 2012: 110,117][6].

2. AIMS

Against this background, our study aims to examine the Walmart's videos on 'sustainability' with their variety of communicative strategies, where 'responsible' Walmart positive attitudes to fundamental issues like Energy, Waste, Products and Responsible

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[3] See among others https://www.bcorporation.net.

[4] *Our History: Sam Walton*. Retrieved from http://corporate.walmart.com/our-story/our-history.

[5] *Sustainability/ Energy*. Retrieved from http://corporate.walmart.com/global-responsibility/sustainability/.

[6] See also, among others, Abbamonte and Cavaliere 2013; Abbamonte, 2014.

Sourcing are promoted. From a broad Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) approach, we will analyse the ways in which Walmart's videos convey the messages of 'sustainability', and of 'green-oriented', 'environment-sensitive', 'consumer-friendly' productive and commercial activities, for the advertised purposes of creating a better, healthier society in a better and more just world.

3. INTEGRATED METHODOLOGY

When dealing with multimodal texts, such as Walmart's Sustainability videos, which rely on the synergic interaction of many different communicative codes (shapes, images, colours, lighting, composition, perspective, music, words, rhythm, sequence, setting, etc.) the issue of using comprehensive methodology/ies comes to the foreground. Furthermore, since these videos also include discourses and talks in the fields of attitudes, emotion languages and advertising, an integrated methodology (Abbamonte 2012) seems to be the more practical choice. In other words, we need to face the analytical challenge of utilizing the tools and resources from different approaches. Hence, our main approach to the analysis of aspects of contemporary Walmart corporate communication relies on a MCDA perspective (Kress 2010, van Leeuwen, 2013, Martin 2004), which enabled us to analyse both the *audio-visual* and the *verbal* components of the multimodal texts under investigation, since it is an intrinsically comprehensive and inclusive methodology[7].

[7] CDA is probably the most comprehensive attempt to develop a theory of the inter-connectedness of discourse, power, and ideology. The term 'critical' principally means unravelling or 'denaturalising' ideologies expressed in discourse and revealing how power structures are constructed and negotiated in and through discourse. CDA research specifically analyses institutional, political, gender, and media discourses which 'testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict' (Wodak 2001:2). [...M]ore recently there has been a visual turn inspired by scholars who have incorporated visual images into concepts of discourse and have moved towards broader multimodal conceptions (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Machin 2007). This extension of CDA into visual semiotics also has its origins in early Hallidayan theory, which maintains that language is only one semiotic resource out of many and that several forms of representations, linguistic and non-linguistic, are used in the construction of discourse. For example, while political and ideological views of newspapers can be expressed in the choice of different vocabularies (e.g. 'resistance fighters' vs. 'insurgents') and different grammatical structures (e.g. active vs. passive constructions), visual structures in the form of images just as much can convey ideological meanings. Applying some of the linguistic principles found in SFL [...i.e. a set of tools derived from SFL that allows us to study the choices of visual features as well as lexical and grammatical choices in language], Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) shows how images, photographs, diagrams, and graphics also work to create meanings communicated by a text, which are often more implicit or indirect than language. [...] One of these tools is social actor analysis (van Leeuwen 1996), a linguistic and visual inventory of the ways we can describe and classify people and some of the ideological effects that these classifications can have. [Abridged from Mayr. 2012:1-2, Semiotix XN-7] http://semioticon.com/semiotix/2012/03/multimodal-critical-discourse-analysis/.

Since issues of social esteem, desirability, pro-active attitudes and change/improvement are entailed in these videos, we utilised additional resources (see below) for more fine-grained analyses.

4. THE APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

A major focus of these videos is on the values of social esteem, which are analytically classified in the Appraisal Framework (AF), within the category of Attitude/Judgment [8]. In more detail, from an AF perspective[9], Walmart's goals mainly amount to gain *social esteem* and avoid *social sanction.* In White's account, the AF was developed as some researchers felt the need to define the attitudinal values by which texts apply social norms to evaluate human behaviour. Virtually all evaluative uses of language can be investigated by utilizing the AF resources. For example, such resources can help identify certain patterns by which so-called 'objective' texts within the media favour certain values of attitude while excluding others (Martin, 1992: 523, 535).

In gist, the system of Appraisal comprises three large interactive systems:

1. Attitudinal positioning
2. Intertextual positioning
3. Engagement and dialogistic positioning

The Attitudinal Positioning resources, concerning positive and negative evaluations, are further sub-categorised into:

I. *Affect*
II. *Judgement*
III. *Appreciation*

Judgement, in particular, refers to meanings that are analysed to evaluate human behaviour either positively or negatively by reference to a set of institutionalized norms. Judgement can be either explicit or implicit and is divided into two broad categories, Social Esteem and Social Sanction, as shown in Table 1.

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[8] Appraisal: An Overview. Retrieved from http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/framed/frame.htm.

[9] The Appraisal Framework (AF) was developed between 1990 and 1995 by Professor Jim Martin and his team based at the University of Sydney. It has emerged as an extension of M.A.K Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics within a wider literacy project named *Write it Right* from the Disadvantaged Schools Program of the New South Wales Department of Schools Education. The aim was «to examine the written genres of a range of significant key learning areas of secondary education (English, history, science, mathematics and geography) and to consider their relationship to the written genres of selected work situations (the media, science industry and administration)». See also F. Christie, J.R. Martin (Eds.), *Genres and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School,* London, Cassell, (1997) 2000, p. 1. The Appraisal Framework website has constantly been updated by P.R. White (2005, 2012, 2015) and is now denominated as "The Appraisal website — The language of Attitude, Arguability and Interpersonal Positioning". Retrieved and distilled from http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/index.html.

Table 1

The full system of Judgement*

Social Esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticise]
Normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average...; lucky, charmed...; fashionable, avant garde...	eccentric, odd, maverick...; unlucky, unfortunate...; dated, unfashionable ...
Capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful...; athletic, strong, powerful...; sane, together...	stupid, slow, simple-minded...; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated...; insane, neurotic...
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic...; reliable, dependable...; indefatigable, resolute, persevering	cowardly, rash, despondent...; unreliable, undependable...; distracted, lazy, unfocussed...
Social Sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
Veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible...; authentic, genuine...; frank, direct...;	deceitful, dishonest...; bogus, fake...; deceptive, obfuscatory...
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous...; law abiding, fair, just...; caring, sensitive, considerate...	bad, immoral, lascivious...; corrupt, unjust, unfair...; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive...

*P.R.R. White (2015). *An introductory tour through appraisal theory.* Judgement evaluating human behaviour. Retrieved from http://grammatics. com/appraisal/ AppraisalOutline/UnFramed/AppraisalOutline.htm#P186_38019.

5. LINES OF APPEAL

Another interesting aspect of the videos under scrutiny is the specificity of the language of advertising with its recognised lines of appeal (Dyer 1988). It has been observed that advertisers utilise different themes proven to appeal to the audience, such as ideal families; glamorous /elite lifestyles, success stories; romantic love stories; beautiful natural settings; beautiful women and handsome men; sex appeal; arrogance; humour; (Fowles 1976, 1996; Dyer 1988). Lately, emotions[10], cyber-scenarios, and beautiful tableaux of (exceptionally) *clean, pure natural setting*, where healthy, powerful, beautiful human bodies move and shine at ease, are also utilised[11]. It is by now a shared notion that advertisers resort to stereotyping and intertextual references (to/from well-known art works, comedies, movies etc.) to the effect of making their advert memorable and interesting (Dyer 1988, Saward 2012).

[10] As concerns the musical dimension, the Italian playlist *Spotify* subdivides musical tunes not only according to genres, but also to moods: *the happy hipster*, *young, wild and free*, *caffeine rush*, *deep focus*, *mood booster*. The Italian *Mediaset Premium* TV broadcasting company subdivides its programmes according to emotions and vital energy: *energy*, *discovery*, *joy*. *Smart Box,* a new formula to promote travels, sells emotional experiences, such as "adrenalina", "peccati di gola", "atmosfere d'incanto". Retrieved from Playlist. https://support.spotify.com/it/using_spotify/playlists/save-your-music-with-playlists/.

[11] In a similar line, there is a growing body of fiction literature that deals with climate change and global warming, but from a dystopia perspective. For example, Michael Crichton's *State of Fear* (2004), defined as a techno-thriller, presents climate change as "a vast pseudo-scientific hoax" and criticizes the scientific opinion on climate change. Further, Margaret Atwood's trilogy *Oryx and Crake* (2003), *The Year of the Flood* (2009) and *MaddAddam* (2013) presents a dystopic world grounded on social inequality, nightmarish genetic technology and catastrophic climate change.

6. POSITIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS — THE PRO-ACTIVE ORIENTATION

The pro-active orientation of the Walmart's videos also need to be accounted for. Now, CDA is best known for its tendency to deconstruction and its foci on ideologically driven discrimination (gender, ethnicity, social variables), and, typically, has not offered productive accounts of alternative forms of social organisation, nor of social subjects, other than by implication (Kress 1996, 2000). Instead, a recent complementary perspective (Positive Discourse Analysis) has been provided by J.R. Martin (2004) on the potential resources of discourse analysis for promoting positive, pro-active attitudes. In his own words,

> One face [of discourse analysis], and the better established of the two, I'll refer to as CDA realis. This is the deconstructive face of CDA, and is concerned with exposing language and attendant semiosis in the service of power [...]. CDA realis continues to make an immense contribution to studies of the interestedness of discourse, across contexts where inequalities of generation, gender, ethnicity and class disrupt humanity [...]. The complementary face of CDA I'll refer to as CDA irrealis, since I judge it has realised much less of its potential. This face is oriented not so much to deconstruction as to constructive social action [...] to make the world a better place. (Martin 2004: 179—200, passim).

The PDA attitude has educational implications as well. In Martin's words, it can act as a window on the construction of values and the circulation of power through "a discourse which we can use both to monitor and design change — and thus materialise CDA irrealis in the interests of its visions of better worlds" (2004: 19). In the contemporary semiosphere, the languages of advertising typically aim to shape and foreground visions of better worlds, which can also be widely acknowledged and endorsed as authentic and reliable, such as the visions promoted through the campaigns by the Italian 1971 Foundation *Pubblicità Progresso.* Walmart's campaigns move along similar lines, yet the corporation itself, its advertised goals notwithstanding, is not exempt from criticism[12].

7. ECOLINGUISTICS — THE COGNITIVE ORIENTATION

For a more complete understanding of our Walmart videos, insights from a complementary approach, i.e. ecolinguistics, were also useful. To some extent, Martin's PDA notions paved the way for these recent orientations in discourse analysis, which also emphasise the need for transformative narratives (Stibbe 2016)[13]. In the words of Stibbe, ecolinguistics[14]:

> can *explore* the more general *stories we live by — patterns of language that influence how people both think about, and treat, the world.* Ecolinguistics can investigate mental models

[12] Such criticism, as well as Walmart's responses, are easily retrievable on line, but an analysis of these debates lies beyond the scope of the present article.

[13] A. Stibbe (2016). Ecolinguistics: the search for new stories to live by. Seminar — Catania 7 September.

[14] Ecolinguistics is evolving as a rich and multifaceted approach, including ecocriticism (Garrard 2014), ecopoetics (Knickerbocker 2012), ecofeminism (Adams and Gruen 2014), ecopsychology (Fisher 2013), ecosociology (Stevens 2012), political ecology (Robbins 2012) and environmental communication (Cox 2012).

that influence behaviour and lie at the heart of the ecological challenges we are facing. There are certain *key stories* about economic *growth,* about technological *progress*, about *nature* as an object to be used or conquered, about profit and success, that have profound implications for how we treat the systems that life depends on. [...In particular, as regards environment-related topics] *the language of advertising can encourage us to desire* unnecessary and *environmentally damaging products*, while *nature writing can inspire respect* for the natural world. How we think has an influence on how we act, so language can inspire us to destroy or protect the ecosystems that life depends on. *Ecolinguistics,* then, *is about critiquing forms of language that contribute to ecological destruction*, and *aiding in the search for new forms of language that inspire people to protect the natural world.* (Stibbe 2015: III and passim, our italics).

To some extent, **PDA and ecolinguistics share a pro-active attitude** and emphasize the need for forming sensitive attitudes. Indeed, communities are formed around attitudes to things (Bourdieu, 1980), and in our times, a strong need for re-shaping communities according to positive values is increasingly felt. To give one example, Pallera (2014), CEO of Ninja Marketing, presented a new approach based on transpersonal psychology, to identify individuals at transpersonal level, i.e. as part of a larger community, rather than as a set of isolated selves[15]. This rhetoric of solidarity is foregrounded in the (video) narratives of Walmart's sustainability campaigns.

8. CORPUS

Our corpus consists in the following Walmart's sustainability videos (below). Our qualitative analysis highlighted thematic analogies and recurring visual and verbal features, as illustrated in the data sections.

1. Walmart Sustainability 2.0 — Introduction — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lje89Y9nWD0
2. Walmart Today: A Sustainable Lifestyle https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guMjWM_3n-Y
3. How Wal-Mart embraced sustainability — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxC0TOFSIdU
4. Walmart's Sustainability Efforts — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_zgtlW2TWY
5. Wal-Mart Sustainability Overview — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qb8VUZAtNXo
6. Wal-Mart measures sustainability https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwjuJQ6Bl7U
7. Walmart Drives Sustainability — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iO2hYvWYBkI
8. 2014 Walmart Sustainability Milestone Meeting Highlights — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WR2jTnxH6D4
9. Walmart Moms for Sustainability — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4gujVfcg80
10. Walmart Drives Sustainability with Oracle RightNow — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xS89fMHVcZw
11. Walmart's sustainability journey — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F2pNBLiHI4k

[15] M. Pallera (2014). Un e-commerce ha quadruplicato il valore grazie all'amore. C'è un marketing che vende e migliora il mondo. *Centodieci*. Retrieved from http://www.centodieci.it/2014/12/dal-marketing-3-0-spiritualita-quando-lazienda-risuona-lanima/. N. Falco Simeone (2015). Nasce il Marketing Transpersonale, il nuovo paradigma che cambia l'approccio alla disciplina. Retrieved from http://www.ninjamarketing.it/2015/05/20/marketing-transpersonale-nuovo-paradigma.

12. Goals of Walmart's sustainability journey — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tnh5ug0_5d4
13. Walmart — The Future is Sustainability — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tz8FAam_Oa8
14. Walmart — Sustainability Showcase — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrZedWL80Uk
15. Walmart — 2015 Sustainability Milestone Webcast — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuz3csDqQuQ

These videos are broadcasted through YouTube, which is an intrinsic indicator of relevance and transitive communication. The relationship between YouTube and the advertising world is growing stronger: in the words of Wojcicki and Kyncl, "YouTube pitches itself to advertisers as the medium of the future [...and predictably], in five years, the majority of advertiser-supported videos will take place on a mobile device"[16].

9. PROCEDURE

In our analysis, to better describe how images compose/convey meaning and shape (hyperbolic) visual metaphors, we utilized many of the following notions (abridged from Stinson, 2012; Ascher and Pincus, 2013; Chandler, 2016), as follows:

- Composition
- Salience (the dominant image that draws our attention)
- Gaze vectors (the lines that draw us towards a particular image. Gaze Demand: The eyes of the image demand out attention ; Gaze Offer: The person in the frame could be looking beyond the frame)
- Colour and lighting (e.g. red = passion; blue = peace and tranquillity; black = death or fear) monochromatic: Black and white; Saturation: the colour could be bleached out — open aperture of the camera lens so too much light floods in; Chiaroscuro: dramatic use of light and dark shadows.
- Symbolism and icons, intertextual allusions (references to other texts and well known symbols/ images).

As regards *perspectives*, we can have high angle shots when the camera is higher and above the subject, for orienting viewers, and low angle shot when the subject is taken from below, so that it appears more powerful/threatening. To compose an image, close up, medium or long distance shots are the more frequent options and establish the landscape and the actors' relationship to the scene. Canting (the image is tilted left or right on the axis) and two-point shots (a shot of two people together) are also utilized.

10. Data — *Walmart Sustainability 2.0* video

Among the above listed videos, owing to space constraints, we selected as examples the two that most significantly depict and represent the sustainability themes, according

[16] D. Lieberman. 2015. 'YouTube Pitches Itself To Advertisers As The Medium Of The Future'. Retrieved from http://deadline.com/2015/04/youtube-advertising-newfront-future-video-1201418305. Bought by Google in 2006, YouTube allows users to watch, upload, and share videos through easily available technology and is the world's largest video site, boasting more than 1 billion users who upload 300 hours of video a minute (Wegert 2015). In this way, a very wide variety of user-generated and corporate media videos can be displayed, including TV clips, music videos, video blogs, and educational videos.

to the criteria of relevance[17]. Here follows the script of the *Walmart Sustainability 2.0 — Introduction*, which revolves around themes of *progress, change for good, development and increase, efficient* and *pure energy sources.* We analysed it along the dimension of the AF Attitudinal positioning, which includes the somewhat overlapping notions of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, as follows.

Legend:
Affect [positive$^+$/negative$^-$]
Judgement [social esteem$^+$/social sanction$^-$]
Appreciation [positive$^+$/negative$^-$]

> In the decades ahead, a **dramatically** different world$^+$ will begin to take shape. **Powerful forces**$^+$ have already begun contributing to this transformation.$^+$ The growing$^+$ global economy *increased reliance on technology*$^+$ and a higher demand for energy. But perhaps more than any others, two trends **we** have already begun to see will shape our world. First billions of people are lifting themselves **out of poverty and joining middle class**$^+$, with this progress comes a desire to enjoy the comforts and conveniences of modern life. Second, those of us already in the middle class have begun to develop *higher expectations* of the product **we** buy. **We will continue to care about costs and quality**$^+$. The coming years will see an even greater demand for products that come to us efficiently, ethically and sustainably.$^+$ **We** will need to alter the ways **we** take natural resources from the earth and make the products **we** sell. **We** will need to refine how **we** move those products and ourselves around the world. **We** will need to rethink how **we** buy and use those products and ultimately how **we** reuse them. **Making these changes** will require a total transformation of business as **we** know it. **We** need to look at our businesses more holistically$^+$ and ask questions about everything necessary to make them *productive*$^+$. How do **we** run businesses **more efficiently using energy sources that don't pollute**$^+$ our air, water and soil. How do **we** eliminate the concept of waste from our processes and begin to reuse the resources we have thrown away for so long. How do **we** make products that are not only recyclable$^+$ but also more durable$^+$ and that can be used multiple times and in multiple ways? The ***solutions***$^+$ to these many challenges represent ***opportunities*** for ***innovation, ingenuity and partnership***$^+$ one a scale unprecedented$^+$ in human history. There are ***opportunities*** to do *the right thing,*$^+$ right not only for the planet but also for the billions of people who call it home. There are ***opportunities*** for small and large businesses to *prosper and grow.*$^+$ *Not only can businesses succeed, in the future, they can also lead the way.*$^+$ Some have already begun. [*Sustainability 2.0.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lje89Y9nWD0]

[17] The notion of relevance, amplified from the usual acceptation of the word, traditionally pertained to psychological and cognitive studies (among others, Higgins and Bargh 1987; Humphreys and Garry 2000; Fecteau and Munoz 2006), and has recently been utilised in communication studies and linguistics as well. Moving from Grice's maxims of conversation, in the 1980s and 1990s, Sperber and Wilson developed the Relevance theory (1986; 1997), with attention given to the context and the cognitive environment where the speech acts take place. In brief, the relevance theory considers that linguistic communication is based on *ostention,* i.e. the communicator 'shows' meaning, and *inference*, i.e. the recipient deducts new information presented in the context of old information. Such deduction is spontaneous and gives rise to *contextual effects* in the cognitive environment of the audience, which are a necessary condition for relevance. The greater the contextual effect, the greater the relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 119). In some detail, any utterance said on a specific occasion is relevant, as well as whatever bears on the meaning of an utterance; also, data or findings taken to bear on some phase or aspect of linguistic analysis are relevant. Accordingly, speakers/writers are expected by a maxim of relation to make their contribution to an interchange relevant rather than irrelevant (see also Jaworski and Coupland 2006). From this and contiguous perspectives, Content value, Cognitive value, Socio-emotional value, and Information source value become relevant (Soojung, Oh 2009).

Apparently, affect is the overarching dimension, finalized to engage the viewers in being/feeling part of the presented activities, mainly through the use of the inclusive **we** and the repeated question form, through the medium of a persuasive voice over accompanied by an empathic music. Both the need for change and sustainable opportunities are foregrounded, so as to meet with Social Esteem judgements. Apparently, such opportunities can be achieved through cooperative efforts under Walmart's leadership.

The following table synthetically highlights the main **notions** and **techniques** we identified in the video under analysis.

Table 2

***Walmart Sustainability 2.0* — *Introduction* — analysis**

Lines of appeal (verbal+visual levels)	**Salient Positive NOTIONS/ MYTHS** (verbal level)	**Scenario of sustainable activities** (verbal+ visual levels)	**Techniques** (audio-verbal)	**Composition/perspective**	**Colour and lighting**	**Iconicity/ Symbolism**
PROGRESS/ BETTER LIFE/ IMPROVEMENT: *Billions of people... out of poverty joining the middle class.... and beyond*	TRANSFORMATION, CHANGE, GROWTH: *Unprecedented in human history*, *Different, Growing, Increasing, Trends, Shape, Begin, Partnership, Opportunities*	Alternative energy use and production (solar panels, eolic turbines, waste recycle) *Ethical, efficient, sustainable use of the planet resources* [social esteem]	Voice over; Empathic music; Hyperbolic language: *Dramatically, Higher, Greater*	Mostly verticality and low angle shot	Green, White, Lightness	Clouds, Blue sky, Humanized landscape, domesticated machines, Human cooperation, man+machine synergy

To give a few visual examples, here follow some pictures taken from the video (all retouched for copyright reasons). In picture 1, the notion of progress coming from cooperation among individuals is represented. Natural colours contribute to foreground the synergy between the work of man and nature.

Picture 1. Partnership, Opportunities

In pictures 2 and 3 alternative sources of energy are displayed through a skillful dynamics of gaze vectors and angle shots, against engaging (sunset, moving clouds) natural settings.

Picture 2. Eolic turbines

Picture 3. Eco-skyscraper

Picture 4. Re-use- Reduce- Re-cycle

Picture 4 foregrounds a phase of the much emphasised WALMART re-cycling processes, set against the background of a clean, blue sky.

11. DISCUSSION

Apparently, the path to a cleaner, safer and righteous world passes through the purchasing of Walmart's products. The 4 "R's" of WALMART sustainability *Re-use- Reduce- Re-cycle- Re-think* are the verbal/visual iconic leit-motif of the campaign. *The pragmatic value and the persuasive force of the video sinergically rely on both the visual and the linguistic levels,* which utilise a variety of resources, as shown in both table 2 and pictures 1—4. As highlighted in terms of AF (see above *Walmart Sustainability 2.0* script), a captivating narrative is thus built that, in terms of PDA, could function as an influential story for the virtual audience of the potential Walmart customers. Indeed, influential stories (and metaphors) do influence the way we live; as Stibbe (2016)[18] made clear, such stories *influence how we think, talk, and act*. However, its persuasive advertising rhetoric notwithstanding, Walmart's credibility has been variously questioned by its critics[19].

12. DATA — WALMART TODAY — A SUSTAINABLE LIFESTYLE

In the second video we are going to illustrate, the emphasis is again on Walmart's role in 'making the world a more sustainable place'[20]. Within this video, a major focus

[18] To some extent, Stibbe echoes Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

[19] An analysis of cross-mediatic criticism of Walmart's actions and campaigns lies beyond the scope of this analysis, but examples are easily retrievable on line.

[20] This video also illustrates the 'ripple effect of opportunity', i.e. how Walmart provides its employees ('associates') opportunities to grow and pursue different career through specialised training and education. Furthermore, financial services (mortgages, saving plans, financing higher education etc...) are also illustrated.

is on the 'Love Food, Hate Waste' programme taking place at ASDA stores, the Walmart's associate company in the UK [21].

The ASDA efforts to reduce food waste, thus improving their 'Green Britain' Index[22], are engagingly represented by showing pleasant and collaborative interactions among ASDA shop-assistants and selected customers. Assistants teach parents and children how to reduce food waste by utilizing quizzes, recipe cards, stickers etc. Here follows the script of the video, which revolves around themes of cooperative teaching-learning, finalized to enact the 'Love Food, Hate Waste' and 'Save money, Live better' mantra. We analysed it along the dimension of the AF Attitudinal positioning, which includes the somewhat overlapping notions of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation.

Legend:
Affect [positive^{+}/negative^{-}]
Judgement [social esteem^{+}/social sanction^{-}]
Appreciation [positive^{+}/negative^{-}]

> As you know, Walmart is a leader in *making the world a more sustainable place*$^{+}$. [...Two written slogans appear, with white lettering on green field, and the yellow logo, in the shape of an asterisk/flower:] «ASDA Save money, live **better**$^{+}$». «Community life — ASDA. We **love**$^{+}$ food and **hate** waste^{+}».
>
> [Amy Downes — Community Life coordinator informs the viewers about the ongoing 'Love Food, Hate Waste' activity.] "It is something we do as business to reduce waste^{+} from our stores. The idea of reducing food waste^{+} is really important to us."[Then speaks Laura Babbs — Sustainability manager] "This is really **good focus**$^{+}$ to me because the average family with children waste 60 pounds a month on food.$^{-}$ So [...we want to] make sure that *great quality food*$^{+}$ that we give to **our customers**$^{+}$ is **best**$^{+}$ stocked, to really live in the **save-money-live-better**$^{+}$ mantra." [Then speaks June Thurston, Hereford] Hi, I am June, I am a Community Life Champion^{+}, today [we are doing an activity...] the **little lads**$^{+}$ can choose little stickers to see what size portions they should actually be eating^{+}." [A little boy speaks] "I had never known you can freeze baked beans." [A smiling elderly woman speaks] "I think it is important for us to do these things^{+}." [A smiling younger woman speaks] "It **helps parents**$^{+}$ find **new ways of teaching children all these good tips^{+}."** [Then June Thurston is heard again, as a voice over, while images of smiling faces and of a girl with the Down syndrome are sequentially shown] "I think it is really **important to engage**$^{+}$ the customers in this way. It is a one to one. We have got the paper work, the recipe cards, the quiz . Everything is designed to teach them. If I can learn just a little something every day, **it's a job well done**$^{+}$." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guMjWM_3n-Y

[21] Founded in the 1960s in Yorkshire, Asda is one of Britain's leading retailers, with its 616 stores. Its main office is based in Leeds, Yorkshire. To give some figures, about 18 million people shop at Asda stores every week. Asda joined Walmart in 1999.

[22] In 2011 ASDA company started a survey on their customers green-sensitivity, since, in their own words, "We know our customers care about being green and they want to lead more sustainable lifestyles. [...]. What our Everyday Experts tell us shapes the way we do business. Back in 2014, 85% of our Everyday Experts told us that they wanted Asda to help them reduce food waste".

Accordingly, in 2015, they ran the 'Love Food Hate Waste' activities across their 600 stores. They promoted in-store events, popped stickers on produce, and offered tips, tricks and recipes for leftovers, thus reaching over 6 million customers that, allegedly, are now saving £57 every year. Retrieved from https://sustainability.asda.com/sites/default/files/Green%20Britain%20Index%202016%20web_2.pdf.

The overarching dimension here is Social Esteem, as related to the promotion of pro-active initiatives, aimed at generating change at both individual levels and community level towards a more sustainable use of food. An inspiring story of empathy with the needs of the families (of customers) is thus developed through the alternation of the lively, practical, sympathetic speakers, who aim at making ASDA's efforts visible through the use of smiles, facial expressions, gestures, (enthusiastic) voices and uniforms.

The following table highlights the main **notions** and **techniques** we identified in the video under analysis.

Table 3

***Walmart Today — A Sustainable Lifestyle* — analysis**

Lines of appeal (verbal+visual levels)	**Salient Positive NOTIONS/ MYTHS** (verbal+visual levels)	**Scenario of sustainable activities** (verbal+ visual levels)	**Techniques** (audio+visual levels)	**Composition/perspective**	**Colour and lighting**	**Iconicity/ Symbolism**
Progress/ Better Life/ Improvement: Smiling interactions shop-assistants-children; Slogans: *Quality food, Save money*	Transformation, Change, Growth: *Better lives; Love food, hate waste; Teaching children to consume better food* **[Social esteem]**	Inspiring visual narrative in UK ASDA friendly setting **[Social esteem]**	Lively music; Harmonious alternation of committed individual speakers: Cheerful presenters & collaborative ASDA assistants & customers (mums +children)	Mostly eye-level shots, canting, two points shots	Bright blue, fluo green + bright colours	Foregrounded logo and colours, green uniforms, colorful stickers with vegetables

To give a few visual examples, here follow some pictures taken from the video (all retouched for copyright reasons). In pictures 5 and 6, we can see the campaign slogan and the ASDA logo, which are often foregrounded in the video with their captivating bright colours (fluo-green, white and yellow) and iconic words/phrases, effectively framed in a meaning bearing visual composition.

Picture 5. Love food/hate waste

Picture 6. ASDA logo

Picture 7 displays the stickers used in the activity to teach children the right amount of vegetables that should be eaten a day, which are emphasized by the photo framing and the brilliant colours (mostly shades of green).

Picture 8 is an eye-level shot of the sustainability manager, which emphasizes her interactive attitude. Again, the ASDA logo and the green-tinged background frame the visual composition.

Picture 7. Food portion stickers

Picture 8. Sustainability manager

13. DISCUSSION

The *Walmart Today — A Sustainable Lifestyle* video encompasses a variety of ways in which Walmart's corporation engages the communities towards more sustainable lifestyles. The focus of our analysis was on ASDA stores 'Love Food, Hate Waste' activities. The video utilizes lively music, bright colours, and the speaking head techniques to foreground the message that a kind of community is gathering, with the expressed goal of reducing food waste and promoting healthier and better lifestyles. In particular, the Asda Logo is repeatedly shown: an asterisk or flower, symbolizing the friendliness and outstanding quality of the brand. The shape of the logo stands for the 'organic' and environmental-friendly nature of its business. Its bright colours underline the companies' commitment to quality, and to the wellbeing of its customers. Additionally, the use of simple colors (yellow, green and white) depicts the passion and the basic nature of the business, and evokes the freshness of their produce[23].

[23] Abridged from *The Walmart Brand* website. Retrieved from https://www.walmartbrandcenter.com/our-core-identity.aspx.

Significantly, the assistants keep smiling, and the customers react accordingly, thus, in terms of PDA, a persuasive narrative of fruitful teaching, resulting in positive cooperation between the Walmart-ASDA corporation and their customers, is shaped. From an ecolinguistic perspective, both the notions of spreading green-oriented awareness and of real improvement in sustainability-oriented behaviour are repeatedly shown at multi-modal level. Making explicit the themes of cooperative teaching-learning in the ASDA campaign, by contrast, mainly relies on the verbal level.

14. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Apparently, Walmart Corporation and its associates' promotional communication prioritises their green-oriented, sustainable image. Their advertised efforts tend to encourage more responsible production practices, which (should) provide high quality, more affordable products, as reported on the websites and videos. As we have seen, Walmart's videos shape attractive and empathic multimodal narratives of vibrant, dynamic interventions, which include the production of clean energy, and reprocessing cycles. The development of Community Life-based programme also plays a strategic role in Walmart's campaigns, which aim at reaching out to the local communities (of customers). Indeed, the rhetoric of solidarity is straightforward in Walmart's sustainability campaigns, as Walmart's recent Restorative Justice (RJ) programmes also show. Such programmes aim to promote a socially engaged image of the company.

Furthermore, the fluid YouTube medium, by fully exploiting the grammar of visuality, allows Walmart sustainability campaign to achieve an all-pervasive effect and make its goals visible. The multimodal messages from the videos come down to this: by purchasing the advertised goods, metaphorically laden with positively configured and evolving values of sustainability, billions of people can 'save money, and live better healthier lives', thus emerging out of poverty, and ultimately saving the planet. In gist, shopping as best practice.

In terms of PDA, Walmart advertising displays positive production and distribution models to imitate, through the exploitation of multimodal representational resources, so as to render a persuasive vision of a better world. The contemporary (stereotypical) all-pervasive perception of the need for 'sustainability' and 'green-washing' is thus skillfully and synergically foregrounded both at verbal and audio-visual levels for advertising purposes — one level enhancing the other. From an ecolinguistic perspective, we can notice how Walmart's communication tends to align the virtual customers by getting them onside with the widely shared sustainability values, especially by representing its actions as an inspiring ongoing story of progress.

Which further contribution can ecolinguistics provide to the analysis of communication on the human relations with the environment? Apart from identifying the linguistic and visual resources and workings of such communication, can ecolinguistics make a difference? Largely, ecolinguistic scholars share a strong ideological motivation to promote positive change on the anthropic impact on the planet. As Stibbe (2016) made clear, "Scholars who study environmental communication are particularly concerned with the ways people communicate about the natural world because they believe *such communication has far-reaching effects* at a time of largely human-caused crises [and thus they encourage] the search for new stories to live by [our italics]". Now, in the advertising of Walmart's sustainability efforts, the sustainability challenge is prioritised, and the goal to give billions of people better and healthier lives is captivatingly foregrounded. Hence, an alluring new story to live by is provided. However, credibility is an important issue in this and analogous stories, thus the next step for an ecolinguistic research on Walmart's sustainability videos could be to verify the influence of such stories on the audiences through cross-media investigations.

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«ПЕРЕДОВОЙ ОПЫТ» УОЛМАРТА: АНАЛИЗ НЕОДНОЗНАЧНОЙ ЭКОПОЛИТИКИ

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В настоящее время компании, желая привлечь внимание покупателей, заботящихся об окружающей среде, все чаще апеллируют к идеям экологичной экономики. Это обусловлено увеличением категории потребителей экопродукции и массовой популяризацией концепции «экологической безопасности». Термин «экологичность» постепенно становится основной смысловой единицей рекламных и медийных проектов всех перспективных компаний, так как способствует формированию позитивной корпоративной репутации. Международная американская сеть розничной торговли Уолмарт (Walmart) позиционирует себя как «зеленая компания» и активно использует методы экологичного маркетинга. Например, на первой странице поисковой системы Google по запросу «экологичность» выдается веб-адрес корпорации: http://corporate.walmart.com/global-responsibility/sustainability. На официальном сайте «Уолмарт» сообщается, что компания стремится не только к расширению бизнеса, но также озабочена состоянием окружающей среды и фундаментальными социальными проблемами. Тем не менее, в последнее время Уолмарт часто обвиняют в серьезных нарушениях экологических норм, в частности в сокрытии реального объема вредных выбросов в процессе использования возобновляемых источников энергии. Основной причиной столь острой критики является неспособность компании предложить адекватное решение существующих проблем (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Все это вызывает большой резонанс среди общественности и СМИ. Несмотря на двойственный, противоречивый характер деятельности корпорации Уолмарт (Macgilchrist 2007), в данной статье подчеркиваются ее положительные аспекты, в частности позитивное отношение компании к таким значимым проблемам, как энергетика, отходы и др. В статье используется комплексный критический дискурс-анализ, с помощью которого изучаются нюансы стратегий маркетинга и брендинга. Исследование направлено на изучение различных коммуникативных стратегий, мультимодальных средств, которые используются для создания привлекательных рекламных образов, способствующих формированию у реципиента чувства экологической и социальной ответственности.

Ключевые слова: экологичная экономика, мультимодальные средства, критический дискурс-анализ, коммуникативные стратегии

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«ДВАДЦАТИПРОЦЕНТНОЕ РЕШЕНИЕ»: КОНЦЕПЦИЯ СОЦИАЛЬНОГО КАПИТАЛА СКВОЗЬ ПРИЗМУ АНГЛИЙСКИХ НЕОНОМИНАЦИЙ КОНЦА XX — НАЧАЛА XXI ВВ.

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В статье содержится обзор английских неологизмов, зафиксированных электронным словарем новых слов Word Spy в течение последних трех десятилетий и концептуально связанных с феноменом социального капитала как атрибута гражданского общества и одного из ресурсов устойчивого развития рыночной экономики. Исследование, опирающееся на теоретические положения неологии и концепции социального капитала, сфокусировано на ономасиологическом освещении семантики лексических инноваций. Они анализируются с точки зрения экстра- и интралингвистических причин их появления в лексическом составе языка, особенностей формальной и семантической структур. В работе отмечается преобладание вторичных коннотативно маркированных номинаций, вербализующих внутрикорпоративные отношения, над собственно неологизмами, обозначающими новые реалии в сфере политики и практики деловых отношений хозяйствующего субъекта с внешней средой. Проведенный анализ позволяет говорить о том, что реализация прагматического потенциала таких лексических инноваций в функциональном пространстве английского делового дискурса ведет к нарушению регламентирующих его конвенциональных норм в интересах повышения эффективности конкретного коммуникативного акта.

Ключевые слова: социальный капитал, неологизм, трансноминация, семантическая трансформация, неономинация, деловой дискурс

> Человек — всего лишь узел отношений.
> И только отношения важны для человека.
> *Антуан де Сент-Экзюпери,*
> *«Военный летчик»*

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Значимость социального капитала как фактора экономического развития основанного на знаниях постиндустриального общества может служить очередным доказательством справедливости сентенции *multum in parvo* ‘многое в малом’. По мнению Ф. Фукуямы, отказ представителей неоклассической теории (М. Фридмана, Г. Беккера, Дж. Стиглера) учитывать существующие в бизнесе сети экономических и социальных связей, которые определяются институционально-культурными условиями конкретной деловой среды, снижает эффективность проводимого в рамках этой модели анализа на 20% (Фукуяма, 2004: 31). Применительно к современным методикам расчета национального богатства, в частности подходу, предлагаемому специалистами Всемирного банка, это означает существенное снижение показателей. Концептуальная погрешность в двадцать процентов выводит из структуры национального богатства неосязаемый капитал — человеческий и социальный, на долю которого приходится около двух третей итоговой оценки — от 76% в Северной Америке до 60% в Западной Африке, наиболее бедном регионе (Kunte и др., 1998).

Потенциал социального капитала, понимаемого как «сети контактов и взаимоотношений между людьми, способствующие доверию и формирующие качество и количество социальных взаимодействий в обществе» (На пороге XXI века. Доклад о мировом развитии 1999/2000 года, 2000: 16), становится очевидным в условиях геополитической неопределенности, стремительной смены технологий, высокого уровня глобальной интеграции и конкуренции, определяющих вектор развития мировой экономики на протяжении последних десятилетий. Экономические агенты все чаще рассматривают эту разновидность капитала в качестве продуктивного ресурса, который облегчает координацию хозяйственной деятельности, повышая тем самым эффективность функционирования рыночного механизма (Coleman, 1998). Однако социокультурная природа описываемого феномена выводит его за пределы сферы собственно экономических отношений, делая социальный капитал *sine qua non* гражданского общества, объектом когнитивной и коммуникативно-речевой активности его членов.

Результатом подобной деятельности носителей английского языка является представленный в электронной версии словаря П. Макфедриса Word Spy (MacFedries, 2016) сегмент неономинаций тематической группы «Бизнес», третьей по объему из пятнадцати, входящих в одноименное лексико-семантическое макрополе, схематическая структура которого изображена на рис. 1.

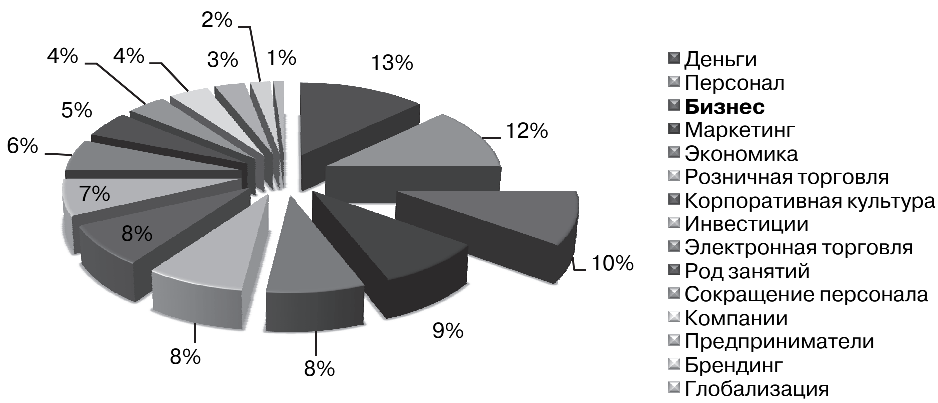

Рис. 1. Лексико-семантическое поле «Бизнес»

Figure 1. "Business" Lexico-Semantic Field

Рассматриваемый фрагмент языковой картины мира современного англоговорящего социума отличает многокомпонентная конфигурация как свидетельство приоритетности для его представителей профессиональной самореализации вообще и в бизнесе в частности. Понятийные области с наибольшим сосредоточением лексических инноваций выявляются дальнейшим тематическим членением описываемой группы неологизмов на четыре подгруппы (Пг) и пять микрогрупп (Мг) в их составе (рис. 2).

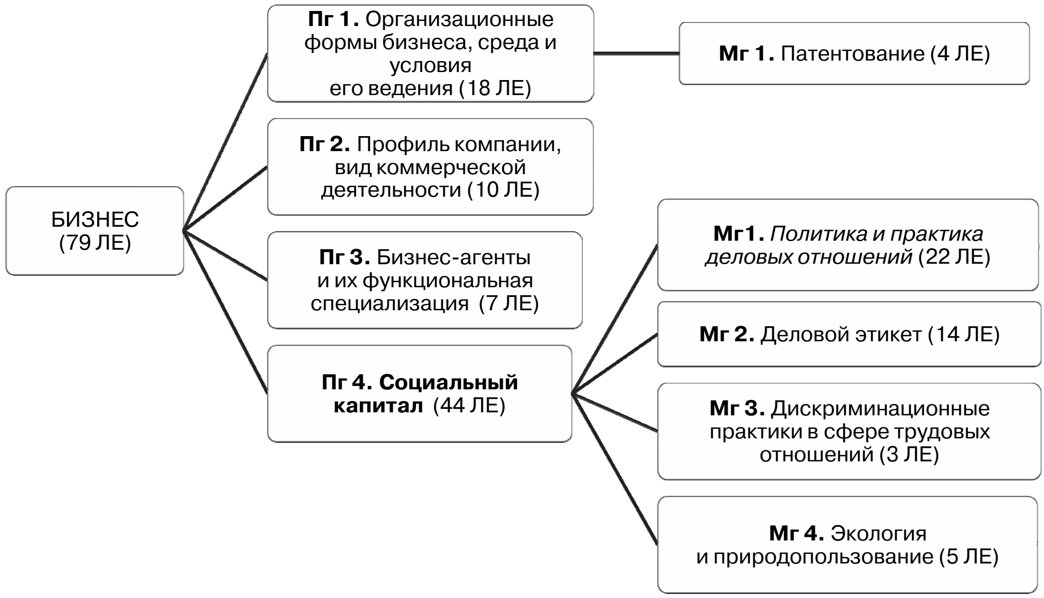

Рис. 2. Тематическая группа «Бизнес»
Figure 2. “Business” Thematic Group

Признавая условный характер такого деления, отметим тем не менее явный дисбаланс между концептуальными сегментами этой неосферы, ориентированными на социальные (Пг 3—4) и организационно-технические аспекты бизнеса (Пг 1—2): первые количественно значительно преобладают над вторыми. Объяснение подобного антропоцентричного вектора процессов неономинации следует, очевидно, искать в сочетании интра- и экстралингвистических факторов — «эгоцентричности» языка как средства отражения и оценки фрагментов действительности с позиций человека и его интересов (Апресян, 1995: 648) и роли социального капитала в современном бизнесе.

Объектом анализа в настоящей работе стали неологизмы тематической подгруппы «Социальный капитал» — слова, лексико-семантические варианты (ЛСВ) и фразеологические единицы (ФЕ) с ярко выраженной временной коннотацией новизны (Заботкина, 1989). Их деление на четыре микрогруппы соотносится с базовыми факторами социального капитала — ценностями, нормами, моделями поведения, влияющими на формирование доверия (деперсонифицированного и персонифицированного) как основы личной и/или корпоративной социальной сети контактов (Putnam, 2001).

Статус неономинации — собственно неологизма, семантической инновации или трансноминации (Гак, 1980: 19—29) — уточнялся в онлайн версиях Оксфордских словарей (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016), а также при помощи многожанровых текстов наиболее известных корпусов английского языка — Британского национального корпуса (BNC, 2016) и Корпуса современного американского английского (COCA, 2016), созданных Марком Дэвисом.

Гипотетически можно предположить, что актуальность социальных отношений и связей как онтологическая характеристика любого общества скажется не только на количестве и качестве соответствующих неономинаций, но и на параметрах функционально-прагматического пространства, в рамках которого актуализируется их семантика. Предикативные единицы с их «ориентацией на позицию познающего субъекта и характеризующей функцией» (Арутюнова, 1999: 35) окажутся более востребованными в качестве производящих основ, чем идентифицирующие слова. В таком случае значительный приток неологизмов с выраженным коннотативным элементом семантики в английский деловой дискурс, сферу их преимущественного функционирования, неизбежно скажется на снижении его конвенциональности и регламентированности (Колтунова, 2002; Малюга, 2004; Пономаренко, 2010; Bargiela-Chiappini, 2009). Возможность убедиться в справедливости этого предположения появляется в процессе анализа лексического значения, словообразовательных моделей и функциональных особенностей неолексем первой микрогруппы.

2. ВЕРБАЛИЗАЦИИ ОТНОШЕНИЙ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ С ВНЕШНЕЙ СРЕДОЙ

«Политика и практика деловых отношений», самая большая из четырех микрогрупп, объединяет неономинации, фиксирующие ценности и нормы социального взаимодействия, обусловленные реалиями деловой среды — внешней и внутренней, собственно корпоративной. В этом лексическом сегменте преобладают слова, которые вербализуют отношения компании с внешней средой — партнерами, акционерами, конкурентами и потребителями — на этапах производства и маркетинга ее товаров/услуг (12 ЛЕ).

Так, эндоцентрические композиты **competitive teardown** и **mass customization** называют компоненты производственной стратегии компании, значимые для формирования репутации бренда, соответственно, ‘разбор продукта конкурента с целью изучения его комплектующих/материалов для улучшения дизайна и снижения издержек собственного производства’ и ‘массовое изготовление на заказ; широкую приспособляемость к требованиям заказчиков’. В обоих случаях смысловая модификация производящих основ — *teardown* ‘демонтаж’ и *customization* ‘изготовление по индивидуальным требованиям’ — идет в русле специализации их семем.

Однако семантическая трансформация лексемы *mass customization* этим не ограничивается. В структуре ее лексического значения (ЛЗ) появляется едва уловимая коннотация скепсиса с оттенком иронии:

(1) *Mass production and the standardized products that it implies are as outmoded as the Model T. The new operating strategy sweeping through the business world today is* ***"mass customization"****. John Koenig, "Try Customizing for the Masses," The Orlando Sentinel, March 5, 2000.*

Слиянием контрастных сем — 'многочисленный' в *mass* и 'единичный' в *customization* — этому неологизму удается одновременно подчеркнуть нестандартность нового подхода к организации производства и выразить сомнение в его жизнеспособности.

Три другие единицы рассматриваемого сегмента неосферы именуют составляющие маркетинга. Одна из них — сложное слово **hard launch** 'жесткий запуск' на основе субстантивированного глагола — означает выпуск нового продукта на рынок в заранее объявленный срок, с интенсивной рекламной поддержкой. Образованный по аналогии с уже существовавшей в языке лексемой *soft launch* 'мягкий запуск", то есть выпуск нового продукта, при котором он становится доступным пользователям без рекламы или на отдельном сегменте рынка, этот неологизм органично вписался в данный участок лексико-семантического пространства английского языка, войдя в состав родо-видовой группы с гиперонимом 'выведение на рынок': *marketing launch // soft launch / hard launch*.

Еще два композита — **channel stuffing** 'искусственное увеличение продаж в конце финансового года путем стимулирования закупок дистрибьюторов/дилеров сверх реального спроса' и **communal purchase** 'оптовая закупка товара несколькими покупателями (вскладчину)' — фиксируют в языке значимые для корпоративного маркетинга нормы взаимоотношений компании с ее контрагентами. Взаимные обязательства при этом могут носить градуальный характер, как в случае с композитом **crowdsourcing** и продуктом контаминации (*inter- + outsourcing*) — лексемой **intersourcing**.

Максимальная степень кооперации компании и внешнего поставщика достигается путем создания совместного предприятия с единой сетью сбыта, то есть в формате *intersourcing* 'интерсорсинга'. Большая степень деперсонифицированного доверия отличает этот тип отношений от другой разновидности контрактных обязательств между такими деловыми партнерами — аутсорсинга (*outsourcing*). При нем, как это явствует из приводимого ниже контекста, контрагенты — потребитель и поставщик услуг — сохраняют свою автономность:

(2) *While the traditional model of outsourcing defines the customer and the service provider as two separate systems, the* ***intersourcing*** *model integrates two systems and directs joint resources to form a single, seamless distribution network. "Newsline," Fleet Owner, June 1, 1998.*

Лексема **crowdsourcing**, последний элемент триады неономинаций с общим семантическим множителем 'подбор (*надежных*) внешних источников', актуализированным в идентификаторе группы — основе sourcing, была введена в речевой оборот писателем Джеффом Хау и редактором журнала «Wired» Марком Робинсоном, чтобы вербализовать 'передачу некоторых производственных функций неопределенному кругу лиц, а также решение общественно значимых задач силами добровольцев, часто координирующих свою деятельность с помощью информационных технологий’. Этот неологизм подразумевает эволюцию деперсонифицированного доверия, присутствующего в качестве фонового признака в архисеме группы, в направлении персонифицированного. Подобная трансформация достигается путем расширения референтных возможностей рассматриваемого слова за счет смены в семной структуре его ЛЗ дифференциальной семы ‘характер мотивации’ с материальной, как в случае с *outsourcing* и *intersourcing*, на нематериальную на фоне нейтрализации актуального для этих ЛЕ дифференциального признака ‘профессионализм исполнителя’.

Все вышеописанные лексические новообразования идентифицируют инновации в сфере политики и практики деловых отношений хозяйствующего субъекта с внешней средой и квалифицируются нами как собственно неологизмы в отличие от трех последних единиц этого сегмента неосферы, которые являются вторичными обозначениями соответствующих реалий.

В частности, композит **borrow brains** ‘обращаться за консультацией, приглашать внешнего эксперта’, образованный с привлечением метонимического ЛСВ лексемы *brain* по аналогии с другой идиомой — brain drain ‘утечка мозгов’, не столько называет, сколько описывает с элементом легкой иронии еще один формат возможных отношений компании с внешней средой:

(3) *Mr. Axworthy is not shy about “**borrowing brains**” from Canadian universities and elsewhere for foreign-policy consultations. Jeff Sallot & Paul Knox, “Axworthy’s maxim: ‘All politics are local’,” The Globe and Mail, January 1, 1999.*

Коннотация насмешки присутствует и в структуре лексического значения неологизмов, характеризующих ожидаемый компанией эффект от воздействия обширного ассортимента ее продуктов/услуг на потенциального потребителя — композитов **buyer blur** ‘растерянность покупателя, вызванная богатым выбором, особенно вариантов недвижимости’ и **drift-off moment** ‘момент отключения от реальности, погружения в грезы о потенциальной выгоде презентуемого товара’. Образность рассматриваемых неономинаций, обусловленная метафорической природой производных ЛСВ *blur* и *drift-off* в их составе, сохраняется и после включения этих слов в профессиональную терминологию маркетологов:

(4) *When Mann gives a demo, what he’s waiting for is what salespeople call the “**drift-off moment**.” The client’s eyes get gooey, and they’re staring into space. They’re not bored — they’re imagining what they could do with Survey Builder. All tech salespeople mention this — they’ve succeeded not when they rivet the client’s attention, but when they lose it. Po Bronson, “Someone’s Got to Move Units!” Wired, October 1, 1998.*

3. ВЕРБАЛИЗАЦИЯ ВНУТРИКОРПОРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Существенную часть социального капитала компании составляют внутрикорпоративные отношения. Они охватывают всю совокупность моделей поведения в бизнесе и регулирующих их морально-этических норм, которые выходят далеко за пределы формализованных правил — устава компании, ее миссии, квалификационных требований и должностных инструкций. Принимая во внимание тот факт, что все единицы этого сегмента описываемой микрогруппы — трансноминации, а «человеческий фактор», по справедливому замечанию Ю.Д. Апресяна, входит «в большинство слов, связанных с понятием нормы, ибо система норм — человеческое установление» (Апресян, 1995: 648), разумно ожидать присутствия в коннотативном макрокомпоненте их лексического значения оценки — эмотивной в большей степени, чем рациональной. Анализ неономинаций, описывающих отношение к управляющему аппарату компании, стилю и методам его работы, подтвердил обоснованность подобных ожиданий.

Неуемное стремление руководителя слепо следовать модным тенденциям в менеджменте, результатом которого становится метание от одного стиля управления к другому, именуют **fad surfing** ‘инновационный зуд в менеджменте’. Авторский окказионализм Эйлин Шапиро, автора книги *Fad Surfing in the Boardroom*, оказался востребованным атрибутом делового общения (533 000 результатов поиска в системе Google) благодаря удачному сочетанию образности и иронии. Специализация ЛЗ этого композита достигается введением в его семную структуру указания на функциональную область — менеджмент, а сема ‘стремительность’, присутствующая в семантике каждой из основ, смещает акценты с содержания административной деятельности на характер ее выполнения — поверхностный и всецело ориентированный на импульс извне.

В качестве такового часто выступает диктат (нередко мнимый) быстро меняющихся информационных технологий. Недостаточная компетентность руководителя, подверженного «инновационному IT зуду», часто провоцирует конфликт с подчиненными — специалистами в сфере компьютерных технологий, который описывается образованным по аналогичной схеме неологизмом **geek gap** ‘разногласия между невежественным компьютерным фанатиком в лице руководителя проекта и его исполнителями — специалистами в области информационных технологий’.

Особенностью этого композита является амбивалентность в оценочном плане одной из его основ — предикатного имени лица *geek*, этимологически восходящего к английскому диалектизму geck ‘придурок’. Мелиорация оценочного компонента этого пейоратива привела к эволюции его лексического значения через промежуточные $ЛСВ_{2\text{-}3}$ ‘странный, чудаковатый человек’ и ‘зубрила, ботаник’ к специализированному значению ‘компьютерный гений’ ($ЛСВ_4$). Прагматическая закрепленность каждой из семем, включая исходную, за конкретным социолектом — общим, молодежным, компьютерным сленгом — допускает актуализацию любой из них в зависимости от статуса говорящего и конкретного типа дискурса.

Еще два неологизма, слова-слитки **diworsify** и **fiscalamity**, служат лаконичной по форме, но экспрессивной по своим прагматическим возможностям характеристикой вероятных последствий непродуманной бизнес-стратегии.

Продукт контаминации с эффектом каламбура, образованный слиянием усеченных основ (diversify ‘диверсифицировать’ + worse ‘хуже’), глагол *diworsify* означает ‘получить негативный эффект от диверсификации’:

(5) *But don’t invest in more than 6—8 equity funds, because monitoring them will be a challenge. As investment guru Peter Lynch said, too many funds will only ‘**diworsify**’ your portfolio. “How to break free from investment myths,” The Economic Times, August 13, 2012.*

Неодобрение и критика как оценочные элементы коннотации в структуре его ЛЗ представлены, впрочем, завуалировано — в форме иронии. Она присуща постмодернизму, а в англоязычном социуме традиционно признается личностно значимым элементом идентичности, функционально связанным с такими ценностными константами коммуникативного поведения его представителей, как вежливость и позитивное мышление (Ларина, 2009; Павловская, 2005; Храмченко, 2014; Fox, 2004; Hooker, 2008, Lewis, 2006).

Экспрессивные возможности другой неономинации — существительного fiscalamity 'тяжелое финансовое или экономическое положение, вызванное неправильным финансовым менеджментом' — обусловлены метафорическим ЛСВ лексемы *calamity* 'катастрофа = **очень** большая неприятность', имплицитно содержащим сему интенсивности в своем значении. Ее актуализация сопровождается субъективной оценкой говорящим степени драматичности обозначаемой ситуации как отклоняющейся от «нормальной меры» (Лукьянова, 1986: 56). Прагматическая значимость интенсификации при этом состоит в ее способности служить средством «включенности субъекта в высказывание» (Вольф, 2002: 43), выражая его заинтересованность в описываемом событии:

(6) *For instance, it is excessively proud of its alleged political courage, first displayed by its famous determination to restore order to provincial finances. But the Bob Rae "**fiscalamity**" was in fact a godsend for Mr. Harris; it recommended a tough response and his party seized the opportunity. John Barber, "No one likes bumbling leadership," The Globe and Mail (Canada), April 8, 1998.*

Периферию рассматриваемой микрогруппы образуют новые слова из разряда эвфемизмов для обозначения фрагментов отрицательного социального опыта — сомнительных в правовом отношении практик ведения бизнеса. Прямое выражение негативной модальности при вербализации подобных факторов снижения социального капитала компании неприемлемо с точки зрения базовых постулатов эффективной деловой коммуникации, в частности Принципа вежливости Дж. Лича (Leech, 1983). Решение проблемы удается найти благодаря интертекстуальности современного дискурса, которая позволяет значительно расширить репертуар словообразовательных средств языка путем заимствования производящих основ из социолектов. Полученные таким образом неодериваты часто метафоричны и, как результат, полифункциональны. В компактной, запоминающейся и экспрессивной форме они описывают предмет/явление, требующее адекватного лексического обозначения, снижая при их эвфемистическом использовании, категоричность сопутствующей эмотивной оценки.

Иллюстраций сказанному служит композит **cookie jar accounting** 'практика бухучета, нацеленная на формирование резервного фонда за счет снижения прибыли при высокой конъюнктуре рынка для его использования при снижении прибыли в условиях низкой конъюнктуры рынка'. Его появление в бизнес-дискурсе мотивировано соображениями прагматического характера — стремлением завуалировать неоднозначный с точки зрения закона финансовый инструмент.

Этот неологизм стал смысловым аналогом единицы бухгалтерской терминологии *income smoothing* 'сглаживание прибыли' в результате конкретизации своей семантики указанием на цель — создание финансовой подушки безопасности или *cookie jar* ‘кубышки’ (ЛСВ$_3$). В свою очередь, развитие указанного переносного значения в функциональной плоскости финансового сленга стимулировала прагматическая вариативность исходной лексемы cookie jar, семантически эволюционировавшей от ЛСВ$_1$ ‘банка для хранения печенья’ к ЛСВ$_2$ ‘копилка’.

Наличие же в языке делового общения элегантного эвфемизма *creative accounting* ‘творческая бухгалтерия’ для обозначения поиска лазеек в финансовом законодательстве в пользу компании определило системное место образованной по аналогии трансноминации *cookie jar accounting* в качестве маркированного члена следующей группы с генерализованным и специализированным значением: *creative accounting // income smoothing / cookie jar accounting*. Нетрудно заметить, что в этом типе лексико-семантических парадигм их члены связаны смысловыми отношениями вложения ЛЗ, что допускает в целях семантизации замену любого из них (кроме первого) предыдущим — немаркированным для него:

(7) *The 1999 case alleges Microsoft manipulated financial reports by stashing money in reserve accounts. Called “**cookie-jar accounting**” or “income smoothing,” the practice helps portray steady earnings growth that appeals to Wall Street and may boost a company’s stock. Brier Dudley, “Microsoft, SEC talks part of trend to settle,” The Seattle Times, May 31, 2002.*

Ирония, имплицитно присутствующая в коннотативном макрокомпоненте лексического значения всех членов этого полинарного ряда, обусловлена, судя по всему, смысловым антагонизмом на уровне сигнификата. Он неизбежен при соединении взаимоисключающих понятийных сем — идеи объективной предопределенности финансовых показателей (в *accounting / income*) и указания на возможность альтернативы (в *creative / smoothing*) или ее неизбежность в ситуации, когда цель, *cookie jar*, оправдывает средства. В итоге семантика всех трех ЛЕ в той или иной степени маркирована имплицитным признанием незаконности описываемых ими финансовых схем.

Наконец, вполне закономерным представляется появление в этом неосегменте лексических единиц, семантически резюмирующих негативные для социального капитала компании последствия управленческих ошибок и просчетов. Так, трансноминация **corporate perp walk** ‘появление арестованного высокопоставленного лица в наручниках и под конвоем для освещения СМИ’ конкретизирует значение заимствованного из полицейского жаргона слова-слитка *perp walk* (perpetrator 'преступник' + walk ‘выход’) указанием на реляционные параметры нарушителя закона — руководитель и сферу его профессиональных интересов — бизнес. При этом пейоратив *perp* является имманентным, но не единственным фактором, определяющим негативный характер эмотивной оценки в структуре ЛЗ этого неологизма.

Речевое обыгрывание формального сходства основы *perp walk* и переносного ЛСВ однокоренной лексемы *catwalk* ‘дефиле’ служит средством создания иронической прагматики, рассматриваемой неономинации. Причем элемент иронии в семантике этого неологизма граничит с сарказмом, поскольку выходит за границы контраста между однотипностью «художественного оформления» описываемых этими словами событий — эскорт, скопление теле- и фоторепортеров, пристальное внимание зрителей/зевак — и кардинальным различием действующих лиц, одно из которых (*perp*) эксплицируется как объект дискредитации и насмешки:

(8) *Another week, another **corporate perp walk**. Two former WorldCom executives were led by government agents to federal court in Manhattan, where they face charges related to that company's misstatement of billions in expenses. Kurt Eichenwald, "Perp walk," The New York Times, August 4, 2002.*

Однако, пожалуй, самой парадоксальной причиной фиаско в бизнесе является неспособность компании и/или ее руководства справиться с выпавшими на их долю признанием и успехом. Идеальным средством номинации проблем и репутационных рисков, которые возникают в такой ситуации, служит неологизм на основе оксюморона **success disaster**, свидетельствующий об актуальности этой нетривиальной модели пополнения словаря.

Сегмент лексических новообразований, которые описывают такие ресурсы социального капитала компании, как формы мотивации и факторы восходящей мобильности ее персонала, выглядит гораздо скромнее: две трансноминации и собственно неологизм. Еще одно отличие слов этой группы от ранее рассмотренных ЛЕ заключается в характере их коннотации — положительной или нейтральной. Представляется, однако, что отмеченное преобладание новообразований, маркированных отрицательной оценкой в структуре их ЛЗ, над лексическими единицами с положительно-оценочным значением отражает не столько меньшую значимость корпоративных отношений «сверху-вниз» в структуре социального капитала, сколько собственно языковую тенденцию к доминированию среди смысловых предикатов пейоративов над мелиоративами. Она, в свою очередь, обусловлена склонностью человека отмечать прежде всего отрицательные свойства окружающего мира, воспринимая положительные в качестве нормы.

Таковой в практике деловых отношений признаются дополнительные нематериальные льготы сотруднику компании, для обозначения которых используется трансноминация **soft benefits**, подтверждающая продуктивность словосложения на основе прилагательного *soft* (soft + credit /currency / money / power и пр.). Наличие в языке антонима (*hard benefits* 'материальные льготы'), синонима (*fringe benefits*), гиперонима *perks* 'льготы (материальные и нематериальные), получаемые при занятии определенной должности', оптимизирует функциональное освоение этого неологизма.

Значимой формой социального капитала считается также согласованная с исполнителем регламентация процессов и операций. Ее разновидность — список вредных привычек/действий, от которых человек/компания надеется отказаться в ближайшем будущем — вербализуется компрессивом **stop-doing list**. Составление подобного документа часто осуществляется в процессе индивидуального экспресс-консультирования, в формате серии коротких разговоров с экспертами и наставниками, то есть **speed mentoring**.

Судя по внутренней форме этого композита, стоящая за ним инновация в обучении и развитии персонала сочетает в себе преимущества наставничества (mentoring) и инструктирования (coaching). Эффект синергии, отличительная особенность обозначаемой реалии, достигается характерным скорее для оксюморона совмещением несовместимого — *комплексного подхода* к формированию профессиональных компетенций путем *непродолжительных*, но интенсивных консультаций со специалистами из разных областей.

4. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Приведенный обзор словарных единиц сегмента «Политика и практика деловых отношений» тематической подгруппы «Социальный капитал», не претендуя на всесторонность и исчерпывающую глубину анализа процессов неономинации в современном английском языке, позволяет, тем не менее, сделать некоторые выводы о тенденциях, которыми определяется развитие этой предметной области.

Статус неологизмов как потенциальной лексики, употребляющейся эпизодически на этапах ее социализации и лексикализации, подтверждается для всех единиц этой микрогруппы корреляцией лингвостатистических параметров их речевой активности — относительно небольшим количеством цитирований в Интернете (от 1200 у *success disaster* до 23 000 000 у *soft benefits* при среднем показателе для большинства ЛЕ равном 500 000 по результатам поиска в системе Google) и скромным суммарным показателем использования каждого слова по доступным корпусам текстов (от максимального 25 для *crowdsourcing* в COCA до 1 для *corporate perp walk* в BNC).

Из двадцати двух лексических инноваций лишь десять относятся к категории собственно неологизмов, обозначая новые реалии в сфере политики и практики деловых отношений хозяйствующего субъекта с внешней средой. Их появление в деловом дискурсе обусловлено действием экстралингвистических факторов языковой эволюции, в частности, признанием социального капитала в качестве нематериального актива компании, важной предпосылки ее устойчивого развития в условиях нарастающей неопределенности в мировой экономике.

Остальные двенадцать неолексем — трансноминации, которые появились в результате лексических процессов, направленных на совершенствование собственно языковой техники. Влиянием этих интралингвистических факторов объясняется выбор конкретных моделей словообразования. Безусловным лидером здесь является словосложение — двадцать композитов и два сложносокращенных слова. Фактом своего существования они подтверждают актуальность тенденции к лингвистической экономии за счет минимизации плана выражения при сохранении, а в случае контаминации, концентрации плана содержания.

С точки зрения семантики подавляющее большинство описанных неологизмов (16 из 22 ЛЕ) подверглись тем или иным смысловым преобразованиям на уровне производящих основ под влиянием тенденции к употреблению более экспрессивных обозначений. Трансформация лексического значения осуществлялась преимущественно по моделям метафоры (14 ЛЕ) и метонимии (2 ЛЕ). В результате новые

ЛСВ содержат наряду с концептуальной и прагматическую информацию, которая локализована в коннотативном макрокомпоненте их значения. Ее семантический вес особенно ощутим в новообразованиях, описывающих атрибуты вертикальных корпоративных отношений в направлении «снизу-вверх» (7 ЛЕ).

Приток неономинаций, значительную долю которых составляет образная и эмотивно окрашенная лексика, в сферу делового общения неизбежно ведет к нарушению регламентирующих его конвенциональных норм и традиционных правил, в частности, ряда постулатов Принципа кооперации Г.П. Грайса — максим релевантности, полноты информации и способа ее выражения (Грайс, 1985).

Выступая в качестве «операторов функционально-прагматической модификации дискурса» (Храмченко, 2016), такие ЛЕ служат эффективным средством реализации коммуникативной стратегии говорящего, значимым элементом которой является речевое воздействие на собеседника, его интеллектуальную, эмоциональную и волевую сферы. В сущности, пересмотру подлежат сами принципы вербального поведения, ценностным элементом которого признается творческий подход к формированию сети межличностных контактов, иными словами, расширению потенциала социального капитала.

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"THE TWENTY PERCENT SOLUTION": THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH THE NEW WORDS IN ENGLISH BUSINESS DISCOURSE AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract. The article reviews English words and expressions recorded in Word Spy online dictionary of neologisms within the last three decades and conceptualized around the notion of social capital viewed as a civil society attribute and a valuable resource for the sustainable economic development. The meaning of the newly coined words gets the onomasiological coverage within the framework of neology and the social capital theory. The lexical units are analyzed through extra- and intralinguistic motivators of their emergence in the language inventory as well as the formal and semantic composition. The study reveals that the connotatively marked transnominations used to indicate the internal corporate communications outnumber the proper neologisms that refer to new policies and practices developed by a company to operate in its business environment. As the majority of neologisms possess the metaphorical potential, their intensive use in modern business communication results in violating its traditional norms. Thus, English professional discourse tends to experience the loss of its conventionality in favour of increased efficiency of every single communicative act.

Keywords: social capital, neologisms, transnomination, semantic transformation, recently-coined words, business discourse

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АКТОВАЯ РЕЧЬ КАК ГИБРИДНАЯ ПОЛИДИСКУРСИВНАЯ ПРАКТИКА

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Современные дискурсологи и исследователи медиакоммуникаций обращают внимание на то, что популярные в настоящее время дискурсивно-коммуникативные практики имеют тенденцию к гибридизации и конвергенции. Дискурс, понимаемый как речь в действии, обладает в такой же мере, как и сама речь, признаками гибкости. Оказывается, что текст может выступать правомерным репрезентантом нескольких типов дискурса. Ярким примером этого является текст актовой речи, в американской традиции commencement speech / commencement address / graduation speech. Актовая речь представляет собой напутственную речь для выпускников университетов, с которой, в соответствии с современной тенденцией, обращаются к аудитории видные медиа-персоны: политики, спортсмены, актеры и т.п. Цель данного исследования состоит в том, чтобы определить специфику реализации полидискурсивных практик в рамках актовой речи. В исследовании задействованы такие методы, как дискурсивный, контекстуальный, стилистический, дефинитивный анализ. Методологическую основу исследования составляет теория дискурс-анализа, а именно понятие дискурсивной практики как вербализованного аналога практики социальной. Материал данного исследования составили 100 актовых речей, с которыми выступали видные представители американского общества начиная с 80-х годов XX в. по настоящее время. По существу, актовая речь относится к институциональному дискурсу, представляя собой ритуальный жанр публичной речи. Институциональные параметры актовой речи наиболее полно представлены в речах президентов, ректоров университетов, то есть лиц, облеченных властью и ее репрезентирующих. Как показали результаты исследования, институциональность актовой речи в настоящее время не является ее преимущественной характеристикой. В актовую речь активно интегрируются дискурсивные практики личностно-ориентированного общения в его наиболее выраженном варианте бытийного дискурса. Актовая речь по своей концептуальной информации полноправно представляет дидактический дискурс, поскольку суть актовой речи состоит в том, чтобы научить выпускников ориентироваться в жизни, правильно, с позиции оратора, реагировать на жизненные вызовы. Помимо институционального и дидактического дискурсов, актовая речь репрезентирует мемуарный дискурс, так как в выступлениях многих ораторов именно рассказ о собственной жизни составляет фактуальную канву текста выступления. Кроме того, нельзя не заметить связи современной актовой речи с ироническим дискурсом. Результатом междискурсивных, интердискурсивных и внедискурсивных трансформаций, обеспечивающих импорт дискурсивных практик в несвойственные для них типы дискурса, является создание гибридного дискурса, характеризующегося высокой степенью конвергенции. Органичное сочетание полидискурсивных практик способствует гибридизации дискурса актовой речи, нацеленной на повышение степени воздействия на адресата.

Ключевые слова: актовая речь, институциональный дискурс, дидактический дискурс, полидискурсивность, гибридизация, жанр публичной речи, дискурсивная практика

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Одной из особенностей современной коммуникации является смешение стилей, жанров, текстов, причем смешение это часто производится намеренно, как практическое воплощение людической, или игровой функции, которая и в плане содержания и с точки зрения формы во многом определяет современную коммуникацию. Интертекстуальность, интердискурсивность, размывание жанрового канона, диффузия, интерференция и наслаивание дискурсивных практик являются не только результирующим итогом дискурсивной деятельности, но, прежде всего, зачастую они составляют цель участников коммуникативного события.

В качестве яркого примера реализации данной тенденции, суть которой сводится к конвергенции и гибридизации дискурсивных практик в рамках современной коммуникации, выступает актовая речь (*commencement speech / commencement address / graduation speech* в американской традиции).

Актовая речь представляет собой напутственную речь для выпускников, прежде всего американских университетов, с которой, в соответствии с современной тенденцией, выступают видные медиа-персоны: политики, спортсмены, актеры и т.п.

С одной стороны, актовая речь являет собой образец прецедентного жанра, характеризующего американскую риторическую культуру (Иванова 2014: 59). Соответственно, она строится с соблюдением жанрового канона, определяющего данный тип текста. В ней манифестируются ценностные ориентиры культурного сообщества. В связи с этим ее особая значимость для американского ЛКС неоспорима (Иванова, 2016). С другой стороны, наблюдения над эмпирическим материалом свидетельствуют, что жанровый канон для этого типа дискурса размывается, и актовая речь становится гибридным продуктом дискурсивной деятельности говорящего, иначе говоря, гибридным полидискурсивным явлением, то есть таким дискурсивным пространством, которое характеризуется высокой степенью конвергенции диверсифицированных дискурсивных практик.

Цель данного исследования состоит в определении специфики реализации полидискурсивности, понимаемой как результат конвергенции дискурсивных практик, в рамках актовой речи. Соответственно, в настоящей работе представляется необходимым ответить на ряд вопросов. Во-первых, какие дискурсивные практики задействованы в актовой речи? Какие виды дискурса они представляют? Во-вторых, какой дискурс является доминирующим с точки зрения репрезентирующих его практик? В-третьих, каким образом осуществляется конвергенция? В-четвертых, каковы диффузные проявления различных дискурсивных практик? Наконец, каков результирующий итог этой конвергенции?

2. МЕТОД И МАТЕРИАЛ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

В исследовании задействованы методы общенаучного анализа: наблюдение над языковым материалом, анализ и синтез, сравнение и сопоставление. Работа с дискурсом обусловливает необходимость обращения к частнонаучным, то есть лингвистическим методам исследования. Прежде всего речь идет о дискурс-анализе, ориентированном на выявление социальных отношений и идентичности (Иссерс, 2011: 227), которые проявляются в виде дискурсивных практик. Экспликация «скрытых подтекстовых, смысловых пластов содержания текста, микротекста и контекста» (Алефиренко, 2012: 21), а также выявление концептуальной и фактуальной информации текста реализуется за счет текстового анализа. Выделение языковых особенностей жанровых форм производится на основе стилистического анализа. Семантика языковых единиц раскрывается посредством дефинитивного анализа и контекстуального анализа — для уточнения значения языковых единиц в контексте. Прагматический анализ задействован при выявлении связи «обусловленности авторского выбора тех или иных средств выражения смысловой структуры текста его видовой и жанровой целеустановкой» (Валгина, 2016). В качестве материала данного исследования послужили 100 актовых речей, с которыми выступили видные представители американского общества начиная с 80-х годов XX в. по настоящее время.

3. КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНЫЕ ОСНОВЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Теоретические предпосылки данного исследования составляет теория дискурса, а также проблематика, рассматривающая соотношение дискурса, жанра и стиля. Именно эта триада, или вернее — соотношение данных трех фундаментальных понятий, вызывает жаркие дискуссии дискурсологов, жанроведов и стилистов. В целом, концептуально основу исследования составляет теория дискурс-анализа, а также теория жанров.

Анализ актовой речи с целью определения задействованных в ней дискурсивных практик, прежде всего, предполагает обращение к понятию дискурса и дискурсивной практики. В настоящее время дискурс, пожалуй, является наиболее часто упоминаемой языковой категорией применительно к исследованию различных проявлений речи. По замечанию А.А. Кибрика, дискурс — «это максимально широкий термин, включающий все формы использования языка», соответственно, «это единственный заведомо реальный лингвистический объект» (Кибрик, 2009: 1). Однако центральное положение дискурса в современной лингвистике и высочайшая частотность упоминаний данного термина (примерно 1 650 000 за 0,29 сек. при запросе в поисковике Google) отнюдь не снимают его неоднозначность и разночтения в определении. Диверсифицированные подходы к определению дискурса (еще в 1999 г. в известном читателю русском переводе работ французских лингвистов «Квадратура смысла» Патрик Серио выделил восемь подходов к его изучению и определению (Серио, 1999: 26—27) и различия в предлагаемых дефинициях указывают на сложную и амбивалентную природу данного образования. В целом разделяя трактовку, согласно которой дискурс — это «речь, погруженная в жизнь» (Арутюнова, 1990:136), лингвисты стремятся насытить данное метафорическое определение конкретикой, подчеркивая, что дискурс — это «связный текст в совокупности с экстралингвистическими — прагматическими, социокультурными, психологическими и др. факторами» (Там же).

Таким образом, введенное в научный оборот понятие дискурса призвано раскрыть особенности некоей совокупности речевых произведений, осуществляемых «в определенном когнитивно и типологически обусловленном коммуникативном пространстве» (Чернявская, 2003: 54).

Естественный вопрос, который встает перед исследователем, состоит в том, что дано непосредственному наблюдению практикующего лингвиста для того, чтобы описать дискурс. Таким реальным «наблюдаемым коммуникативным объектом» выступают дискурсивные практики (Иссерс, 2011: 228). Дискурсивная практика — это вербализованный аналог практики социальной (Шилихина, 2011: 178), это «тенденции в использовании близких по функции, альтернативных языковых средств выражения определенного смысла» (Баранов, 2001: 246). Дискурсивная практика «именует, расчленяет, сочетает, связывает и развязывает вещи, позволяя увидеть их в прозрачности слов» (Фуко, 1994: 332).

Важными свойствами дискурсивных практик является их непривязанность к конкретному типу дискурса, а также «наличие определенных ролей у участников общения» (Шилихина, 2011: 178).

Для описания функционального аспекта дискурсивных практик в связи с избранным ракурсом данной работы эвристическую ценность содержит упоминание трех классов трансформаций дискурсивных практик, на которые указывает М. Фуко. Речь идет о (1) деривации, то есть внутридискурсивных зависимостях, (2) мутации, которые предполагают междискурсивные зависимости, и, наконец, (3) редистрибуции, которая интерпретируется как внедискурсивные зависимости (Клюев, 2016: 77).

Таким образом, как бы ни был строг свод правил, очерчивающих дискурсивные практики, в их природу заложена возможность изменений (McElhinny B., Muehlmann S., 2009: 216). Представляется, что именно это ингерентное свойство дискурсивных практик обеспечивает такие параметры современного дискурса, как интер- и полидискурсивность.

Еще один фактор, который обусловливает онтологическую способность дискурса к полидискурсивности — это социальное измерение дискурса per se. Как отмечает Н.И. Клушина, «дискурс <...> — это сверхтекст (по Бэнксу), или совокупность текстов, объединенных одним из перечисленных ниже параметров:

♦ темой (спортивный дискурс, медицинский и др.);

♦ жанром (эссеистический дискурс, новостной и др.);

♦ социально значимой сферой бытования, или стилем (научный дискурс, официально-деловой и др.);

♦ коммуникативным событием (дискурс о фукусиме, ливийский дискурс и др.);

♦ интенцией (персуазивный, аргументативный, полемический и др.);

♦ идеологией (публицистический, политический);

♦ техническими средствами производства и презентации текстов (медиадискурс, интернет-дискурс, газетный дискурс и др.) и т.п.» (Клушина, 2011).

Соответственно, в процессе типологизации дискурса исследователь сталкивается с проблемой, обусловленной наличием большого количества параметров, которые могут лечь в основу таксономической характеристики дискурсивного образования. С другой стороны, в связи с наличием всех тех параметров, по которым тексты объединяются в дискурсивные образования, вряд ли вообще возможно говорить о законченном перечне типов дискурса. Соглашаясь с О.С. Иссерс в том, что таксономии дискурса можно посвятить тома (Иссерс, 2011: 227), тем не менее, приходится констатировать, что возможные трансформации и конвергенция дискурсивных практик делают подобную цель практически недостижимой.

В связи с тем, что дискурс реализуется через текст, который выступает в качестве материального носителя первого, при рассмотрении особенностей типа текста возникает необходимость обращения к понятию жанра. Привлекательность речевого жанра при проведении дискурсивного исследования С.В. Мкртычян объясняет тем, «что, не будучи собственно языковой единицей, речевой жанр выступает как форма „упаковывания“ высказывания в речи» (Мкртычян, 2015: 15). Более того, Н.Ф. Алефиренко отмечает, что будучи «средством дискурсивного взаимодействия», речевой жанр охватывает «всю архитектонику дискурсивного общения» (Алефиренко, 2012: 17). «Речевой жанр — это дискурсивный тип, объединяющий тематически, композиционно и стилистически маркированные речевые акты, характеризующиеся общностью коммуникативной цели, авторской интенцией, языковой личности адресата и архитектоникой ситуативного контекста общения» (Там же).

Точки соприкосновения дискурса и жанра объясняют тот факт, что вопрос о взаимодействии дискурса и жанра довольно активно обсуждается в лингвистических работах последнего времени. С одной стороны, высказывается точка зрения о возможности отказаться от понятия «жанр» в связи с признанием дискурса основной формой существования речи в различных контекстах и ситуациях коммуникации. С другой стороны, в современных работах используется широкий диапазон понятий, относящихся к описанию жанрово-стилевой принадлежности текста как отрезка коммуникации и конкретной формы реализации дискурса. Наряду с понятием «жанр», понятийно-категориальный аппарат исследований данной проблематики включает также термины «тип текста», «стиль», «функциональный стиль», «регистр».

Несмотря на свою противоречивость, теория жанра признана полноправной и полнокровной теоретической основой для исследования текста. Согласно словарю жанр означает тип текста и на самом деле таковым и является. В более широкой интерпретации жанр трактуется как образец, порождающий тексты определенного типа. Соответственно, жанр понимается как совокупность ожиданий, сквозь призму которых читатель воспринимает текст, это самонастраивающаяся система со своими кодами и конвенциями (Лейдерман, 2010: 85, 287). Постоянно воспроизводясь, жанр остается динамической характеристикой, предполагающей некоторую степень непредсказуемости (McElhinny, Muehlmann, 2009: 216—217). Жанры появляются в определенное время, а потому являются категориями историческими. Более того, тексты одного и того же жанра, реализованного в исторически разные эпохи, значительно отличаются друг от друга.

Существующие лингвистические школы выделяют различные свойства жанра. Системные функционалисты подчеркивают социальный контекст, который определяет жанр и отражается на нем. Школа Новой риторики помещает понятие жанра в широкий этнографический контекст (Corbett J., 2009: 289).

Одним из широко используемых в современной генристике терминов является предложенное М.М. Бахтиным и обладающее большой эвристической силой понятие речевого жанра. Речевой жанр трактуется как относительно устойчивый тип высказывания, обусловленный определенной сферой языкового использования и диалогическим характером коммуникации. Отличаясь от литературных жанров, речевой жанр относится к ситуации коммуникации, а не к художественному произведению. Речевой жанр моделирует коммуникативную ситуацию (Лейдерман, 2010: 85, 30, 216]. Термин «речевой жанр» подчеркивает двусторонний характер коммуникации и вносит социальный параметр в жанроведческие исследования, приспосабливая его к возможности изучения текста в рамках устной и письменной коммуникации.

Очевидно, что жанр предполагает широкий спектр исследований. Но это отнюдь не ведет к отсутствию критиков данного понятия, усилия которых направлены на усовершенствование и развитие терминологического аппарата данной области исследований. Соответственно, возникают новые понятия. Так, социолингвистическая сторона жанра отражается в понятии дискурсивной общности. Последний термин предполагает речевое сообщество, характеризующееся неким набором общественных целей, механизмами взаимодействия, обеспечивающими информацию и обратную связь, а также некую степень дискурсивной компетенции, отвечающую за достижение коммуникативной цели, использование определенной лексики, жанровых форм (Corbett J. 2009: 289—290). Однако понятие дискурсивной общности слишком широко, особенно когда речь заходит об описании конкретных свойств структуры, содержания и стиля текста. И, несмотря на то, что данный термин подвергался многократным уточнениям, он все равно считается довольно размытым. Более того, он больше подходит, прежде всего и исключительно, для описания коммуникативных нужд некоторого сообщества.

Критика понятия жанра поступает и от тех лингвистов, которые, занимаясь дискурсом, считают, что этот термин вполне достаточен и может претендовать на область, которая описывается при помощи понятия жанра, поскольку и жанр и дискурс задают определенный тип текста. Дискурс предполагает некую инвариантную модель текста и характеризуется прототипическими свойствами. Жанр также базируется на прототипе, который обозначается как жанровый канон. Дискурс как речь в действии (McHoul A., 1994:940) охватывает жанр, стиль и ситуацию коммуникации.

Соответственно, все это, с точки зрения критиков жанра, лишает данное понятие его законного статуса и превращает его в ненужную категорию. Дискурс же, по их мнению, это прототип, образование типа гештальта, соотносимое с другими когнитивными образованиями, представляющими объекты, события, свойства и т.п.

В.И. Карасик (Карасик, 2012) выступает с идеей использования понятия формата дискурса, которое предполагает тип дискурса, характеризующийся коммуникативной дистанцией, степенью самопрезентации говорящего, существующими социальными институтами, коммуникативным регистром и клишированными языковыми средствами. Формат дискурса, в свою очередь, специфицируется как интуитивно выделенный речевой жанр. Таким образом, попытка заменить понятие жанра дискурсом достигает своего предела и неизбежно возвращается к использованию терминов «жанр» и «стиль».

На самом деле жанр реализуется в определенном типе текста посредством определенного стиля. Стиль обусловливает использование языковых средств и способ организации речи (Ларина 2009: 29). В.И. Карасик полагает, что стиль неразрывно связан с жанром и часто исследуется в тесной связке как жанровые и стилистические особенности, что предполагает стилистическую отнесенность, жанровый канон, клише и степень компрессии/развернутости (Карасик, 2016). Стержневую роль для жанра и стиля играет коммуникативная ситуация, включающая выступающих в определенных ролях адресата и адресанта, наблюдателя, предметно-событийный фон и деятельностную ситуацию (Долинин, 1987: 19—21). По определению Н.И. Клушиной, «поскольку стиль — это предлагаемая в рамках литературного языка модель успешной социальной коммуникации, регламентируемая набором эталонных черт (нормы стиля), то стиль становится обязательной формой реализации авторского послания адресату» (Клушина, 2011).

Тем не менее, существует еще один термин, который укладывается в общую схему понятийных категорий, необходимых для описания жанра. Речь идет о регистре. Иногда регистр понимается как дискурсивное и стилистическое единство, как широкий термин, покрывающий любое проявление языкового разнообразия, обусловленного ситуативными характеристиками, включая цель говорящего, отношения между говорящим и слушающим и обстоятельства порождения речи. К примеру, авторы *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* выделяют разговорный, художественный, новостной и научный регистры (Biber D., 2000). Однако на самом деле приведенный список регистров свидетельствует о широком понимании данного понятия, которое пересекается с понятием жанра. В трактовке большинства исследователей регистр воспринимается больше как стилистический регистр, то есть тональность коммуникации в рамках определенного жанра (Biber D., 2009: 848).

Таким образом, жанр — это понятие большой обобщающей силы, поскольку это модель коммуникативной ситуации, система сигналов, отсылающая к стандартной структуре речевого произведения. Он понимается как динамическое и одновременно относительно стабильное образование, которое отражается в конкретном типе текста как материальном воплощении дискурса. Отмеченный своим собственным стилем, дискурс характеризуется определенной коммуникативно-прагматической целью, обусловливающей выбор языковых средств и структур текста. Соответственно, жанр или речевой жанр по отношению к коммуникативному взаимодействию подчеркивает ожидания адресата и адресанта по поводу структуры текста. Стиль отвечает за выбор языковых средств и, таким образом, обусловливает «жанровое единство высказывания» (Бахтин, 1986: 255), регистр маркирует тональность коммуникации, а дискурс помещает все это в рамки социального взаимодействия. В конечном итоге, понятия дискурса и жанра отнюдь не взаимоисключают друг друга. Они сосуществуют и соотносятся с различными сторонами коммуникативного продукта. Каждый из них имеет свою объяснительную силу и сферу применения.

4. ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ РЕЗУЛЬТАТОВ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Актовая речь, представляющая собой напутственную речь для выпускников университетов, с которой, в нынешней традиции, выступают видные медиа-персоны: политики, спортсмены, актеры и т.п., ведет свою историю практически со времени образования Гарварда (1736 г.), когда при вручении дипломов каждый выпускник выступал с речью, демонстрируя свои ораторские навыки на нескольких древних языках и навыки ведения дебатов на английском (Fabry M., 2016). Со временем преимущество было отдано одной речи, с которой на торжественной церемонии, знаменующей окончание вуза, стал выступать ректор учебного заведения. В настоящее время популярностью пользуется приглашение известных и признанных в обществе людей, которые напутствуют выпускников перед тем, как они отправятся в «большую жизнь».

Матрица актовой речи как дискурсивного образования включает определенные параметры жанра, темы, сферы бытования, коммуникативного события, интенции, идеологии. Актовая речь имеет свой четкий жанровый канон, реализуя все характеристики публичной речи, в качестве которых выступают официальная форма общения, массовый адресат, устная форма публицистического стиля, общественно значимые темы, которые поднимают выступающие (Константинова, 2012: 24—25).

Актовая речь «представляет собой относительно устойчивый тематический, композиционный и стилистический тип текста. Тематически актовая речь строится вокруг жизненных эпизодов, направленных на связь прошлого с будущим. Композиционно она включает благодарность за приглашение выступить, философско-лирические размышления говорящего о жизни, обязательные ссылки на отличившихся выпускников, собственный жизненный опыт говорящего, «смешные ситуации» и пожелания. Стилистически актовая речь сочетает элементы личностного общения (лиричность, задушевность) и подобающей случаю торжественности (возвышенность)» (Иванова, 2015: 59).

С точки зрения А.А. Константиновой, тематическая рубрикация актовых речей включает восемь основных подгрупп: «1) речи, в которых оратор, исходя из своего понимания, информирует молодых слушателей о мире взрослых; 2) речи, в которых оратор фокусируется на своем личном опыте; 3) речи, посвященные теме, в которой оратор является экспертом; 4) речи, вдохновляющие выпускников на важные свершения и побуждающие стремиться к высотам; 5) речи, в которых рассматривается одна черта человеческого характера/порок, составляющая/ий корень многих проблем; 6) речи, посвященные «вечным ценностям»; 7) речи, посвященные спорным темам, в которых высказываются нестандартные мнения, предлагается неординарная точка зрения; 8) речи, восхваляющие образование, полученное выпускниками, и учебное заведение, которое они закончили» (Константинова, 2012: 24).

По сфере бытования актовая речь относится к институциональному дискурсу, поскольку говорящий позиционирует себя как представитель определенного социального института. Коммуникативное событие, которое составляет актовая речь, — это ритуал: выступление оратора перед аудиторией выпускников накануне выдачи дипломов. По параметру длительности звучания специалисты советуют не выходить в своем выступлении за рамки 18 минут (Biles T., 2016).

Интенция, с которой выступает оратор, носит смешанный характер, поскольку сочетает поздравление выпускников с завершением университетской жизни и напутствие им перед вступлением во взрослую жизнь, что, собственно, отразилось в названии речи: с одной стороны, она называется *commencement speech*, что значит «речь начинания», а, с другой стороны, она именуется *graduation speech*, что предполагает «речь по случаю окончания вуза». Идеологически (а в западной традиции дискурсивного анализа идеология — это «любой семиотический факт, который интерпретируется в свете социальных интересов и в котором узакониваются социальные значимости» (Серио, 1999: 19) актовая речь представляет собой дидактический дискурс, ведь актовая речь — это последнее слово наставника, в качестве которого на торжественной церемонии выступает именитый оратор.

Постмодернистская эпоха, исповедующая стирание границ между кодами, стилистическую эклектику, пародийность повествования (Константинова, 2012: 11), внесла кардинальные изменения в жанровую матрицу актовой речи. В результате в ней сбились коды и переплелись стили, конвергировали дискурсивные практики, что привело к очевидной жанрово-дискурсивной трансформации данного типа текста.

Жанровая характеристика актовой речи как речи публичной уже не покрывает полностью текстов, репрезентирующих данный дискурс. Публичная речь, которую должна представлять актовая речь с точки зрения жанровой принадлежности, перемежается речью лирической, которая вносит ноты личного опыта, строится не как массовая официальная публичная коммуникация, а как общение один на один. Отход от публичности к персональной коммуникации осуществляется за счет импорта дискурсивных практик, задействованных в неформальном общении: в личной беседе и даже задушевном разговоре. Говорящий пытается выстроить свое выступление по принципу «наедине со всеми», о чем, прежде всего, свидетельствуют используемые ораторами языковые средства. Разговорную интонацию речи придают парцеллированные предложения: *Don't let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice. And most important, have the courage to follow your heart and intuition* (S. Jobs 2005 Stanford), а также краткие или даже нераспространенные предложения: *The work will never end* (J. DiDonato 2014 Juillard); *Everything's not going to be perfect* (R. Bradbury 2000 Caltech).

Наряду с упрощением синтаксиса, свойственным для личностного общения, упрощению подвергается и лексическая составляющая. Выступающие довольно свободно и порой обильно используют разговорные штампы и коллоквиальные лексические единицы:

That's it. ***No big deal****, just three stories* (S. Jobs 2005 Stanford); *A professor's life is pretty flexible and he was able to spend* ***oodles*** *of time raising me. Could there be a better upbringing than university* ***brat****?* (L. Page 2009 Univ. of Michigan);

We want you to come to us and ***damn near*** *knock us down* (B. Cosby 2007 Temple).

Так, лексическая единица *oodle* в значении 'a lot of smth, plenty of smth' отмечена пометой *slang* (Urban dictionary, 2016). Такая же ситуация обстоит с лексемой *brat*, которая определяется как 'derogatory term for a spoilt person. Originally applied to small children' (Там же). Выражение с использованием *damn* (curse — often used to express annoyance, disgust, or surprise [Merriam Webster, 2016]) также совершенно не соответствует статусу публичной речи, который маркирует актовую речь. В этом отношении использование сниженной лексики: *ass* (often *vulgar*: buttocks — often used in emphatic reference to a specific person [Там же]) и *hooker* (prostitute [Там же]) в речи Мерил Стрип — лишь подтверждает уже сказанное:

One is obliged to do great deal of kissing in my line of work. Air kissing, ***ass****-kissing, kissing up and of course actual kissing, much like* ***hookers****, actors have to do it with people we may not like or even know* (M. Streep 2010 Barnard).

Анализ текстов актовых речей наглядно свидетельствует о переходе данного типа коммуникации от статуса высокой публичности к личностно-ориентированному неформальному общению. На основании вышесказанного можно с уверенностью говорить о междискурсивных трансформациях, которые отвечают за перенос свойств жанра неформальной беседы в пространство публичной коммуникации.

Анализ тематического своеобразия актовых речей убеждает в том, что хотя выделение тем, которые раскрывают в своих выступлениях ораторы, возможно теоретически, практически же необходимо отметить, что в силу реализации внутридискурсивных трансформаций, которые ведут к переплетению тем, ни одна речь практически не остается тематически «чистой». Так, в большинстве случаев выступления включают и рассуждения о мире взрослых, и апелляцию к большим ценностям, вдохновляющим к важным свершениям. Так, в актовой речи 2010 г. Мерил Стрип говорит о своей профессии (*Women are better at acting than men. Why? Because we have to be, if successfully convincing someone bigger than you are of something he doesn't know is a survival skill, this is how women have survived through the millennia. Pretending is not just play. Pretending is imagined possibility. Pretending or acting is a very valuable life skill and we all do it*), вспоминает факты личной истории (*I* ***remember*** *very clearly my own first conscious attempt at acting. I was six placing my mother's half slip over my head in preparation to play the Virgin Mary in our living room*), дает советы (*You know you don't have to be famous. You just have to make your mother and father proud of you and you already have*), взывает к большим ценостям (*How this difference is going to serve you it's hard to quantify now, it may take you forty years like it did me to analyze your advantage. But today is about looking forward into a world where so-called women's issues, human issues of gender inequality* *lie at the crux of global problems from poverty to the AIDS crisis to the rise in violent fundamentalist juntas, human trafficking and human rights abuses and you're going to have the opportunity and the obligation, by virtue of your providence, to speed progress in all those areas*) (M. Streep 2010 Barnard).

Более того, наряду с темами, которые определены ритуальным моментом, в силу того, что порой с актовой речью выступают официальные лица самого высокого статуса, как, например, президент страны, это вносит кардинальные изменения в тематический профиль актовой речи. И в результате внедискурсивных трансформаций, то есть трансформаций, обусловленных внедискурсивными факторами, каким является положение выступающего, появляются темы политического звучания: положения США на международной арене, тема служения родине и т.п. Так, в академии Вест Пойнт (речь 2014 г.) Барак Обама останавливается на четырех составляющих лидирующей роли США на мировой арене:

> *Here's my bottom line: America must always lead on the world stage. If we don't, no one else will. The military that you have joined is, and always will be, the backbone of that leadership. But U.S. military action cannot be the only — or even primary — component of our leadership in every instance. Just because we have the best hammer does not mean that every problem is a nail. And because the costs associated with military action are so high, you should expect every civilian leader — and especially your Commander-in-Chief — to be clear about how that awesome power should be used. Let me spend the rest of my time, then, describing my vision for how the United States of America, and our military, should lead in the years to come* (B. Obama 2014 West Point).

Совершенно очевидно, что в силу своего положения президент страны не может оставаться в рамках обычной тематики — он неизбежно поднимает проблемы, относящиеся к международной политике, используя университетскую кафедру как еще одну площадку для оглашения позиции своей администрации:

> *I've served as Commander-in-Chief for nearly eight years now. It has been the highest honor of my life to lead the greatest military in the history of the world. It inspires me every day. Today will be the last time that I have the honor of addressing a graduating class of military officers. And there's* ***a debate going on in our country about our nation's role in the world. So, with that in mind, I hope you don't mind if I share some lessons I've learned as Commander-in-Chief*** *— lessons that you may find useful as you lead those under your command, and* ***as we work together to keep our nation strong and secure*** (B. Obama 2016 Colorado Springs Air Force Academy).

В актовой речи в унверситете штата Аризона Барак Обама начинает с «гражданской» тематики и обычных шуток, но неизбежно переходит на общеполитическую ситуацию, давая характеристику переживаемому страной и миром периоду:

> *It should be clear to you by now the category into which all of you fall. For we gather here tonight* ***in times of extraordinary difficulty, for the nation and for the world.*** *The economy remains in the midst of a historic recession, the worst we've seen since the Great Depression; the result, in part, of greed and irresponsibility that rippled out from Wall Street and Washington, as we spent beyond our means and failed to make hard choices. (Applause.) We're engaged in two wars and a struggle against terrorism. The threats of climate change, nuclear proliferation, and pandemic defy national boundaries and easy solutions* (B. Oama 2009 Arizona State University).

И далее оратор развивает идеи американского экономического и политического доминирования на политической арене:

We've become accustomed to the title of "military super-power", forgetting the qualities that got us there — not just the power of our weapons, but the discipline and valor and the code of conduct of our men and women in uniform. (Applause.) *The Marshall Plan, and the Peace Corps, and all those initiatives that show our commitment to working with other nations to pursue the ideals of opportunity and equality and freedom that have made us who we are. That's what made us a super power. We've become accustomed to our economic dominance in the world, forgetting that it wasn't reckless deals and get-rich-quick schemes that got us where we are, but hard work and smart ideas — quality products and wise investments* (B. Obama 2009 Arizona State University).

По сфере бытования актовая речь, безусловно, относится к институциональному дискурсу, который, согласно В.И Карасику, «представляет собой общение в заданных рамках статусно-ролевых отношений» (Карасик, 2016). Институциональные параметры актовой речи наиболее полно и ярко представлены в речах лиц, облеченных властью и ее репрезентирующих, то есть президентов страны, ректоров университетов.

Актовая речь в устах президентов США, а также других официальных лиц, прежде всего подчеркивает социальный статус говорящего, его отношение к окружающему как официального лица высокого ранга и статуса: дискурс реконструирует социальную реальность (Бердье, 2007: 74) и в силу этого акцентирует социальные параметры коммуникантов и ситуации коммуникации. Соответственно, стилистически такая речь маркируется возвышенной лексикой и строгим следованием жанровому канону.

*In you, I see **men and women of integrity and service and excellence**. And you've made us all proud. And perhaps no one would have been more proud of your success than Major David Brodeur, **whose sacrifice in Afghanistan we honor**, and whose family joins us today — 2016 (B. Obama 2016 Colorado Springs Air Force Academy). Take care of each other. Take care of those under your command. And as long as you keep strong that Long Blue Line, stay true to the values you've learned here — integrity, service before self, excellence — do this and I'm confident that we will always remain o**ne nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all*** (B. Obama 2016 Colorado Springs Air Force Academy).

Публичность, клишированность характеризуют актовую речь и в устах представителей шоу-бизнеса:

*Good morning, Mayor Redd, President Barchi, Chancellor Haddon, Governors, trustees, alumni, family, friends, and especially — a very good morning to the 2015 graduating class of Rutgers University—Camden. Thank you for inviting me here today on one of the most special days of your life — so far — and **thank you very much for this honor*** (Jon Bon Jovi 2015 Rutgers);

*Thank you very much. Madam Chancellor, members of the Board of Trustees, members of the faculty and administration, parents and friends, **honored guests and graduates, thank you for inviting me to speak today at this magnificent Commencement ceremony*** (A. Sorkin 2012 Syracuse).

Однако институциональность актовой речи нарушается вследствие интегрирования в текст актовой речи дискурсивных практик личностно-ориентированного общения в результате междискурсивных трансформаций. Как следствие, и то другое образует одно целое, находясь в тесном взаимодействии:

> *I'm **honored to be with you** here today for your commencement from one of the finest universities in the world. **Truth be told**, I never graduated from college and this is the closest I've ever gotten to a college graduation. Today I want to tell you three stories from my life. **That's it. No big deal, just three stories*** (S. Jobs 2005 Stanford).

С одной стороны, используются обороты, характерные для официального общения: *honored to be with you, truth be told*. С другой стороны, они перемежаются разговорными оборотами: *That's it. No big deal, just three stories*.

Дискурсивные практики институционального и личностно-ориентированного общения, конвергируя, тесно переплетаются и наслаиваются. И таких примеров насчитывается довольно много, поскольку посредством дискурсивных практик личностно ориентированного общения говорящий конструирует коммуникативную личность, а, как известно, вербальная коммуникация определяется «только как следствие основного свойства языка: свойства формирования субъекта высказывания» (Серио, 1999: 15):

> *Thank you... Thank you very much. Thank you Provost, Mr. President, deans, regents, faculty, students, family, friends — that should cover it. I apologize to the people behind here. I wish I could turn around and play a dynamite guitar solo* (L. Kasdan 1990 Univ. of Michigan).

Тенденция к трансферу дискурсивных практик личностно-ориентированного общения обнаруживается даже в устах президентов. В своей речи перед слушателями военной академии в Колорадо Спрингс президент Обама упоминает прецедентный текст массовой культуры *Game of Thrones*, казалось бы, совершенно не несоответствующий его статусу и высокой ноте момента, которая поддерживается и его рангом, и упоминанием драматических событий:

> *Cadets, here you were **tested by fire** — literally. When you went through Beast, as General Johnson noted, Waldo Canyon was actually on fire. During Recognition, you ran to the Rock in a blizzard. So you have more than earned your unofficial motto — "forged in fire and tempered in ice." (Applause.) Which is a great motto — although **it does sound like something out of Game of Thrones*** (B. Obama 2016 Colorado Springs Air Force Academy).

Однако наиболее интересным фактом является то, что актовая речь испытала еще бóльшую дискурсивную метаморфозу: в ней стали ярко проявляться признаки бытийного дискурса. В.И. Карасик отмечает, что бытийный дискурс относится к персональному дискурсу, так как «в бытийном дискурсе предпринимаются попытки раскрыть свой внутренний мир во всем его богатстве, общение носит развернутый, предельно насыщенный смыслами характер, используются все формы речи на базе литературного языка; бытийное общение преимущественно монологично и представлено произведениями художественной литературы и философскими и психологическими интроспективными текстами» (Карасик, 2016). Именно в этом ключе выступает Мэтью Макконахи:

> *So, I'm going to talk to you about some things I've learned along my journey?—?most from experience, some I heard in passing, many I'm still practicing, but ALL of them, true. Yes, they may be truths to me, but don't think that that makes them MINE... because you can't own a truth. Think of these as signposts, approaches, paradigms, that give some science to satisfaction. They are yours to steal, to share, to liken to your own lives, and to personally apply in your OWN lives, in your own way, should you choose to* (M. McConaughey 2015 Houston).

Так же строит свое выступление Натали Портман, с исповедальной интонацией рассказывая о своих первых студенческих годах, о трудностях, с которыми ей пришлось столкнуться эмоционально:

> *Some combination of being 19, dealing with my first heartbreak, taking birth control pills that have since been taken off the market for their depressive side effects, and spending too much time missing daylight during winter months led me to some pretty dark moments particularly during sophomore year. There were several occasions I started crying during meetings with professors, overwhelmed with what I was supposed to pull off when I could barely get myself out of bed in the morning* (N. Portman 2015 Harvard).

Как показывает проанализированный выше материал, интенция актовой речи далеко не ограничивается лишь советом: это и поздравление, и напутствие, и размышление. Сложный интенциональный рисунок актовой речи также приводит к конвергенции соответствующих дискурсивных практик.

Полидискурсивность, которую следует понимать как возможность отнесения текста к нескольким типам дискурса, является результирующим итогом, который предопределен как социальной природой дискурса, так и характеристиками жанра как динамического образования. Понимаемый как «текст, погруженный в ситуацию общения», и имеющий множество измерений (Карасик, 2016), дискурс, прежде всего, чувствителен к социальным параметрам коммуникации. Вместе с тем социальные параметры могут представлять несколько измерений коммуникации и ее участников. Соответственно, один и тот же дискурс может включать в себя дискурсивные практики, которые отвечают разным параметрам коммуникации. Актовая речь — это институциональный дискурс, оформляющий социальную ситуацию, относящуюся к событиям университетской жизни. Соответственно, актовая речь по своей содержательно-концептуальной информации прежде всего и полноправно представляет дидактический дискурс, ибо суть актовой речи состоит в том, чтобы научить выпускников ориентироваться в жизни, правильно, с позиции оратора, реагировать на жизненные вызовы:

> *I thought about what you would WANT. I thought about what you might NEED. I also thought about what I WANT to say. What I NEED to say...(Matthew McConaughey 2015 Houston); I thought I would spend this time, brief as it is, together,* ***things that you should know going forward in life****. Maybe you already know it, but I don't think everybody knows all of this* (N. Tyson 2015 Univ. of Massachusetts).

Тем не менее, помимо дидактического дискурса актовая речь репрезентирует мемуарный дискурс, так как многие ораторы предаются воспоминаниям (о чем прежде всего свидетельствует соответствующая лексика):

> *I **remember** taking the SATs long ago. I remember I got the scores back and my verbal score was ok, but it wasn't one of those scores where a teacher will say "hey he'll go far, watch that student!"* (N. Tyson 2015 Univ. of Massachusetts).

Зачастую вся речь посвящена жизненным урокам, которые получили выступающие, то есть речь полностью построена как воспоминание. Ярким примером реализации дискурсивных практик мемуарного дискурса является известнейшая речь Стива Джобса (2005 г.) в Стэнфорде. Уже в первом абзаце речи он четко говорит слушателю, чему он собирается посвятить свое выступление: *Today I want to tell you three stories from my life* (S. Jobs 2005 Stanford). Все дальнейшее выступление разворачивается как довольно просто построенный с точки зрения композиции рассказ о его жизни, сведенный к трем основным урокам: connecting the dots (*The first story is about connecting the dots*), love and loss (*My second story is about love and loss*), death (*My third story is about death*).

Однако выступающий может маркировать себя как агент различных общественных отношений: не только как старший товарищ, как учитель в широком смысле этого слова, но и как политический деятель высокого ранга и т.д. В данном случае речь идет об актовой речи политиков, которые воспроизводят дискурсивные практики политического дискурса: наглядным примером этого являются выступления президентов США, в которых поднимаются вопросы, связанные с решением государственных задач национального и интернационального масштаба. Соответственно, актовая речь становится образцом речи политической, что превращает ее в единицу политического дискурса, как это видно из приведенных выше примеров дискурсивных практик, свойственных политическому дискурсу.

Кроме того, нельзя не заметить очевидной связи современной актовой речи с ироническим дискурсом.

> *After four long years of endless studying, sleepless nights, and constant stress, **who's ready to kick back, relax, and jump head first into their residency**?* (B. Obama 2005 Pritzker School of Medicine Commencement).

Или:

> *In one of these chairs could sit the doctor who says "**Hey Barack, don't worry about that trick knee — you're just getting old**"* (B. Obama 2005 Pritzker School of Medicine Commencement).
>
> *Thank you for this honor. When I first arrived in the robing room I had to figure out who was the president and the chancellor, and they were the ones **wearing the most bling**. I was invited to give the commencement speech and **they said I would have 8 minutes, I said the universe needs more than eight minutes. I need at least nine minutes. Maybe ten.** I don't know* (N. Tyson 2015 Univ. of Massachusetts).

Таким образом, эмпирический материал свидетельствует, что актовая речь в полной мере является полидискурсивным явлением, гибридность которого создается в результате различных трансформаций дискурсивных практик: междискурсивных, интердискурсивных и внедискурсивных.

Закономерный вопрос состоит в том, что является результирующим итогом данной конвергенции дискурсивных практик. С формальной точки зрения таким итогом становится гибридизация дискурса, таксономичекая принадлежность которого определяется через номинацию сложного характера. Коммуникативным итогом является повышение воздействующего потенциала гибридного дискурсивного продукта.

5. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Современная массовая коммуникация проходит довольно заметный период массивных изменений, к которым относится гибридизация жанровых форм, дискурсивных практик и конвергенция стилей. Ярким примером конвергирующих дискурсивных практик является текст актовой речи, в американской традиции *commencement speech*. Востребованность подобного рода гибридной коммуникации обусловлена факторами разного порядка. Прежде всего, речь идет о социальных факторах. В силу своей природы дискурс способствует воспроизводству диверсифицированных социальных практик и отношений, которые отражаются в практиках дискурсивных. Текст, репрезентирующий тот или иной дискурс, оказывается правомерным репрезентантом нескольких дискурсов, а актуализируемые в дискурсе дискурсивные практики, подвергающиеся междискурсивным, интердискурсивным и внедискурсивным трансформациям, приобретают статус полидискурсивных. Таким образом, обращенная к стоящим на пороге «взрослой жизни» выпускникам, актовая речь являет собой наглядный образец обильного использования полидискурсивных практик, порождающих речевые произведения гибридной природы.

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COMMENCEMENT SPEECH AS A HYBRID POLYDISCURSIVE PRACTICE

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Abstract. Discourse and media communication researchers pay attention to the fact that popular discursive and communicative practices have a tendency to hybridization and convergence. Discourse which is understood as language in use is flexible. Consequently, it turns out that one and the same text can represent several types of discourses. A vivid example of this tendency is revealed in American commencement speech / commencement address / graduation speech. A commencement speech is a speech university graduates are addressed with which in compliance with the modern trend is delivered by outstanding media personalities (politicians, athletes, actors, etc.). The objective of this study is to define the specificity of the realization of polydiscursive practices within commencement speech. The research involves discursive, contextual, stylistic and definitive analyses. Methodologically the study is based on the discourse analysis theory, in particular the notion of a discursive practice as a verbalized social practice makes up the conceptual basis of the research. This research draws upon a hundred commencement speeches delivered by prominent representatives of American society since 1980s till now. In brief, commencement speech belongs to institutional discourse public speech embodies. Commencement speech institutional parameters are well represented in speeches delivered by people in power like American and university presidents. Nevertheless, as the results of the research indicate commencement speech institutional character is not its only feature. Conceptual information analysis enables to refer commencement speech to didactic discourse as it is aimed at teaching university graduates how to deal with challenges life is rich in. Discursive practices of personal discourse are also actively integrated into the commencement speech discourse. More than that, existential discursive practices also find their way into the discourse under study. Commencement speech also embodies didactic discourse as its objective is to share the final piece of knowledge the teachers can offer on such a significant day. Besides institutional and didactic discourses, commencement speech represents memoire discourse for many orators go back to and indulge in their memories of the days passed. Apart from this, current commencement speeches are closely related to ironic discourse. As a result of three types of transformations discursive practices undergo in commencement speech discourse it acquires the property of a polydiscursive hybrid. The harmonious combination of polydiscursive practices contributes to commencement speech hybridization which increases the degree of commencement speech persuasiveness.

Keywords: commencement speech, institutional discourse, didactic discourse, polydiscursiveness, discourse hybridization, public speech genre, discursive practice.

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EXPLORING RHETORICAL-DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF ROUHANI'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND VICTORY OF HIS PRUDENCE-AND-HOPE KEY: A DISCOURSE OF PERSUASION

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Abstract. Trying to acquire and maintain power, politicians make use of certain rhetorical and linguistic devices to persuade voters in favor of their particular views constructed in the political discourse. The current study was an attempt to investigate Iranian president Hassan Rouhani's use of persuasive rhetorical-discursive devices during his campaign for presidency in 2013. Specific attention was paid to the levels of language that constituted his political discourse through: 1) scrutinizing the level of sound, 2) investigating his selection of lexical elements, and 3) looking into syntactic structures employed to convey political nuances. Additionally, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, drawing upon Fairclough's three-dimensional analytical framework (2010), was adopted to probe the discourse-power relationship in his discourse, on the one hand, and the socio-cultural, religious, and political values underlying the rhetorical devices, on the other. The results revealed that Rouhani's political discourse was embroidered with different rhetorical-discursive devices such as tripartite constructions, repetition in parallel lines, alliteration, and metaphor to influence the public opinion. Moreover, perhaps, using a concise and succinct message, visual symbols, and dynamic metaphors helped him reach out to the audience with an air of emotion and mobilize significant numbers of the electorate for himself.

Keywords: Rhetorical devices, CDA, Political discourse, Presidential campaign, Hassan Rouhani

1. INTRODUCTION

Although persuasion is inherent to human interaction, it is highly pervasive in the political process (Mutz et al., 1999). As a speech act, persuasion has to do with the intention, act and effect of changing an audience's thinking (Charteris-Black, 2011). Politicians attempt to convince people to change their views using persuasive strategies in their political discourse.

Politics is seen as a struggle for power (Chilton, 2004) and in this struggle politicians try to communicate their plans and policies by providing evidence, persuading the electorate to act in their favor, and convincing them to vote for their plans and thoughts. In this process, language as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), and the lifeblood of politics (Charteris-Black, 2011) plays a significant role, because it is mainly through the social practice of language that politicians construct their identity, negotiating their way through speeches, debates and interviews, and making structurally stable social relationships. Linguistic manipulation is typical of political discourse, and politicians have learned well to obtain power through "the oratorical art of manipulating language for persuasive ends" (Woods, 2006, p.51). In other words, politicians manipulate and frame their ideas and messages in order to better reach their electorates (Bobin, 1988). Messages incorporated in political discourse aim at persuading the audience and affecting their attitudes and beliefs (Vesnic-Alujevic, 2011).

According to Vesnic-Alujevic (2011), persuasion has four interdependent elements including: the speaker, the audience, the message and the way the message is conveyed. Rhetorical devices are tactics intended to engage emotions, shape meaning, and influence the message to be remembered and endorsed by the audience (cf. also Pondy, 1983). Using a rich and wide range of rhetorical strategies, leaders take their audience attention. The language of leadership is constituted through the combined effect of diverse rhetorical strategies (Charteris-Black, 2011). The current research was conducted with the aim to investigate the rhetorical and persuasive linguistic devices employed in the political speech of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani. Furthermore, using a CDA lens, we explain the socio-cultural, religious, and political values underlying the rhetoric evidenced in the dataset.

2. IRAN'S SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

After the Islamic Republic of Iran's Revolution, political campaigns have been a part of Iranian's history and every four years new presidential candidates with different ideas and beliefs and campaign strategies come to the fore. Election campaigns have become larger in scope, relying on a variety of mass media resources (cf. e.g. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 2009).

From 2005 to 2013 Mahmood Ahmadinezhad was Iran's president. During his presidency, the Iranian currency, Rial, lost a great deal of its exchange value against the U.S. dollar. Though the collapse of the Iranian currency inside Iran had to do with the sanctions imposed by the US, some considered it largely as the by-product of the government's wrong economic policies, especially the change in the governmental subsidy program which led to domestic inflation and financial instability. The demise of Rial caused a loss in standards of living and domestic poverty (cf. e.g. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 2009).

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

CDA is one variant of a number of practices that fall under the area of discourse analysis (DA). CDA aims to make obvious the vague connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures to the nonprofessional person (Fairclough, 1995b). In van Dijk's (1993, p. 249) sense, CDA examines "the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance." Simply put, CDA attempts to bring the link between "linguistic-discursive practices" and "the wider socio-political structures of power and domination" out from the shadow (Kress, 1990, p. 85). Thus, the aim of CDA is to go beyond textual analysis to reveal hidden meanings and messages as well as potential social or political interpretation inherent to a linguistic expression, and its effect on the hearers.

What makes CDA different from other forms of DA lies in its attribute of 'critical'. Being critical here implies not taking things for granted; it means being self-reflective, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, bias and dichotomies, and then based on these processes, making vague structures of power relations and ideologies obvious (Wodak, 2001; also Pennycook, 2001).

Differences in political ethos can be boiled down to different ways of using language (Woods, 2006). In the ideological battle for presidency, the winner is a person whose language, words, messages and promises are more persuasive and appealing. And, this is where critical discourse analysis comes into play to realize what the reality is and how a candidate mobilizes a significant number of voters through the skillful use of language and persuasive rhetorical devices in the most effective way.

Several studies have dealt with the use of different rhetorical devices in political discourse (e.g., Capone, 2010; Cheng, 2006; Rezaei & Nourali, 2016; Tekin, 2008; Wei, 2000; Wei et al., 2008, etc.). For instance, adopting Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) proposal of metaphor in a case study, Wei (2000) explored the metaphorical usage of campaign slogans in the 1996 presidential campaign in Taiwan. He analyzed the way political ideologies, tactics and strategies were incorporated in metaphors, namely, war, revenge, and a journey in presidential slogans. It was found that there were overlaps and contrasts of metaphorical usage among candidates. Wei concluded that metaphorical usage not only orients candidates' campaign styles but also shapes voters' perceptions of proposed political ideals.

Fairclough (1995) points out that in CDA ideologies, assumed to reside in texts, are not easily discernable, potentially allowing for several different interpretations of the text. Inspired by this assumption, Horváth (2010) attempted to investigate the persuasive strategies employed by Obama in his inaugural address and identify the hidden ideologies in his speech. To link Obama's inaugural discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideologies of the text, Horváth performed an ideological analysis. He simultaneously applied a diachronic method for contrasting 'Obamite' discourse with the 'Bushite' one. Horváth summarized the key ideological components of Obama's speech into several concepts such as pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity to show his persuasive strategies. Horváth argued that, unlike Bush, Obama used personal pronoun 'we' in an inclusive way to show the need for unity which is necessary in the time of national peril.

Drawing upon a Critical Discourse Analysis, Biria and Mohammadi (2012) investigated the potential ideologies underlying George Bush and Barack Obama's discursive strategies and rhetorical devices they employed in their inaugural speeches to express their political views. Through the CDA approach, they found that different discursive strategies were employed by the presidents in achieving their intended goals (e.g., to refute and condemn opposing views, to show that these views are untrue or illegal, and to offer concessions of points to the opposition by answering their questions and offering alternative positions). It was also observed that the first person plural pronoun was frequently used by both presidents in an inclusive way (with higher occurrences in Obama's speech), which implied and reinforced national and ideological boundaries. Speaking on behalf of American people, both presidents implicitly exercised their power and corporate ideologies. This way, they put the government and the people in the same group to create unity and solidarity.

Using Moore's (2003) theoretical framework, Rezaei and Nourali (2016) compared the use of persuasive rhetorical strategies in political speeches by the presidents of Iran and the U.S., Rouhani and Obama. The results of their study showed no significant difference between the two presidents' use of persuasive techniques. Both presidents used persuasive strategies (metaphor, parallelism, wordplay, repetition, alliteration, list of three, allusion, etc), but the culture based use of these techniques was evident in their research indicating that language is influenced by the culture.

In recent years, several researchers (Atai & Mozaheb, 2013; Bonyadi, 2010; Jalilifar & Alavi Nia, 2012) have analyzed political discourse in the socio-religious context of Iran. For example, Jalilifar and Alavi Nia (2012) used a bottom-up method of analysis to study one of the televised debates of the winners of the American and Iranian presidential elections (Obama and Ahmadinezhad) to investigate the persuasive effects of hedges and boosters as subcategories of metadiscourse markers. They showed that hedges and boosters were utilized to serve different functions cross-linguistically. Due to different experiences, economic status, socio-political concerns, political objectives (in terms of the political parties Obama and Ahmadinezhad were affiliated with), the issues raised during the debates, the debating partner, and the audience they addressed, the two presidents represented two separate worlds. Their study also showed that political debate is a diversified and context-specific genre and cannot be generalized to other settings.

The analysis of political discourse is hardly new. In the discourse-related research conducted so far all around the world, in general, and in Iran, in particular, a great deal of attention has been devoted to political discourse. In spite of the increasing number of research articles on political discourse in Iran over the last decade, certain linguistic-discursive aspects of the winning presidential campaign discourse and their links to the dominant social, economic, cultural, and political relations, structures, and processes still remain under-researched. Even though political research is on the rise, the critical discourse analysis of political discourse remains largely scant. Adopting an interdisciplinary framework theoretically grounded in CDA as its analytical lens, this study sought to bridge this apparent gap to some extent and account for the rhetorical devices President Hassan Rouhani of Iran employed to appeal to a wider electoral base during his presidential campaign in 2013.

4. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

From 25th May to 12th June 2013, eight Iranian presidential candidates had the right to use the national TV channels and radio programs presenting their campaign programs, policies, plans and opinions. Data collection methods involved audio recordings of all candidates' presidential campaign programs using a voice recorder. 59 sessions in total were recorded:

- Three live televised debates (held over economic issues, cultural issues, and domestic and foreign policies);

- TV program “Goftogooye Vijeh Khabari” (special news talk show), IRIB2 (Channel 2 Iran), 27 May 2013;
- TV program “Goftogoo” (talk show), IRINN (News Network), 3 June 2013;
- “Entekhabe Irani” (*Iranian Choice*), JJ (Jam-e Jam Channel), 30 May 2013;
- “Be Entekhabe Shoma” (*With Your Selection*), IRIB3 (Channel 3, Iran), 12 June 2013;
- “Ba Doorbin” (*With Camera*), IRIB1 (Channel 1, Iran), 28 May 2013;
- Rouhani’s Documentaries titled “This is the spring that waits behind the winter”, 4 and 10 June 2013.

To look into Rouhani’s political discourse, all recorded programs were transcribed and checked once more against the video or audio recording for accuracy. Considering the purpose of the study, rhetorical-device-related parts of the collected data were selected for description, categorization, or analysis. Then a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, drawing upon Fairclough (2010), was adopted to explore the socio-cultural, religious, and political values underlying Rouhani’s choice of specific rhetorical devices. In this framework, discourse is simultaneously seen as (i) a language text (spoken or written), (ii) discourse practice, and (iii) sociocultural practice. The analysis of the text is the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event. The analysis of discursive practice deals with examining the production, consumption, and reproduction of the texts. Finally, the analysis of socio-cultural practice has to do with the investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural context.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To arrive at a quantitative estimate of the frequency of rhetorical devices in Rouhani’s campaign discourse, percentages were obtained. Table 5.1 shows the frequency number and percentage of each category of such devices.

Table 5.1

The frequency and number of rhetorical-discursive devices in Rouhani’s discourse

Rhetorical-discursive device	Number	Frequency %
Tripartite constructions	58	42.6
Repetition in parallel lines	35	25.7
Alliteration	12	8.8
Metaphor	11	8.1
Personalization	10	7.4
Allusion	8	5.9
Pun	2	1.5
Total	136	100

5.1. Rhetorical devices in Rouhani’s political discourse

51.1. Tripartite constructions

A three-part list is a linked array of juxtaposed items which its final item is often proceeded by conjunction “*and*” (Wells & Bull, 2007). As Woods (2006) notes, such a list is employed to suggest wholeness, entirety and unity; it also creates a persuasive and effective political rhythm. Rouhani's political discourse was replete with three-part lists. The following extract taken from his speech on IRIB 2 embraces two three-part lists at the level of clause:

> khoshhalam dar in si-o-chand sal khattam, masiram, fekram, taghier nakardeh ast. Hichgah efratgar naboodeham na be samt-e rast na be samt-e chap, va emrooz ham omidvaram nemayandegi konam az anhaei ke a'dalat ro doost daran, e'tedal ro doost daran va a'ghlaniyat ro doost daran. "Goftogooye Vijeh Khabari"
>
> I am glad that my line, my path, and my thought have never changed during this 30 years or so. I have never been an extremist toward neither right nor left, and today, I hope to represent those who like justice, like moderation, and like rationality.

Rouhani represented a list of three related entities including "my line", "my path", and "my thought" that have not changed over the years (after the Revolution), to signal his stable character and viewpoints. Using three similar qualities — "khat" (line), "masir" (path), and "fekr" (thought) — and listing them one after another the speaker intends to increase the persuasive force of the utterance.

The same style is also echoed through a list of three important qualities of the electorate he wants to represent: "I hope to represent those who like justice, like moderation, and like rationality". The air of wholeness, completeness, and unity (Woods, 2006) of these tripartite structures promote a more lasting and powerful effect on audience.

Below is another tripartite structure from his Documentary:

> Amadeh-am baraye nejat-e eghtesad-e Iran va ta'amol-e sazandeh ba jahan, ehyay-e akhlagh-e jame'e dolat-e tadbir o omid ra tashkil deham. (Documentary)
>
> I have come to establish the government of prudence and hope to rescue Iran's economy, dialogue constructively with the world, and revive society's ethics.

Rouhani cleverly criticizes the current situation and Ahmadinezhad's policies by using tripatriate structures conveying the need to rescue the economy, constructive dialogue with the world, and reviving the society's ethics. Therefore, by addressing people's concerns, awakening their hopes, and making populist promises, he stood on the right emotional level with audience constructed his popularity among them. Moreover, he contrived to persuade the audience to believe that, by standing firmly behind him, they will achieve a bright future.

Rouhani's speech occurs in a period of financial crisis for Iran. It is a period in which Iran has accumulated an enormous financial debt with the persistent weakening of the currency, in addition to the economic crisis, partly due to Ahmadinezhad's fundamentalist stance and open opposition to the U.S. and ensuing sanctions on Iran. These issues are hinted at in Rouhani's speech. Rouhani presents himself as the person who has come to rescue the economy and open the door to other countries with constructive dialogue and wisdom. He establishes an authorial self, builds his own authority and agency and takes ownership of them, using the first person pronoun 'I' and the non-modal present tense.

Rouhani's success lies in rationally guessing what kind of issues and attitudes the represented person would like to have addressed. A successful political leader will be successful in representing an electorate only if s/he is successful in addressing the issues that matter to the electorate. As stated by Capone (2011), the notion of 'representing the electorate' is taken very seriously in Anglo-American countries, where the represented often write letters to their representatives in order to speak of a certain problem and where politicians often reply in writing to the letters they receive.

Another example of the tripartite structure at the sentential level, taken from the Documentary, is the following:

> Agar mikhahid 'ezat o shokooh o majd o'azamat be hameh Iranian bargardad, rial-e Irani be jaye aval-e khod bargardad, gozar name Irani be ehteram-e khod bargardad, paye sandoog-e 'ara beshtabid. (Documentary)
>
> If you want honor, glory, magnificence, and greatness to go back to all the Iranians, the Iranian Rial to go back to its former strength, the Iranian passport to go back to its former glory, hurry to ballot boxes.

Again, the power of three, this time nesting inside the sentence structure, has been used to unify items. If you want x, y, and z to happen, then make it happen, i.e., hurry to ballot boxes.

It is also worth mentioning that the imperative mode used in the *hurry to ballot boxes,* positions subjects differently. Rouhani is represented as a speaker who feels very re-assured in suggesting the ballot box for change. In Fairclough's (1989) view, the systematic asymmetry in the distribution of imperative mode between Rouhani and the addressee is important here for understanding the nature of their relationship. Rouhani is making a direct request, indicating a position of power, but at the same time signifying solidarity and inclusiveness.

Perhaps, one of the most recurrent issues in Rouhani's presidential campaign was the promise to change the status quo. The value of Iranian passport was another issue Rouhani had against the current government, referring specifically to the fact that a growing number of countries required the Iranian nationals to be fingerprinted upon arrival, which was largely perceived as humiliating. The measure was also widely seen as a direction sequence of Ahmadinezhad's harsh rhetoric in foreign policy. As a critique of Ahmadinezhad's government, Rouhani voiced his displeasure with the situation and pledged to lead Iran out of the crisis, by using ideologically loaded lexical choices (e.g., prudence, dialogue, hope, moderation).

In Fairclough's (1989) view, ideology is pervasively present in language and what is ideologically significant about a text is its lexical choice and semantic load. Rouhani chose strong and emotionally loaded lexical terms, for persuading his audience to go to ballot boxes.

Ideologically loaded vocabulary is evident in words including *honor*, *glory*, *magnificence*, *greatness*, and *respect.* According to Fairclough (1989), ideologies are closely attached to language since using language is the commonest form of social behavior. What appears to be the case here is an ideological clash between the moderate and extreme lines–Rouhani's government vs. Ahmadinezhad's–as evidenced in Rouhani's discourse (*I have come to substitute the moderate line for the extreme line*).

5.1.2. Alliteration

Alliteration, a particular play on sounds, was used in Rouhani's speech. The function of alliteration is to enhance the impact and persuasiveness of the message. Below is an example taken from one of his speeches:

> Barnameh-ye dolat-e **t**adbir-o omid **t**a'amol-e sazandeh ba jahan ast, va na **t**aghabol, va jay-e in **t**aghabol ra **t**a'amol khahad gereft. "Entekhabe Irani".
>
> The government of prudence and hope's plan is to dialogue constructively with the world, and not to confront, and this confrontation will be replaced by dialogue.

In the above alliterative utterance loaded on a contrast, the plosive "t" is repeated several times. Alliteration is a rhetorical device used for getting attention and making the message memorable. The distinct and noticeable nature of alliterative plosive "t" captivates the audience's auditory senses resulting in evoking their emotion, due to the existence of a connection between the sense of hearing sounds and feelings (cf. Obeng & Hartford, 2008).

In addition, the alliteration mechanism not only accentuates the beauty of the language via the repetition of the plosive "t" run-in through Rouhani's discourse but also acts as the music with which his thoughts are expressed and shown to be unified (Woods, 2008). It also suggests harmony and clarity in his thinking process and calls the attention to the core of his message (i.e., the government of prudence and hope's plan, which is "**t**a'amol-e sazandeh ba jahan ast, va na **t**aghabol," meaning, to dialogue constructively with the world, and not to confront) that might not have the same emphasis otherwise.

Here is another example of using consonants to embed the message in the audience memory:

> **B**arname sheshom **b**ayad **b**e zendegi-e mardom **b**ehbood **b**ebakhshad, sabat **b**edehad, aramesh **b**edehad be jame'e. "Be Entekhab-e Shoma".

The sixth program should improve people's life, stabilize the society and make it relax.

Or:

> Ka**s**i hagh nadarad dar magham-e e'lan-e a**s**lah salahiat-e **s**alehan ra zir-e **s**o'al bebarad. (Documentary)
>
> No one in charge of publicizing the most honorable has the right to question the authority of honorables.

The repetition of the sibilant "s" across the sequence of successive words has made an alliterative phrase. The sound play here can make the message more effective. Furthermore, the experiential value of this negative sentence is the main way of differentiating what is not the case in reality form. Considering the experiential value related to the negation, it should be noted that negation has to do more with intertextuality and the intertextual context of the text (Fairclough, 1987).

5.1.3. Political sloganizing: Rouhani's political brand

Rouhani's political campaign reached a high point with the usage of a unique and memorable slogan. The effective use of a short, memorable and quotable sound bite (Charteris-Black, 2011) with a concise and snappy message (Woods, 2006) helped him to create a clear and memorable slogans (e.g., *Dolat-e tadbir-o omid*: The "government of prudence and hope").

Nianxi (2009) argues that "effective slogans should be free from logical fallacy, easy to remember, and rationally demonstrable" (p. 109). Accordingly, Rouhani's slogan was easy to comprehend, pronounce, and remember. Pronouncing "dolate tadbir o omid" is easy, since the tongue can move from one position to the next one easily, e.g /tə/, /tæ/, /ro/, /o/. It is also appealing to the sense of hearing (Nianxi, 2009), and short enough to be said in one breath.

Moreover, the audiences are not persuaded by chance but through the speaker's underlying purposes and ability to communicate the deliberate intention of persuasion effectively through rhetoric (Charteris-Black, 2011). In this vein, Rouhani's slogan homes in on two key words (prudence and hope), "without any intervening grammar" (Woods, 2006, p. 26) e.g. 'my government is ...'.

Furthermore, Rouhani's election campaign slogan acted as the backbone of his campaign and a highly influential factor to make the Iranian society aware of his basic ideology and views. As the most convenient and practical means of mobilizing people, slogans and catchphrases play an important role in political discourse because they publicize and market the attitudes and beliefs of a candidate contesting an election (Nianxi, 2009). Politicians frequently resort to attracting the audience's attention by using impressive and memorable slogans that succinctly sum up what their campaign is all about. Rouhani's unique way of motivating the electorate masses reflected through his inspiring slogan, influenced voters' electoral choices. Another noteworthy aspect of this carefully crafted message is its relevance to the socio-economic conditions of Iran, which assured Rouhani a victory at the polls. This catchy phrase had an appeal to the electorate and enlivened Rouhani's campaign.

5.1.4. A man of people

Giving a touch of informality to his discourse, Rouhani tried to show himself as sharing interests with the ordinary people as shown in the following example:

> Man doos daram sedaye shajarian ra, ham doos daram, ham goosh mikonam. (Documentary)
>
> I like Shajarian's voice, I both like it and listen to it.

Mohammad-Reza Shajarian is one of the most celebrated Iranian classical singers, who has enormous popularity among Iranians especially owing to his well-known masterpiece "Our Lord" (Rabanna). For many years, Iranians have broken their daily fast during the Ramadan month when Shajarian's *Rabanna* was aired on the state TV. It is important to note that Shajarian has banned the Iranian public TV and radio networks from broadcasting his songs after the 2009 uprising against Ahmadinezhad's government and was in return barred from holding any concert in Iran. By strategically referring to Shajarian's name, amongst all the other classical singers in Iran, Rouhani contrived to make the musician's numerous fans confident that he is "just one of us"; and to establish himself as "a man of people". Moreover, Rouhani resonated with his audience and showed to have shared common interests. The informal discourse style in his speech and using Shajarian's name, as Woods (2006, p. 56) asserts, allows Rouhani "to slide into a slightly more man of people accent, this way he enacted and negotiated his identity in his talk (Ivanic, 1997, cited in Fairclough, 2010) through creating a 'discoursal self'. To put it differently, Rouhani drew upon socially available discourses and subject positions to create a discoursal self in his talk when he identified himself with the interests and values of ordinary populace.

The government's ban on airing Shajarian's famous *Rabanna* song provoked a public outcry demanding broadcasting the song (especially during the holy month of Ramadan). The public's dissent was addressed by Rouhani to voice support for Shajarian's works in order to channel his own discontent with such constraints and introduce himself as a man of shared interests with the audience he was addressing. Rouhani's discourse skillfully shifted from a formal political discourse to an informal discourse of the lay public as necessary.

5.2. The use of typical lexical entries in Rouhani's political discourse

In politics, careful and selective use of words is of paramount importance, and the selection of words is both a matter of policy and strategy (Woods, 2006). Using polysemous words such as puns have strategic effects in political discourse. The following section illustrates some of the lexical strategies Rouhani used.

5.2.1. Pun and metaphor

Hameh kar ba tadbir emkanpazir ast va in tadbir ma ra be sahele omid khahad resand "Ba Doorbin" (Documentary)

Everything is possible with prudence, and this prudence will get us to the hope shore.

Prudence, used repeatedly by Rouhani, could mean "prudence as wisdom", and "the government of prudence (and hope)". There is an interrelationship between these dual meanings which can play a significant role on the impact level of the message. Additionally, 'metaphor' is the phenomenon by which somebody talks and thinks about something in terms of something else (Semino, 2008). New phenomena are understood by applying existing known concept schemes to the unknown. Therefore, metaphor is a conceptual mapping from one semantic source domain to another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Rouhani compared prudence with ship to metaphorically implying that his prudence can save Iranians from the emerging socio-political catastrophe just like a rescue ship saving those drowning in a stormy sea. This metaphorical slogan could serve a powerful role in evoking emotional support from the voters and convince them to accept his course of action (voting for him).

According to Charteris-Black (2011), to understand the persuasive force of political language it is essential to understand the systematic nature of metaphor choices. He considered a metaphor as an incongruous linguistic representation that influences opinions and judgments through persuasion. Metaphor is indirect and relies on a conflict between what is said and what is meant. In order to reconcile this conflict the hearer search for a relevant interpretation (Charteris-Black, 2004).

As a successful political leader, he is skillful in controlling a variety of linguistic resources (Duranti, 2006), as illustrated below:

> Dar zemestan-e farhang, siasat, va eghtesad hastim keh hava bas najavanmardaneh sard ast. (Documentary)
>
> We are in the cultural, political and economic winter that the weather is so ruthlessly cold.

Both metaphor and allusion are used in this excerpt. Allusion is a literary device which activates two texts simultaneously. It is a tacit reference to another literary work and activates the independent elements from the evoked text (cf. Hylen, 2005). In the example above, the function of allusion falls in the meta-textual domain. Rouhani metaphorically made a comparison between winter and the current cultural, political and economic situation in terms of severe coldness. Here, the analogy acts as a powerful rhetorical device in that it compares the unfamiliar and abstract concepts of culture, politics and economy to the familiar coldness of winter. Besides, through a dynamic allusion, and without direct quotation, he evokes the prominent Iranian poet Mehdi Akhavan Sales, and his well-known poem, "*Winter*" and links the audience to the past events. The familiar phrase "the weather is so ruthlessly cold" borrowed from Akhavan Sales's poem, *Winter,* is an allusion used to skillfully highlight the existing problems in the field of culture, politics and economy.

By using allusion and metaphor, he signified the cold weather of winter in terms of current plight and misery that has come about as a consequence of the previous fundamentalist's policies and, at the same time, he pointed to the frozen atmosphere of Akhavan-e-Sales's era. Here, not only did he depict the current problems in terms of a great poet's words (intertextuality), but he also extended the situation to the historical times when the government of prime minister Mohammad Mosaddegh was toppled on 19 August 1953 by the UK- and US-backed coup d'état. Being affected by 1953 frigid atmosphere, Akhavan Sales versed his well-known poem "Winter". His poem symbolically represents the chilly and frozen atmosphere of those days. The choice of this metaphor (Winter) and connecting it to the heroic past, Mosadegh era and Akhavan Sales's poem, has a possible ideological significance and reveals his moderate political ideology covertly. Humming "the weather is so ruthlessly cold", Rouhani aimed to bring to light the current cold situation especially economic situation resulting from wrong policies and deeds of Ahmadinezhad's government and also unfair sanctions imposed by the U.S. against Iran. The same device echoes in the example below:

> In baharist ke dar post-e zemestan mandast. (Documentary)
>
> This is the spring that waits behind the winter.

Here, instead of using a blunt tone against Ahmadinezhad's government, Rouhani criticized the current situation subtly. Whilst winter is associated with coldness and frigidity, spring has to do with renewal and growth; spring is also used metaphorically as the beginning of better times ahead. It is common knowledge that spring follows winter, and it implies that Rouhani's victory will ensue; therefore, the persuasive force of the message is maximized.

In Charteris-Black's (2004) and Goatly's (1997) view, the metaphorical language as a rhetorical device is a matter of pragmatics; the hearer is invited by the speaker to take part in an interpretation to create a meaning through coping with the conflict between what is said and what is meant.

Moreover, Ferrari (2007) argues that metaphor can be used as an important tool for persuasion in a text; it has the potential to act as a privileged cognitive tool for abstracting and constructing discourse strategies. In line with this, Rouhani used an image-based rhetorical strategy to criticize Ahmadinezhad in his presidential campaign, to evoke powerful emotional reactions and to persuade the electorate to vote for him. The figurative representation of Ahmadinezhad's government and the new one through the skillful choice of natural events enhance the persuasive power of the message. Rouhani describes the reality in a persuasive definition and value-laden term. Using these persuasive definitions to represent the new government and the status quo has a significance importance in argumentation (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Such value-laden terms with their positive and negative emotional connotations help arguer achieve certain and desired conclusions. Defining the new government which awaits winter paved the way to claim that the government of prudence and hope will be established: spring will come and it is a fact of nature. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), a rhetorically motivated representation including metaphors should not only be considered as an isolated feature of a text but also an argumentative function which steers the argument toward a certain conclusion.

However, the idyllic depiction of the perfect spring day is incomplete without taking into consideration the wider picture. What did the winter leave behind? There are some straws and dirty patches, some waste beneath the thawed ice that should be removed. It takes time for the splendor of the new season to shine forth, the trees to reach their peak blooming, the blossoms to burst into colorful flowers. Extending the metaphor further, Rouhani could also implicitly refer to what will be left by the sitting government.

The next extract exemplifies the employing of a metaphorical definition in an argument, showcasing another important rhetorical strategy employed by Rouhani: he deliberates and weighs the reasons, and finally makes a practical judgement about what ought to be done using metaphorical language. For example:

> Masale farhang o asibhaye ejtemaei yeki az mohemtarin masael-e ejtemaei va meli mast. Enqelab-e ma asasan yek enqelab-e farhangi boud az ebteda va emrouz moteasefane ba'd az 35 sal dar zamine farhang anche mardom-e ma bayest shahed bashand, nistand. Enqelab-e ma enqelab-e nour boud, enqelab-e akhlaq boud ... hame asibhaye ejtemaei ba baresi ke ma dar markaz-e tahqiqat-e esteratejic kardim, taqriban rou be afzayesh bude dar salhaye akhir, baraye che? Baraye inke un mabnaye farhangi asib dide. Rahkar chist? Che kar bayad bekonim baraye in hame moshkelat? Man dar mian-e anva'e rahkarhaye mokhtalef mohemtarin rahkar ra tamarkoz-zodaei midanam. Ta zamani ke farhang-e ma doulatist, masael-e ma hal o fasl nakhahad shod. Ta zamani ke ma be jaye ta'miq be tarvij bepardazim masael-e ma hal o fal nemishavad. Ta zamani ke be donbal-e kamiyat bashim va har rouz amar bedahim, amar touklid konim, ya na aslant amar vaqei bashad, ama donbal-e asar bakhshi nabashim, masael-e ma hal o fasl nakhahad shod. Chera hame karha be dast-e

doulat ast, dorost ast ke doulat dar hoze farhang bayad siasatgozar bashad, bayad nezarat bekonad, bayad hemayat bekonad va avalin hemayatash ham shafafiyat dar moqararate, avalin hemayatesh ham ijade fazaye amn dar jame'e ast. Ama dare in-e hal bayad ma kar ra be saheban-e asli ashab-e honar vagozar konim va doulat hami-e unha bashad.... Nabayad be nahadhaye rasmi ektefa konim. Eshkal-e ma in ast ke farhang ra hamanand-e abshari midanim ke bayad bar sar-e mardom baz konim. Farhang haman cheshmehaye joushani ast ke dar nahad-e mardom hast va bayad sharayet ra amade konim ta hame az farhang-e dorost dar jame'e estefade konnand .... Ma agar br farhanf qavam dehim movafaq shodeim...

Culture issue and social problems are of our most important social and national issues. Our revolution was primarily a cultural revolution from the beginning, and today unfortunately after 35 years people do not see what they should observe in the field of culture. Our revolution was light revolution, was ethics revolution... Given our investigation in strategic studies center, all social problems have been nearly increased in recent years. Why? Because that culture basis has damaged. What is the strategy? What should we do for all these problems? Amongst different types of strategies I consider decentralization as the most important one. As long as our culture is public, our problems will not be resolved. As long as we engaged in deepening instead of promoting, our problems will not be resolved. As long as we are after quantity and represent statistics every day, produce statistics, or no statistics is real at all, but we are not after effectiveness, our problems will not be resolved. Why are all works held by the government? It is true that the government should be the policy maker in the field of culture, should monitor, should support, and its first support is clarity in regulations, its first support is creating a secure environment in the society, but we should delegate work to the original owners of the art, and the government should support them...

...We should not confine ourselves to official institutions. Our fault is that we see culture as a waterfall to be opened over the people's head. Culture is those gushing springs embedded in the people's nature, and we should prepare conditions so that all people can use the right culture in the society... if we give consolidation to the culture we will succeed...

The extract above illustrates a form of deliberation. After describing the context, Rouhani proposed the explicit question of 'what should we do?'. Then in a monologic deliberative process the same as a deliberation in a multi-agent context, he reasoned practically, pretended that he has weighed different options and now has arrived at the right and the most important course of action i.e., decentralization ('Amongst different types of strategies I consider decentralization as the most important one').

Deliberation as a rhetorical strategy involves different options' critical examination (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This text analysis revealed that Rouhani represented the alternative choices in such a way that avoided an actual deliberation formation. In this monologic text, Rouhani represented the alternatives in a negative way, implying that was no real choice at all. This does not happen in a real face to face dialogue. In Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) view, deliberation which restricts consideration of alternative options and steers the argument toward one possible conclusion is an ideological deliberation.

Rouhani's argument appears to be rhetorically effective, even though he does not provide much evidence for his claims. In developing his argument, he does not offer any alternative options, nor is it always clear how he arrived at the conclusions he is putting forward. In Searle's (2010) view giving people reasons for action that they do not otherwise have is a common way of exercising power. Similarly, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) assert that power manifests itself as ideology when the existence of alternative possibilities for action is obscured. It seems that Rouhani is utilizing precisely this rhetorical strategy here, warning that 'our problems would not be resolved' if the implementation of the current policies continues.

Furthermore, some statements with an in-built negative meaning (e.g. 'social problems', 'unfortunately people do not see what they should observe in the field of culture', 'no statistics is real', 'our problems will not be resolved', 'we are not after effectiveness', 'that culture basis has damaged', etc.) Rouhani uses to describe what he sees as cultural problems in the society and recommends specific actions. Therefore, *is-statements* have been presented in a way that ground *ought-statement* in what is the most important strategy to be considered ('What is the strategy? What should we do for all these problems? Amongst different types of strategies I consider decentralization as the most important one').

Another interesting issue is employing a metaphorical definition to propose a claim. Charteris-Black (2004) believes that metaphorical concepts can contribute to making arguments more persuasive. After representing the circumstances and weighing the options, Rouhani re-describes the reality in a persuasive definition and value-laden term. Using persuasive definitions ('Culture is those gushing springs embedded in the people's nature') to represent the world has a significant importance in argumentation (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Such a value-laden term with its positive emotional connotation help the arguer achieve certain and desired conclusions. Defining culture as gushing springs which have been embedded in the people's nature paved the way to the claim that 'delegating the work to the original owners of the art (people themselves)' is the right action. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), a rhetorically motivated representation including metaphors should not only be considered to be an isolated feature of a text. Such a representation has also as argumentative function which steers the argument toward a certain conclusion.

5.2.2. Personalization

As an argumentative discourse, political discourse includes practical argumentation deployed in response to political problems (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This extract is a good example of practical argumentation.

> Ma dar Iran-e ba azamat o bozorgi zendegi mikonim ke daraye manabe besyar qani-e phiziki va madi va nirouye ensani-e arzeshmand o faal ast. Keshvari ke dar hasastarin noghte jahan gharar gerefte ast, keshvari ke daraye geopolitic va geostrategic vije khod dar mantaqe ast. Shahrahe shomal be jonoub ast. Dovomin manbae gaz-e jahan o naft-e jahan ast. Ama chera mardom-e ma dar moshkelat-e maishati bashand? Moshkel kojast? Moshkel az modiriyat aqaz mishavad, moshkel az tasmimat-e fardi aqaz mishavad, moshkel as adam-e mashverat aqaz mishavad... Che mikhaham begouyam? Mikhaham begouyam mardom-e aziz o bozorgvar bayad edare keshvar edare elmi bashad, bayad hokmrani, hokmrani-e shayeste bashad. Bayad estefade az nokhbegan anjam shaved, bayad ba shafafiyat ba mardom harf

zad, bayad moshkelat ra ba mardom dar mian gozasht, bayad amarha daqiq bashad ta ma betavanim az pich-e tarikhi ke maqam-e moazam-e rahbari farmoudand be khoubi obour konim va betavanim hamase eqtesadi va siasi ra biafarinim... Ma bayad hameh marakez-e tolidi ra be fa'aliat-e kamel-e sad dar sad beresanim va in kar emkanpazir ast dar barnameh modavan-e man. "Ba Doorbin"

...We live in the big and great Iran which has very rich physical and material resources and valuable and active human resources The country which is located on the most sensitive point of the world, the country which has its special geopolitics and geostrategic in the area the highway of north to south, the second gas and oil recourses of the world, but why our people have living obstacles, where is the problem? The problem begins from the management; The problem begins from individual decisions; The problem begins from lack of consultation ... what I want to say, I want to say: dear and honorable people, the country management should be scientific management, the governance should be a worthy governance, we should employ elites, we should talk to people in a transparent way, we should talk about problems with people, the statistics should be accurate so that we can pass well the historical turn the Supreme Leader said and create the epic saga of political and economic... We should bring all the production centers into full 100% operation, and it is possible in my systematic plan.

"Where is the problem?" is a rhetorical question posed to make certain points. By posing such a question Hassan Rouhani does not actually expect to receive any answer. He only wants to emphasize the existence of problems. Here there is a list of "where is the problem", presented as three key sources in which problems are rooted, including: the former president's "management", "individually made decisions", and "lack of consultation" nested in the sentence structure. Positioning himself as a critic of the administrative status quo, Rouhani tried to put the blame for these "problems" on Ahmadinezhad's mismanagement. In fact, "individually made decisions" and "lack of consultation" are relatively synonymous. It seems that "individually made decisions" has been rephrased into "lack of consultation" to assure that the audience have realized where the problem lies.

Rouhani's focus is primarily on concrete obstacles and on the representation of management, individual decisions, and lack of consultation as the origin of the problem that exist as a fact. The argument for action here starts from a description of the context of action and the goal which is informed by values. This arguments starts from a question which is implicit here ("what should we do?"), then based on the analysis of the current circumstances and the expected goals, the courses of action are proposed, and the consequences of such actions discussed.

The inclusive use of the first-person plural pronoun '*We*' enables Rouhani to achieve inter-subjectivity and speak on behalf of the whole nation while simultaneously making an implicit authority claim for himself. His conversational public tone was followed by a personal one. He effectively uses the inclusive 'we' at the beginning and then switches to the singular possessive pronoun ('my systematic plan') to take ownership of his responsibility and to evoke a competent and confident identity of himself as the future president.

5.3. Sentence structure in Rouhani's political discourse

5.3.1. Parallel lines

Parallelism is the application of similar syntactic structures and gives harmony and power to the speech (Biria & Mohammadi, 2012, p. 1298). Below is an example of parallelism used in Rouhani's speech. Parallelism can include a contrasting of the two opposing ideas given in adjacent phrases. A parallel structure drawn upon sentences is at work to group items together and to unify them to reflex the notion of related elements through the following parallel lines:

> Barnameh-e dolat-e tadbir-o omid ta'amol-e sazandeh ba jahan ast, va na taghabol, va jay-e in taghabol ra ta'amol khahad gereft.
>
> The government of prudence and hope's plan is to dialogue constructively with the world, and not to confront, and this confrontation will be replaced by dialogue.

An antithesis parallelism is drawn across an alliterative utterance in which a contrast is made between the paralleled elements (Woods, 2006). What the government of prudence and hope plans to do is contrasted with what it plans not to do, and "taghabol" (confrontation) is contrasted with "ta'amol" (dialogue). Through a parallel structure, the elements are grouped, and the audience is engaged in comparing the two ideas (confrontation with dialogue).

In Goffman's idea of *participation frameworks* and *production formats* a particular instance of speech can be broken down into animator, author and principal. As the ultimate animator, author and principal, Rouhani represented the conflict between the moderation party's political views or agenda and that of the fundamentalist party.

In terms of text distribution, Rouhani uses already existing texts to create his speech. In Fairclough's (2010) view, for any particular text there is a set of other relevant texts and voices which are potentially incorporated into the text. Fairclough observes the relationships among different discourses and relates text analysis with social structure. Intertextuality opens up difference by bringing other voices into a text. Resorting to intertextuality, Rouhani embedded the fundamentalist's voice into the text implicitly. This intertextuality accentuates the dialogicality of a text (Fairclough, 2003), the dialogue between Rouhani's voice as the author of a text and another opposing voice. As can be seen, *confrontation* and *dialogue* are in marked contrast to each other. Focusing on the current government's foreign policy, he replaced Ahmadinezhad's wording by his ideologically contrastive assertion i.e., *this confrontation will be replaced by dialogue.* The following example is a parallelism which was used to group and contrast different ideas: "strong prudence not beautiful sentences" with "action not claims", and "objective truth not advertising movies" with "resistance in insight and providence not the colorful posters and lustrous headquarters". The paralleled structures and ideas combine to create a unified sense and powerful impact.

> Faghat az mardom mikhaham keh na be jomalat-e ziba keh be tadabir-e mohkam, na be edea'aha keh be amalkardha va na be filmhay-e tablighati keh be vagheiyat-e e'ini na be setadhay-e por zargh o bargh o posterhaye rangi balkeh be esteghamat dar nazar va ayandehnegari ra'i dehan. (3rd debate).

> I only ask people to vote for strong prudence not beautiful sentences, action not claims, and the objective truth not advertising movies, strength in insight and foresight not the colorful posters and lustrous headquarters.

Rouhani discreetly invited the audience to assume that the strong prudence, reliable action and strength in insight and foresight are his qualities as a president and reflected in his policies.

5.4. The visual symbol in Rouhani's political discourse

Last but by no means least, acting in a creative way, Rouhani signified his metaphorical political message simply by a familiar visual object, a key, implying that everything is locked, and he has the key to resolve Iran's problems. Using the key symbol, as a visual interpretation of his campaign objectives, he tried to reach out to all sectors of the society, especially the grassroots, influencing their views and helping them more easily envisage his campaign's central message.

Beyond words, visual representations and symbols can be employed by political leaders to affect the electorate's emotions. Rouhani's presidential campaign symbol was a "key" he pledged it would solve Iran's problems, namely, failed nuclear negotiations, the collapsing currency value, and the sanctions. The *key* represented a metaphor to make the audience hopeful about practical solutions for Iran's future. It enabled him to embody his message in "hope" and "prudence", and it was a major boost for him to reach out to voters in the society through this visual symbol. The strength of ideology expressed by Fairclough (1989, p. 208) as "*the camera doesn't lie*" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 208). The key allowed political advertising to more effectively create a world which the audience may be lead to inhabit and played a significant role in Rouhani's victory.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, we examined Iran's 11th presidential campaign discourse and looked into Rouhani's use of rhetorical and persuasive linguistic devices which enabled him to present his political ideology and, potentially, had a positive role in his subsequent election victory. Linguistic-discursive elements of political discourse were analyzed in a bottom-up style to build up a picture of how these elements might have contributed to Rouhani's political discourse characterization. A CDA approach, drawing upon Fairclough (2010), was adopted to explain the socio-cultural, religious, and political values underlying the rhetoric documented in the dataset.

The main purpose of political speeches is "primarily persuasion rather than information or entertainment" (Dedaić, 2006, p. 700). These speeches are considered as purposeful interaction between the political figure and the electorate, in which the speaker's goal is to influence the electorate to accept the speaker's views and support him/her with their ballots. To be able to achieve their goals, politicians use a variety of rhetorical strategies to construct a trustworthy image of themselves, responding to the concerns of their voters, and showing inclusiveness and solidarity with them.

Our findings indicate that Rouhani's political discourse was spiced up with different rhetorical devices, aiming at making the audience accept his views, thoughts, and policies. He criticized the current socioeconomic and cultural situation of Iran by virtue of different devices to embed his messages deep into the electorate's mind i.e., *Iran has many problems and the blame is on the existing government mismanagement and wrong policies.* Being considered as a critic of the current situation, and a person who emphasized to put an end to it, Rouhani was able to increase his chance to win the election. The central pillar of his success was his political performance. He separated himself from the current situation and then challenged it and gained the support of those who said no to the existing situation.

Moreover, Rouhani's campaign could possibly be seen as a social struggle at the institutional level, and as a more general struggle at the societal level between moderates and fundamentalists. Rouhani's points of view which were represented all over his speeches, debates, interviews, messages, and slogans were his administration's standpoints. He did not deliver them as an individual, but rather as a representative of a certain party, the moderate party. Rouhani's goal was more than trying to influence the electorate and their knowledge about what is best for them to do to get rid of the current plight and misery ensued from the fundamentalist party's wrong policies. He aspired to put an end to the status quo by enforcing his agency and the assertive tone and structures in his speeches.

The findings can be of interest to those interested in discourse analysis. Having a critical attitude offers a new perspective on language, which considers language use as a questionable and problematic issue, and reflects social and ideological processes and constitutes a resource to act upon those processes. However, it is worth mentioning that the area of CDA, in general, and political discourse analysis, in particular, is a vast area, and this case study is by no means a complete account of how CDA can be employed to dissect the different types of discourses that have the manipulative power to marginalize some and empower others for further research it is suggested to investigate the upcoming presidential election in 2017, to compare Rouhani's campaign strategies with findings of this study and potentially trace the shift in his next campaign cornerstone. Researchers can also do a comparative study between the moderate ideology advocated by Rouhani's campaign speeches and fundamentalist's ideology advocated by Ahmadinezhad's speeches.

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ДИСКУРС УБЕЖДЕНИЯ: РИТОРИЧЕСКИЕ И ДИСКУРСИВНЫЕ ПРАКТИКИ В ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКОЙ ИЗБИРАТЕЛЬНОЙ КАМПАНИИ РУХАНИ И ПОБЕДА ЕГО ПРИНЦИПА БЛАГОРАЗУМИЯ И НАДЕЖДЫ

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В попытке приобрести и сохранить власть политики используют в своих выступлениях определенные риторические и языковые средства, чтобы привлечь избирателей на свою сторону. Настоящее исследование явилось попыткой изучения риторических и дискурсивных средств убеждения, использованных Хасаном Рухани в предвыборной кампании на пост президента Ирана. Особое внимание было уделено изучению языковых средств различных уровней, составивших основу его политического дискурса. В центре внимания оказались:1) фонетические особенности его речи, 2) выбор лексических средств, 3) особенности синтаксических структур, использованных для передачи политических нюансов. В исследовании применялся критический дискурс-анализ (КДА), опирающийся на трехмерную аналитическую парадигму Фэйрклафа (Fairclough 2010), с целью исследовать отношения дискурса и власти в речи Рухани, с одной стороны, и социально-культурные, религиозные и политические ценности, лежащие в основе риторических средств — с другой. Результаты показали, что политический дискурс Рухани включает различные риторические и дискурсивные средства, такие как трехчленные конструкции, повторения в параллельных конструкциях, аллитерацию и метафоры, влияющие на общественное мнение. Более того, использование кратких и лаконичных тезисов, визуальных символов и динамических метафор помогло ему обратиться к публике с высокой долей эмоциональности и привлечь значительный электорат.

Ключевые слова: риторические средства, критический дискурс-анализ (КДА), политический дискурс, президентская избирательная кампания

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TOWARDS A NEW LINGUISTIC MODEL FOR DETECTING POLITICAL LIES

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Abstract. The present study addresses the problem of how the two US presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton use statements judged to be false by the Politifact site while delivering their campaign speeches. Two corpora of Clinton's and Trump's alleged lies were compiled. Each corpus contained 16 statements judged to be false or ridiculously untrue ('pants on fire') by the Pulitzer Prize Winner site Politifact. Some statements were accompanied by the video recordings where they appeared; others had no video recordings affiliated because they are either tweets or their events had not been recorded on Youtube or elsewhere. The present research made use of CBCA (Criteria-based Content Analysis) but as a stepping stone for building a new model of detecting lies in political discourse to suit the characteristics of campaign discourse. This furnished the qualitative dimension of the research. As for the quantitative dimension, data were analyzed using software, namely LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry & Word Count), and also focused on the content analysis of the deception cues that can be matched with the results obtained from computerized findings. When VSA (Voice Stress Analysis) was required, Praat was used. Statistical analyses were occasionally applied to reach highly accurate results. The study concluded that the New Model (NM) is not context-sensitive, being a quantitative one, and is thus numerically oriented in its decisions. Moreover, when qualitative analysis intervenes, especially in examining Politifact rulings, context plays a crucial role in passing judgements on deceptive vs. non-deceptive discourse.

Keywords: Clinton, Trump, LIW, Politifact, Lie detection

INTRODUCTION

Lying is usually defined as not telling the truth. However, what is more important than this simplistic definition id why lying has become significant in human communication. DePaulo et al (1996) maintain that people lie in 31 percent of their social interactions. Their study thus points to the amount of lying committed, but how can this amount be studied linguistically in political campaign discourse?

Although political campaign discourse is part of the overarching political discourse, its language is unique in that it possesses a number of characteristics. One feature, according to Emerich et al (2001), is recurrence of imagery as a means of rendering the campaign discourse charismatic. Another feature is the use of 'consilience' strategy, where the candidate-audience understanding stems from the mediation and embrace of different language, values and traditions in an attempt to encourage the listeners to remember the common principles shared by the candidate and voter (Frank and McPhail, 2005). A third feature, Fairclough maintains (2006), is that campaign language is capable of weaving visions and imaginaries which can change realities, obfuscate realities and construe them ideologically.A fourth is the topics that dominate campaign speeches. As Donella (1988) contends, campaign speeches serve as emotional triggers, spanning a range of issues such as the environment, taxes as well as good governance which can guarantee good jobs, among others. A final feature is the focus on populism as a discursive strategy that juxtaposes the virtuous populace with a corrupt elite and views the former as the sole legitimate source of political power (cf. Bonikowski and Gidron, 2015). Thus, campaign discourse is basically emotional and are geared towards canvassing support from voters.

Given this picture of campaign discourse, it is legitimate to ask how presidential candidates can strike a balance between emotionalism and truth-telling. They are required to be as much persuasive as possible while at the same time sound truthful. This inherently impinges on their ability to remain consistent and reliable all the time.

The two US presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are now running the elections as representatives of the Democratic Party and the Republican Part, respectively. The two nominees have delivered several speeches and written posts and tweets on social media in the course of their campaigning. These electioneering channels can be a rich source for examining whether they tell the truth or not.

A special site called Politifact (www.politifact.com) was set up years ago to gauge the veracity of American politicians' releases. The site contains thousands of excerpts from past and present US politicians, including updates on Clinton's and Trump's statements. As a Pulitzer Prize Winner, the site claims that it adopts a criterion-based analysis of any statement. Such an analysis attempts to answer the following set of questions:

- Is the statement based on a fact that is subject to verification?
- Is the statement leaving a particular impression that may be misleading?
- Is the statement significant (barring slips of the tongue)?
- Is the statement likely to be carried over and repeated by others?
- Would a typical person hear or read the statement and wonder: Is that true?

The result is a meter that has six pointers as follows:

TRUE — The statement is accurate; nothing significant is missing.

MOSTLY TRUE — The statement is accurate but needs clarification or additional information.

HALF TRUE — The statement is partially accurate but leaves out important details or takes things out of context.

MOSTLY FALSE — The statement contains an element of truth but ignores critical facts that would give a different impression.

FALSE — The statement is not accurate.

PANTS ON FIRE — The statement is not accurate and makes a ridiculous claim.

The website claims that it is sometimes necessary to consider factors such context, timing, promise-keeping, etc. Other times they resort to acoustic analysis as was done with a contentious statement by Clinton about raising taxes on the middle class detected by Trump's supporters.

Another dimension in the present research is the use of LIWC (**L**inguistic **I**nquiry and **W**ord **C**ount) developed and continually updated by Pennebaker and others since 2000. LIWC is an website that it reads a given text and counts the percentage of words that reflect different emotions, thinking styles, social concerns, and even parts of speech. The most relevant part of this electronic tool to the present research is that it includes two dimensions that directly affect judgements on truth-telling, namely Authenticity and emotional tone. Authenticity refers to writing that is personal and honest. Emotional tone is scored such that higher numbers are more positive and upbeat and lower numbers are more negative.

The present paper attempts to examine 16 statements for each candidate judged by Politifact as false (whether downright false or 'pants on fire'). This study derives its significance from the fact that it provides a suitable vantage point for investigating the topic of lying in the context of political discourse, particularly the case of Clinton and Trump, as a major human interactive encounter. This is set within the context of contrasting two US candidates' speeches with the aid of a linguistic model of analysis, which will eventually lead to providing a better understanding of the nature of lying as a verbal immediacy activity in political campaign discourse.

1. LINGUISTIC APPROACHES TO LIE DETECTION

Linguistic approaches to lie detection can be divided into three categories: communication approaches, disfluency-based approaches (usually acoustically oriented), and holistic approaches. The review below provides a bird's eye view of the three approaches in tandem.

Three studies can be subsumed under the communication category. The first is Zuckerman et al's (1981). As early as 1981, Zuckerman et al focused on the meta-analysis of deception-detection (traditionally known as the Four-Factor Theory), and stated that no cue or cues to deception could be accurate all the time because deception was an individual psychological process.

The second is Newman et al's (2003), where they investigated linguistic features that discern true from false stories. They applied a computerized analysis of five independent samples, achieving a classification of liars and truth-tellers at a rate of 67% when the topic was constant and a rate of 61% overall. When compared to truth-tellers, liars exhibited lower cognitive complexity, used fewer self-references and other-references, and showed a tendency towards more negative emotive words.

The third is Zhou et al's. (2004a). They foregrounded The Interpersonal Deception Theory. The theory is based on the assumption that deceivers' number of words, verbal self-distancing tactics, and use of adjective and adverb increase during a conversation. Thus, while communicating, deceivers use feedback from recipients' message to modify deception strategy. According to this theory, cues to deception are divided into three categories: verbal, nonverbal, and physiological.

Some other studies later laid much emphasis on disfluencies in speech, particularly pauses, as a viable linguitsic marker of false statement. Anolli and Ciceri (1997) found out that longer time lapse occurs between the question and the lie to than the response latency that occurs in truthful statements. A major study in this direction is Benus et al. (2006), where they made use of a corpus of spontaneously recorded interviews to investigate the relationship between the distributional and prosodic features of silent and filled pauses and the interviewee's intention to deceive the interviewer. They concluded that the use of pauses correlated more with truthful rather than with deceptive speech. They also found out that prosodic features extracted from filled pauses as well as features describing contextual prosodic information in adjacent phonetic environments of the filled pauses may facilitate the detection of lies in speech.

Demenko (2008) attempted to introduce voice stress extraction and classification into the investigation of deceptive speech. She made use of the authentic Poznan police database with the recordings of the 997 emergency phone, and selected 20,000 recordings out of 60,000, then around hundred were acoustically analyzed. It was concluded that the range of fundamental frequency per se did not correlate with stress whereas the shift in fundamental frequency register constituted the primary indicator of stress. Through Linear Discriminant Analysis based on 12 acoustic features, it was shown that it is possible to reach the three categories of neutral, depressive, stressed, highly stressed speech.

Arciuli et al. (2009) followed suit and examined the frequency of use of the filler 'um' during lying versus truth-telling statements in two laboratory-elicited lies about a murder case. They found out that within-participants, false statements exhibited fewer instances of 'um' during lying compared to truth-telling. These results pointed to the fact that 'um' is a major filler in lying statements, and thus can be reliably used to differentiate between deceptive and non-deceptive statements in ordinary communication. Therefore, the filler 'um' may not be accurately categorized as an instance of filled pauses, whose increase is proportionate with increased cognitive load. Rather, they may assume a lexical status similar to interjections, and so constitute an important part of authentic, natural communication.

Latency or gaps in discourse was also used in recent studies as another indicator of deceptive speech. In fact, there are several studies in that domain; however, the best-known is Reynolds and Randle-Short's (2011). They adopted a rigorous methodological framework of conversation analysis (CA) as analytic tool kit to demonstrate the importance of context, particularly interactional context, when researching cues to deception in order to understand whether there is a relationship between response latency and deception. They thus followed *De-Paulo* e*t al.* (2003)[1], who emphasized the interactional context in detecting lies in speech. Reynolds et al examined data from outside laboratory settings taken from *The Jeremy Kyle Show*, adopting strict criteria to develop the data collection. Criteria were based on how participants in the outside-laboratory interactions formulate their verbal output. Lies were detected according to the following criteria: (1) agreement by the liar that a lie had occurred; (2) explicit labelling of talk as lies by other participants; and (3) the liar's 'revision' of a prior action, thereby changing the

[1] De Paulo et al's (2003) study was excluded from the present review because it is highly dependent on a psychological framework (including level of tension) that diverts from the linguistic models and approaches discussed here.

course of action, in a 'lie relevant' sequential context. They found out that participants in the show could display a longer transition space to signal that a concessionary stance is close, or they can reduce the transition space to reduce the risk of an upcoming turn, which can be considered a concession.

Preferring an overall perspective, Kirchhübel and Howard (2011) explored the acoustic changes in the speech in deceptive statements. Truthful, deceptive and control speech was collected from ten speakers during an interview. Results were displayed according to the parameters of fundamental frequency, intensity and vowel formants. They found out that no significant correlation could be established for any of the acoustic features, a result that runs counter to many mainstream studies in the field.

The holistic approach, on the other hand, is adopted by Picornell (2012), where she examined deception in written witness statements. She employed marked sentence structures to code discourse markers in written narratives, and mapped the progression of lying as it unfolded through the course of the narrative based on the interaction of linguistic cues. She found out that what may be important is not the individual cues, but the way they are utilized.

The same approach is also adopted by Burgoon et al (2012), where they focused on whether indicators of truth or deception are context-independent or context-sensitive. The factors they suggested are: motivation and modality. A 2 (veracity: truthful/deceptive) by 2 (incentives: high/low) by 3 (modality: FtF/audio/text). The factorial experiment revealed that linguistic indicators are significantly related to veracity, but the results are highly sensitive to context.

In view of the previous review, there appears to a gap in the studies that focus on content analysis (i.e. the linguistic features of a potential liars' outputs) and the prosodic features that verify spots in the speech that signal lying, i.e. latency responses, pauses, fillers, speech errors and the like in political discourse. Bringing the two dimensions together in one project that studies lies committed by politicians in English would eventually enrich the field, and help formulate a new theoretical framework liable to applications in a wider context. The present research project is an attempt at studying how lies can be detected in human interactions, especially political discourse in English.

2. CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

The present study addresses the problem of how the two US presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton use statements judged to be false by Politifact while delivering their campaign speeches. A normal search through Google would yield 6 pages that provide discussions on how both candidates lie to their audiences, each page having 10 hits. This means that the topic of how the candidates use lies is a rampant phenomenon that merits further research. However, there are few studies that tackle the presidential candidates' lies. Wortham and Lorcher (1999) suggested embedded metapragmatics to investigate politicians' lies by examining television network news coverage of the 1992 and 1996 US presidential campaigns. Their article describes an approach to the social functions of language, which draws heavily on Bakhtin, and gives a more formal account of embedded metapragmatic constructions.

Another extended study is David Corn's (2004) book entitled The Lies of George Bush. Although the book is an amalgam of Bush's lies about health programs, IRAQ and tax policies, it does not offer a linguistic approach that can be put to use in further analysis. Moreover, the tone of the book is polemic, and sometimes sounds as a personal war. Still, a third study by Kangas (2014) focused on computerized analysis of politicians' discourse, and touched on honesty as composed of the z-scores of exclusive words, references to self, references to others, motion words and negative emotion words. The paper did not allot ample space to deceptive discourse, having a major focus on how software could analyze political discourse.

Therefore, it is important to draw attention to the impact of lies on the US candidate's image. The amount of lying and/or truthfulness can be linguistically analyzed, and how various linguistic tools can contribute to detecting these lies in their speeches and sometimes tweets.

3. METHODS AND DATA

3.1. Corpus

Two corpora of Clinton's and Trump's alleged lies were compiled. Each corpus contained 16 statements judged to be false or ridiculously untrue ('pants on fire') by the Pulitzer Prize Winner site Politifact. Some statements were accompanied by the video recordings where they appeared; others had no video recordings affiliated because they are either tweets or their events had not been recorded on Youtube or elsewhere. All in all, the two corpora comprise 1536 words (639 for Clinton's statements and 897 for Trump's statements) and their 16 videos[2] are 7.02 minutes in total length (3.02 minutes for Clinton and 4 minutes for Trump).

3.2. A note on the method of analysis

3.2.1. Model of analysis

One major approach to investigating the field of lie-detection is the CBCA (Criteria-based Content Analysis) as one of the major elements of Statement Validity Assessment (SVA), a technique developed to determine the credibility of child witnesses' testimonies in trials for sexual offenses and recently applied to assessing testimonies given by adults (cf. Raskin and Esplin 1991). The present research makes use of CBCA but as a stepping stone for building a new model of detecting lies in political discourse to suit the characteristics of campaign discourse. This will furnish the qualitative dimension of the research. As for the quantitative dimension, it will analyze data using software, namely LIWC, and will also focus on the content analysis of the deception cues that can be matched with the results obtained from computerized findings. When VSA (Voice Stress Analysis) is required, Praat will be used. Statistical analyses will also be occasionally applied to reach highly accurate results.

Based on an extensive reading of the literature on the linguistic markers of deceptive speech, the holistic approach was favored for a number of reasons. First, the present

[2] Eight videos containing the statements in question were found for each candidate. The rest of the videos are not available on any Internet site so far.

model can be considered the first to subject political campaign speeches and/or posts and tweets to lie detection analyses. It is difficult to zoom in on one aspect, such as acoustics, at the expense of other ones. Second, the model adopted here is just a starter that can be so broadened as to include other modifications and it is therefore far from being perfect. It just highlights how campaign discourse may divert from the norms of truthful speech. Third, the present model is adapted from Burgoon et al's (2012) version, which is summarized in the following table.

Table 1

Linguistic classes and indicators

Linguistic Categories and Operationalizations of Indicators	
Quantity	Refers to the length of an utterance, expressed at the lowest level in terms of morphemes and at the highest levels in terms of entire utterances or turns at talk
1. *Syllables* (morphemes and affixes) 2. *Verbs* (words that characteristically are the grammatical center of a predicate and express an act, occurrences, or mode of being)	
Complexity	The degree to which a lexical item has few or many syllables (lexical complexity) or a sentence has few or many phrases and clauses (syntactic complexity)
1. *Big words* (# of words with 6 or more characters) 2. *Readabittty* (indices, e.g., Flesh-Kincaid or SMOG index) that measure reading grade level or difficulty of comprehending a segment of text)	
Diversity	Degree to which a segment of text uses many unique words and phrases relative to the total number of'words or phrases in it
1. *Lexical diversity* (total # of different words divided by total # of words. i.e., percentage of unique words in all words)	
Specificity	Degree to which a segment of text is concrete and specific or abstract
1. *Sensory details* (sensory experiences such as sounds, smells, physical sensations and visual details) 2. *Expressivity* (a measure of vividness, quantified as the relationship of # of adjectives + # of adverbs, divided by # of nouns + # of verbs)	
Uncertainty	Degree to which words or constructions introduce ambiguity in meaning
1. *Modal verbs* (auxiliary verbs like would, should, could that are characteristically used with a verb of predication)	
Verbal Nonimmediacy	Language that expresses and creates psychological distance
1. *Passive voice* (form of a verb used when the subject is being acted upon rather than doing something)	
Personalization	Personalization: pronoun use that increases the specificily or reference to self and others
1. *Self-reference* (first-person singular pronouns: I, me, my) 2. *Second person reference* (you-references)	
Affect	Words and expressions that convey die subjective aspect of an emotion apart from bodily changes
1. *Affect ratio* (number of affect-laden words from a dictionary of affect terms relative to total number of words) 2. *Pleasantness* (positive or negative feelings associated with a term, based on pre-scaled dictionary of terms)	
Activation	Degree of dynamism expressed by emotional terms, based on pre-scaled dictionary of terms
Informality	Degree of adherence to formal, standard language forms
1. *Tipographical errors* (# of errors in written text)	
Cognitive Processes	Terms describing the respondent's thinking process (e.g., "thought", "surmised")
Cognitive Difficulty	Degree of nonfluencies in a segment of text
1. *Filled pauses* (um, er, ah, you know, and similar nonlexical expressions that do not disrupt the flow of speech and substitute for a silent pause	

The above table seems to be at first sight comprehensive, yet it contains a number of redundancies that can be conflated. For example, informality is not a viable marker of deception and can be excluded. The same is true for readability, which is measured for written texts only can be difficult to apply to speeches. An alternative benchmark as suggested by Burgoon and Qin (2006) is the average sentence length[3]. Moreover, the idea of relating cognitive difficulty to filled pauses runs counter to the view held by Arciuli et al (2009), where false statements usually contain fewer 'um' instances than truthful statements. Finally, being a predictive study, Burgoon and her colleagues omitted to include two important aspects: (a) the minimum amount (or percentage) of each feature that should be available for a statement to be false and (b) a rating scale that could locate the degree of veracity. The same problem is also detected in LIWC, where the scale from 0—100 cannot be reliable in cases where half of the statement is true and the rest is false. The present model thus adopted Vrij and Winkel's (1991), Connell's (2012) and Picornell's (2012) results which could be summarized in the following points:

1. Deceivers use fewer first-person pronouns than truth tellers.
2. Deceivers used more words and more exact language (psychological distancing) than truth tellers.
3. Deceivers' language was simpler (shorter clauses) than that of truth tellers.
4. Deceivers are more uncertain (passive voice usage).
5. Deceivers exhibited a higher cognitive load (through simpler structures and cognitive verbs).
6. Deceivers exhibit more tension through higher pitch.

Therefore, for the purposes of the present research, the following table summarizes the new model with the scale included:

Table 2

A modified version of Burgoon et al's (2012) model (the New Model)

Indicator/Marker	Truthful	Half-Truthful	False	Ridiculously False
1. Complexity:	The degree to which a lexical item has few or many syllables (lexical complexity) or a sentence has few or many phrases and clauses (syntactic complexity)			
a. Big words (more than 6 characters or three syllables, excluding proper names)	100—89%	90—59%	60—10%	9—0%
b. Average sentence length (relative to longest sentence in the same piece of discourse)	100—89%	90—59%	60—10%	9—0%
2. Specificity:	Degree to which a segment of text is concrete and specific or abstract			
a. Sensory details (sensory experiences such as sounds, smells, physical sensations and visual details)	100—89%	90—59%	60—10%	9—0%

[3] It is unclear why Burgoon et al (2012, p. 324) mentioned a similar criterion in their definition of complexity when maintaining that it refers to 'a sentence [which] has few or many phrases and clauses (syntactic complexity)', then they subsumed readability under it. It is well-documented that Flesch–Kincaid readability tests are used with children and adults. SMOG is used particularly for checking health messages.

End of table 2

Indicator/Marker	Truthful	Half-Truthful	False	Ridiculously False
b. Lexical density (a measure of vividness, quantified as the relationship of # of adjectives + # of adverbs divided by # of nouns+ # of verbs)	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
3 Uncertainty:	Degree to which words or constructions introduce ambiguity in meaning			
a. Modal verbs	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
b. Qualifiers like 'somewhat', 'maybe', etc.	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
4 Verbal Non-immediacy:	Terms or constructions that express and create psychological distance			
a. Passive voice	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
5. Personalization:	Pronoun use that increases the specificity of reference to self and others			
a. Self-reference	100—89%	90—59%	60—10%	9—0%
b. Second and third person references	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
6. Emotiveness:	Words or terms that convey emotions			
a. Affect ratio (number of affect-laden words from a dictionary of affect terms relative to total number of words)	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
7. Cognitive process terms Terms describing the respondent's thinking process (e.g., "thought," "surmised")	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
8. VSA (voice stress analysis):	Acoustic features that signal tension on the part of the deceiver			
a. Higher pitch (means are calculated; a pitch amounts to zero if below 65 Hz for males and if below 100 Hz for females*)	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
b. Fillers, especially 'um'	0—10%	11—60%	61—90%	91—<100%
Total = degree of veracity	Truthful 100%			
	Half-truthful 99—50%			
	False 49—5%			
	Ridiculously false 4—0%			

* According to Pernet and Belin's (2012) study.

It is clear from the above table that eight indicators are adopted in the present model. They have been adapted from Burgoon et al's (2012) version. Some indicators follow a reverse order of intensity on the scale from truthful to ridiculously false, since deceivers may have fewer self-references than truth-tellers, yet they may have more cognitive verbs such as 'think' ,'believe', 'guess' etc. In any event, the new model is a so-called 'test-bed' for manually checking veracity in political campaign discourse, and will be compared with LIWC and Politifact judgements.

It is noteworthy that the degree of veracity is calculated through summing up the percentages obtained in all the indicators. Then the total is divided by the 11 indicators and sub-indicators. In the case where there is no video available to measure pitch, the pitch indicator is excluded and the degree is calculated relative to 10 indicators only.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data follows a three-way measure:

1. New Model-LIWC Agreement/Discrepancy
2. New Model-Politifact Agreement/Discrepancy
3. LIWC-Politifact Agreement/Discrepancy

Under each of the first two sections, the nine indicators will be examined.

4.1. New Model-LIWC Agreement/Discrepancy

The New Model (henceforth NM) is greatly different from the LIWC tool. The following table summarizes the results obtained in both NM and LIWC for Clinton's statements.

Table 3

NM and LIWC results for Clinton's statements*

Statement	NM	LIWC
Benghazi	22.22	35.4
FBI	25.76	99.9
GOP	17.5	37.2
Mortgage	12.97	2.1
Gun factory	14.18	1.0
Healthcare	14.93	67.3
ISIS	12.63	50.4
Legislation	14.22	78.9
Hampshire	17.64	20.2
Oil	21.67	98.0
Sanders	15.11	96.0
Scott	17.47	32.4
Not a thing in America	20.06	1.0
Education	25.90	2.4
Clean Power	22.31	1.0
Emails	15.92	43.4

* Statements are named after their central themes. For verbatim transcripts of Clinton's statements selected, visit Politifact's website: http://www.politifact.com/personalities/hillary-clinton/statements/byruling/false.

It is clear from the above table that 3 statements are judged by LIWC to be half-truthful, i.e. around 98 and 99 %, while they are labeled false by NM. This discrepancy is not just found in the direction of truthfulness, so to say, but it also figures clearly in the direction of ridiculously false statements. Thus, 4 statements are judged as ridiculously false by LIWC while they are only false as labeled by NM. The problem is one of degree. If the rating scale proposed by NM is applied, then the above discrepancies are obviously problematic, since a statement cannot be true and false at the same time. The scale proposed in NM can be illustrated below:

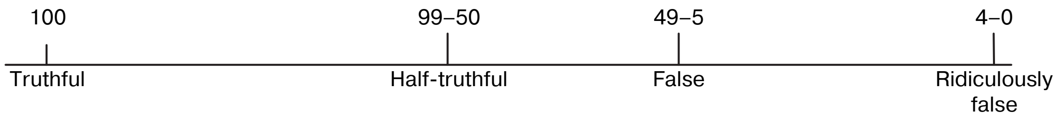

Fig. 1: An envisaged continuum of the NM veracity scale

This leads to considering 18.75% of LIWC results as completely inaccurate and 25% as partially inaccurate. In the first case, the discrepancy points to statements that are false judged as truthful, while in the second case, a statement is false but is labeled as ridiculously false. However, if taken from the point of view of LIWC, a statement is false if it does not attain 100 % on its scale. In view of this, the above discrepancy vanishes, but the question of degree is not fully tackled. In other words, a statement which attains a 99.9% percent on LIWC scale cannot be true although it has only a fraction left to be true. This interpretation causes the 99.9 % statements to be equal to 1.0% statements, which is a baffling decision. The same is true for statements which are considered half-truthful from the point of view of NM: they range from 65 to 79%, and are false according to LIWC, though their veracity is more than their falsehood.

As for the rest of the statements which are judged by both NM and LIWC to be false, the suffer the same obstacle of degree. A statement, for example, can be 17.5 on NM scale but 37.2 on LIWC. The net result is that both are false, yet they are on a par with each other on the 'falsity scale', so to speak.

A similar situation is found in analyzing Trump's statements. The following table summarizes the NM and LIWC results for Trump's statements:

Table 4

NM and LIWC results for Trump's statements*

Statement	NM	LIWC
Clinton campaign	11.99	63.5
Coal	16.23	86.4
Cruz	13.96	2.8
Economy	10.67	17.0
FBI	23.85	1.0
Freddie	15.05	3.0
Iran	17.56	33.6
Iraq	14.85	96.2
ISIS	11.53	1.0
ISIS foundation	19.63	1.0
Marshal	21.39	41.4
Money laundering	10.75	1.0
Muslims	17.0	36.4
Obamacare	20.15	7.2
Ohio	15.31	8.3
Second amendment	23.51	1.0

*Statements are named after their central themes. For verbatim transcripts of Clinton's statements selected, visit Politifact's website: http://www.politifact.com/personalities/donald-trump/statements.

It is clear from the above table that 3 statements are judged by LIWC to be half-truthful, i.e. around 63 and 99%, while they are labeled false by NM. This discrepancy is not just found in the direction of truthfulness, so to say, but it also figures clearly in the direction of ridiculously false statements. Thus, 6 statements are judged as ridiculously false by LIWC while they are only false as labeled by NM. The problem is again one of degree. The conclusion is similar to the one reached when discussing Clinton's statements: 18.75% of LIWC's results as completely inaccurate and 37.5% are partially inaccurate. In the first case, the discrepancy points to statements that are false judged as truthful, while in the second case, a statement is false but is labeled as ridiculously false. However, if taken from the point of view of LIWC, a statement is false if it does not attain 100% on its scale.

Statistics can come to the aid of the analysis at this point. The ANOVA analysis yields the following two tables:

Table 5

ANOVA results for NM (Clinton and Trump)

	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between:	22.884	1	22.884	1.229	0.276
Within:	558.527	30	18.618		
Total:	581.411	31			

P > 0.05, not significant; should be less than 0.05.

Table 6

ANOVA results for LIWC (Clinton and Trump)

	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between:	2,207.801	1	2,207.801	1.859	0.183
Within:	35,625.010	30	1,187.500		
Total:	37,832.811	31			

P >0.05, not significant; should be less than 0.05.

It is clear that p is not significant in either case: the NM for Clinton's and Trump's statements, and LIWC for both candidates. Statistically, this means that the NM and LIWC are equal in their judgements when broadly compared according to ANOVA results. However, if this mode of analysis is the only one adopted, the details are not fully addressed. Table 3 above shows that only one statement appears to receive similar judgements by NM and LIWc, namely the Hampshire one: it scores 17.64 and 20.2 on NM and LIWC, respectively. The 2.56% difference can be considered significant, and this can be considered the only point of agreement between NM and LIWC.

4.2. New Model-Politifact Agreement/Discrepancy

In this section, quantitative analysis is not possible, since Politifact does not provide numerical figures that can be set side by side with the NM results. The alternative, by nature, is qualitative analysis. The following table summarizes the qualitative results of both NM and Politifact for Clinton's statements:

Table 7

NM and Politifact results for Clinton's statements

Statement	NM	Politifact
Benghazi	False	False
FBI	False	False
GOP	False	False
Mortgage	False	False
Gun factory	False	False
Healthcare	False	False
ISIS	False	False
Legislation	False	False
Hampshire	False	False
Oil	False	False
Sanders	False	False
Scott	False	False
Not a thing in America	False	False
Education	False	False
Clean Power	False	False
Emails	False	False

It is clear that the results of both NM and Politifact are identical. The discrepancies detected in LIWC are not there. The sole comment that can be made is related to the indicators of Lexical Density and VSA in NM. In 81.25% of the statements examined, Lexical Density scores point to the falsity of the statements in question, but the remaining 18.75% point to ridiculously false statements according to NM. Consider, for example, the following statement by Clinton:

> *"I think this is a major challenge and I want us to address it. Not one word from the other side. And you take somebody like Governor Walker of Wisconsin, who seems to be delighting in slashing the investment in higher education in his state. And most surprisingly to me, rejecting legislation that would have made it tax deductible for you, on your income tax, to deduct the amount of your loan payments. I don't know why he wants to raise taxes on students. But that's the result when you don't look for ways to help people who are not sitting around asking for something, who are actually working hard every day to get ahead."*

This long statement has a Lexical Density score of 93.3%, being full of verbs and nouns. The problem is that the higher the lexical density, the more falsity score a statement attains (where details are provided to cover up any misinformation). According to NM, this statement is ridiculously false, while Politifact judges it false due to its context. Politifact maintains that it is true that Senator Scott did not publicly support the Democratic-sponsored measures that would have provided the tax deduction, but he had never rejected such legislation, either. This inherently means that Clinton passed the ruling without a sufficient amount of information. In a sense, the details of the indicators would at times point to judgements that are different from the overall decision of whether a statement is false or not, and this is the role of context.

As for the VSA scores, the NM provides a mean of 44.87%, which indicates that Clinton's statement is half-truthful. The upper-bound for a female voice pitch is 525 Hz, while the lower is 100 Hz. A Praat spectrogram has been created for a section of this statement as follows:

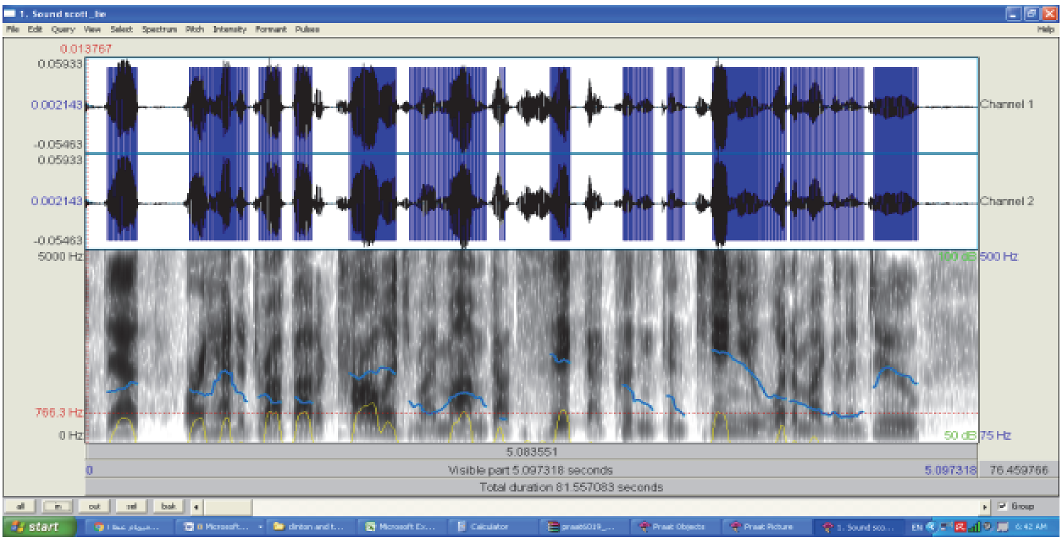

Fig. 2: A spectrogram for the first part of Clinton's example statement

In this illustration, the blue streaks refer to pitch contours: they range from 239 Hz to 148 Hz. This means that Clinton is not stressed; she speaks normally. Yet, in another analysis later in the same segment, she starts to lose control and shout:

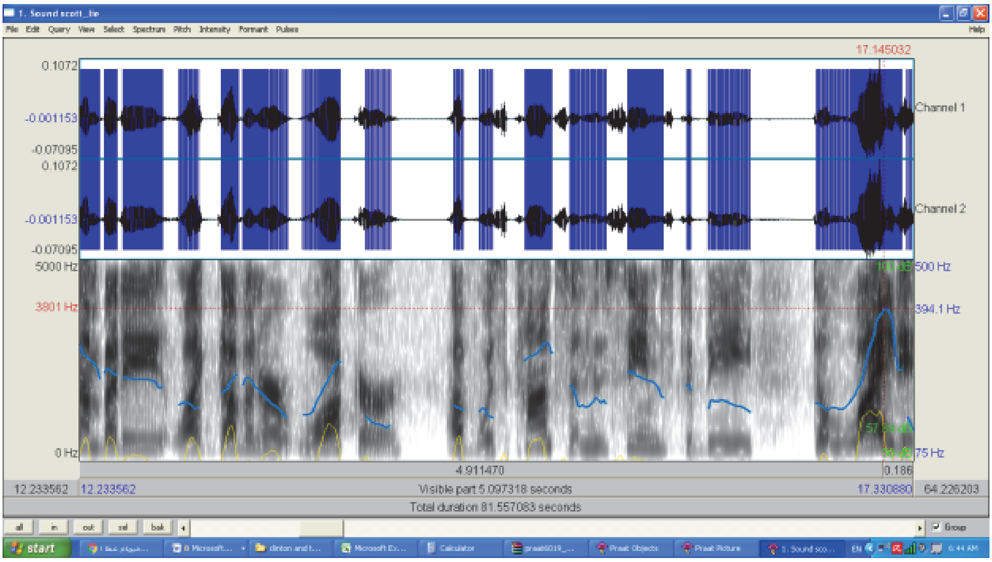

Fig. 3: A spectrogram for the second part of Clinton's example statement

The pitch contours change from 239 Hz to 394.1 Hz, which indicates emotional speech, and thus the deceptive part starts at the extract "who seems to be delighting in slashing the investment in higher education in his state". This is exactly what Politifact states about the context of Clinton's judgement: Senator Scott remained tacit about the tax decision; he was neither delighted nor repugnant. This also tallies with Demenko's (2008) study about pitch contours in stressed males and females reveals that average frequency for extremely stressed females is 366 Hz. Stress is a major indicator of deception (cf. Ekman, 1991).

As for Trump's statements, the following table summarizes the qualitative results of both NM and Politifact:

Table 8

NM and Politifact results for Trump's statements

Statement	New Model	Politifact
Clinton campaign	False	Ridiculously false
Coal	False	False
Cruz	False	Ridiculously false
Economy	False	Mostly false
FBI	False	False
Freddie	False	False
Iran	False	False
Iraq	False	False
ISIS	False	Ridiculously false
ISIS foundation	False	False
Marshal	False	Ridiculously false
Money laundering	False	False
Muslims	False	False
Obamacare	False	False
Ohio	False	False
Second amendment	False	False

There are five discrepancies, which means that 31.25% of NM decisions are not accurate. Lexical Density scores point to the falsity of the statements in question, but the remaining 37.50% point to ridiculously false statements according to NM. Again, context has to be taken into account.

Recourse to VSA might show the moot point. One case in point is the statement about accusing marshals in Colorado and Ohio of incompetence. The following spectrogram illustrates the variations in pitch:

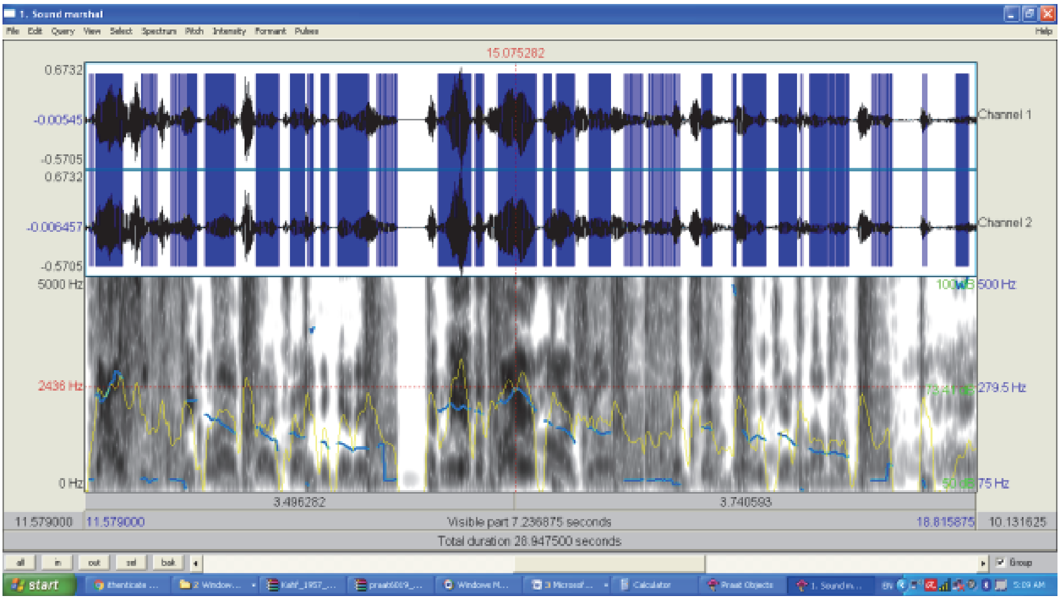

Fig. 4: A spectrogram for Trump's statement about marshals

Trump's pitch oscillates between 279 Hz and 312 Hz, especially when he speaks about fire marshals. This tallies with Demenko's (2008) study about pitch contours in stressed males and females reveals that average frequency for extremely stressed males is 238 Hz. Stress is a major indicator of deception (cf. Ekman, 1991).

As a concluding remark for this section, it is important to juxtapose context and VSA in order to achieve a sound judgement in deceptive speech analysis. Relying on Lexical Density and/or context alone would conduce towards erroneous decisions.

4.3. LIWC-Politifact Agreement/Discrepancy

Here, again quantitative analysis is not possible. The following table summarizes the LIWC and Politifact results for Clinton's statements:

Table 9

LIWC and Politifact results for Clinton's statements

Statement	LIWC according to NM scale	LIWC	Politifact
Benghazi	False	False	False
FBI	Half-truthful	False	False
GOP	False	False	False
Mortgage	Ridiculously false	False	False

End of table 9

Statement	LIWC according to NM scale	LIWC	Politifact
Gun factory	Ridiculously false	False	False
Healthcare	Half-truthful	False	False
ISIS	Half-truthful	False	False
Legislation	Half-truthful	False	False
Hampshire	False	False	False
Oil	Half-truthful	False	False
Sanders	Half-truthful	False	False
Scott	False	False	False
Not a thing in America	Ridiculously false	False	False
Education	Ridiculously false	False	False
Clean Power	Ridiculously false	False	False
Emails	False	False	False

The two columns provided for the LIWC decisions are meant to show that according to the scale proposed under section 4.1, discrepancy is easily detected, but according to the 'loose' criteria of LIWC (where the two extremes 0 and 100 are at work), the discrepancy is absent. As for the first column, this is a glaring example of discrepancy. The LIWC results point to six statements that are half-truthful, which means more than 50% of each statement is true. Since LIWC does not provide detailed results for its 'authenticity' indicator, it is clear that there is a major problem with the program. Even false statements are considered in five cases out of sixteen as ridiculously false. It can be said that LIWC vacillates between the two extremes of truthful and ridiculously false without an intermediate level. The reason for this is two-fold. First, LIWC, like the present NM, is not context-sensitive. Second, according to the developers of LIWC Pennebaker et al (2015), the program has mean standard deviations (SD) of 0.70 and 0.32% for certainty and anxiety, respectively. The two dimensions are closely related in the study of deceptive discourse, and the above statements might have fallen within this level of SD.

A similar situation is found in Trump's statement. The following table summarizes the LIWC and Politifact results for Trump's statements:

Table 10

LIWC and Politifact results for Trump's statements

Statement	LIWC according to NM scale	LIWC	Politifact
Clinton campaign	Half-truthful	False	Ridiculously false
Coal	Half-truthful	False	False
Cruz	Ridiculously false	False	Ridiculously false
Economy	False	False	Mostly false
FBI	Ridiculously false	False	False
Freddie	Ridiculously false	False	False
Iran	False	False	False
Iraq	Half-truthful	False	False
ISIS	Ridiculously false	False	Ridiculously false
ISIS foundation	Ridiculously false	False	False
Marshal	False	False	Ridiculously false
Money laundering	Ridiculously false	False	False
Muslims	False	False	False
Obamacare	Ridiculously false	False	False
Ohio	Ridiculously false	False	False
Second amendment	Ridiculously false	False	False

The two columns provided for the LIWC decisions are meant to show that according to the scale proposed under section 3.1, discrepancy is easily detected, but according to the 'loose' criteria of LIWC (where the two extremes 0 and 100 are at work), the discrepancy occurs in 5 cases out of 16, i.e. 31.25 %. As for the column labeled 'LIWC according to NM scale', the discrepancy here might be located within the sub-scale of falsity. Seven cases of Politifact's false statements are judged by LIWC as ridiculously false. Again, this can be attributed to the SD of certainty and anxiety as provided by LIWC developers.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the data in the previous section and sub-sections can lead to a number of conclusions. First, it is clear that NM is not context-sensitive, being a quantitative model, and is thus numerically oriented in its decisions. The comparisons carried out show that the present model is capable of making the falsity decision correctly in all the cases, unlike LIWC. The point that merits discussion is the degrees that need to be proposed for each point in the NM scale. From a semantic point of view, the two extremes 'true' and 'false' are binary antonyms, not subject to midway shades. However, the demands of accuracy necessitate that such shades or points are either added or taken into consideration. In a sense, a statement that, for example, scores 51% on the NM scale, is false despite the fact that it has 49% residuals of truth within. Thus, even when subdividing the 'loose' LIWC 0—100 scale into 50—5%, the problem of graduation still persists. This ushers to the necessity of subdividing each of NM points into further sub-points such as 'full truthful', 'mostly truthful', 'fully false', 'mostly false', etc. The same is mostly true for Lexical Density. Although this indicator easily detects false statements based on its numerical value, there are cases where it labels statements as 'ridiculously false' when they are just false.

Second, when qualitative analysis intervenes, especially in examining Politifact rulings, context plays a crucial role in passing judgements on deceptive vs. non-deceptive discourse. The numerical values obtained from both NM and LIWC are at stake in this way, and the VSA can be used to detect how contextual analysis is capable of standing the test of falsity vs. truthfulness. However, the main disadvantage of VSA is that it is also 'loose' in that the values obtained from pitch contours are indicative of tension as broadly associated with stressed-out liars. Stress can likewise affect truthful speakers, especially when faced with unusual situations or when interrogated, for example.

Third, emotions and authenticity are provided as two separate dimensions in LIWC, but in NM, despite being different indicators, their sum is used to reach the final decision whether a statement is deceptive or not. This means that it is to the taste and professionalism of the LIWC user to consider the two dimensions together when passing his/her judgement. In the case of NM, in contrast, the two indicators cannot be separated unless for statistical purposes. The question is whether LIWC acknowledges emotions as indicative of deception or not. Begging this question gives LIWC an edge on NM and other models, since it is yet to be decided in the literature whether tension is necessarily a sign of deceptive discourse.

In view of these conclusions, there are some limitations to NM. It is a proposed model, subject to testing in other mainstream instances. The real test of NM is that whether it can be put to use in socio-political situations such as parliamentary and presidential campaigning in both the US and non-Anglophonic countries. The subdivisions of the falsity and truth degrees may also be a major improvement in terms of accuracy. Moreover, the comparisons with LIWC and Politifact showed that context is as important as numerical figures.

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НА ПУТИ К НОВОЙ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЙ МОДЕЛИ ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЛЖИ

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Настоящее исследование рассматривает проблему того, каким образом предвыборная речь американских кандидатов в президенты, Дональда Трампа и Хиллари Клинтон, вводит в заблуждение избирателей. Были составлены два корпуса возможных лжевысказываний Клинтон и Трампа, каждый из которых содержал 16 утверждений, признанных сайтом Politifact (победитель Пулитцеровской премии) ложными или не соответствующими действительности. Некоторые заявления сопровождались видеозаписями, в то время как другие — нет, поскольку являлись либо твитами, либо событиями, которые не были выложены на YouTube или иной ресурс. В данном исследовании применялся метод контент-анализа в качестве трамплина для построения новой модели определения лжи в политическом дискурсе в соответствии с характеристиками дискурса кампании, что обеспечило качественный аспект исследования. Что касается количественных данных, то они были проанализированы с помощью программного обеспечения LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count), а также ориентировались на анализ содержания обманных сигналов, которые могли быть сопоставлены с результатами, полученными из компьютеризированных данных. Для анализа стрессовых изменений голоса использовалась программа Praat. Для достижения высокой точности результатов в некоторых случаях нашел применение и статистический анализ. В исследовании делается вывод о том, что новая модель не является контекстно-зависимой, будучи количественной, и, таким образом, численно ориентированной в своих решениях. Вместе с тем, качественный анализ, особенно при изучении положений проекта Politifact, показывает, что контекст играет решающую роль в определении дискурса как вводящего или не вводящего в заблуждение.

Ключевые слова: Клинтон, Трамп, программное обеспечение LIWC, проект Politifact, определение лжи

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МЕДИЙНЫЙ ДИСКУРС В СИТУАЦИИ ИНФОРМАЦИОННОЙ ВОЙНЫ: ОТ МАНИПУЛЯЦИИ — К АГРЕССИИ

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В ситуации информационной войны воздействующая функция средств массовой информации заметно усилилась, отодвинув на второй план другие функции, в том числе и информационную. Изменились также и формы воздействия: открытое убеждение заменяется скрытым манипулированием, которое перерастает в открытую агрессию. Поскольку в медийном дискурсе агрессия может осуществляться как вербальными, так и невербальными средствами, предлагаем использовать термин *информационная (или медийная) агрессия*, который шире, чем *речевая агрессия*. Медийная агрессия рассматривается двупланово — по отношению к референту (*аффективная агрессия*) и по отношению к адресату (*когнитивная агрессия*). В результате под информационной (медийной) агрессией понимается выражение открытой неприязни и враждебности к референту и целенаправленное воздействие на сознание адресата (целевой аудитории) с целью его идеологического подчинения. Цель данной статьи — на основе комплексного анализа стратегий и тактик вербальной и невербальной агрессии обосновать гипотезу о том, что в условиях информационной войны формируется и усиливается функция информационной агрессии, которая может рассматриваться в рамках манипулятивного дискурса как манипулятивное убеждение. Исследование выполнено на материале американских и британских СМИ, информационных сайтов *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Economist, The Guardian*, освещающих главным образом российско-американские отношения и ситуацию в Сирии. Результаты анализа, проведенного с применением критического дискурс-анализа (Fairclough 2001, Van Dijk 2006, 2009; Weiss, Wodak 2007, Wodak 2007 и др.) и мультимодального подхода (Иванова, Сподарец 2010; Ponton 2016), позволили выявить различные приемы и средства манипуляции и показать, что основной целью информационной агрессии является преднамеренное введение аудитории в заблуждение и внушение определенной идеи с целью ее идеологического подчинения. Знание механизмов манипулятивного воздействия в условиях его усиливающейся агрессивности необходимо для противостояния информационной и психологической войне.

Ключевые слова: медийный дискурс, информационная война, убеждение, манипуляция, манипулятивный дискурс, информационная агрессия, мультимодальность

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Явление речевого воздействия, в том числе речевой агрессии, которая в последнее время нарастает в обществе и характерна для всех типов дискурса, привлекает внимание как лингвистов, так и исследователей других областей знания — психологов, социологов, философов (Л. Берковиц, Р. Бэрон, Д. Ричардсон, Е.Н. Басовская, Т.А. Воронцова, В.И. Жельвис, К.Е. Изард, Р. Ротмайр, К.Ф. Седов, Е.И. Шейгал, Ю.В. Щербинина и др.). И это не случайно, так как данное явление может рассматриваться только на междисциплинарном уровне. Исследование различных форм воздействия в средствах массовой информации представляет собой одно из актуальных направлений, поскольку его объектом становятся широкие слои общества, а результат этого воздействия может иметь самые серьезные последствия.

В условиях напряженной международной обстановки средства массовой информации выступают важной политический силой воздействия на умы масс. Воздействующая функция СМИ стала основной, отодвинув на задний план другие функции, в том числе и информационную. Вся информация теперь подчинена конкретным, как правило, политическим целям, все большую роль играют «концентрированные целенаправленные сгустки информационной агрессии, которые обеспечивают выполнение ... политически крупных социальных, идеологических и прочих (военных очень часто) задач» (Информационные войны в современном мире, 2008: 17). За последние годы эта тенденция усилилась и приобрела регулярный характер.

В результате мы являемся свидетелями того, как СМИ играют все более деструктивную роль — обостряют политические конфликты, углубляя пропасть между «своими» и «чужими», создавая негативные стереотипы «чужих» и даже демонизируя их. Манипулирование общественным мнением, которое стало важнейшей функцией СМИ, из скрытого воздействия на аудиторию превращается в более явное и принимает все более агрессивные формы. Не случайно в конце прошлого века как в английском, так и русском языке появились термины *информационная война — information warfare*, которые прочно вошли в политический лексикон. Началось открытое обсуждение технологий воздействия на противника, реального и потенциального, посредством информационного давления на него, появились методы направленного воздействия на общественное мнение. С тех пор военная лексика прочно закрепилась в языке как зарубежных, так и российских СМИ (*пропагандистская атака, полководец пропагандистской армии, war of words, information warfare, information operations, public clashes* и др.).

Поскольку война — это всегда агрессия, в данных условиях можно говорить об *информационной*, или *медийной, агрессии*. Агрессия в СМИ проявляется в двух направлениях — в отношении референта, который часто является идеологическим и политическим оппонентом (аффективная агрессия) и в отношении адресата, т.е. аудитории (когнитивная агрессия). В результате агрессию в медийном дискурсе мы определяем как *выражение открытой неприязни, враждебности к референту и целенаправленное воздействие на сознание адресата (целевой аудитории) с целью ее идеологического подчинения.* Во втором случае имеет место вторжение в когнитивное пространство адресата, когда в результате агрессивного навязывания адресату негативного отношения к референту высказывания адресант стремится «изменить представление адресата о предмете речи в негативную сторону и, как следствие, его место в картине мира адресата» (Воронцова 2006: 85). Другими словами, имеет место как выражение открытой неприязни и враждебности к референту, так и регулярное и целенаправленное воздействие на аудиторию с целью вызвать у нее те же враждебные чувства.

Информационная агрессия нацелена не только на идеологического противника, но и на собственный народ — его убеждают в наличии врага, с которым необходимо бороться. И это не случайно, поскольку от того, что пишут в газетах, показывают по телевидению и в Интернете, в значительной мере зависит оценка событий обществом, а ее результатом становятся судьбоносные политические решения для конкретных стран.

Именно поэтому воздействие на умы и чувства людей со стороны власти принимает все более агрессивный характер и осуществляется как через манипулирование общественным мнением, так и через открытое убеждение, которое в итоге так же подчинено целям манипуляции общественным сознанием. По мнению С.Г. Кара-Мурзы, человечество стоит на пороге создания такого типа общественного жизнеустройства, где манипуляция сознанием становится главным средством господства (Кара-Мурза 2004).

Манипулирование массовым сознанием — это реализация стратегии идеологического подчинения, когда доминирующая политическая элита стремится навязать массам определенные взгляды, мнение, отношение с целью получить одобрение своих действий. Как отмечает Т. ван Дейк, манипуляция в социальном плане — это дискурсивная форма воспроизводства власти элиты, которая направлена против интересов большинства и выражает социальное неравенство («discursive form of elite power reproduction that is against the best interests of dominated groups and (re) produces social inequality») (Van Dijk 2006: 364). Она осуществляется элитами, у которых есть доступ к СМИ и контроль над ними.

Понятие информационной агрессии также связано с понятием власти. Информационная агрессия осуществляется властью, в интересах власти и способствует реализации ее целей, в том числе военных. Для их достижения в современную эпоху общественное мнение играет решающую роль.

Если мы посмотрим на события последних десятилетий, то без труда заметим, что информационные войны предшествуют военным конфликтам, они подготавливают общественное мнение к необходимости военных действий в той или иной части мира. В качестве примеров можно назвать информационную войну против Сербии с целью свержения правительства Милошевича и последующего отторжения Косово, информационную войну против Ирака, где якобы были сосредоточены огромные запасы оружия массового поражения, которых потом никто так и не нашел. Сейчас мы являемся свидетелями информационно-психологической войны против России, в ходе которой целенаправленно демонизируется образ страны и ее президента. Как справедливо отмечает С.В. Иванова, демонизация противника является одним из главных методов такой войны, цель которого состоит «в намеренном создании негативного, а еще более желательно — отталкивающего образа оппонента, в результате чего последний выступает во всех своих проявлениях как абсолютное зло» (Иванова 2016: 28). Чтобы противостоять подобным войнам, чреватым серьезными последствиями, необходимо изучать их средства, стратегии и тактики.

В любой войне есть две стороны, которые в своем противостоянии используют практически одно и то же оружие и одни и те же инструменты борьбы. В данной статье мы рассмотрим лишь одну сторону — сторону Запада. На материале американских и британских СМИ в статье проводится комплексный анализ стратегий и тактик вербальной и невербальной агрессии, выдвигается и обосновывается гипотеза о том, что в условиях информационной войны формируется и усиливается функция информационной агрессии.

2. УБЕЖДЕНИЕ И МАНИПУЛЯЦИЯ КАК ФОРМЫ ВОЗДЕЙСТВИЯ НА АУДИТОРИЮ

Воздействие на аудиторию может оказываться как в открытой форме, через открытое убеждение, влияющее на разум адресата (например, парламентские дебаты, дискуссии в СМИ), так и в скрытой, имплицитной, подтекстовой форме, оказывающей влияние на его подсознание, то есть в манипулятивной. Убеждение и манипуляция представляют собой близкие понятия, но полностью они не совпадают.

Манипуляция может рассматриваться как форма убеждения, однако в то же время существенно от него отличается. Как отмечает Т. ван Дейк, убеждение оставляет за адресатом выбор, он может как принимать навязываемые ему идеи, так и отвергать их, совершать или не совершать действия, к которым его побуждают; в манипуляции у адресата более пассивная роль, он не может противостоять манипуляции и становится ее жертвой (Van Dijk 2006: 361). Негативные последствия манипулятивного воздействия возникают тогда, когда адресат не понимает истинных намерений манипулятора, последствий тех действий, к которым его побуждают, а также не обладает достаточными знаниями, чтобы противостоять манипуляции.

Манипуляция носит дискурсивный характер, так как главным образом осуществляется через текст, прежде всего — текст СМИ. В последнее время исследователи все чаще говорят о дискурсе СМИ как не просто о воздействующем типе дискурса, но как о манипулятивном, подавляющем рациональное восприятие информации и навязывающем адресату заданные смыслы сообщения (Клушина 2008: 45). Происходит становление новой функции самого языка — функции управления поведением огромных массивов и коллективов людей, функции манипулирования их сознанием, распространения определенной идеологии той частью общества, в руках которой СМИ находятся (Кубрякова 2003: 61).

Языковая (речевая) манипуляция (манипулирование) является наиболее распространенным и эффективным видом скрытого воздействия на сознание. Под ней понимается «разновидность манипулятивного воздействия, осуществляемого путем искусного использования определенных ресурсов языка с целью скрытого влияния на когнитивную и поведенческую деятельность адресата» (Копнина, 2014: 25). Иными словами, это использование скрытых возможностей языка с целью навязать адресату определенное представление о действительности, сформировать нужное отношение к ней, вызвать необходимую оценку, эмоциональную или поведенческую реакцию.

Манипуляция осуществляется различными способами, через использование многообразных стратегий и тактик и при помощи различных языковых и неязыковых средств (см. [Будаев, Чудинов 2006; Иванова, Садуов 2008; Иванова, Чанышева 2014; Кара-Мурза 2004, Копнина 2014; Ларина, Озюменко, Пономаренко

2011; Озюменко 2011, Сковородников, Копнина 2012; Чудинов 2003, Шейгал 2004; Van Dijk 2006 и многие др.]). Рассмотрим стратегии и тактики, которые по результатам проведенного нами анализа оказались наиболее частотными при освещении таких острых тем, как, российско-американские отношения, ситуация в Сирии и на Ближнем Востоке в целом.

В первую очередь следует назвать *стратегию устрашения*, которая используется для нагнетания массовых психозов с целью превращения граждан в единую управляемую массу (толпу), в результате чего средний обыватель беспрекословно верит самым нелепым утверждениям. Под таким психозом, например, находятся жители Прибалтики, которых призывают строить бомбоубежища и готовиться к нападению России; такой же психоз нагнетается в США, где во всех проблемах власти винят Россию и Путина, даже в проигрыше Хиллари Клинтон на выборах.

Важной стратегией манипуляции, нацеленной на создание образа врага, является *стратегия идеологической поляризации*, которая осуществляется через противопоставление «мы — они», при этом «мы» (наши действия, ценности, взгляды, поступки и т.д.) представляются преимущественно в положительном свете, в то время как «они» (их действия, ценности, взгляды, поступки и т.д.) — в отрицательном. Для ее реализации используется *тактика обращения к фундаментальным ценностям* (‘мы’ придерживаемся ценностей свободы и демократии, ‘они’ — приверженцы деспотии и тоталитаризма). Существенную роль играет отбор событий реальности — Россия на протяжении многих лет упоминается в западных СМИ преимущественно в контексте негативных событий.

Также для реализации стратегии поляризации широко используется тактика двойных стандартов (*Operation Allied Force* — о бомбардировках НАТО Белграда и *annexation of Crimea*, *incursions into Ukraine*, *intervention to Syria* — о действиях России; *sophisticated weapons*, *precision-guided bombs* — высокотехнологичное оружие, высокоточные бомбы американцев и *dumb bombs* — «тупые бомбы» русских). Действия НАТО на границе с Россией, связанные с вводом дополнительных войск, называются «оборонительными» и «пропорциональными» (1), в то же время аналогичные действия России у своих границ называются агрессивными, а реакция России, обвиняющей НАТО в экспансии, комментируется как передергивание фактов (2):

(1) *To bolster its eastern defenses, NATO has agreed to establish multinational troops in four member nations bordering Russia. — Asked about those steps, Mr. Stoltenberg called them “**defensive**” and “**proportionate**”.* (BBC, 26.10.2016)

(2) *The Russian military's increasingly **aggressive** patrolling and exercises on the margins of Nato have raised genuine concerns. Russia, of course, **puts the boot on the other foot** and blames Nato's expansion for its increased military readiness.* (BBC,11.02.2016)

Одной из важных стратегий является *введение в заблуждение,* что осуществляется через различные тактики, среди которых:

- намеренное сокрытие тех или иных фактов (практически не получает освещения в западных СМИ информация о гуманитарной помощи России в Сирии, о разминировании жилых кварталов);
- фабрикация фактов в результате мелких отклонений, используемых при подаче материала, но действующих всегда в одном направлении (напр.,

в телевизионных новостных программах визуальный ряд зачастую не соответствует передаваемой информации, используются постановочные кадры, как, например, раненые в ходе «российской бомбардировки» сирийские дети, которых снимали в Египте);

- ложное оперирование понятиями (military incursion into Syria, annexation of Crimea);
- бездоказательные или ложные утверждения (...the Syrian government forces' attacks on homes and hospitals. NYT 26.10.2016).

Наш материал показал, что в манипулятивном дискурсе для введения в заблуждение допускается высокая степень неопределенности, утверждения часто носят голословный характер, далеко не всегда подкрепляются конкретными фактами. Все это позволило нам выделить *тактику ухода от определенности*, предполагающую использование размытой неопределенной информации:

(3) *Russia has been accused by* ***several governments*** *of barbarity and* ***potentially*** *committing war crimes*. (BBC, 30.09.2016) — Букв.: **Несколько** правительств обвинили Россию в варварстве и **потенциальном** совершении военных преступлений.

(4) *He also said his country had come under a cyber attack during a referendum and local elections last year, which he said was* ***almost certainly*** *linked to Russia.* (BBC News, 4.11.2016) — Букв.: Он [президент Болгарии] также сказал, что в прошлом году во время референдума и местных выборов его страна подверглась кибератакам, которые **почти точно** связаны с Россией.

(5) *This is an attack on the Bulgarian state and the Bulgarian democracy and it's conducted with a* ***high probability*** *from Russia.* (BBC News, 4.11.2016) — Это — атака на Болгарию и ее демократию, и с высокой степенью вероятности она осуществлена Россией.

Как видно из примеров (3—5) не столь важно, кто обвиняет Россию, в чем и насколько эти обвинения объективны, главное, что в этих негативных контекстах упоминается Россия и именно это запоминает читатель.

Для реализации данной тактики широко применяются средства модальности, которые могут многократно использоваться в одном тексте. Рассмотрим в качестве примера информационное сообщение, опубликованное 20.09.2016 в *New York Times* под заголовком, в котором уже содержится неопределенность:

(6) *U.S. Officials Say Russia* ***Probably*** *Attacked U.N. Humanitarian Convoy* — Американские официальные лица сообщают, что Россия, **возможно**, атаковала гуманитарный конвой ООН.

Далее в сообщении говорится о возможной ответственности России за бомбардировку конвоя ООН (7), о том, что американские разведслужбы полагают, что атаку осуществил российский самолет, а Пентагон определил с «очень высокой степенью вероятности», что русский штурмовик Су-24 был непосредственно над колонной менее чем за минуту до авиаудара (8):

(7) *Russia was* ***probably*** *responsible for the deadly bombing of a United Nations humanitarian aid convoy in Syria, American officials said Tuesday.*

(8) *Privately, American officials said their intelligence information* ***suggested*** *Russian aircraft had actually carried out the attack. and the Pentagon has determined with* ***"very high probability"*** *that a Russian Su-24 attack plane was directly over the convoy less than a minute before the airstrike was reported, a senior American official said.*

Разновидностью данной тактики является выделенная нами *тактика вопроса,* которая нередко порождает прагматическую пресуппозицию негативного характера:

(9) *Is Vladimir Putin really trying to break up the EU?* — Владимир Путин действительно пытается развалить ЕС?

В примере (9) утверждение о действиях Путина отсутствует, однако оно называется, что влияет на подсознание аудитории, которой навязывается идея о том, что Путин пытается развалить ЕС.

Также не утверждаются и связи Трампа с Путиным, однако поставленный вопрос говорит о возможности их существования (10). Тактика вопроса может применяться многократно в рамках одной статьи, а переход от общего вопроса к специальному превращает вопрос в утверждение, что является искусным способом манипулирования, как в примерах (10—12):

(10) *Are there any Trump links to Putin?* — Существуют ли связи Трампа с Путиным?

(11) *So are there really any links between the New York hotel developer and Moscow?* — Действительно ли существуют связи между нью-йоркским девелопером отелей и Москвой?

(12) *So what links are there between Mr Trump and Russia?* — Итак, какие связи существуют между Трампом и Россией?

Широко используемым приемом манипулятивного воздействия является *генерализация*, когда на основе отдельных, часто незначительных фактов делаются широкого плана обобщения. Например, обвинение России в победе Трампа на основе всего лишь факта публикации переписки руководителя избирательного штаба демократов, в котором якобы замешаны русские хакеры:

(13) *US media reports said the CIA had "high confidence" that Russians were trying to influence the election in Mr Trump's favour* (BBC News, 11.12.2016). — По сообщению американских СМИ, ЦРУ с большой долей уверенности отмечает, что русские пытались повлиять на исход выборов в пользу Трампа.

(14) *Russian agents apparently broke into the Democrats' digital offices and tried to change the election outcome* (NYT, 17.12.2016) — Российские агенты, очевидно, взломали серверы демократов и попытались изменить исход выборов.

(15) *Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper Jr. on Jan. 5 told the Senate Armed Services Committee that Russia meddled in the U.S. election through hacking, propaganda and fake news* (The Washington Post, 5.01.2017) — 5 января глава национальной разведки Джеймс Р. Клеппер сообщил комитету Сената по вооруженным силам, что Россия вмешалась в выборы США посредством хакерского взлома, пропаганды и ложных новостей.

Для усиления воздействия на аудиторию нередко используется комбинирование нескольких приемов. Так, в примере (16) мы наблюдаем ложное оперирование понятиями (*военное вторжение в Сирию*), подмену понятий и бездоказательное утверждение о том, что цель Москвы — поддержка армии Асада, а не борьба с терроризмом:

(16) *Moscow cited the battlefield successes of the Nusra Front to justify its* ***military incursion*** *into Syria* ***as a campaign to fight terrorism*** *— even if* ***its primary goal was to***

shore up Mr. Assad's *military...* — Москва говорит о военных успехах против «Фронт Нусра», чтобы оправдать свое военное вторжение в Сирию, называя его кампанией по борьбе с терроризмом, хотя ее основная цель — поддержка армии Асада.

Регулярно используемой является *стратегия внушения*, которая реализуется через утверждение и повторение, когда информация подается в виде готовых шаблонов, а чрезмерное повторение притупляет сознание, позволяет любой информации откладываться в подсознании (*annexation of Crimea*, *Russian interventation*, *Russian campaign meddling* и др.). Внушение может носить скрытые формы, как в рассмотренных примерах (10—12), где ставится вопрос о связях Трампа с Путиным, но повторенный трехкратно, он не оставляет сомнения в том, что эта связь существует, остается только выяснить — какая (*So what links are there between Mr Trump and Russia?).* Таким образом идея о связи Трампа с Россией внушается косвенно, но последовательно.

Стратегией, оказывающей серьезное воздействие особенно на сознание молодого поколения, является *искажение исторических фактов*, манипуляция исторической памятью. Примерами здесь могут служить попытки девальвации значимости победы СССР во Второй мировой войне, в результате чего большая часть жителей Европы считает, что от фашизма их освободили американцы, а в Японии многие убеждены, что атомные бомбы на Хиросиму и Нагасаки сбросили русские. Делается это не случайно. Как отмечают исследователи, особо сложными для разоблачения и потому опасными являются тексты, для осмысления манипулятивной сущности которых требуется большая осведомленность в сфере истории, литературы, политики и т.д. (Сковородников, Копнина 2012: 481).

Речевое манипулирование осуществляется при помощи различных языковых средств, среди которых слова с эмоционально-оценочным компонентом, различные риторические фигуры, метафоры, сравнения, идеологемы, эвфемизмы, дисфемизмы, средства модальности и др. Они уже являлись объектом изучения многих исследований. В нашей работе мы придерживаемся мнения исследователей, считающих, что при анализе дискурса следует рассматривать не отдельные средства воздействия, а использовать комплексную модель описания, основанную на мультимодальности и включающую как вербальные, так и невербальные средства манипулиятивного воздействия на сознание и восприятие аудитории (Иванова, Сподарец 2010; Ponton 2016 и др.). Среди них — особое звуковое, визуальное или графическое оформление сообщения, фотографии, рисунки, карикатурные изображения, их цветовое оформление, расположение текста, расположение и шрифт заголовка и др. Следует отметить, что и сам заголовок является важным средством манипулирования. Удачно сформулированный, броский, привлекающий внимание, он может оказывать большее воздействие на адресата, чем сам текст, и обеспечивать более глубокое закрепление в сознании. Все эти средства требуют рассмотрения и специального изучения.

Ограничимся здесь лишь одним примером и покажем, как знаки препинания, а именно кавычки, могут служить средством манипулирования.

19.10.2016 накануне открытия российского духовного центра в Париже Газета "The Guardian" опубликовала статью под заголовком "*Russian* ***'spiritual centre'*** *set* *to open in the heart of Paris",* где выражение «духовный центр» взято в кавычки. Далее в статье говорится о планирующемся открытии «духовного и культурного центра» (так же в кавычках) как о стремлении России создать образ мощной религиозной страны (17), а впоследствии, со ссылкой на французские СМИ, сообщается, что французские службы по борьбе со шпионажем окружили здание средствами радиоэлектронного подавления, чтобы не дать русским использовать средства электронного наблюдения (18). Таким образом читателям дается понять суть кавычек и наводится мысль, что это не культурный и духовный центр, а центр шпионажа.

(17) *A vast Russian **"spiritual and cultural centre"** crowned by a golden-domed Orthodox cathedral — widely seen as a grand expression of Moscow's quest to project an image of itself as a powerful, religious country — is set to open in Paris.*

(18) *French media reports say that country's **counter-espionage services** have surrounded the building with jamming devices to prevent the Russians from using it for electronic surveillance* (The Guardian 19.10.2016).

Таким образом, если убеждение — это открытое воздействие, которое оставляет за аудиторией выбор, то манипуляция — это скрытое воздействия на сознание аудитории. Однако в настоящее время мы наблюдаем, как манипуляция приобретает все более агрессивные формы, превращаясь из скрытого воздействия на подсознание людей в открытое агрессивное воздействие, что позволяет говорить о новой функции СМИ — функции информационной, или медийной, агрессии, которую можно охарактризовать как *манипулятивное убеждение*.

3. ИНФОРМАЦИОННАЯ АГРЕССИЯ В СМИ

Информационная агрессия может касаться как прямого убеждения, так и манипулятивного воздействия, между которыми в данном случае трудно провести четкую грань. На наш взгляд, агрессивный дискурс можно рассматривать в рамках манипулятивного, поскольку при более прямых формах воздействия в конечном итоге он нацелен на манипуляцию общественным мнением, на формирование образа врага, с которым необходимо бороться. Этот факт позволяет рассматривать агрессию как манипулятивное убеждение, которое следует отличать от открытого убеждения, наблюдаемого, как уже отмечалось, в парламентских выступлениях или дискуссиях в СМИ.

Поскольку в медийном дискурсе агрессия может выражаться как языковыми, так и неязыковыми средствами, то наряду с термином *речевая агрессия* предлагаем использовать термин *информационная*, или *медийная*, *агрессия*, который шире, чем речевая и рассматривает агрессию с учетом мульмодальности. Еще раз попытаемся провести различия между манипуляцией и агрессией. Если речевая манипуляция — это скрытое влияния на когнитивную и поведенческую деятельность адресата (Копнина, 2014: 25), то речевая агрессия — это открытое выражение враждебности к референту и вторжение в когнитивное пространство адресата.

Речевая агрессия в языке СМИ активно проявляется через использование различных стратегий и тактик, среди которых можно выделить следующие: прямое обвинение, угроза, дискредитация, ложь, прямое порицание, навешивание ярлыков и даже оскорбление. С целью оскорбления часто используются оскорбительные сравнения и дисфемизмы, как в примерах (19—20), где Трамп сравнивается с болонкой и называется русским пуделем, а Путин называется «кровожадным иностранным диктатором»:

(19) *But if the C.I.A. is right, Russia apparently was trying to elect a president who would be not a puppet exactly but perhaps something of a lap dog — a Russian poodle.* (NYT, DEC. 17, 2016).

(20) *I never thought I would see a dispute between America's intelligence community and* ***a murderous foreign dictator*** *in which an American leader sided with the dictator.*

Приведем некоторые примеры других проявлений вербальной агрессии, взятые из опубликованного на сайте “The Washington Post” доклада главы ЦРУ Клеппера в Сенате США. Хотя они касаются политического дискурса, но, опубликованные на новостном сайте, могут, на наш взгляд, рассматриваться и в рамках медийного дискурса.

Прямое обвинение:

(21) *The country's top intelligence official said Thursday that Russia's meddling in the 2016 presidential campaign consisted of hacking, as well as the spreading of traditional propaganda and "fake news".* — Глава ЦРУ заявил в четверг, что вмешательство России в президентскую кампанию 2016 года заключалось в хакерстве, а также в традиционной пропаганде и «фейковых новостях».

Преувеличение:

(22) *McCain ... pressed Clapper on whether the campaign meddling was an attack on the United States and an "act of war."* — Маккейн настойчиво просил Клеппера дать ответ, не являлось ли вмешательство в избирательную компанию атакой на США и «актом войны».

Угроза:

(23) *Graham criticized President Obama's response, saying he had thrown "a pebble" at the Russians, adding, "I'm ready to throw a rock."* — Грэм раскритиковал реакцию президента Обамы, заявив, что он бросил «камешек» на русских, добавив: «Я готов бросить камень».

Призывы к агрессии, в том числе и физической:

(24) *Clapper also called for a more aggressive counter-propaganda effort.* — Клеппер также призвал к более агрессивной контрпропаганде.

(25) *Ladies and gentlemen, it is time now not to throw pebbles, but to throw rocks.* — Дамы и господа, теперь настало время бросать не камешки, а камни.

Судя по приведенным примерам, здесь вряд ли можно говорить о манипуляции как о скрытом воздействии на сознание аудитории с целью навязать определенное представление о действительности. Это примеры прямой вербальной агрессии в адрес оппонента и агрессивного воздействия на аудиторию.

Факт ведения информационной войны, которую мы называем информационной или медийной агрессией, признают сами СМИ, которые часто открыто говорят об этом, используя военную терминологию:

(26) *The* **war** of words *continues.* — Словесная война продолжается (BBC 15.05.2016);

(27) *The importance of* ***information operations*** *was most clearly illustrated by the extraordinary concert mounted in the ruins of Palmyra after its recapture from so-called Islamic State (IS) by Syrian forces.* — Важность информационной операции была

ярко проиллюстрирована необыкновенным концертом, состоявшимся на руинах Пальмиры после ее освобождения от так называемого исламского государства сирийской армией (BBC 30.09.2016);

(28) *Mr Yakovenko's comments come amid public* ***clashes*** *between the UK and Russia.* — Комментарии Яковенко прозвучали на фоне публичных столкновений между Великобританией и Россией (BBC 22.10.2016).

Выражение агрессии в СМИ обязательно подразумевает образ врага (Закоян 2009). В рассматриваемом нами случае информационного противостояния речь идет о внешнем враге. Из публикаций зарубежных СМИ нетрудно понять, кто этим врагом является.

24 декабря 2016 *The* New *York Times* опубликовала статью под заголовком *Putin Is Waging Information Warfare. Here's How to Fight Back* («Путин ведет информационную войну. Вот как надо ударить в ответ»). Начинается статья с того, что ее автор (Mark Galeotti) называет конфликт 21 века скорее макиавеллианским, чем военным, поскольку вместо самолетов, бомб и ракет имеют место хакерские взломы, утечки информации и фейковые новости. Далее автор статьи отмечает, что вмешательство России в президентские выборы США только нагоняет аппетит:

(29) *Welcome to 21st-century conflict, more Machiavellian than military, where hacks, leaks and fake news are taking the place of planes, bombs and missiles. The Russian interference in the United States presidential election is just a taste of more to come* (NYT, 24.12.2016).

Следует обратить внимание и на картинку, которая сопровождает публикацию. На ней изображен огромный медведь, залезающий лапами в Капитолий, из которого течет мед, а летающие вокруг пчелы не могут ему помешать.

Putin Is Waging Information Warfare. Here's How to Fight Back.
By MARK GALEOTTI DEC. 14, 2016

Как уже отмечалось, вслед за исследователями критического дискурс-анализа мы считаем, что анализ агрессивного информационного дискурса должен проводиться комплексно, на основе мультимодальности, с учетом как вербальных, так и невербальных средств, с помощью которых достигается больший прагматический эффект.

В качестве примера рассмотрим публикацию в британском издании “The Economist" от 22.10.2016 под заголовком *“The threat from Russia”* («Угроза со стороны России») и не менее выразительным подзаголовком *How to contain Vladimir Putin’s deadly, dysfunctional empire* (букв.: Как сдерживать смертоносную, неуправляемую империю Владимира Путина). Текст заголовка нельзя назвать манипу-лятивным, поскольку в нем прямо говорится о том, что Россия представляет собой угрозу. В то же время следует обратить внимание на его размер. Выделение заголовка более крупным шрифтом является одним из действенных способов манипуляции, так как он привлекает внимание читателей и лучше закрепляется в их сознании. Под заголовком дается портрет Путина на кроваво-красном фоне. Сам портрет затемнен, а вместо глаз — зловещие черные впадины, в которых изображены красные российские истребители. Увидев заголовок и сопровождающий его портрет, читатель уже и без текста получает достаточный сгусток информации о том, что представляет собой Россия и кто такой Путин.

THE THREAT FROM RUSSIA
How to contain Vladimir Putin’s deadly, dysfunctional empire
22.10.2016 The Economist

Что касается текста, то он представляет собой весьма интересный пример информационной агрессии, где используются как прямые, так и манипулятивные средства воздействия. Текст наполнен военной терминологией — *nuclear weapons, nuclear-capable missiles, ballistic missiles, bomb shelters, mass slaughter, aircraft-carrier group, nuclear consequences* и др. Многократно используются глаголы устрашения, содержащие семантический компонент агрессии: *scare, threaten,* глаголы, называющие военные действия — *shoot down, fight, attack, strike* и др.:

(30) *Every week Vladimir Putin, Russia’s president, finds new ways to* ***scare the world****. Recently he moved* ***nuclear-capable missiles*** *close to Poland and Lithuania. This week he sent an aircraft-carrier group down the North Sea and the English Channel. He has* ***threatened*** *to* ***shoot down*** *any American plane that attacks the forces of Syria’s despot, Bashar al-Assad.*

Россия называется геополитическим врагом номер один (*number-one geopolitical foe*):

(31) "*Four years ago Mitt Romney, then a Republican candidate, said that Russia was America's "**number-one geopolitical foe**".*

Для ее характеристики далее используется целый набор негативных определений: помимо упомянутых в заголовке *deadly* и *dysfunctional,* встречаются *weak, insecure, unpredictable*, т.е. *слабая, ненадежная, непредсказуемая* страна, которую отличает *«хроническая нарастающая немощность»* (*chronic, debilitating weakness*). Используется и такое средство манипуляции, как сравнение — Россия называется более опасной, чем бывший Советский Союз (32), через сравнение утверждается, что Россия коррумпированная страна и ее политическая система сфальсифицирована (38):

(32) "*Yet a **weak, insecure, unpredictable** country with nuclear weapons is **dangerous** — more so, in some ways, even than the Soviet Union was."*

Из тактик манипуляции можно отметить многократную подмену понятий и фальсификацию фактов, как в примере (33), где утверждается, что Россия осуществляла хакерские атаки во время американской избирательной кампании, руководит массовыми убийствами в Сирии, аннексировала Крым и постоянно говорит о применении ядерного оружия, что якобы свидетельствует о верности вывода о том, что она представляет угрозу номер один:

(33) *With Russia hacking the American election, presiding over mass slaughter in Syria, annexing Crimea and talking casually about using nuclear weapons, Mr Romney's view has become conventional wisdom."*

Еще одной тактикой, которая используется в этом тексте, является уход от определенности, использование размытой неопределенной информации, как в примере (34), где говорится, что в российских телевизионных новостях постоянно показывают баллистические ракеты и бомбоубежища, при этом неясно, о каких ракетах идет речь, где и кто строит эти бомбоубежища.

(34) *Russian television news is full of ballistic missiles and bomb shelters.*

Используются выхваченные из контекста фразы, которые также нагнетают психоз, поскольку речь в них идет о возможных ядерных последствиях (*nuclear consequences),* о неизбежности столкновения (*if a fight is inevitable)* и первом ударе России:

(35) *"Impudent behaviour" might have "nuclear consequences", warns Dmitry Kiselev, Mr Putin's propagandist-in-chief — who goes on to cite Mr Putin's words that "If a fight is inevitable, you have to strike first."*

Возвращаясь к реальности, автор статьи утверждает, что Россия не собирается развязывать войну против Америки и это все пустые слова, тем не менее прямо подчеркивается, что она представляет собой угрозу стабильности и порядку:

(36) *In fact, Russia is not about to go to war with America. Much of its language is no more than bluster. But it does **pose a threat to stability and order**.*

Однако далее делается несколько парадоксальный вывод о том, что для ответа российской угрозе важно понять, что воинственность России не является признаком ее возрождения, а свидетельствует о хронической, прогрессирующей слабости:

(37) *And the first step to answering that* ***threat*** *is to understand that Russian belligerence is not a sign of resurgence, but of a* ***chronic, debilitating weakness****.*

В статье используется и такая тактика манипуляции, как обращение к универсальным ценностям, угрозу которым представляет Россия, которая стремится дискредитировать эти ценности и разрушить их, не предлагая при этом никакой другой привлекательной идеологии. Таким образом, здесь мы видим акцентирование противопоставления на «мы» — те, кто разделяет универсальные либеральные ценности, и «они», представляющие угрозу этим ценностям:

(38) *Russia does not pretend to offer the world an attractive ideology or vision. Instead its propaganda aims to* ***discredit and erode universal liberal values*** *by nurturing the idea that the West is just as* ***corrupt*** *as Russia, and that its political system is just as* ***rigged****.*

Далее (39) выражается прямое убеждение в том, что Россия хочет расколоть Запад, и содержится призыв к единству всего западного мира и твердости перед лицом угрозы со стороны России:

(39) *It wants to create a divided West that has lost faith in its ability to shape the world. In response, the West should be united and firm.*

Как видим, в данной статье используются как прямые, так и манипулятивные способы воздействия на аудиторию, в результате чего происходит агрессивное воздействие на сознание аудитории и создается демонический образ как российского президента, так и страны в целом, представляющей угрозу всему цивилизованному западному миру.

4. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

На основе анализа американских и британских СМИ в данной статье было продемонстрировано усиление воздействующей функции средств массовой информации, показано, как в условиях информационной войны, явившейся результатом политического противостояния России и Запада, изменились формы воздействия: открытое убеждение сменилось скрытым манипулированием, которое переросло в открытую агрессию, что позволяет говорить о новой функции СМИ — функции информационной, или медийной, агрессии, представляющей собой манипулятивное убеждение.

Мы попытались определить сходства и различия между тремя видами воздействия: убеждением, манипуляцией и агрессией. Убеждение не всегда является манипулятивным, это может быть открытое воздействие (дискуссии в СМИ), которое оставляет за аудиторией выбор. Манипуляция — это скрытое влияние на сознание аудитории, которая выступает пассивной жертвой. Агрессия в медийном дискурсе рассматривалась нами в двух планах — в отношении референта (*аффективная агрессия*) и в отношении адресата (*когнитивная агрессия*). В результате мы пришли к выводу, что в рассмотренном нами материале агрессия — это выражение открытой неприязни, враждебности к объекту речи и, в то же время, целенаправленное воздействие на сознание адресата (целевой аудитории) с целью его идеологического подчинения. Таким образом, агрессия — это прямое воздействие на адресата, но предполагающее манипулятивную цель, что и позволяет говорить о *манипулятивном убеждении*.

При более прямых формах воздействия на уровне отдельного высказывания или семиотического знака в конечном итоге оно представляет собой вторжение в когнитивное пространство адресата с целью воздействия на его картину мира, т.е. нацелено на манипуляцию общественным сознанием в интересах власти. В связи с этим, на наш взгляд, агрессивный дискурс можно рассматривать в рамках манипулятивного и его можно охарактеризовать как манипулятивное убеждение. При этом мы не исключаем, что он может иметь целью создание и позитивного имиджа. Поскольку в медийном дискурсе агрессия может осуществляться как вербальными, так и невербальными средствами, для ее обозначения предлагаем использовать термин *информационная (*или *медийная) агрессия*, который шире термина *речевая агрессия*.

В статье было продемонстрировано, что анализировать агрессивный дискурс целесообразно на основе мультимодального подхода, предполагающего комплексное описание стратегий и тактик манипулирования и используемых для их реализации языковых и неязыковых средств, репертуар которых постоянно расширяется. Описанные в статье стратегии и тактики — лишь часть целой системы дискредитационной лингвистики. Эти приемы частотны, но не исчерпывающи для манипуляции в СМИ. Знание механизмов манипулятивного воздействия СМИ, принимающего новые агрессивные формы, необходимо для противостояния информационно-психологической войне.

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MEDIA DISCOURSE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF INFORMATION WARFARE: FROM MANIPULATION TO AGGRESSION

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Abstract. In todays atmosphere of information warfare the biased impact of the media has increased, pushing behind other functions, including the informative one. The forms of media influence have also changed: direct persuasion has been replaced by implicit manipulation, which develops into outright aggression. Since, in the media discourse aggression can be both verbal and non-verbal, we propose to use the term *information (or media) aggression*, which is broader than *verbal aggression*. Media aggression can be considered as a binary process — in relation to the referent (affective aggression) and in relation to the audience (cognitive aggression). As a result, the information under media aggression refers to the expression of open hostility and animosity towards the referent and meaningful impact on the consciousness of the recipient (the target audience) to its ideological subordination. The purpose of this article is to justify the hypothesis that the growing media aggression is a feature of modern media discourse in the atmosphere of information warfare, and this function can be analysed within the framework of manipulative discourse as manipulative persuasion. The data has been taken from quality British and American newspapers, news websites of *The BBC, The Economist, The Guardian, The New York Times, The Washington Post,* and some others covering the relations between Russia and the USA, the situation in the Middle East, particularly in Syria. The the study was conducted using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2001, Van Dijk 2006, 2009; Wodak 2007; Weiss, Wodak 2007) and the multimodal approach (Ivanova, Spodarets 2010; Ponton 2016), and reveals various strategies and means of linguistic manipulation and media aggression. It also shows that the main aim of linguistic manipulation accentuated by verbal and non-verbal aggression is to deliberately mislead the audience imposing on it the desired idea of ideological subordination. Therefore, a knowledge of the mechanisms of manipulative influence is essential to counter the information and psychological war.

Keywords: media discourse, information warfare, persuasion, manipulation, manipulative discourse, media aggression, multimodality

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Ремчукова Е.Н., Страхова А.В. РЕКЛАМНОЕ «ЗАЗЕРКАЛЬЕ» РОССИИ И ФРАНЦИИ. ЛИНГВОКРЕАТИВНЫЙ И ГЕНДЕРНЫЙ АСПЕКТЫ (Монография). – Москва: Едиториал УРРС. 2016. – 216 с.

Remchukova E.N., Strakhova A.V. (2016). ADVERTISING THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS IN RUSSIA AND FRANCE. LINGUOCREATIVE AND GENDER ASPECTS. 216 p. Moscow: URSS Publisher

Рецензируемая монография Е.Н. Ремчуковой и А.В. Страховой обращена к проблематике коммуникативной лингвистики и социальной психологии и в частности к проблематике рекламы, которая, как известно, является отражением социально-психологических стереотипов. Важное место среди них занимают гендерные стереотипы. Их изучение представляется сегодня особенно актуальным в связи с общим интересом зарубежной и отечественной лингвистики к феномену «гендер» в психологическом, философском, культурно-историческом и лингвистическом аспектах.

В соответствии с требованиями к научным публикациям рецензируемая монография включает глубокий анализ классических работ по теории рекламы и рекламного текста, а также языковой картины мира рекламы — русской и французской. В ней убедительно показано, что изучение гендерной направленности рекламы в системе разноструктурных языков (русского и французского) является весьма продуктивным, так как позволяет выявить черты сходства, универсальные для рекламы как формы коммуникации и массовой культуры.

Основная проблематика рецензируемого монографического исследования группируется вокруг следующих тем:

— рекламный текст в социолингвистическом аспекте, включая рассмотрение рекламного текста как объекта исследования в России и Франции, национально-культурная специфика рекламы, переводческий аспект рекламного текста, социальная дифференциация речи и ее отражение в рекламе;

— роль лингвистических (как правило, креативных) средств русского и французского рекламного текста относительно их направленности на адресата;

— гендерная детерминированность и способы ее выражения (вербальные и невербальные); женские и мужские рекламные образы с доминированием различных социальных и физических качеств; лингвистические приемы гендерной направленности рекламного текста.

Отметим как особую ценность рецензируемого исследования, что все перечисленные составляющие монографии проиллюстрированы богатым русско-франкоязычным аутентичным материалом.

В монографии заявлен не только гендерный, но и лингвокреативный аспект описания русского и французского рекламного текста, причем средства французского языка, насколько нам известно, в таком ключе анализируются впервые. Представленный авторами материал убеждает в том, что языковая игра в рекламном тексте разнообразна и продуктивна, так как повышает его эффективность, поэтому она широко распространена в рекламе и России, и Франции. Кроме того, лингвокреативные средства могут быть социально дифференцированными, так как с их помощью рекламодатель «манипулирует» мужчиной, женщиной или подростком (оценочная лексика, единицы молодежного жаргона, дефразеологизированные конструкции, псевдонаучная лексика и др.).

Наибольшую ценность представляют здесь наблюдения и выводы о сходствах и различиях в степени востребованности русской и французской рекламой тех или иных лингвистических средств. Например, прецедентные тексты одинаково распространены в рекламе двух стран, тогда как тексты с фразеологизмами в большей степени характерны для отечественной рекламы; создание эффекта наукообразности с помощью псевдонаучного текста одинаково характерно как для российской, так и для французской рекламы; активное словообразование в большей степени характерно для российской рекламы и др. Анализируется и такая важная категория французского языка, как артикль: анализ функций определенного и неопределенного артикля во французских рекламных слоганах позволяет выявить его роль в организации этой важной части рекламного текста.

Представленный в монографии анализ является комплексным: вербальные и невербальные составляющие мужских и женских рекламных образов показаны в тесном взаимодействии, однако отметим именно тщательный лингвистический анализ рекламных образов, который позволяет авторам сделать интересные выводы об их национальной специфике. Это касается, например, остроумной интерпретации образа «настоящего мужика» (широко распространенного в русской рекламе пива и мясных продуктов), обладающего, с точки зрения авторов, такой спецификой, которая затрудняет перевод лексемы «мужик» в данной совокупности лексических и стилистических коннотаций на французский язык.

Авторы убеждают нас в том, что реклама, содержащая креативный лингвистический элемент, выигрывает по сравнению с «пресным» сообщением — без элементов языковой игры и ярких стилистических приемов. Во всякой рекламной акции существует этап, когда все психологические технологии бессильны. Остается лишь «территория креатива», одним из компонентов которого является язык. Авторы показывают, что, по сути, *креативность* — это умелое владение стилистическими приемами, языковой игрой, способность к творческому словообразованию, смелое нарушение языковых норм (все эти зоны «территории креатива» присутствуют в монографии), то есть умение использовать с максимальным эффектом экспрессивный инструментарий того или иного языка в рамках поставленной творческой задачи.

По нашему мнению, монография Е.Н. Ремчуковой и А.В. Страховой — это весьма удачный опыт системного интердисциплинарного исследования. Само изложение отличается живостью, динамизмом и демонстрирует увлеченность авторов своим «героем» — рекламным текстом. Материалы, выводы и наблюдения, представленные в монографии, безусловно, могут найти самое широкое применение в вузовском преподавания общих и специальных лингвистических курсов, в практике преподавания языков и лингвострановедения, а также при составлении обзорных лингвистических курсов для языковедов, рекламистов, социологов и психологов.

Хотелось бы отметить еще раз, что монография «Рекламное „зазеркалье“...» — *современный взгляд* на понятие вербального креатива в теоретических и практических измерениях как феномена коммуникации, когниции и языковой системы/структуры. Авторы рассмотрели факторы, которые манифестируют различную структуру и динамику рекламного текста России и Франции, и предложили их лингвопрагматическую классификацию. Таким образом, сфокусировано внимание на известной и в то же время новой проблеме сопоставительного исследования, которая в наши дни может найти новые решения.

В.В. Зирка

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ВСЕРОССИЙСКАЯ НАУЧНО-ПРАКТИЧЕСКАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ «ДИСКУРСОЛОГИЯ: ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ ГУМАНИТАРНОГО ЗНАНИЯ». Ялта, 28—29 сентября 2016 г.

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Всероссийская научно-практическая конференция, посвященная проблемам дискурсологии, прошла в Гуманитарно-педагогической академии — филиале Крымского федерального университета имени В.И. Вернадского в г. Ялте. В рамках конференции состоялось заседание Ялтинского дискурсологического кружка (ЯДК), Манифест которого, состав участников и учредителей были утверждены на IV Международной научной конференции «Стилистика сегодня и завтра», состоявшейся на факультете журналистики Московского государственного университета им. М.В. Ломоносова 28—30 апреля 2016 г. Манифест ЯДК опубликован в нескольких изданиях: Ялтинский дискурсологический кружок как осознанная необходимость // Стилистика сегодня и завтра: материалы IV Международной научной конференции: факультет журналистики МГУ. — М., 2016. С. 221—223; Ялтинский дискурсологический кружок // Мир лингвистики и коммуникации. Электронный научный журнал. 2016. № 1; Международная конференция «Стилистика сегодня и завтра» и создание Ялтинского дискурсологического кружка // Дискурс-Пи. Международный журнал Международной академии дискурс-исследований. — Екатеринбург, 2016. № 1 (22). С. 144—147.

Состав учредителей ЯДК: Гуманитарно-педагогическая академия (филиал) Крымского федерального университета имени В.И. Вернадского в г. Ялте, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (кафедра стилистики русского языка факультета журналистики), Отдел философии Института философии и права УрО РАН (Екатеринбург), Российский государственный социальный университет (кафедра русского языка и литературы, Москва), Белгородский национальный исследовательский университет (кафедра коммуникативистики, рекламы и связей с общественностью), Орловский государственный университет искусств и культуры (кафедра иностранных языков), Луганский государственный университет им. Тараса Шевченко (кафедра русского языкознания и коммуникативных технологий).

Ялтинский дискурсологический кружок — гуманитарный проект, объединивший исследователей, ориентированных на продуктивный междисциплинарный диалог, который может способствовать формированию дискурсологии как целостного гуманитарного знания.

Очерчен круг проблем, которые нуждаются в коллегиальном рассмотрении: проблема дефиниций стиля, текста, дискурса (в условиях особых парадигмальных отношений, в которых сошлись диахрония и синхрония, традиционное и новое, дисциплинарный и междисциплинарный подходы); концепция дискурса в лингвистике, политологии, социологии, литературоведении; динамика жанровых образований, ее отражение в композиционно-стилистическом устройстве текстов; когнитивно-языковой параметр описания и сопоставления дискурсов и дискурсивных практик и др.

Концепция Ялтинского дискурсологического кружка определила содержание и проблемный характер конференции, проведенной 28—29 сентября 2016 г. Очное и заочное участие в конференции приняли дискурсологи, стилисты, текстологи из Москвы, Барнаула, Белгорода, Волгограда, Екатеринбурга, Луганска, Краснодара, Майкопа, Новосибирска, Симферополя, Ярославля.

Первый день конференции начался с воспоминания о Г.Я. Солганике, заведующем кафедрой стилистики русского языка факультета журналистики МГУ им. М.В. Ломоносова, выдающемся ученом, основателе одной из значимых стилистических школ, который ушел из жизни 5 августа 2016 г. Организаторы конференции подготовили видеоматериал «Признание в любви», содержание которого стало своеобразным камертоном научного общения.

Дискурс научной конференции — это вид интерактивной речевой деятельности, ориентированный на обсуждение и обоснование любых значимых аспектов действий, мнений и высказываний её участников. Эти признаки были в полной мере реализованы на ялтинской конференции. Дискурсология — активно развивающаяся наука, и в решении многих проблем есть существенные разногласия. Обсуждение спорных вопросов дискурсологии развернулось до начала конференции в социальной сети, где была зарегистрирована закрытая группа «Ялтинский дискурсологический кружок», участники которой определяли вектор дискуссии по мере размещения заявленных докладов. Дискуссионность была заложена и в программу конференции, в названия пленарных и секционных заседаний: «Лингвофилософия дискурса», «Междисциплинарный регистр дискурсных исследований» — пленарные заседания; «Дискурсивные практики vs. институциональные дискурсы», «Стиль, текст, дискурс: диалектика и динамика отношений», «Дискурс-анализ: приобретенный опыт и планируемые перспективы» — секционные заседания.

Назовем пленарные доклады.

В докладе профессора **Е.Г. Борисовой** (Московский государственный лингвистический университет) «Стилистика и прагматический подход к эмпатии в рекламе и СМИ» было обращено внимание на необходимость формирования нового прикладного направления языкознания — маркетинговой лингвистики, в рамках которого могут быть системно представлены технологии медийного и рекламного дискурса, основанные на соотношении теории и практики и на достигнутом междисциплинарном опыте.

Профессор **В.Н. Степанов** (Международная академия бизнеса и новых технологий, Ярославль) в докладе «Концептосфера и дискурс силы в немецкой философской традиции» на основе обширного корпуса текстовых и лексикографических данных обозначил концептосферу дискурса силы в период зарождения немецкой философской традиции и ее закрепления и развития в более поздних философских, справочных и учебных трудах, а также в наивной картине мира, отраженной в немецком и русском языках того периода.

В докладе доцента **Н.Н. Васильковой** (Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова) «Особенности эристического дискурса в современных политических ток-шоу» были представлены стратегии и тактики эристического состязания оппонентов на общественно-политических ток-шоу. В докладе доцента **А.В. Николаевой** (Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова) «Интернет-дискурс: речевые стратегии и тактики» на большом фактическом материале были продемонстрированы языковые и стилистические свойства интернет-текстов, проявляющих «открытое авторское „я“» в виде совмещения признаков монолога и диалога, использования разного рода экспрессем, карнавально-игрового стиля изложения и др.

В докладе профессора **Л.Н. Синельниковой** (Гуманитарно-педагогическая академия, Ялта) «Ризома дискурса интермедиальности» была показана возможность расширения рамок дискурс-анализа при условии ориентации исследователя на ризоматическое мышление, которое основывается на феномене ризомы. Структуры ризоматического мышления организуют интермедиальный дискурс, проявленный в поэтических, рекламных и политических текстах.

Авторскую методику оценки эффективности рекламного текста предложила доктор филологических наук **Л.В. Ухова** (Ярославский государственный педагогический университет им. К.Д. Ушинского) в докладе «Оценка эффективности рекламного текста: возможности алгоритмизации». В качестве стержня предлагаемой методики определены принципы перлокутивной лингвистики, которые ориентируют на учет декодирования информации адресатом сообщения.

В докладе профессора **Г.И. Лушниковой** (Гуманитарно-педагогическая академия, Ялта) «Трансформация прецедентных текстов в современном художественном дискурсе» явление интертекстуальности было рассмотрено на материале «вторичных» текстов, являющихся трансформированным пересказом прототекста. Во вторичном тексте прототекст претерпевает разного рода трансформации — редукцию, распространение, перефразирование, субституцию. В докладе доцента **С.С. Дикаревой** (Крымский федеральный университет, Симферополь), «Текстовые (лингвистические) корпусы в славянском дискурсе» была представлена когнитивная модель текстовых электронных корпусов славянских языков, показана динамика развития относительно нового направления теоретического и прикладного языкознания — корпусной лингвистики, определена перспектива дискурсивного анализа на основе информационного статистического инструментария корпусных технологий.

В секционных докладах рассматривались институциональные дискурсы, представленные в разнообразии текстов и дискурсивных практик: «Оценка и ее функции в креализованном тексте карикатур» (**Н.Н. Вольская**, Москва), «Функциональная значимость ключевых слов текстах произведений Ю. Полякова» (**Л.С. Захидова**, Новосибирск), «Тематическое расширение как внутренняя особенность дискурса интернета» (**Е.В. Горина**, Екатеринбург), «Когнитивные „столкновения“ в современном медиадискурсе» (**И.А. Соболева,** Луганск), «О содержании понятия „региональный медийный дискурс“» (**Л.Г. Егорова**, Симферополь), «Лингвосемиотика иноязычного лингводидатического дискурса» (**В.В. Копылова**, Москва), «Поликодовая манифестация концепта „медведь“ в политических коммуникациях» (**Е.А. Унукович**, Луганск), «Системность дискурса неопределенности» (**И.Ю. Эсаулова**, Луганск).

Ряд докладов был представлен принимающей стороной — преподавателями кафедры русской и украинской филологии Гуманитарно-педагогической академии, которые включились в исследовательское поле дискурсологии с такими темами: «Моделирование отношений между рекламой и действительностью в художественном дискурсе» (**А.В. Люликова**), «Прозвища в педагогическом дискурсе» (**С.А. Стряпчая**), «Риторические приемы академического дискурса» (**Н.А. Лобачёва**), «Социокультурная характеристика языка и стиля современных журналов для детей» (**Ю.В. Козина**), «Концептуальные основы украинского сказочного дискурса» (**Т.П. Павлюк**), «Инновационная цель метода проектов в современном образовательном дискурсе» (**Э.К. Аметова**), «Историко-литературное наследие И. Франко «Святой Климент в Корсуне» как модель институционально-персонального дискурса» (**Д.С. Мокренцов**). Сообщения преподавателей кафедры подтвердили значимый для дискурсологии тезис: дискурс — это цепь событий, в которой проявляются дискурсивные маркеры: слова, фразы, звуки, передающие книжность или разговорность, контактность или дистанционность, моделирующие статус актуального или гипотетического собеседника. Наблюдения и находки докладчиков были признаны интересными, а темы — достойными продолжения. Дискуссия с начинающими дискурсологами сопровождалась советами и пожеланиями на перспективу.

Внимание участников конференции привлекли стендовые доклады, материал которых был включен в дискуссионный формат конференции: «Давление интернет-дискурса на динамику норм современного русского языка» (**Н.И. Клушина**, Москва), «Парадокс целостности PR-дискурса» (**Л.В. Селезнёва**, Москва), «Роль и место этнолингвосемиотики в дискурсообразовании / дискурсоразвертывании (**А.В. Олянич**, Волгоград), «Типологические аспекты описания научно-популярного дискурса» (**Т.В. Чернышова**, **Т.А. Полтавец**, Барнаул), «„Брак“ или „развод“: какие взаимосвязи обнаруживают дискурсивная и корпусная лингвистика» (**А.Г. Пастухов**, Орёл), «От теории публицистики — к теории дискурса. И обратно?» (**Е.Н. Басовская**, Москва), «Дискурсные практики цифровой коммуникации: проблема типологизации» (**Е.А. Кожемякин**, Белгород), «Специфика интермедиальных связей в рекламном дискурсе» (**О.Е. Павловская**, **Д.Г. Куренова**, Краснодар), «Ассоциативный эксперимент как прием интерпретации дискурса» (**Г.Ю. Богданович**, Симферополь), «Исследование дискурса элиты в синергетической парадигме» (**Т.А. Островская**, Майкоп), «Когнитивный аспект эпистолярного дискурса А. Чехова» (**И.А. Герасименко**, Ялта).

В докладах участников конференции были представлены новые фактические данные, дополняющие представление о газетно-публицистическом дискурсе, интернет-дискурсе, рекламном дискурсе, сказочном дискурсе, интермедиальном дискурсе. Подтвержден факт схождения в институциональном дискурсе социальных и лингвистических показателей. Важно внимание большинства докладчиков к риторическим стратегиям и тактикам в определенных видах институциональных дискурсов.

Обсуждался важный для современной филологии вопрос: в каком отношении находятся институциональные дискурсы и функциональные стили; возможна ли непротиворечивая таксономия дискурсов, и совпадает ли она с таксономией стилей. Был одобрен тезис: дефиниция текста опирается на системно-структурные показатели, которые могут оцениваться в коммуникативном аспекте; дефиниция дискурса — только на коммуникативные, функциональные и прагматические характеристики.

Совместными усилиями участников конференции было определено содержание дискурсивной компетентности как зонтичной в современном образовательном процессе (дискурсивная компетенция — знание различных типов дискурсов, правил их построения, а также умение создавать и понимать тексты, манифестирующие тот или иной тип дискурса).

Ряд докладов участников конференции опубликован в научном журнале «Дискурс-Пи» (№ 3 и 4, 2016 год). Ответственный редактор этого журнала, профессор О.Ф. Русакова, является одним из вдохновителей и организаторов Ялтинского дискурсологического кружка.

Положительные отзывы о конференции не могли не порадовать ее организаторов, настроенных на продолжение встреч в формате Ялтинского дискурсологического кружка, очередное заседание котрого состоится 28—30 сентября 2017 г.

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II МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ «УНИВЕРСАЛЬНОЕ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ В ЯЗЫКОВОЙ КАРТИНЕ МИРА», Минск, 14—15 октября 2016 г.

THE II[d] INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “THE UNIVERSAL AND THE UNIQUE IN LINGUISTIC WORLDVIEW”, Minsk, 14—15 October 2016

Проблема универсального и национального в разных языках волнует умы лингвистов по ряду причин. С одной стороны, она имеет теоретическую значимость, т.к. ее решение позволит лингвистам постичь строй разных языков и — в полном соответствии с установками и задачами современной (когнитивной) лингвистики — объяснить выявленные различия. Сделать это можно, лишь выходя за рамки собственно лингвистики, привлекая, в первую очередь, культурные, исторические и др. сведения о жизни народа, говорящего на определенном языке. С другой стороны, данная проблема важна в контексте прикладной лингвистики, т.к. именно лингвоспецифическое предопределяет трудности в переводческой деятельности, а также вызывает их в освоении иностранных языков и в обучении им.

Все это предопределяет актуальность проведенной во второй раз конференции «Универсальное и национальное в языковой картине мира». Организатором выступил факультет немецкого языка Минского государственного лингвистического университета.

В конференции приняли очное участие 85 исследователей из Беларуси, Германии, России и Украины, среди них — 19 докторов филологических и педагогических наук, 42 кандидата филологических, педагогических и психологических наук, аспиранты, магистранты, а также преподаватели иностранных языков. Такой состав участников предопределил высокий научный уровень дискуссий по темам, предложенным для обсуждения.

Конференцию открыла ректор университета Наталья Петровна Баранова, поприветствовав в стенах Минского государственного лингвистического университета гостей из разных стран и пожелав им плодотворной работы. Каждый день работа конференции начиналась с пленарных докладов и продолжалась в рамках секционных заседаний. На пленарных заседаниях выступили **Ральф Фогель**, д-р фил. наук, профессор университета г. Билефельд (Германия), **М.Л. Ковшова**, д-р фил. наук, профессор, ведущий научный сотрудник Отдела теоретического и прикладного языкознания Института языкознания Российской академии наук, **Л.М. Лещева**, д-р фил. наук, профессор, заведующая кафедрой общего языкознания Минского государственного лингвистического университета, **Л.И. Богданова**, д-р фил. наук, профессор кафедры сопоставительного изучения языков Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова, **Е.Г. Тарева**, д-р пед. наук, профессор, заведующая кафедрой французского языка и лингводидактики Московского городского педагогического университета (Институт иностранных языков), **Н.Н. Миронова**, д-р фил. наук, профессор кафедры теории и методологии перевода Московского государственного университета им. М.В. Ломоносова, **А.И. Куляпин**, д-р фил. наук, профессор, профессор кафедры литературы Алтайского государственного педагогического университета, **О.А. Сулейманова**, д-р фил. наук, профессор, заведующая кафедрой языкознания и переводоведения Московского городского педагогического университета (Институт иностранных языков), **А.М. Горлатов**, д-р фил. наук, профессор, проректор по научной работе Минского государственного лингвистического университета.

Первое пленарное заседание было открыто докладом проф. Р. Фогеля «The Combinatorics of Constructions», в котором было представлено одно из современных направлений лингвистических исследований — теория конструкций. Рассмотренные в докладе вопросы межуровневого взаимодействия языковых единиц стали далее предметом обсуждения на секционных заседаниях. Основной акцент в последующих пленарных докладах первого дня был сделан на универсальных и культурно-специфических аспектах лексического уровня языка, особенно его фразеологического состава. Так, М.Л. Ковшова посвятила свое выступление фразеологизмам в русском и китайском языках, продемонстрировав использование лингвокультурологического сопоставительного метода исследования и выявив интересные факты национально-культурной специфики фразеологических единиц в данных языках. Предметом выступления Л.М. Лещёвой был статус фразеологизмов как единиц межуровневых — языка, ментального представления знаний и национальной культуры. Завершил первое пленарное заседание доклад Л.И. Богдановой, где был проиллюстрирован культурный код на примере лексического состава разных языков — русского, японского, китайского и др., несовпадение зафиксированных в них ценностей и, как следствие, возможность возникновения конфликтов в межкультурной коммуникации, что предопределяет необходимость более глубокого изучения данного феномена.

Пленарные доклады второго дня работы конференции были ориентированы на прикладной аспект знания универсальных и национальных черт картины мира в разных языках — его роль в межкультурном образовании (Е.Г. Тарева), переводческой деятельности (О.А. Сулейманова, А.М. Горлатов), а также в художественном творчестве (Н.Н. Миронова, А.И. Куляпин). Все доклады вызвали большой интерес и сопровождались активным обменом мнений по обсуждаемым проблемам, в том числе комментариями в стихотворной форме (автор: Е.В. Голубкова), которые рождались совершенно спонтанно и вносили нотку игривости в академический стиль общения.

В секционных заседаниях было продолжено обсуждение тем и направлений, обозначенных в пленарных докладах. Работа продолжалась в шести секциях: Языковая и концептуальная картины мира, Языковые универсалии и национально-культурная специфика разных уровней языка, Переводоведение в аспекте межкультурной коммуникации, Картина мира в произведениях художественной литературы, Диалог культур в обучении иноязычному общению, Фразеологическая картина мира в разных языках. Как особенно ценный момент участники конференции единодушно отмечали активные научные дискуссии по неоднозначным или спорным вопросам, каких и в лингвистике, и в педагогике, и в литературоведении немало.

Увлеченность наукой, стремление к познанию языка в его тесной связи с культурой, общность осуществляемой профессиональной деятельности (межкультурная коммуникация, перевод, обучение иностранным языкам и др.) и желание повысить ее эффективность на основе результатов исследований, новые научные и личные контакты — все это стало основанием для принятия решения о проведении III Международной конференции «Универсальное и национальное в языковой картине мира» в октябре 2017 г.

Оргкомитет выражает сердечную благодарность всем участникам прошедшей конференции и надеется на сохранение установленных контактов, а также на расширение круга ученых, желающих принять участие в обсуждении данной проблемы на предстоящей конференции.

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I МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНО-ПРАКТИЧЕСКАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ «ЯЗЫК. КУЛЬТУРА. КОММУНИКАЦИЯ: ИЗУЧЕНИЕ И ОБУЧЕНИЕ». Орел, 13—15 октября 2016 г.

THE I[ST] INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ‘LANGUAGE. CULTURE. COMMUNICATION: STUDYING AND TEACHING, Orel, 13—15 October 2016

13—15 октября 2016 г. в Орловском государственном университете имени И.С. Тургенева состоялась организованная кафедрой английской филологии I Международная научно-практическая конференция «Язык. Культура. Коммуникация: изучение и обучение», посвященная 450-летию образования г. Орла.

Проблема соотношения языка, культуры, коммуникации в теоретическом и практическом плане является одной из актуальных в современной лингвистике, особенно в последнее время в связи с развитием международных контактов (и конфликтов) и формированием теории межкультурной коммуникации. Внимание современных исследователей связано с антропоцентрическим подходом к описанию природы, структуры и функционирования языка, а также выявлением культурной составляющей тезауруса, текста и дискурса, которые находят свое выражение в коммуникации.

Конференция собрала представителей разных школ отечественной и зарубежной лингвистики, перевода и методики обучения иностранным языкам. В ней приняли участие известные ученые и молодые исследователи из разных регионов России (Москва, Санкт-Петербург, Ростов-на-Дону, Нижний Новгород, Пермь, Казань, Волгоград, Рязань, Смоленск, Брянск, Елец, Орел), Ближнего и Дальнего зарубежья (Таджикистан, Казахстан, Белоруссия, Польша, Чешская Республика, Испания, Сингапур).

Участников конференции приветствовал проректор по научной работе С.Ю. Радченко, директор института иностранных языков ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева М.В. Якушев и гость конференции — Эндрю Чарльз Бриз, доктор философии, профессор Наваррского университета в Памплоне (Испания).

Пленарные доклады конференции отражают основные подходы к решению проблемы взаимовлияния языка, культуры, коммуникации как в изучении теории иностранных языков, так и в обучении иностранным языкам и культурам.

Необходимо отметить доклады профессора О.Я. Гойхмана (Новый Российский университет) о проблемах достоверности коммуникации в Интернете, который вызвал живой интерес участников конференции, доклад профессора О.Б. Абакумовой (ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева) о когнитивно-дискурсивном моделировании смысла в художественном дискурсе и лингвокультурном декодировании оценки в пословицах, в котором объединяются проблемы взаимовлияния языка, культуры и коммуникации, и доклад профессора Н.Б. Боевой-Омелечко (Южно-Федеральный университет), посвященный контрастивной репрезентации феномена прагматизма в русскоязычной и англоязычной лингвокультурах, который вызвал бурное обсуждение и оказал влияние на весь ход конференции.

В этом ряду необходимо отметить доклады заочных участников конференции, представивших доклады для пленарных заседаний, но по разным причинам не приехавших на конференцию. Это — доклад заведующего славянским отделением факультета философии и искусств Западно-Чешского университета в г. Пльзень Йиржи Коростенского, исследующего когнитивные процессы и их языковую рефлексию в чешском языке в сопоставлении с русским; доклад академика РАЕН, профессора Национального исследовательского Нижегородского университета им. Н.И. Лобачевского Т.Б. Радбиля, занимающегося проблемами культурно адекватного перевода и переводимости в аспекте логического анализа естественного языка. Проблемам выделения модального компонента в семантической структуре глаголов в художественном дискурсе посвятил свой доклад профессор Смоленского ГУ А.Г. Сильницкий. Академик РАЕН, профессор ВГСПУ М.Р. Желтухина представила доклад о порождении страха у адресата в медиадискурсе. Философский дискурс прошлого в аспекте взаимовлияния языка, культуры и коммуникации стал предметом доклада ведущего научного сотрудника Центра по взаимодействию библиотек в информационном пространстве РГБ Т.А. Исаченко.

Работа конференции была представлена десятью секциями, каждая из которых имела свой фокус интереса по отношению к общей проблеме.

На секции **«Язык, культура, коммуникация: традиция и инновация»**, которую возглавила профессор Н.Б. Боева-Омелечко (Южно-Федеральный университет), прозвучал ряд интересных докладов, посвященных природе модусов времени и ее отражению в концептуальной метафоре (доцент А.В. Егорова, МАРХИ, Москва); аберрации коммуникативного поведения участников диалогического взаимодействия (доцент Е.М. Мартынова, Академия ФСО, Орел), позитивным и негативным сторонам отказа от общения с позиций межличностной коммуникации (М.А. Гуляева, ВГСПУ, Волгоград). Профессор А.В. Олянич (ВГАУ) посвятил свой доклад лингвосемиотическому аспекту драматургии ритуальной коммуникации.

Отдельная секция была посвящена актуальным проблемам русского языка. Ее возглавила профессор М.С. Зайченкова (ОГУ им. И.С. Тургенева). В своем докладе она остановилась на категории лица в именной лексике русского языка на материале произведений Дины Рубиной. Большой интерес вызвал доклад профессора Л.И. Богдановой (МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова), который был посвящен коду культуры и проблеме понимания в условиях контакта культур, а также выступления доцента МГУ М.Л. Гордиевской о скрытой категории активности/

инертности и доцента ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева Е.Г. Колыхановой о способах выражения обращения в очерке Н.С. Лескова «Воительница». Доцент Щецинского университета Йоланта Митурска-Бояновска (Польша) посвятила свой доклад фразеологизмам, выступающим в качестве эргонимов, на материале вывесок гастрономических объектов российских и польских городов. Среди других теоретических и прикладных вопросов, обсуждавшихся на секции, особое место заняла проблема сохранения русского языка. Сотрудники РГБ (Москва) Т.А. Исаченко и И.Т. Пяттоева предложили обсудить стратегии восстановления школьных программ по словесности. Магистр прикладной лингвистики Т.В. Измайлова (Сингапур) привлекла внимание к проблемам сохранения русского языка в русскоязычных семьях Австралии и Сингапура.

Следует отметить, что на конференции были обозначены основные направления современных лингвистических исследований. Отдельные секции были посвящены вопросам анализа дискурса, лингвопрагматики, когнитивным и коммуникативным аспектам, фразеологии и паремиологии.

Все доклады перечислить не представляется возможности. Выделим лишь некоторые из них, которые вызвали наибольший интерес участников конференции. Это доклад доцента Т.А. Глущенко (ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева) об отражении особенностей мировидения поэта в характере обращений в лирике А.Н. Апухтина; доклад профессора Л.К. Байрамовой, посвященный лакунарным образам английских аксиологических фразеологизмов о лжи; выступление доцента В.Н. Шашковой о категории модальности как дискурсивной характеристике текста; доклад профессора И.Н. Щекотихиной о линиях поведения участников ассоциативного эксперимента в диалоге с экспериментатором и ряд других, выступление доцента Т.В. Ващекиной (МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова) об отношении к труду и лени в русской и испанской фразеологии, доклад Д.В. Дозоровой (МПГУ, Москва) о функционировании универбов. Актуальные вопросы лингвистической теории речевых актов затронул профессор Л.П. Семененко (ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева), рациональному и эмоциональному аспектам в рекламе уделила основное внимание доцент Л.М. Гончарова (РосНОУ), профессор Брянского ГУ имени академика И.Г. Петровского А.П. Василенко говорил о симметрии и асимметрии фразеологических эквивалентов, профессор ЛГУ имени А.С. Пушкина (Санкт-Петербург) А.В. Шунов посвятил доклад семантико-грамматической специализации фразеологизмов.

Помимо теоретических вопросов большое внимание участники конференции уделили и вопросам, имеющим практическую направленность, а именно — переводу и обучению иностранным языкам, которые рассматривались в отдельных секциях. Профессор Пермского НИПУ Л. В. Кушнина выступила с докладом, посвященным синергетической парадигме перевода. Доцент Академии ФСО России (Орел) Л.Н. Вознесенская говорила о современных тенденциях в переводе безэквивалентной лексики. Обсуждались также вопросы редакторской правки в процессе подготовки студента-переводчика (доц. Т.В. Новикова, ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева), адекватности и эквивалентности художественного перевода сквозь призму языковой реальности (доц. Д.А. Иванишин) и др.

Среди вопросов, связанных с обучением иностранным языкам, большое внимание было уделено новым подходам, проектам и технологиям, в частности, использованию современных интернет-ресурсов при обучении иностранных студентов языку бизнеса и политики (доцент ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева В.А. Головко), оптимизации процесса обучения и нравственного становления личности (ст. преподаватель ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева Е.Л. Макарова). Большой интерес участников вызвал доклад доцента РГГУ (Москва) А.М. Сахаровой о некоторых проблемах обучения русскому языку как иностранному в вузах Китая. Актуальным проблемам преподавания иностранного языка было посвящено выступление старшего преподавателя ОГУ имени И.С. Тургенева А.Е. Фукиной «О некоторых особенностях преподавания английского языка как второго иностранного в смешанных группах».

Огромный интерес участников конференции и студентов вызвал мастер-класс профессора Наваррского университете в г. Памплона (Испания), доктора философии Эндрю Чарльза Бриза, который рассказал о взглядах У. Черчиля на события, связанные с Королем Артуром, его роли и месте в истории Великобритании.

В рамках конференции был проведен молодежный круглый стол, которыми руководил доцент Д.А. Иванишин. В нем приняли участие начинающие исследователи — студенты и магистранты. В их докладах обсуждались проблемы концептологии, оценочности, лингвокультурологии и переводимости, а также методика преподавания иностранных языков в школе и вузе.

Участники конференции отметили высокий научный уровень докладов, хорошую организацию, творческую рабочую атмосферу, эффективность и успешность состоявшегося научного мероприятия и внесли предложение о продолжении сотрудничества и проведении II Международной научной конференции «Язык. Культура. Коммуникация: изучение и обучение», которая состоится в октябре 2017 г.

С материалами конференции можно ознакомиться в электронной библиотеке РИНЦ: http://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=27122594.

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