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TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

More than Meets the Eye:
A Closer Look at Professional Discourse

Edited by Dr Michael McCarthy

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CORPORATE CONTRIBUTORS

Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russian Federation
International Certificate Conference – The International Language Association (ICC), Bochum, Germany

EDITORIAL BOARD ADDRESS

6 Miklukho-Maklay Str., 117198 Moscow, Russian Federation

EDITORIAL BOARD POSTAL ADDRESS

6 Miklukho-Maklay Str., Office 97, 117198 Moscow, Russian Federation

PHONE

+7 (925) 585-67-46

EMAIL

info@tlcjournal.org

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About our contributors

Nicolay V. Ivanov
Doctor in Linguistics, Full Professor, Chief of Roman Languages Department, MGIMO University (Moscow, Russia). Spheres of scientific interest cover theory of translation, semiotics, semantics, theory of communication, discourse studies, Portuguese grammar.

Olga A. Pogoretskaya
Lecturer at the Cherdantseva Chair of Romance Languages, MGIMO University (Moscow, Russia). Italian language teacher. Full-time postgraduate student at the Chair of Romance Languages at MGIMO University. Research interests cover semiotics, semantics and discourse studies.

Ekaterina P. Murashova
PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor in the Dpt of Linguistics and Professional Communication in Political Sciences, Moscow State Linguistic University, Russia. Research interests cover discourse studies and metaphorisation.

Tatiana V. Dubrovskaya
Dr habil. and a leading researcher at the Department of Languages of Mass Communication at Ural Federal University named after the First President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, Russia. Head of the English Language Department at Penza State University, Russia. Has published extensively in the areas of linguistic pragmatics, political, legal and media discourse, and cross-cultural communication in internationally acknowledged journals, such as *Discourse and Communication, Critical Discourse Studies, Discourse Studies*. Co-edited a few volumes, including *Young Scholars' Developments in Linguistics: Tradition and Change* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). Member of the Russian Communication Association and the International Society for the Study of Argumentation.

Jean Langlois
Former associate researcher at CHART Research Centre (Human & Artificial Cognition, EPHE/Paris VI/Paris VIII), and a researcher at the National Institute for Research in Digital Sciences and Technology-INRIA. Taught one of the first courses in France on the impact of language on decision making, *New Trends in Decision Making Science: Transdisciplinary and Transcultural Perspectives*, with Zydney Wong at SciencesPo (2019). Currently works on the translation of several Chinese classics on strategy. Holds a Certification in Sanskrit from Karl Jaspers Centre for Advanced Transcultural Studies (Heidelberg University), a Masters in Cognitive Science and Psychology from Paris VIII University and a PhD in Mathematical Economics from PSL/EHESS. Currently a student of the Executive Global Master in Management from LSE (London/Beijing/Bangalore). Research interests cover cognitive science, languages and culture.

Marina Peluso
Holds a PhD in Semiotics at the University of Bologna, Italy. Completed an MA with distinction in Diplomacy and International Communication from the University of East Anglia, UK. Since 2013 has worked as social media strategist for a wide client portfolio of small and medium business, including social media management in fashion, beauty and wellness, and enogastronomy. Manages social media for the EU Bookshop, the online library of the European Union. Research interests include semiotics, functional studies, international communication, and professional discourse.

Alina S. Antipova
Researcher at the Department of Psychology of Language and Language Teaching at the Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia.

Maria D. Rabeson
Researcher at the Department of Psychology of Language and Language Teaching at the Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia.

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Olga V. Smirnova
PhD, Associate Professor, Chair of Periodical Press Department at the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia. Chair of the Digital Divide Working Group in IAMCR. Research interests cover discourse studies, culture studies, computer science and human-computer interaction.

Robert Williams
Principal lecturer in the Department of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Westminster, UK. Teaches on the MA TESOL and is course leader for the MA International Liaison and Communication, a pioneering course training people to be the bridge across communities and between language groupings. Currently the internal quality assurance member for CoMoViWo – a project designing intercultural communication training material in English and Spanish, with a specific focus on e-communication. Has over 30 years' experience in language education as a teacher, teacher trainer, assessor and consultant. Has been involved in many EU co-funded development projects and also chairs an annual Intercultural Masterclass through UK Trade and Industry and regularly speaks at conferences across Europe and beyond.

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Introduction to Issue 5(2)

by Guest Editor Dr Michael McCarthy

Welcome to Issue 5(2) of Training, Language and Culture.

The expression that there is *'more to something than meets the eye'* is an apt metaphor for a text. Lay readers reading for meaning and linguists analysing for how that meaning works have first and foremost to deal with the surface of an object, typically realised as a complete artefact, whether handwritten on parchment, typeset in a newspaper or book, carved in stone or realised in the pixels of a computer screen. For centuries scholars have explicated texts in terms of what these visible forms 'mean', their message and import. Literary critics, stylisticians, discourse analysts, scholars of semantics, semioticians, *inter alia*, have weighed in on what the forms that meet the eye might be said to mean. Yet meaning itself eludes definition. A text can mean something to its solitary reader, or, at another extreme, it can occupy a coveted place in the canon of literature of a nation or culture, a ranking of public greatness, an example of which would be the plays of William Shakespeare in the English-speaking canon, or Leo Tolstoy's works in the Russian. Such rankings emerge and evolve over time and are typically accorded to the dead rather than the living. The accolades may also be somewhat fickle and subject to the shifting sands of historiography. A text might equally be renowned for its immediate, controversial (but often ephemeral) impact in political or social spheres – yet another level of 'meaning'. Or it may be something as seemingly inconsequential as preparation instructions on a packet of food. The paths to 'meaning' are labyrinthine, with layer upon layer of ways into the central goal: what makes the text work in its context? What meets the eye is the surface of the text, like the surface of a river. The reader must make sense of its flow within their context and culture; the analyst must plumb its depths and offer plausible explanations of its rhetorical impact by measuring it against theories and grounded analytical systems.

It was with these thoughts in mind that I approached the task of guest-editing this issue of Training, Language and Culture. My task was made easier by the calibre of the scholarly submissions that landed on my desk. All the articles in this issue go beyond the lexico-grammatical scaffolding of their chosen texts and, using different methods and approaches, all explore the symbolic substrata of texts. And one stratum of the symbolic import of a text is its axiology, its reason to be valued. While literary criticism has never shied away from evaluation, some approaches to text linguistics have been content with unpacking discourse structure, for example, genre analyses which offer structural insights into academic texts for the purposes of training students in academic writing, which can be done through statistical analyses of corpora that involve no requirement to say whether the text is good, middling or ineffective.

A challenge of a different order is to explore an axiological notion such as 'fascination', which Nicolay Ivanov and Olga Pogoretskaya undertake in this issue. The semiotics of political strategy are deconstructed in their article, with *'figurative lexical elements referring to cultural associations'* exploited by political parties. The list of flamboyant titles parties choose, illustrated by the authors with Italian examples, is indeed truly fascinating. The power of the authors' approach lies in their commitment to explore the notion of fascination *'from the poetic and rhetorical form of the text up to verbal nominations in it – making them subject to one principle of inner semantic organisation'*.

The discourse of politics is also at the forefront in Ekaterina Murashova's article. Here the pathway to meaning takes us through cognitive metaphors and a mixed methodology of cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and sociocultural linguistics. The commodification of everything is a common experience nowadays, and politics is no exception. Political ideas are not philosophies to be mentally nurtured; rather, they become commodities, goods to be marketed. In any nation, the metaphors chosen

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will be distilled through that nation's language, which is *'a concentrate of national culture'*. Politics as a commodity ceases to be a trade in ideas and becomes a battleground where your adversaries may be disabled, may attack you like a military force or may eat you alive. Murashova's corpus illustrates how politics have hijacked the discourse of marketing; these are texts where 'meaning' is measured by the power of their metaphors and the hard sell.

Tatiana Dubrovskaya's paper looks at another kind of marketing: tourist brochures, which create a complex seller-customer relationship akin to a professional interaction. To unpack this kind of meaning, one has to look at the discourse in the round: Dubrovskaya's paper draws on multimodal discourse analysis, genre studies and the methods of professional discourse analysis. Here we see how textual meaning involves the contexts both of the writer and of the reader: the tour companies display *'their image as experts in tourism'* and *'the need to construct rapport with the customers'*. The customer must feel reassured by the experience and expertise of the company, and the feeling that they 'know' the authors of the texts as they might know their professional friends.

The article by Jean Langlois brings us back to what meets the eye in texts, in this case the dispassionate eye of the computer and its ability to count and display patterns of style which may elude the eye of the human reader. Stylometry, questions of authorship and stylistic fingerprints have had an impact not least in the field of forensic linguistics apart from their contribution to literary exegesis. In these fields, along with professional discourses and even more potently in the world of authorship on social media, computational analysis of linguistic features can enhance *'openness and transparency of authorship'*. Crucially, Langlois reminds us of the role of the human researcher before and after the fact of automated analysis. Such a view always informed the work of the British linguist Michael Halliday, who asserted that a corpus of texts was not enough to build a grammar: that activity must be based on theory-building as much as on data. It is Halliday's work and his systemic-functional approach which is the subject of Marina Peluso's paper. Halliday's work, where language is, in Peluso's words, *'a semiotic representation of values, attitudes and behaviours'*, is relevant to professional discourse, intercultural business interactions and to the teaching of professional communication. Halliday's work stresses the semiotic foundation of communication: in this sense, Peluso's paper chimes in with the centrality of the symbol which surfaces in the other papers in this issue.

Alina Antipova, Maria Rabeson and Olga Smirnova's paper on online media discourse confronts meaning shifts and language change, which may happen with surprising alacrity compared with the texts of a pre-digital world. Their subject matter is conflict and their analysis of a corpus of tens of thousands of media resources involves utilising artificial neural networks. The 'reader' becomes a machine, one that can track the distribution of words over time, realising the concept of 'monitor corpus'. The authors show how the notion of conflict, as well as articulating geo-political features, is a semantic complex embracing *'finance, law, the social sphere, family relations, education, culture, economics and criminal practice'*.

All the papers in the present issue represent a search of what is more than meets the eye in their chosen texts, and our conclusion must be that texts are highly elaborate symbolic artefacts whose nature we occasionally over-simplify to our detriment as scholars and teachers. This issue includes a skilfully written book review by Robert Williams which addresses the question *Why Study Languages?* The articles in this issue give us a number of good reasons why, and as language educators we can think of a great many more, a number of which Williams presents in his review.

Guest-editing this special issue has been an illuminating experience and a 100% pleasure which I hope you will share.

As is customary, the issue also comes with recent news from ICC, EUROLTA and RUDN University. TLC welcomes contributions in the form of articles, reviews and correspondence. Details are available online at rudn.tlcjournal.org. Feel free to contact us at info@tlcjournal.org.

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Original Research

The phenomenon of fascination in political discourse (by Italian examples)

by Nicolay V. Ivanov and Olga A. Pogoretskaya

Nicolay V. Ivanov MGIMO University, Russia e-nickma@mail.ru
Olga A. Pogoretskaya MGIMO University, Russia o.pogoretskaya@inno.mgimo.ru
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The article presents a study of the phenomenon of fascination as a functional effect of the text, or particular units of the text, in political discourse. Fascination is the highest point and a part of the communicative impact which a politician exerts on the mass addressee. Fascination characterises the integrative impression that the text and its particular units provide in their formal aspect – an expressive or a conceptual one. Fascination is treated as a complex and multilevel textual phenomenon. Poetic, rhetoric and figurative lexical levels are distinguished where a fascinative effect can be rendered. Fascination is totally communicative, but at the same time it belongs to discourse. The essence of the fascination consists in iteration, intra-textual or external, coming from discourse. A speech unit which produces a fascinative effect (text utterance or lexical nominative unit) evokes a conceptual or expressive association with something said before, i.e. said before in this text or kept in the cultural and expressive memory of the discourse. Fascination represents the effect of identification of what comes from the cultural experience of the language and what then virtually or otherwise reappears in the new speech conditions. The iteration means reassessment and conceptual regeneration of what is recalled. Fascination in its conceptual status stands above the pragmatics, it crowns the semiotic growth of the sign in speech. But in political discourse, fascination does not bear its own conceptual function, being subject to pragmatics, where the main role is given to the evaluation (axiology of the sign). The effect of fascination in political discourse reinforces the evaluative meaning of the sign and consequently its pragmatics as a whole. Special attention must be paid to the lexical level of fascination which, more than other levels, correlates with axiology. At the lexical level the effect of fascination appears when a pragmatic evaluation is substituted by a nomination bearing a supreme conceptual value. In Italian political discourse, the clearest examples of it can be the official names that some political parties choose to denominate themselves. These political parties' names include figurative lexical elements referring to cultural associations. Such names may be used for the purposes of political manipulation. The article may be of interest to specialists in general linguistics, text linguistics, the theory of communication and to anyone investigating the discursive reality of a language.

KEYWORDS: *fascination, political discourse, communicative impact, fascinative effect, evaluation, manipulation, Italian, interpretation*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Fascination is a word of broad abstract semantics. Etymologically, it comes from the Latin *fascinatio*, derived from the verb *fascinare*, which translates as 'to bewitch', 'to charm', 'to captivate', as well as 'to put the evil eye on'. Almost unchanged in semantics, the word entered the Romance languages, as well as other European languages, where a more literal meaning 'to dazzle' was added to it, particularly in Italian. *Fascination* as a lexeme concentrates in itself many of the attributes that are commonly distinguished in philosophical aesthetics when characterising folklore-symbolic and artistic forms as the criteria of their poetic impact. Fascination crowns catharsis (Omelchenko, 2016, p. 179).

Not surprisingly, this word has come at the right time in the subject of psychological, literary and art semiotics studies, and subsequently philology and text linguistics, quickly becoming a term used to denote the totality of features of pragmatic and cultural perception of any work of art, verbal work or text in social communication. In modern studies this notion has been extensively applied not only to verbal textual forms, but also to a large variety of works of art, creolised text production or cinema (Omelchenko, 2015).

Fascination is commonly treated as a psychological phenomenon in all varieties of human communicative conduct and artistic forms (Sokovnin, 2005) combining cultural paradox and cultural habit, where paradox breaks or in some way modifies the habit (Omelchenko, 2013b, p. 239). For us, fascination is a useful term to cover a large variety of text expressive phenomena – from the poetic and rhetorical form of the text up to verbal nominations in it – making them subject to one principle of inner semantic organisation and to one method of analysis from the point of view of language cultural experience in discourse.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Fascination is the effect usually attributed to a text, referring to its holistic perception by the addressee in terms of form. The qualities of holistic perception are transposed into the particular components of the text – its individual units and elements, utterances and verbal denotations. Fascination has both a sensual and rational nature. In terms of cognitive interpretation, it is a rational meaning which leads to an emotional reaction after being understood. In psychological terms, it is a general impression that may mean interest, amazement, surprise, charm, satisfaction, dislike, indignation, fright, etc. Sensual semantics of fascination is unlimited.

'Fascination as a lexeme concentrates in itself many of the attributes that are commonly distinguished in philosophical aesthetics when characterising folklore-symbolic and artistic forms as the criteria of their poetic impact'

Fascination is often associated with something unforeseen, unexpected in the text (Omelchenko, 2016, p. 179). Contrast and paradox are considered the main features of fascination, which is especially characteristic of the fiction literature (Omelchenko, 2012, p. 20). But occasionality is not quite sufficient to explain fascination in full. The fascinative effect is precedential (Omelchenko, 2012) and potentially iterative and may be perceived as an expected phenomenon. In political discourse, the audience often wants to hear some familiar words, concepts and speech formulae from a politician again and again, which coincide with their heartfelt aspirations and assessments. Of course, this must be a prepared audience. Politicians in their rhetoric are sharply oriented towards the impulses of the 'crowd', of the common opinion. For this reason, we do not separate the unexpected fascination from the expected one with reference to political discourse.

First of all, fascination is the highest point of communicative influence that a text has on the addressee, the highest point of the perception of the meaning of a speech unit in its integrity and at the same time the initial point of its interpretation by the addressee or other actors in the discourse. Fascination is perlocutionary in its functional status.

'Fascination is often associated with something unforeseen, unexpected in the text. Contrast and paradox are considered the main features of fascination, which is especially characteristic of the fiction literature'

Together with other semantic factors in the text, it provokes a communicative reaction by the addressee, transforming perception into *'an active source of interpretation and a part of the very process of text production'* (Eco, 2005, p. 14). The addressee gives a semantic 'verdict' (positive or negative) on the speech, 'usurping' the author's right to its ultimate interpretation. The author is powerless before the addressee's interpretative verdict (Ivanov, 2014, p. 125-126). Trying to anticipate this, authors strive to produce their speech so that it would not be rejected by the addressee, i.e. making it convincing in content and acceptable in form. The 'hypothesis of perception', focusing on the foreseen perlocutionary effect, becomes a fundamental prerequisite of utterance production in communication (Frank, 1999; Sidorov, 2011). Fascination is the highest form and order of expressive presentation of the thought in text, which the speaker focuses on and aspires to, 'inviting' the addressee to communicative 'cooperation'.

However, a pragmatic understanding of fascination alone is not enough. Fascination is not only a communicative, but also a discursive phenomenon. More precisely, one is inconceivable without the other. The pragmatics of the speech act and the discourse condition each other. It is possible to speak of a mutually generative relationship between speech pragmatics and discourse (Fedulova, 2020, p. 271). The discourse accumulates the cultural-expressive memory of a language, being the integral space of this memory. The speech act reproduces and renovates the experience accumulated in discourse representing an extension and further development of this experience. Phenomenology is defective when disconnected from its historical premise, limited to actual pragmatics alone. Thus, Heidegger (2014) talks about the historical dimension of the being in its existential sense.

The present article will examine and analyse some speech facts of Italian political discourse, in which the appeal to historical memory, to socio-cultural background information becomes an important resource of semantic fascinative influence on the public audience. In particular, we will consider the area of fascination created by means of figurative nominations in a political text. In addition, principles of manipulative application of linguistic imagery resources in Italian political discourse will be touched upon.

The method applied to the material in this article comprises discursive (with reference to cultural associations), communicative (based on pragmatics) and cognitive semantic (confronting axiological and cultural connotations present in speech sign) aspects of analysis.

These aspects are especially valid in their application to political discourse where they clearly explain and demonstrate the regulatory function of the text.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Fascination as a communicative phenomenon in political discourse

Political communication stands out among other types of communication due to its pronounced pragmatic orientation. Its main goal is to influence the consciousness of the addressee, to create a system of socio-political beliefs and to form a way of thinking. Political communication unfolds in the socio-cultural space of political discourse.

It is worth noting that in recent years political discourse has significantly expanded the boundaries of its speech usage due to media space, which is actively developing and has already become an integral part of political communication. Political discourse is a conceptual condition of the phenomenology of the speech act, of any communicative event.

Scholars have interpreted political discourse as broadly as possible, bearing in mind its relation to language. Discourse is *'language used effectively*

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'The pragmatics of political discourse is characterised by an increased function of communicative regulation, a purposeful semantic influence on the addressee'

in specific situations to achieve goals; it is a structure and at the same time a process' (Santulli, 2005, p. 13).

The pragmatics of political discourse is characterised by an increased function of communicative regulation, a purposeful semantic influence on the addressee. The addressee of political discourse has a dual nature. On the one hand, it is the mass audience, the people, the electorate, whom the politician has to attract to his or her side. On the other hand, it is the political opponent, the adversary, whose arguments need to be rebutted, overcome through counter-argumentation (Belykh, 2019, p. 75). A similar duality of the addressee is typical in judicial legal discourse, where the appeal to the judge and the appeal to the opposite side of the process (for example, the defence to the prosecution) differ significantly in their pragmatic orientation (Fedulova, 2020, p. 190). There does not seem to be a similar duality of the addressee in colloquial and literary, as well as scientific types of discourse. In these types of discourse the functions of the 'positive' addressee (the people, the judge) and the 'negative' addressee (the political opponent, the opposite side in the trial) are not distinguished.

In political discourse, the main addressee, i.e. the highest and ultimate goal of the regulatory communicative influence, is the people, the mass audience. The objective of political discourse is to influence the behaviour and beliefs of a targeted constituency (Bebbington, 2018). One can hardly assume the same regulatory orientation of a political text towards a political opponent (unless, of course, there is some kind of political alliance with him or her on the basis of some kind of mutual concessions). In the latter case, the politicians share the regulatory function to the extent of their alliance relationship.

The pinnacle of the regulatory function of communicative pragmatics in political discourse is evaluation (Belykh, 2019, p. 8-9). Evaluation in all cases is the ultimate achievement of political communication. Politicians seek to arouse sympathy, to gain support for their position by the mass audience. The criterion of evaluation ultimately is the voter's attitude to the theses, actions and socio-political position of the politician. The most important tool for expressing public appreciation is elections, or other form of mass support for a politician. The evaluation performs an interpretative function in the structure of the political communicative act (Belykh, 2019, p. 66): *'evaluation, as a part of pragmatic meaning, brings to the fore the problem of interpretation'* (Arutyunova, 1988, p. 8). Communicative regulation in political discourse is primarily aimed at provoking an appropriate axiological orientation of the addressee's interpretative response from the point of view of perception and understanding.

Communicative regulation in political discourse is total. It targets both the rational and sensual spheres of the addressee's consciousness. Communicative nature of evaluation is stressed by researchers. Dialogism, dynamism, expressiveness are main functional features of evaluation (Panina & Amerkhanova, 2018, p. 87). Reactive communicative evaluation in political discourse can be evoked by a variety of means. In addition to social and political action, the verbal element plays an important role in the political impact on the audience – both the rhetoric of a single political speech or the process of sustained argumentation in an on-going political debate. Speech impact is a constant factor accompanying political action, fulfilling a crucial, one might say paramount, axiological role in any political process. The political addressee is primarily oriented towards the politician's word. Aware of this, the politician carefully selects the linguistic means of influence, while relying on the conceptual and expressive speech factors of discourse. *'The modern politician has to master the system of figurative and expressive means in order to influence the audience, to have an impact on it; to count on a response in the*

'Speech impact is a constant factor accompanying political action, fulfilling a crucial, one might say paramount, axiological role in any political process. The political addressee is primarily oriented towards the politician's word'

evaluation' (Tsutsieva, 2014, p. 140). Each politician creates and accumulates his or her own set of communicative influence techniques.

Under these conditions, the function of the text – any speech unit in discourse (text, utterance, word) – is multifacetedly conditioned by the speech culture of discourse. Any speech act is a part and a continuation of the discourse. Only in scientific abstraction can one imagine a speech act without any reference to discourse. *Ergon (ἔργον)* and *energy (ἐνέργεια)* come together in the pragmatics of the speech act. At the apex of semiosis, the sign, reaching the edge of its semantic and expressive form of being, reveals something existing beyond this form – a chain of external connotations, further semantic infinity, new distinguishability inherent in it as a phenomenon of our life. The sign acquires discursive properties, enters a new interpretative dimension, revealing the nature of discourse as *'speech immersed in life'* (Arutyunova, 1990, p. 136).

The boundaries of understanding and the perspectives of further understanding, the finite and the potentially infinite, pragmatics, and external socio-cultural associations (image, stylistic colouring) are inextricably linked to each other, and, at the same time, confront each other in the speech reality of the sign. Regarding the figurative means of language, researchers note the coincidence and struggle between the two semantic levels of the understanding-perceptional complex – the internal endogenous rational and the external exogenous irrational (Shnyakina, 2010, p. 90-94). In a communication study of political or other types of discourse, a similar unity and contrast of the two functional aspects can be seen in almost any speech sign. The pragmatics of a sign is measured by its appeal to the addressee. The appeal to discourse (to background knowledge, to history, to socio-cultural experience, etc.) and the scale and depth of immersion into discourse measure its fascinative potential. Pragmatics is the rational apex of the sign. Fascination stands beyond pragmatics. As such, it is a factor of irrational impact.

In political discourse, fascination has a rather 'complex' relationship with argumentation – the rational side of communicative influence. The rational side is intended for both the *positive* (mass) and the *negative* (political opponent) addressees. Fascination, as a communicative phenomenon, is intended primarily for the mass addressee.

Of course, a politician cannot rely solely on the fascinative effect in his or her speech strategies, as far as communication with the mass addressee is concerned. In political communication, the fascinative effect must ultimately be subordinated to the pragmatic task of the sign. Fascination is not semantically independent in political discourse, it only enhances the function of the pragmatic effect. With all that, at some moments, the function of fascination in political communication can expand, 'eclipsing' the internal rational functionality of the sign. This leads to what can be described as a functional substitution of pragmatics for external expressive effects. On this basis (in addition to the cases of outright lies and deception, which are frequent in politics) chances appear and grow for political manipulation.

3.2. Levels of fascination in political text

Fascination is a complex phenomenon, which is generated at the totality of levels where text is conditioned by discourse, among which we distinguish the parameters of poetic, rhetorical and nominative verbal levels.

At every level we see what could be called the 'phenomenon of recognition', which means awareness of previous cultural or contextual experience that a speech sign integrates. One suddenly recognises in a sign something that happens to be in a way already well known, has long ago or just been seen, and now reveals itself different in a new context. Philosophers, referring to such situa-

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tions, use the term *anamnesis* (*recall*). In the phenomenon of recalling we see simultaneously repetition, continuation and negation of the previous experience of the sign. The previous life of the sign experiences a new birth. The connection with previous experience decisively influences the form of the sign, determining its semantic and expressive orientation. Iteration as a method of fascination is underscored by scientists (Povarnitsyna, 2016, p. 121; Omelchenko, 2013a, p. 138).

The transition from one sign to another, from one speech fact to another, from a previous expressive experience to a subsequent one that continues it, generates a figure. The transition from discourse to text generates the *figure of discourse* (Ivanov & Fedulova, 2019, p. 16). This transitivity means duplication, substitution and interpretation of one part of the figure by another (Ivanov & Fedulova, 2019, p. 11-12). It can be a transition from direct meaning to figurative meaning in metaphor, from topic to rhema in the utterance (Kurochkina, 2006, p. 3), from utterance to utterance in a text, or from text to text in discourse, etc. (Ivanov & Fedulova, 2019, p. 9-10). Fascination uncovers the properties of communication – whether at the level of a single utterance (topic – rhema), a text (where a generalisation, a vivid conclusion or other substantive culmination occurs as the text unfolds), or in a prolonged discussion on the discourse level (when an active discourse actor uses a strong counterargument, a bright metaphor or apt aphorism that 'overshadows' the arguments of the opponent in the eyes of the mass addressee). The figure creates the form of any speech product (text, utterance, word), marking its relative semantic and expressive completeness, in which it, as an integral speech sign, can be presented to the addressee. Fascination 'crowns' the figurative form of a speech sign (text, utterance, word) in the aspect of its pragmatic perception.

Fascination is inherent in various speech forms at all textual levels. Political communication makes use of all possible resources of fascination: poetic, rhetorical and verbal (figurative). Poetic fascination works primarily as an expressive phenomenon. We can distinguish the intra-textual im-

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mediate scale of poetic association and the external discursive scale of association. The first one can be called poetic proper, the second one – compositional. The first one is revealed at the level of intra-textual poetic repetition of rhymed, rhythmically or otherwise structurally correlated parts of the text. Internal expressive association based on the principle of structural or sound similarity is an important resource of the poetics of the text.

The second dimension of poetic fascination has to do with the holistic structure of the text. Here poetics is interpreted broadly as the genre and stylistic form of a text, its composition in a holistic sense (novel, novella, newspaper article, essay, public speech, memo, some kind of official document, etc.). The linear length (volume) and the inner architecture of a text (its genre and compositional structure) are important for external poetics. The genre form of the text controls its content. The speaker must stay within the time (the prescribed length) and follow the commonly used style of composition. This creates a genre or poetic normativity, a certain canon which the communicators are supposed to follow. Thus, in public communication, the volume – the length of the speech the speaker counts on – is of great importance. As a rule, the desire for brevity, the desire to keep to time (of course, not to the detriment of the content) is more positively perceived by the mass audience.

There is an interesting example of a memorable short speech by Silvio Berlusconi during the election campaign in 1994 – the famous '*discesa in campo*' speech. The speech lasted nine minutes, and the politician clearly did not want to bore his audience with his arguments. Conciseness, brevity

'At the rhetorical level, fascination is created either by enhancing the expressive dynamics of the thought, or by stopping its intensional development and focusing the attention on a single moment without moving on to the next'

is a characteristic fascinative reinforcement that is perceived as an indicator of the clarity and certainty of the politician's thought.

The rhetorical form is based on the phenomenon of transition from thought to thought, from statement to statement (Ivanov, 2010, p. 20). Each act of transition characterises the dynamics of a thought's semantic development at the given moment of its expressive deployment. Here, more than anywhere else, emotional expression manifests itself, which intensifies the axiological assignment of the element within the thought or of the thought as a whole.

At the rhetorical level, fascination is created either by enhancing the expressive dynamics of the thought, or by stopping its intensional development and focusing the attention on a single moment without moving on to the next. In the first case, we have various forms of predicative development from topic to rhema in an utterance (in particular, increasing the strength of the predicative assertion of the rhema against the topic), from premise to conclusion in logical induction, from argument to conclusion (or other kind of meaningful culmination) in larger text structures. The two correlative parts of an utterance or text duplicate each other, which can be understood as a kind of predicative progress (from what to what the thought moves).

In the second case, we have an expressive stopping of the thought in its intensional development, which takes the form of periphrastic repetition by means of climax or some other type of structural parallelism. Stereotyping of the speech form is one of the indicators of increased emotional expression. Osgood (1960) identifies stereotyping, along with the destruction of rhetorical structure, as a formal indicator of the speaker's heightened emotional state. Other researchers see a reinforced evaluation behind it and consider it an important signal of the 'conceptual strength' of the thought in understanding the object: *'strong emotion can promote both stereotyping of the text structure, i.e. anaphora, epiphora, climax, etc., or lead to its destruction, i.e. to ellipsis, anacoluthon, parcelling, exclamation, rhetorical question'* (Ivanov, 2010, p. 31). A predicative assertion in a proposition is a figure of a developmental type, which can be reinforced in its expressive dynamics. In periphrastic figures there is no transition to another thought: the speaker, through expressive iteration, concentrates attention on a single significant point of the thought, temporarily stopping its development.

It is important to note that at the rhetorical level, fascination is not separated from pragmatics, but rather is combined with it. It is a kind of emotional fascination that is based on evaluation. It is as if the speaker seeks to 'infect' the listener with his or her emotion, by using an expressive style of speech. The rhetorical level has to do with how an idea reaches its culmination, its conclusion, and the expressive form it takes in the end.

The most interesting for linguistic analysis is the nominative discursive-linguistic level of fascination. This type of fascination occurs in the word, in a single word's denotative operation. On the one hand, as at the other higher textual levels, verbal fascination is auxiliary, since it relies on connotations of a figurative and stylistic type. On the other hand, in its pragmatic aspect, verbal fascination tends to be culminant in context. Words with this kind of connotation are most often thought of as the brightest axiologically marked denotations, occupying a central position in the context. These words attract most attention and are the most memorable and, therefore, have a strong prospect of being repeated in further speech usage. All this determines the relevant *discursogenic* role of such nominations, which is especially important in political discourse, where a bright word, an apt description or a slogan can decisively change the direction of the entire political communication.

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4. STUDY AND RESULTS

The word as an element of the text in its expressive communicative presentation is capable of implementing poetic, rhetorical and discursive features of fascination. Poetic and rhetorical fascination are produced by the word within the text. They appear through intra-textual expressive or semantic correlations, namely, through a casual expressive or structural anaphoric coincidence, which refers to what has been already said in the text. We are primarily interested in the external associative transitivity that occurs between the word as a text element and the discourse. In such a transition, the level and scale of discursive interpretation is extremely important.

In all cases of fascination there is a moment of intra-textual or external discursive iteration, an implicit or explicit return to what has been said before. On the scale of discourse, one can understand it as a kind of external semantic and/or expressive *attraction* with reference to previous cultural and expressive experience, background knowledge. This kind of attraction can be considered the strongest and most sustainable in terms of the fascinative effect it creates. The speaker evokes the 'authority' of the cultural and expressive experience of language.

At the verbal level, discursive fascination correlates with the so-called 'internal semantic form' of the word, which is the product and resource of its effective speech implementation. The internal semantic form is the necessary interpretative capacity of the word which serves to achieve a pragmatic communicative impact. Coming from the inner semantic potential of the word in the culture, it features the form of the thought in a word (Shpet, 1996, p. 62). External associations enhance the pragmatic effect of the 'internal semantic form', expanding the space of the socio-cultural interpretation, conceptualising understanding. In political discourse, in the rhetoric of political speech, external fascinative amplification as such is redundant. It gains a functional status only when it rests on an internal, necessary interpretative resource, *'in which evaluation plays the key role'* (Arutyunova, 1988, p. 5). The virtual figurative content based on

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external discursive associations strengthens the evaluative weight of the politician's speech and gives it a feature of socio-cultural significance.

Word fascination necessarily serves the evaluation. There are two sides of evaluation: the relative subjective and the absolute conceptual. The relative subjective evaluation provides an immediate pragmatic comprehension of the denotatum (the object that the sign designates) which can be challenged in its interpretative status. Absolute conceptual evaluation appeals to higher moral criteria associated with the conceptual foundations of discourse and, as such, cannot be challenged. The functional duality of evaluation in its reference to the designated subject of speech and its appeal to the conceptual foundations of discourse is noted by researchers (Wolf, 1985, p. 13-14; Arutyunova, 1988, p. 9-11; Fedulova, 2020, p. 226-227). The pragmatic side, in which the evaluation refers to the object, can be defined as explicit. The conceptual side is most frequently virtual and implicit.

The relative subjective and absolute conceptual sides of evaluation presuppose and support each other in the speech dynamics of discourse. They can be called the two dimensions of evaluation, which infinitely influence each other. Any evaluation in speech has a double verification. The objective designation verifies the evaluation objectively on its factual side. It constitutes the evidence of it being real and true. The conceptual side, in which the evaluation is legitimised by gaining social status, serves as its ultimate moral justification. The subjective side deals with the applicability of the assessment to an object or event, whether the designated object or reality and their assessment are sufficiently adequate for each other. The conceptual aspect deals with the socio-cultural adequacy of the evaluation. In this aspect, the speaker seeks a social sanction for the application of the evaluation. Evaluation requires constant reliance on an external motivation in both semantic and sociocultural aspects. It always looks to justify itself, otherwise it is in danger of losing its truthful foundations and of becoming socio-culturally isolated.

In common usage, the two sides of evaluation in a speech sign are represented syncretically, indistinguishably. Nevertheless, despite the stable inseparable connection, in some types of discourse the two functional sides of evaluation (pragmatic and conceptual) may come into conflict, sometimes in a rather striking way. This is quite prominent in judicial legal discourse (Fedulova, 2020, p. 166-167), as well as in political discourse, which is of great scientific interest in terms of opening up opportunities to identify the manipulative axiological potential in these types of discourse.

Human social behaviour is often contradictory. Personal gain comes into conflict with higher social values. Inconsistencies between what I want and what I should do, between the pragmatic and deontic sides of evaluation, have long been part of the field of discursive linguistic and cultural studies, in which they are referred to as *'axiological enantiosemia'* (Melnichuk, 2018, p. 4-6; Sinyachkin, 2011, p. 12; Fedulova, 2020, p. 166). Arutyunova (1988, p. 6) refers to such enantiosemia, postulating an inherent internal conflict within the evaluation, arising from the opposition of what is absolute and what is relative in it.

Axiological enantiosemia is an extreme case of the internal opposition between the relative and conceptual sides of evaluation in a speech sign. On this basis, characteristic facts of asymmetry appear in the speech sign dynamics in discourse. This asymmetry is not something spontaneously arising in the sign with no regard to human will, but a purposeful speech technique deliberately used by the speaker (in our case it is a politician) in order to effectively deliver the communicative impact to the addressee (Fedulova, 2020, p. 246) for the purpose of provoking an appropriate semantic response by the addressee.

We distinguish two interrelated levels of evaluative asymmetry that could appear in a speech sign: factual (endogenous, relative and pragmatic, focused on the object) and virtual (exogenous, focused on the concept that dominates discourse). The first is analysed and described in linguistic studies by Fedulova (2020) and Melnichuk (2018). Cases of judicial rhetoric are described where the implicit lack of factual corroboration is compensated for an explicit reinforcement of evaluation (through euphemisms or dysphemisms). Such evaluation is clearly disproportionate to its object.

As to political discourse, we are interested in demonstrating the conceptual side of axiological asymmetry in speech signs, where the highest discursive conceptual association compensates for the insufficiency and lack of factual corroboration of the pragmatic side of evaluation. The highest and superior fascinates the inferior. Thus, fascination in the choice of words means replacing the endogenous subject-axiology by the exogenous concept-axiology, which is assumed to be absolute and undisputable.

In making this distinction, we rely on Arutyunova's (1988) theory of language evaluation, which distinguishes between the axiological (pragmatic) and normative-deontic spheres of evaluation and, following this, identifies the proper evaluative and deontic predicates belonging to each of these spheres. Based on Arutyunova's (1988, p. 9-11) terms, we can formulate the idea of verbal fascination as *'a substitution of the pragmatic evaluative predicate by the deontic value predicate'*. Clearly, there is no strict or fixed distinction between the two types of predicates in language. The distinction we make can only be relative and conventional. Potentially, any lexeme denoting something socially significant and culturally undeniable can play the role of a superior deontic predicate and serve as a substitute for the nearest pragmatic evaluation, which often lacks factual corroboration. Any fact of

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'As to political discourse, we are interested in demonstrating the conceptual side of axiological asymmetry in speech signs, where the highest discursive conceptual association compensates for the insufficiency and lack of factual corroboration of the pragmatic side of evaluation. The highest and superior fascinates the inferior'

history, national or world culture that evokes a certain emotional attitude of the mass recipient can be chosen as a deontic predicate. Superior deontic predicates are archetypical, while inferior subjective predicates are relative and pragmatic.

Interesting cases in this regard can be noted in Italian political discourse, in particular in the names of political parties. By the end of the 20th century, the Italian voter had become increasingly tired of the familiar historical names of political parties. Parties using traditional ideological terminology in their names (socialist, liberal, democratic, conservative, Christian, etc.) are losing popularity. New parties are being formed, which by their very names appeal not to the possible political position of the voter, with regard to his or her rational political choice, but to the social emotion, trying to arouse the voter's sympathy. For example, Silvio Berlusconi's national-conservative party is called *Forza, Italia!* ('Forward, Italy!'). *Forza, Italia!* was the slogan of the Italian national team in the 1982 FIFA World Cup, where the team won the world title. Understandably, the name evokes the most positive emotions in Italians. The voter no longer thinks about the political content, but is attracted by the external connotation, which appeals to Italy's sporting glory and is transferred to the current political situation.

In previous Italian political discourse, the old rational names of parties (communist, national, democratic, etc.) were also perceived in their own way at the evaluative level (people were quite emotionally defending their political beliefs). But these were all relative evaluative predicates (or rather, political terms elevated to the rank of evaluative predicates) which could be challenged on a rational level. *Forza, Italia!* is an irrational party name in which to challenge the connotation associated with it (the greatness and glory of Italy) is impossible, unacceptable. Of course, little by little, even the most exalted political names are relativised in political discourse. But they still maintain their external appeal for a long time, appealing to the voter's sensibility.

Here are some other similar names for Italy's regional and national parties: *Polo delle Libertà* ('Pole of Freedoms'), *Casa delle Libertà* ('House of Freedoms'), *Realtà Italia* ('Reality Italy'), *Fermare il Declino* ('Stop the Decline'), *Alto Adige nel Cuore* ('Alto Adige in the Heart'), *Io Sud* ('I the South'), *Forza Nuova* ('New Force'), *Grande Sud* ('The Great South'). Some parties choose mixed rational-irrational names: *Fratelli d'Italia – Centrodestra Nazionale* ('Brothers of Italy – National Centre-right Party'), *Movimento Sociale – Fiamma Tricolore* ('Social Movement – Tricolour Flame'). Irrational names with a vague positive cultural association include: *L'Ulivo* ('The Olive Tree'), *Partito Pirata* ('Pirate Party'), *Movimento Cinque Stelle* ('Five Star Movement'), *La Lega Nord* ('Northern League'), *Lega d'Azione Meridionale* ('Southern Action League'), *Rosa per L'Italia* ('Rose for Italy').

Similar techniques are effectively used in other situations, for example, to attract sympathy of a wide audience for certain political, economic or social projects. Thus, the poem *M'illumino d'immenso* (1918) by Giuseppe Ungaretti is widely known in the Italian literary tradition. Critics are still arguing about the meaning of this brief poetic phrase, which generally carries a positive emotional sense and indicates something high and bright. A symbolic periphrasis of this phrase was used by an Italian ministry to name a social project to economise on energy. The element *d'immenso* has been replaced by *di meno*: *mi illumino di meno*. The very form of the project's name carries a symbolic meaning, as it associatively refers to the form of a poetic work known to all. The pragmatics of the actual nomination of the energy project and the indirectly recognisable poetics of the original form come into discursive conflict, creating what we call the fascinative effect. What can be called a false poetic re-identification of the form opens up: we associatively recognise what we know well on the rational and sensual levels, and at the same time we do not recognise it in its new pragmatic application.

The latent manipulative function of figurative fascinative forms in political discourse is noteworthy. Political discourse is mainly public. Any public communication, being evaluative, cannot escape manipulation. Persuasion and manipulation are common functions of any public discourse (Panina & Amerkhanova, 2018, p. 86). Figurative speech means are relevant material for cognitive analysis of manipulation based on its inner contrast. As the analysis of a number of examples shows, manipulation that is so common in political discourse reveals itself at the semantic level as a mechanism of subordination of the superior (aesthetic, poetic or moral concepts) to the inferior (pragmatic, rhetorical, subjectively evaluative sense). In other words, the author engages an external cultural and verbal resource, sometimes even belonging to the sphere of other discourses, in order to help solve a specific pragmatic problem within his discourse. Politicians turn to literature, art, sports, philosophy, religion, history or other cultural archetypes in order to present their political message more vividly and persuasively to the mass audience. Manipulation seeks a conceptual and archetypical support that would not arouse rejection, protest, denial, doubt, irony, or any other negative attitude. The semantic structure of manipulation operates in the speech sign.

Fascination at the lexical level is closely related to figurativeness and produces a symbolic effect. The task of the symbol is to evoke the broadest possible semantic association, affecting the sensual perception in a cumulative way. Thus, for his article on the problem of migrants in Italy, Stella (2002) chooses the title *Bel paese brutta gente*. This title literally repeats the title of the novel by Claus Gatterer, which became famous in Italy and which recounts the hostile attitude of the inhabitants of South Tyrol towards the local Italian population. By the very title the author draws a symbolic parallel between the treatment of migrants from African and Arab countries in contemporary Europe and the treatment of Austrians towards Italians 150 years earlier. Racial animosity is compared to ethnic animosity. It is as though the author offers to see himself in the other's shoes, making it clear that an Italian who has experienced something similar is easier to feel what a modern migrant is experiencing. Already in the very title the article calls for a more tolerant attitude towards migrants.

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Various kinds of metaphors, personifications and other figurative nominations in political discourse are most often used to create the fascinative effect. For instance, by naming the foreign minister of the Italian Republic *Fantozzi*, once can emphasise the inactivity and ineffectiveness of the politician with this personification. *Fantozzi* is a well-known loser character from a series of Italian films. Everything beautiful and brilliant that he encounters and where he can prove himself ends up as a total failure. Italians are very familiar with this comic film character.

5. CONCLUSION

In all of the above Italian party names and other examples we see one general principle which, as we understand it, characterises all fascination on the axiological level: what is subject to verification from a factual point of view and, therefore, potentially contestable, is replaced by the undeniable from a cultural and moral point of view, for which the requirement of factual corroboration is redundant. The relative is replaced by the absolute, the conditional – by the unconditional.

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What attracts attention is what could be called the 'anticipatory' force of axiological fascination in relation to the function of referential or designative semantics. By using the highest valuation, the politician provokes a corresponding subjective factual speculation. A party's beautiful and flamboyant name suggests an association of everything good in terms of its practical actions and attitudes (its programme, political plans, position on important political and other issues). The voter gives his or her support to that party without additional rational checking. Parties exploit the axiological trust placed in them by the voters. Large-scale strategies of political manipulation emerge with the purpose of maintaining their political credibility (or distrust of their opponent). Any kind of manipulation in the political field seeks to create a system of axiological biases, which become the focal points of political discourse and a criterion for considering any event that comes into their field of vision.

Fascination is the highest connotative property that the sign acquires in speech, encompassing the totality of socio-cultural (aesthetic, ethical, stylistic, historical, etc.) symbolisations in discourse. Fascination is a discursive quality of a speech phenomenon based on figurative or other associative resources evoked by the cultural experience of the language.

In political discourse, fascination has a constant link to evaluation. Fascination serves to reinforce evaluation in speech. As a communicative operation in political discourse, fascination presents the replacement of a rational (pragmatic) connotation by an irrational (socio-cultural) one. This substitution is symbolic and, being culturally undeniable, is manipulative. The phenomenon of fascination presents a cultural view of language in professional and political discourse.

Cognitive-linguistic analysis of the phenomena of fascination and manipulation in the semantic structure of a speech sign is very important, being highly relevant in the context of the modern linguistic and discursive research. Political discourse offers the most characteristic and striking forms of communicative manipulation based on figurative fascination. The verbal level of fascination is an important and characteristic resource of manipulation in political discourse. It rests on a substitution of the pragmatic evaluation for an archetypical (conceptual) one.

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NICOLAY V. IVANOV
MGIMO University | 76 Prospekt Vernadskogo, 119454 Moscow, Russia
e-nickma@mail.ru

OLGA A. POGORETSKAYA
MGIMO University | 76 Prospekt Vernadskogo, 119454 Moscow, Russia
o.pogoretskaya@inno.mgimo.ru

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Original Research

The role of the cognitive metaphor in the hybridisation of marketing and political discourses: An analysis of English-language political advertising

by Ekaterina P. Murashova

Ekaterina P. Murashova Moscow State Linguistic University, Russia catrin-skr-77@mail.ru
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The present article is devoted to the metaphorical hybridisation of marketing and political discourses. The aim of the paper is to reveal the discursive characteristics shared by marketing and politics through an analysis of the cognitive metaphor as a factor and instrument of their hybridisation. The material of the research is represented by texts of political spots (political TV and Internet commercials) of five different varieties of English published on the official YouTube channels of political figures and organisations between 2007 and 2021, with a total video length of about 7 hours. The texts were transcribed by the author of the paper. The study lies within the scope of cognitive linguistics, linguopragmatics and sociocultural linguistics. The research methods include those of linguocultural analysis, conceptual analysis, cognitive modelling and quantitative analysis. Hybridisation is viewed in the article as a complex mechanism of knowledge expansion via the resources of marketing and politics which ensures language vitality through a synergistic effect. The most obvious product of the hybridisation of marketing and politics is political advertising discourse. It is argued that political advertising discourse is largely based on the 'Politics as a Commodity' cognitive metaphor which makes explicit the value of choice in most Western European democracies. Having analysed the empirical material, the author determines the discursive characteristics that serve as points of intersection of marketing and politics and facilitate their hybridisation. The main discursive characteristics bringing together marketing and politics are agonality (aptness of competition), theatricality, commodification and personifiedness. Each of them is illustrated with examples of cognitive metaphors pertaining to both marketing and politics. The discursive characteristics revealed manifest the modern tendencies towards marketisation and conversationalisation of media discourse.

KEYWORDS: *institutional discourse, hybridisation, marketing discourse, political discourse, political advertising discourse, cognitive metaphor, conceptual integration theory*

1. INTRODUCTION

The dynamic changes in modern society find their full expression in the discourse of social institutions. One of the factors of the development of institutional discourse is the process of hybridisation which is hereinafter understood as creation of a more perfect communicative product through mixing heterogeneous elements of the cognitive and language levels of the speech-thinking activity (Iriskhanova & Ivashko, 2011; Sanchez-Stockhammer, 2012). The main direction of linguistic study of hybridisation seems to be the analysis of its peculiarities and mechanisms of realisation in different genres of institutional communication, above all, in marketing and politics (Cap & Okulska, 2013; Guseynova, 2011; Mäntynen & Shore, 2014). Although the social practices of marketing and politics are undergoing convergence (Egorova-Gantman & Pleshakov, 1999, p. 16), as evidenced by the establishment and successful development of the institution of political advertising, there is still no complete linguistic description of the points of intersection of marketing and political discourses.

The aim of the present research is to reveal those points of intersection of marketing and political discourses that facilitate the process of their hybridisation, including with the help of cognitive, or conceptual, metaphors. The relevance of the study is predetermined by two factors: firstly, the necessity to expand theoretical knowledge of the cognitive mechanisms underlying discourse hybridisation and, secondly, the need to increase the effectiveness of messages created and disseminated by advertising specialists.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The material under analysis is formed of texts of political spots (short political TV or Internet commercials) representing five varieties of the English language (American, British, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand), retrieved from the official YouTube channels of politicians and political organisations between 2007 and 2021. The total duration of the media material is about 7 hours. The texts were transcribed by the author of the present paper. The written component of the spots is indicated in square brackets, the original font size being preserved, while the oral component is given without any brackets.

The material in question was chosen because the political spot is one of the most representative genres of political advertising (Murashova, 2018). Political advertising, in its turn, is explicitly hybrid in character, bringing together features of marketing and political discourses, which is relevant to achieving the aim of the present paper.

To illustrate the main findings of the research, we have selected texts containing examples of the cognitive metaphor that, in our opinion, can reflect the points of interaction of the discourses.

The research was conducted within the scope of cognitive linguistics, linguopragmatics and sociocultural linguistics. Apart from the general scientific methods of analysis (synthesis, generalisation, deduction, induction, and others), we have applied methods typical of modern linguistic research, namely linguocultural analysis, conceptual analysis, and cognitive modelling in line with the conceptual integration theory. The empirical material was analysed with the help of methods of quantitative research.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Hybridisation as a notion of linguistics

3.1.1. Origin and meaning of hybridisation

The term 'hybridisation' was initially borrowed from biology where it is used to denote integration of the genetic material of genotypically heterogeneous organisms (cells) with the aim of breeding a hybrid organism which is characterised by heterozygosity along several genes (Gilyarov, 1986, p. 132). Heterozygosity is a genetic parameter ensuring the variability of a species, i.e. the ability of an organism to acquire genetic properties different from those of its parents. As a rule, the final aim of hybridisation is achieving heterosis – the genetic advantage of the hybrid over the parental forms which enhances the survivability of the species (Gilyarov, 1986, p. 130). The term 'heterozygosity' is similar in meaning to the sociolinguistic term 'language vitality' which is usually understood as the capacity of a language for further development, change or preservation of structural and, which is even more important, functional properties (Mikhalchenko, 2006, p. 37). We believe that just as biological hybridisation aims to ensure the survivability of a biological species, language hybridisation aims to facilitate the vitality of a language.

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In the 20th century, the term 'hybridisation' was expanded to denote the process of mixing the properties of any heterogeneous objects and as an organismal metaphor entered the terminology of most humanities disciplines, including linguistics. The term was first applied to language phenomena by the Russian philosopher and literary theorist Bakhtin (1975) in the context of studying polyphony in a novel. He defines hybridisation as the mixing of two social languages within one utterance, an encounter in the arena of this utterance of two different language consciousnesses, separated by either the epoch or social differentiation (or both) (Bakhtin, 1975, p. 170). The scholar points out that hybridisation is achieved in two forms – the intended conscious hybridisation and the unintended unconscious hybridisation. In a novel, as a rule, two languages get mixed on the author's initiative and as designed by him/her, and, hence, the mixing has the status of a system of literary devices. On the contrary, the status of a literary device cannot be attributed to the mixing that happens naturally and unconsciously during the historical evolution of a language. In Bakhtin's (1975) view, hybridisation results in a language hybrid that comes in two varieties – the intended polyphonic hybrid that can be called the literary image of a language and the unintended monophonic hybrid brought to life within an utterance.

Hybridisation as a linguistic phenomenon can take place at different levels of language. Sanchez-Stockhammer (2012) argues that hybridisation can affect different units of language, such as sounds, morphemes, words, collocations, idioms, phrases, sentences, texts, text types and communication (Sanchez-Stockhammer, 2012, p. 135). Iriskhanova and Ivashko (2011) have developed criteria of hybridisation describing its sources, processes, and results, and suggest a detailed classification of types of hybridisation depending on the level of language, actual semiotic characteristics, the degree of formal expression, etc. (Iriskhanova & Ivashko, 2011, p. 62-64).

3.1.2. Hybridisation, interference, convergence, and diffusion: the difference explained

To denote the process of the interaction of discourses leading to the property of heterogeneity apart from the term 'hybridisation' one uses such terms as 'interference' (Shevchenko, 2008), 'convergence' (Baranov & Severskaya, 2016; Saakyan, 2019) and 'diffusion' (Guseynova, 2011).

The term 'interference' as applied to discourse refers to the imposition of the elements of one discourse (the included one) on another discourse (the receiving one) which results in their combination, interaction, and mutual influence (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 3). Interference of discourses is a phenomenon similar to intertextuality, e.g. as understood by Kristeva (2013). The main difference between interference and intertextuality seems to be, above all, the unit of analysis – discourse as opposed to text, which inevitably determines the choice of research methods.

Convergence is essentially the process of discourses coming together and intersecting at some points. The term 'convergence' is widely used in journalism meaning the fusion of different mass media caused by digitalisation of the media sphere, including the integration of analogue and digital technologies (Vartanova, 2000).

The term 'diffusion' primarily foregrounds the character of the interaction of discourses – mutual penetration and the blurring of borders between them (Sun et al., 2021; Sokolova, 2020).

In our opinion, unlike the similar terms, 'hybridisation' is most adequate for the aim of the present research because it accentuates the synergistic effect of the interaction of discourses. The process of hybridisation is aimed at improving the language system and creating the effect of 'language heterosis', the product of language hybridisation being different from its constituent parts and irreducible to them. Therefore, we believe political advertising discourse to be a qualitatively new entity different from political and marketing discourses, whose elements it borrows and adapts.

3.1.3. Hybridisation of discourses

Hybridisation as a continuous process of mutual enrichment of discourse complicates the typology of discourse varieties and obstructs the development of a single taxonomy of discourses. Wodak (1996) dwells on the properties of dynamism and heterogeneity inherent in institutional discourse, approaching it as a continuum of interconnected discourses conflicting with each other in a certain sociocultural context (Wodak, 1996, p. 12). Kibrik (2009, p. 19) believes that to achieve the progress of discourse analysis as a scientific discipline it is necessary to study mixed discourses, because the four main parameters of classification, as suggested by him (the mode, the genre, the functional style and formality) are independent of each other and produce remarkably complex combinations of different opportunities.

The process of the mixing of discourses for all its dynamism is not chaotic. Using the term 'order of discourse' to speak about the varieties of discourse existing in society, Foucault (1996) remarks that not all discourses are equally open and permeable. Social practice imposes certain limitations on the mutual permeability of discourses (Foucault, 1996, p. 69).

Fairclough (1995), one of the founders of the sociolinguistic approach to critical discourse analysis, when characterising modern media discourse, writes about two types of tensions shaping the language of the media: the tension between information and entertainment, and the tension between public and private. Both are indicative of the tendency towards 'marketisation' and 'conversationalisation' correspondingly (Fairclough, 1995, p. 10-11). Marketisation is manifested in the growing share of entertainment in the media sphere. Entertainment is largely believed to be more saleable. That is why to withstand competition the media have to design a large number of their products as entertainment, which reflects the blurring of boundaries between public affairs and entertainment in media discourse. Fairclough (1995) points out that marketisation and conversationalisation are not only typical of the media but have also come to shape other social spheres like education, healthcare, art, politics and so on, which is of great relevance to our research.

3.2. The cognitive metaphor in political advertising discourse

3.2.1. Modern linguistic approaches to the political cognitive metaphor

The present paper pays considerable attention to the cognitive metaphor for the following reasons. First, developing models of the conceptual metaphor and ways of their realisation in different discourses is a topical research direction of modern cognitive linguistics. Second, due to the 'discursive turn' in linguistics in the 20th century, the role of the metaphor in organising human mental processes was redefined. Third, metaphorisation and hybridisation can be regarded as processes with similar cognitive potential, as they consist in looking for points of intersection between different fields of reality to produce new knowledge.

According to the contemporary theory of metaphor which replaced the traditional theories dating back to the times of Aristotle, the metaphor came to be studied as a way of learning and reasoning about the world, as a display of analogue opportunities of the human mind (Chudinov, 2011, p. 31). Hence, the political metaphor began to be studied as the key to understanding political reality, an instrument for realising, modelling and evaluating political processes, a means of influencing the collective consciousness (Budaev & Chudinov, 2008, p. 4). The political metaphor is studied within an interdisciplinary research direction called political metaphorology which appeared at the intersection of two promising fields of linguistics – metaphorology and political linguistics. In political metaphorology since the beginning of the 21st century against the backdrop of the so-called 'cognitive revolution' (Kubryakova,

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1996, p. 69), there has been actively developing a new cognitive direction aimed at studying the metaphor in a broad historical, cultural, and social context with the use of the methods of cognitive linguistics (Chudinov, 2020, p. 3).

Contemporary cognitive research into the political metaphor mainly relies on the classical conceptual metaphor theory of Lakoff and Johnson (2003) which defines the essence of metaphorisation as interaction of different knowledge structures like frames and scenarios of two conceptual domains – the 'source domain' and the 'target domain'. The character of the interaction between the two domains is defined in their theory as 'metaphorical mapping' which is understood as structuring of parts or the whole of the target domain in the same way as the source domain. Conceptual metaphors are therefore steady correspondences between the source and the target domains enshrined in the language and cultural tradition of the given community and conforming to its values, e.g. 'Life as a Journey'.

Since the 1990s, an alternative approach to the cognitive metaphor has been developing that is called the conceptual integration theory, or the conceptual blending theory, by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). In the conceptual integration theory, metaphorisation is based not on a single domain mapping but a set of dynamic processes of integration of mental spaces within one mental space called a 'blend'. As an alternative to the two-domain model, in their theory Fauconnier and Turner (2002) suggest a model of four mental spaces in the form of a conceptual integration network consisting of two 'input spaces', a 'generic space' and a 'blended space'. In fact, the process of conceptual integration is a manifestation of hybridisation and the resulting blend is nothing but a hybrid.

The difference in the approaches to modelling the cognitive metaphor within the two theories is explained by the difference in their aims. In the conceptual metaphor theory, a metaphor is studied as a static product of culture and in the conceptual integration theory it is approached as a dynamic product of individual thinking.

As observed by the reputable Russian researchers in the field of the political metaphor, Budaev and Chudinov (2020, p. 107), in political linguistics Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) model of metaphorisation is less spread than Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) model. This is explained, on the one hand, by the complexity of the quantitative analysis considering the variety of the components of a blend and the dynamism of their interaction and, on the other hand, by the absence of a single methodology of statistical description that can be applied to each case of blending and takes into account the dynamism of metaphor-building.

Regardless of adherence to one of the two popular theories of the cognitive metaphor, the process of metaphorisation in cognitive linguistics is viewed as a process of hybridisation of heterogeneous structures of knowledge leading to a synergistic effect.

Arutyunova (1999, p. 279) remarks that a metaphor is a hybrid trope, a product of hybridisation of equivalence and similarity. Kubryakova (2002, p. 7) thinks that metaphor-production is not reduced to adding components and its point is creation of a new mental unit that is not the same as the sum of its parts.

In conceptual integration theory, the synergistic effect of hybridisation is termed 'emergence' which denotes the ability of a blend to add meaning and create new knowledge (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).

3.2.2. The 'Politics as a Commodity' cognitive metaphor

The discussion of the cognitive metaphor when studying the points of the intersection of marketing and political discourses is relevant, first and foremost, because political advertising, being a product of their hybridisation, emerged as a result of redefining the concept sphere of politics through the concept sphere of marketing.

The term 'concept sphere' was first introduced in Russian science by Likhachev (1993) and is defined by him as a set of a nation's concepts formed by all the potencies of the concepts of native speakers. We believe that the term can be successfully applied in a linguistic study of marketing and political discourses because it highlights the role of language as a concentrate of national culture and helps to analyse and evaluate its embodiment in the social institutions of marketing and politics (Likhachev, 1993, p. 9).

The result of the metaphorical hybridisation of the concept spheres of marketing and politics is the blend 'Politics as a Commodity' that justifies the opportunity to 'sell' a politician or his/her ideas like a commodity. It is widely believed that the first person to suggest selling a politician in the same way as toothpaste was the American advertising executive Rosser Reeves who is also famous as the originator of the Unique Sales Proposition and the pioneer of TV advertising (Donovan & Scherer, 1998, p. 103). In the 1950s, specially for the presidential election campaign of the 34th US president Dwight D. Eisenhower, Reeves issued a series of TV commercials titled 'Eisenhower Answers America' modelled on TV commercials advertising goods and services. The idea of selling a politician using TV advertising was innovative back then. Reeves's commercials grabbed the electorate's attention and became one of the factors that contributed to the candidate's victory. The success of the new format of political advertising facilitated the emergence and popularisation of the genre of the political spot which, as a rule, is an essential tool of any large-scale election campaign in countries where competition policy is implemented (Murashova, 2018, p. 5). It is quite possible that, in the course of the development political advertising as a practice, the 'Politician as a Commodity' blend that helped Reeves advertise Eisenhower was transposed to any political actor or political product like a political party or a manifesto, hence the 'Politics as a Commodity' metaphor.

3.2.3. Extralinguistic factors of hybridisation of marketing and political discourses

The prerequisite for the mixing of marketing and political discourses, in our opinion, is the fact that they both fall into the category of institutional discourse (the discourse of institutions) as opposed to personal discourse (the discourse of personalities) (Karasik, 2000; Wodak, 1996). As a working definition of institutional discourse we use the one suggested by Karasik (2002, p. 195): institutional discourse is a specialised clichéd variety of human communication, whose parties may not know each other but are supposed to communicate in accordance with the norms of the given society. As most varieties of institutional discourse, marketing and political discourses are mass, mediatised (Klushina, 2014) and ritualised (Chudinov, 2012, p. 56). Moreover, marketing and political discourses are formed and realised under the conditions of tough competition for the customer and for power correspondingly.

4. STUDY AND RESULTS

4.1. The cognitive model of metaphorisation in political advertising discourse

The process of metaphorical hybridisation in a single conceptual network of the two types of discourse – marketing and political – can be represented as a conceptual integration scheme under the mental space theory developed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) (Figure 1). We have identified two input spaces – 'marketing' and 'politics' that under the influence of the generic space as a result of the conceptual integration process form the 'Politics as a Commodity' blend. The generic space, as we think, contains the features of institutional discourse typical of both input spaces. Relying on the nine constitutive features of institutional discourse developed by Karasik (1999), we suggest seven features of marketing and political discourses relevant to explaining the emergent structure: the aim, the object, the addresser, the addressee, the instruments, the working space, and the procedure.

As follows from the scheme, the central feature which serves as the basis for the mapping of the input spaces in the blended space is the presence of the right to choose and the opportunity of choice in the context of competition. Choice is to be considered the key value in Western European democracies and as such determines the constitutive features of marketing and political discourses suggested by Karasik (1999) and us. For example,

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the use of strategies, tactics and means of persuasive communication in political advertising is prompted by the need to win the addressee over and persuade him/her to make a certain choice. Due to competition in marketing and politics it becomes urgent to address issues of linguistic manipulation in political advertising and study the strategies and tactics of the two 'modes' of manipulation – cooperation and competition (Malyuga & Tomalin, 2017).

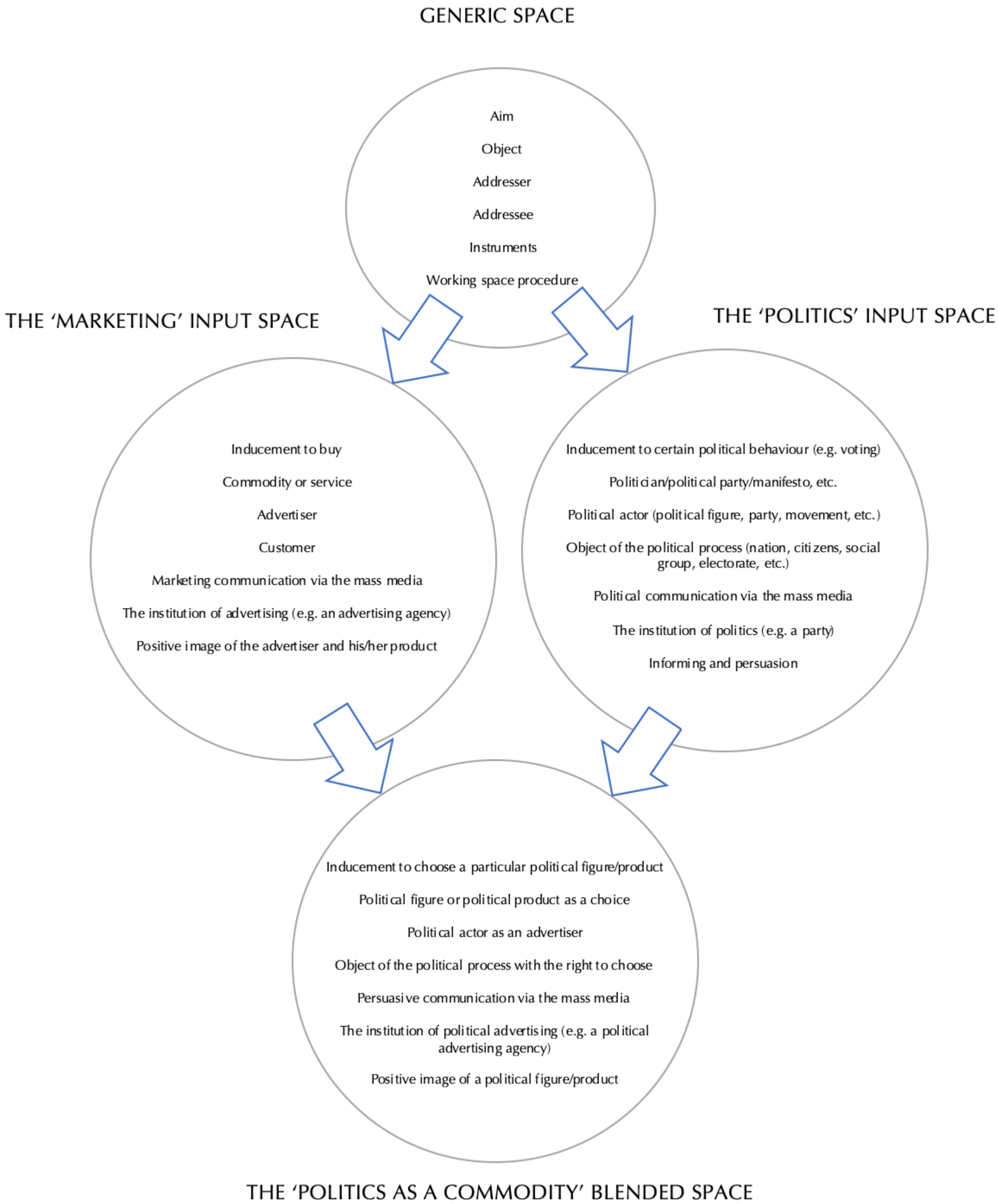

Figure 1. The conceptual integration scheme of the 'Politics as a Commodity' blend

4.2. The discursive characteristics facilitating the hybridisation of marketing and politics

The analysis of the empirical material yielded discursive characteristics shared by marketing communication and political communication that facilitate the hybridisation of marketing and politics. The ways of hybridisation are illustrated using cognitive metaphor groups based on the classification of metaphorical models suggested by Chudinov (2001): anthropomorphic (physiological, morbial, kinship metaphor, sexual), the metaphor of nature (zoomorphic, phytomorphic), social (criminal, military, theatrical, sports metaphor, game metaphor) and the artefact metaphor (housing metaphor, mechanism metaphor).

4.2.1. Agonality

Marketing and politics share the aim of persuading a mass addressee to adopt a particular behaviour – consumer behaviour (to buy a product or a service) and political behaviour (e.g. to vote for a particular candidate at elections) correspondingly. The aim of marketing and politics is achieved, as has already been said, under the conditions of tough competition and that is why it presupposes a competitive struggle for the addressee's attention.

Sheigal (2000) considers that aptness of competition, or 'agonality', constitutes the basis of the semiotic organisation of political discourse, bringing it closer to sports discourse. The competition that underlies political discourse is that between the party in power and the opposition or between political candidates. In marketing, competition, as a rule, takes place between producers of the same kind of goods and services. Both in politics and marketing, agonality is mainly realised through creation of a positive image of the institutional agent (a representative of the institute) and his/her product and tarnishing the image of the rival and his/her product.

Here are some cognitive metaphors that demonstrate the agonality of political advertising.

1. Morbial metaphors.

Politics is a difficult ascent in a wheelchair. The narrator in the example is Greg Abbott, a candidate in the 2014 Texas gubernatorial election: *After my accident, I had to rebuild my strength. I would roll up an eight-story parking garage, spending hours going up the ramps. With each floor, it got harder and harder, but I wouldn't quit. 'Just one more,' I'd tell myself. 'Just one more.' I see life that way. And it's how I'll govern Texas. To get to the top we must push ourselves to do just one more'* (Greg Abbot, 2014).

The rival is a zombie/ill person. The spot represents Joe Biden, a presidential candidate, as a zombie: *Here's how you can spot a zombie. Look for someone who has a corpse-like appearance, exhibits aggressive behaviour, craves human flesh, and utters incoherent moans and groans. With your help we can prevent the zombie uprising* (Donald J Trump, 2020a).

The country is an ill organism: *These hands are working to heal America* (CampaignTVAds, 2015a).

2. Zoomorphic metaphors.

The rival is a wild animal (an alligator/turtle/scorpion, etc.). In the following example it is meaningful that the alligator is the unofficial symbol of the state of Louisiana: *I am Rob Maness and here in Louisiana you learn to be tough. One moment of weakness, and the alligators can eat you alive. So, when I get to Washington, I'll stand up to the big spenders. I'll fight to repeal Obamacare. And I'll protect our gun rights. I'm Colonel Rob Maness and I approve this message because Louisiana needs a senator that will stand up to the career politicians and the alligators* (The Rob Maness Show, 2014).

The rival is a domesticated animal (a pig/chicken/sheep/lapdog, etc.): *I'm Joni Ernst. I grew up castrating hogs on an Iowa farm. So, when I get to Washington, I'll know how to cut pork. Washington's full of big spenders. Let's make them squeal* (Captioning for Everyone, 2014).

3. Phytomorphic metaphors.

The rival is fruit/vegetable. In the excerpt the name *Kevin O'Lemon* is word play including the name of Kevin Rudd, the 26th Prime Minister of Australia: *The faceless men are desperate again, and it looks like Kevin O'Lemon is coming back. Or will Julia survive? Maybe they'll try someone*

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new. It doesn't matter who they give you. Because they're all Labor lemons and Labor lemons never change their spots (Liberal Party of Australia, 2013).

The government is a swamp: *Did you know Washington is built on a swamp? Massive government debt. Stifling regulation. Special interest politics. Partisan dysfunction. Now it all makes sense. Washington is broken. The political class broke it. Together we can drain the swamp and protect our children's future* (CampaignTVAds, 2015b).

4. Military metaphors.

The political struggle is war: *Mitt Romney's negative attack machine is back on full throttle. This time Romney's firing his mud at Rick Santorum. Romney and his Super PAC have spent a staggering 20 million brutally attacking fellow Republicans. Why? Because Romney's trying to hide from his big government Romneycare, and his support for job-killing cap and trade. And in the end Mitt Romney's ugly attacks are going to backfire* (Rick Santorum, 2012).

The rival's rise to power is a military invasion. In this example there is word play involving the name of Alex Salmond, who is addressed as the head of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in the spot: *Salmond Alert. With fifty SNP seats predicted in the next Parliament, Miliband and then the country would be in their grip. To combat this, emergency polling stations are being set up Thursday. Vote Conservative* (Conservatives, 2015).

The rival is an autocrat. In a democracy the 'Rival Is an Autocrat' metaphor reflects the conflict between the politician and the people in case the former is considered to be striving to gain unlimited power. When this metaphor is applied to a political rival, he/she is represented as a monarch wearing the attributes of power like a crown. In the given example Robert J. Bentley, a candidate in the 2014 Alabama gubernatorial election, is represented like this: *Emperor Bentley has no clothes* (Parker Griffith, 2014).

5. Sports and game metaphors.

The election race is a running race. The following example contains a combination of a metaphor and a pun, showing Mike McFadden, a candidate for the 2014 US Senate election in Minnesota, as both a skilful youth football coach and a promising politician: *Now Coach McFadden's the one running* (Mike McFadden, 2014).

The election race is a job interview. The politician being discussed in the spot is Justin Trudeau, a candidate for the 42nd Canadian general election:

– Oh, some interesting resumes we have here. Let's talk about Justin.

– I see he's included his picture. Let's start with the experience section. Nothing about balancing a budget or making a payroll.

– Didn't he say budgets balance themselves?

– And what does the experience section say about keeping us safe?

– Well, he wants to send winter jackets to Syria.

– People, being Prime Minister is not an entry-level job.

– I'm not saying no forever, but not now.

– Nice hair though.

Justin Trudeau. He's just not ready (Conservateur, 2015).

6. The mechanism metaphor.

The rival is a weathervane. The mechanism metaphor is mainly verbalised in political advertising through the juxtaposition of statements. In the Canadian spot 'Same weak leadership. Same old NDP' of 2016 the metaphor is expressed both verbally with the help of contradictory statements and visually as John Horgan, head of the British Columbia New Democratic Party, is represented as a weathervane pointing left and right at juxtaposed written remarks: *For: 'I think it's appropriate that Kinder Morgan be allowed'. Against: 'I'm very pleased we're saying no to Kinder Morgan'* (BCLiberals, 2016).

4.2.2. Theatricality

Theatricality as a feature of social discourse is accounted for in Bakhtin's (1990) theory of carnival. The point of the theory is that culture is subjected to an inversion of binary oppositions. A new alternative world is built with the help of laughter and gets filled with ambivalent cultural meanings and images (up – down, serious – funny, decent –

indecent, etc.). Carnivalisation of culture enables critical analysis of the existing official culture and can lead to a shift in values and trigger a fight against wide-spread misconceptions. One of the manifestations of the carnivalisation of culture is the tendency towards putting on a show and the theatricalisation of politics. The three processes can be represented as reassessing social stereotypes by means of entertainment – the show, the theatre or the circus (Bakhtin, 1990; Fairclough, 1995).

Theatricality is realised with the help of the following metaphors.

1. Theatrical metaphors.

The rival is a puppet: *Joe Biden: China's puppet* (Donald J Trump, 2020b).

The rival is a circus artist: *[Clowning around] Male voiceover: With unemployment at 9% what's [Silly Liberal Doug Berger] Doug Berger doing? Ignoring the real problems, he wasted time on silly stuff like regulating grocery bags. Regulating barber poles, banning grocery bags. Doug Berger: silliness, not substance* (ChadBarefoot, 2012).

The rival is a celebrity. In the example, the leadership qualities of Barack Obama, a candidate in the 2008 US presidential election, are questioned: *He's the biggest celebrity in the world. But is he ready to lead?* (John McCain, 2008a).

2. Religious metaphors.

The rival is a messiah. Just like in the previous example, Barack Obama is meant: *And he has anointed himself ready to carry the burden of The One. To quote Barack: 'I have become a symbol of America returning to our best traditions'* (John McCain, 2008b).

4.2.3. Commodification

The phenomena and events of political life in political advertising are often conceptualised in terms of marketing. For example, the concepts 'politician', 'politics' and 'political product' (a manifesto, a movement, an idea or a symbol) undergo metaphorical redefinition and get closer to the concept of 'commodity'. From the psychological point of view, commodification of metaphors is explained by a human's desire to learn more about abstract spheres with the help of the structures of bodily experience that are already familiar to him/her. Therefore, the understanding of politics as a commodity is based on the same psychological mechanisms as the 'bodily metaphor' in the theory of Lakoff and Johnson (2003). The commodification of political advertising is expressed with the help of the following metaphors.

1. Food metaphors.

The budget is tasty food (e.g. a biscuit) or a visit to a restaurant: *When Rodney Davis got to Washington he ordered Congress every perk on the menu. Rodney Davis – only serving himself* (DCCCVideo, 2014a).

A politician or their target audience is food/drink. In the spot promoting Linda McMahon, a candidate for the 2010 US Senate election in Connecticut, the jobless are likened to lunch boxes, which must be both, a metaphor, and a metonymy: *A lot of people ask me why I'm running for Senate. Here's why: this lunch box. It represents a lot of people who've lost jobs. <…> I'm Linda McMahon, and I approve this message because we need this lunch box and a lot more like it back at work* (LindaMcMahon2010, 2010).

2. Economic metaphors.

Economy is a cargo: *America's economy is hanging by a thread. Under the weight of high unemployment, soaring gas prices, Medicare nearly bankrupt, reckless spending, a failed stimulus, and a $14 trillion-dollar debt, much of it owned by China, we are near the breaking point. Maybe we won't be crushed when our economy snaps, but someone will* (CrossroadsGPSChannel, 2011).

A debt crisis is a hole: *When you're in a hole, you stop digging. But Mark Begich? He keeps digging deeper in the wrong direction. Begich voted four times to help Obama pile up record debts. Mark Begich: digging Alaska a hole we can't afford* (NRSC, 2014).

4.2.4. Personifiedness

Nowadays the boundaries between institutional and personal discourses are getting blurred, which is explained by the commitment of institutions to the task of seeking ways to influence the addressee

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more effectively. To win the addressee over one is to become closer to him/her using different means, including conversationalisation. Conversational speech helps to make the relationships between the participants more intimate and establish a steady communicative contact between them. Personifiedness is associated with the following metaphors.

1. Kinship metaphors.

The rival is a child: *When Congresswoman Ann Kirkpatrick doesn't get her way, she throws tantrums. During the government shutdown we needed Kirkpatrick to fight for Arizona. Instead, she threw a tantrum and voted against funding for border security and against opening the Grand Canyon. Ann Kirkpatrick. Tantrums in Congress that hurt Arizona* (American Action Network, 2014).

2. Housing metaphors.

The rival is darkness/ignorance: *Education leads to a bright future. But Cresent Hardy would turn out the lights on our schools. Cresent Hardy's ideas on education would leave Nevada students in the dark* (DCCCVideo, 2014b).

The points of the electoral manifesto are presents. In the following example tags with the names of the manifesto points are attached to Christmas presents: *[Universal health care. Alternative energy. Bring troops home. Middle class tax breaks]. Hillary Clinton: Where did I put universal pre-K? Ah, here it is. [Universal Pre-K. Happy holidays]* (Sincerely Right, 2015).

The rival is baggage/garbage. In the example the allegedly unsuccessful points of the Australian Labour Party's manifesto are represented as inscriptions on bags filled with garbage: *Voiceover (male): Bill Shorten is not a leader. He's got too much baggage from his six disastrous years with Rudd and Gillard. Too much baggage from knifing two sitting prime ministers. [Boats. Waste. Carbon tax. Unions. Debt. Chaos]. Bill Shorten and Labour have got too much baggage* (Liberal Party of Australia, 2015).

Certainly, the number of cognitive metaphors used in political advertising discourse is not limited to the above-mentioned ones.

5. DISCUSSION

In political advertising the cognitive metaphor is treated as a tool for raising the efficiency of the message and, thus, outrivalling competitors in the struggle for the addressee's attention and trust. The individualised and creative character of the cognitive metaphor provides for an almost unlimited number of options of metaphorical hybridisation.

Though metaphorical hybridisation seems to be productive and highly demanded in political advertising, the quantitative analysis of the empirical material shows that the number of spots in which the cognitive metaphor is used is relatively small and only amounts to 15%. In most cases the addresser tries to make the most of the cognitive potential of the metaphor and, hence, mainly uses sustained metaphors accompanied by other cognitive devices like the metonymy or the pun. The cognitive metaphor seems to be the most widely used cognitive mechanism, with others like the metonymy or the pun used separately amounting to only 5% (Figure 2).

The limited use of the cognitive metaphor can be explained by three interrelated factors. First, the cognitive metaphor most often relies on immense background knowledge of economy, politics, culture, etc. So, when using the cognitive metaphor, the addresser has to consider the psychological and physiological mechanisms and motives underlying perception and interpretation. Second, the decoding of the cognitive metaphor is not always predictable and can be individually coloured, so there is always a chance of misinterpretation and misunderstanding, which is certainly highly undesirable for the advertiser. Third, it takes more technical resources, more time, and more money to realise the metaphor in certain genres of political advertising, especially those that presuppose the use of TV and the Internet. The dilemma is, as a rule, overcome with the help of the use of familiar cognitive metaphors, e.g. the 'Politician Is a Puppet'.

As was shown in the examples above, the metaphor mainly serves as a tool of defaming the political rival, which is in line with the general tendency towards negativity in political advertising (Murashova, 2018, p. 154-155). The advertiser

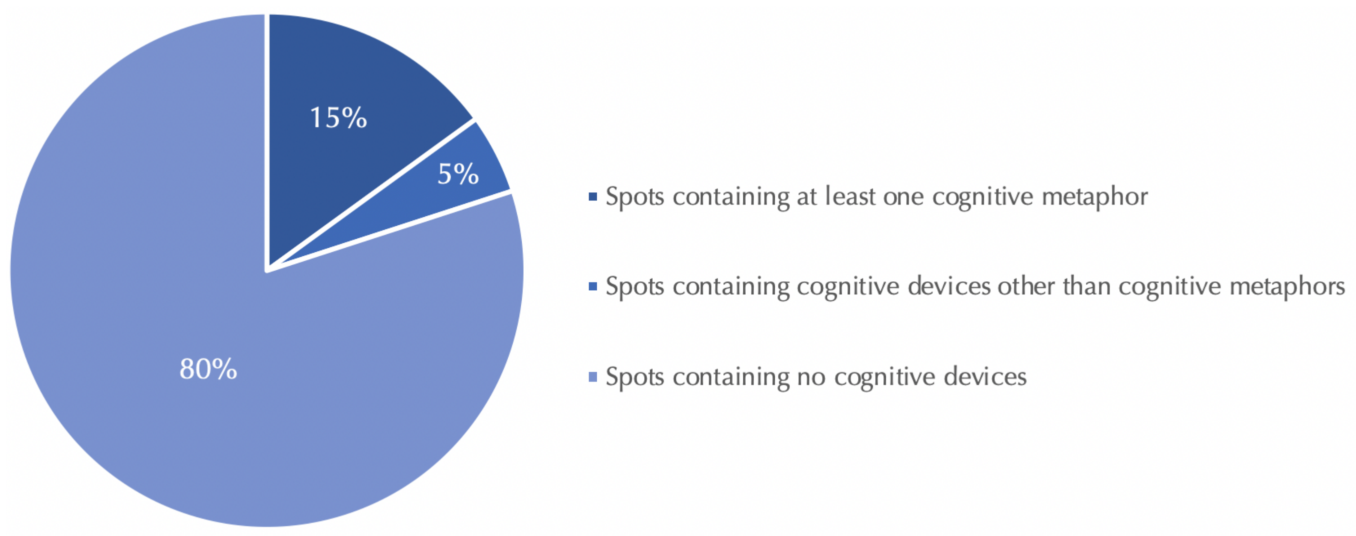

Figure 2. The use of cognitive metaphors in political spots

tries to make use of all the modes of perception to influence the addressee and, therefore, the linguistic metaphor is most often backed by visual and/or audial means. Yet, we have not detected any instances of the use of visual or audial metaphors only without the participation of language, which goes to show the importance of the linguistic metaphor as a tool of persuasion in political advertising.

A promising continuation of the current research would be further quantitative analysis of different models of cognitive metaphors in political advertising and comparison of their functions and role in the process of hybridisation of marketing and political discourses.

6. CONCLUSION

Hybridisation in all its forms and manifestations, including metaphorical hybridisation, is a productive process of enriching language and ensuring its vitality. Following an analysis of the peculiarities of the hybridisation of marketing and political discourses based on the cognitive metaphor, several conclusions can be drawn.

First, the most obvious product of the hybridisation of marketing and political discourse is political advertising discourse. Political advertising can be seen as a result of the metaphorical redefinition of politics through marketing terms. The central cognitive metaphor structuring the concept sphere of political advertising is the ‘Politics as a Commodity’ metaphor. Among the factors facilitating metaphorical hybridisation of the two varieties of discourse are, on the one hand, their institutionality and, on the other hand, the acknowledgement of the primacy of choice as a basic democratic value of the Western European culture.

Second, having analysed texts of political advertising, we have revealed a number of discursive characteristics that could be considered points of intersection of marketing and politics in the course of their hybridisation: agonality, theatricality, commodification and personifiedness. These discursive characteristics are determined and shaped by two types of conflicts leading to the marketisation and conversationalisation of political advertising – the one between information and entertainment and the other between public and private.

Third, the discursive characteristics of political advertising can be illustrated with the help of those cognitive metaphors that are most typical of the variety of discourse under discussion. Due to the general tendency towards negativity in political advertising, the cognitive metaphor usually has a negative connotation and aims to tarnish the political rival’s image.

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EKATERINA P. MURASHOVA
Moscow State Linguistic University | 38 Ostozhenka Street, bld. 1, 119034 Moscow, Russia
catrin-skr-77@mail.ru

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Original Research

The tourist booklet as a genre of professional discourse: Interaction with the customer

by Tatiana V. Dubrovskaya

Tatiana V. Dubrovskaya Ural Federal University, Russia gynergy74@gmail.com
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This paper discusses touristic communication practices, specifically the tourist booklets as a genre of professional discourse. Using the framework that is informed by discourse analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, genre studies and professional discourse studies, the author views a tourist booklet as a complex multimodal genre and sets the goal to reveal how booklets construct interaction between professional agents and non-professional customers. Using a set of tourist (predominantly English language) booklets collected in 2005-2019 around the world, the author discovers professional agents seeking to strike a balance between their image as experts in tourism and the need to construct rapport with the customers. These goals are achieved through the employment of various strategies, which are implemented through a range of linguistic and visual techniques. The validity of the professional image relies on such discursive mechanisms as providing expert knowledge on the touristic objects and services, explicit indications of expertise, presentations of professional agents as law-abiding and formally recognised businesses, and references to socially important values. The meanings evoked by the linguistic resources are reinforced visually. To mitigate the asymmetry of statuses, rapport with the customers is developed by means of offering biographies and interviews with the company representatives, the demonstration of attention to the customer, the construction of common emotional space, and the conversational style strategy. The customer is also involved in cognitively entertaining or challenging activities. Thus, the study shows that professional-to-layperson communication is a multi-faceted phenomenon, whose complexity is predetermined by the combination of various intentions and multimodal resources that help implement these intentions discursively.

KEYWORDS: *tourist booklet, genre, professional discourse, multimodal, strategy, interaction*

1. INTRODUCTION

Although a steady growth in tourism witnessed in recent decades has stalled due to the unprecedented situation of the Covid-19 outbreak, the sphere remains afloat and is looking for new strategies and solutions to overcome the crisis. According to the report prepared by the European Commission's science and knowledge service, *'the solution is likely to be local'* and *'changing consumer preferences hold opportunities for more di-*

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versified and sustainable forms of tourism' (Marquez Santos et al., 2020, p. 7). Apparently, behavioural changes and changes in consumer preferences will require extensive communicational alterations. The tourism industry will have to adapt its communicative practices to respond to newly emerged challenges, on the one hand, and to create new tourism practices, on the other.

Tourism communication practices are at the centre of the present study. Although the research is based on pre-pandemic data, its results can shed light on how professionals in the sphere achieve their goals through the use of varied semiotic resources and what dominant interactional tendencies can be revealed. I seek to answer the following research questions.

1. What are the semiotic features of a tourist booklet as a multimodal phenomenon?

2. How do professional agents demonstrate authority and expertise to the customer? What linguistic and visual resources are employed strategically?

3. What strategies are used by professionals to mitigate the asymmetry of the roles and develop rapport with the customer?

4. What multimodal techniques enhance the interaction between the professional and the customer?

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

For the present study I use a collection of tourist booklets collected by me in 2005-2019 in a number of countries of the world, including Germany, Poland, Australia, the UK, Romania, Hungary, Italy and Russia. The total number of booklets analysed amounts to 80.

Because the booklets have different volumes, which vary from only a few pages to over a hundred pages, and include a different number of illustrations, it would be extremely difficult to perform any calculations of the exact word count in the corpus explored. However, I focus on qualitative analysis, rather than quantitative or statistical analysis, and the indicated number of booklets, which belong to eight cultures, should guarantee the validity of the results.

The majority of booklets are in the English language. There are also bilingual booklets (English-German, Russian-English), and some are written in national languages (Polish, Russian). In the paper I provide examples predominantly in English and quote them in their original wording, keeping the spelling, punctuation, bold type and block letters. Bold type added by me is commented on in all cases.

Methodologically, I draw on discourse analysis in a wide understanding of the term. Discourse analysis views texts as elements of social events and social life. Fairclough (2004, p. 3) indicates that *'text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts'*. Therefore, apart from linguistic analysis proper, the analytical procedure embraces the consideration of the pragmatic context, including the social agents and their explicit and hidden goals and strategies. After Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 94), we take strategy to be *'a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal'*.

Along with the analysis of rhetorical techniques (types of descriptions, strategies) and linguistic means (choice of lexical units, grammar and sentence structures), I resort to multimodal analysis. The principle of multimodal analysis is explained by O'Halloran (2004, p. 1): *'In addition to linguistic choices and their typographical instantiation on the printed page, multimodal analysis takes into account the functions and meaning of the visual images, together with the meaning arising from the integrated use of the two semiotic resources'*. Arguing in favour of multimodal discourse analysis, O'Halloran (2004, p. 1) writes: *'To date, the majority of research endeavours in linguistics have tended to concentrate solely on language while ignoring, or at least downplaying, the contributions of other meaning-making resources. This has resulted in rather an impoverished view of functions and meaning of discourse'*. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to offer visuals due to copyright restrictions, and in most instances of multimodal analysis I resort to brief descriptions of the pictures. With this paper, I aspire to contribute to the field of professional discourse studies through the exploration of tourist booklets as a complex multimodal genre, in which language and visuals constitute a unity.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The body of literature that is relevant to the present study is vast. As Candlin (2009, p. 7) claims in the preface to a volume on professional communication, *'the study of language in the context of professional communication – for example in the domains and fields of law, education, business, healthcare, social welfare, bureaucratic processes, media – from the perspective of language and communication (in the broad sense of discourse) has a long-standing history, beginning with the mid nineteen seventies and early nineteen eighties'*. That is why I will focus on the three major categories of papers covering the following subjects: professional discourse/communication, genre theory and the study of tourist discourse. In this section, I make an attempt to briefly outline some seminal works in these fields and isolate the basic assumptions that I draw on in my study.

In what follows, I discuss tourist booklets as texts of professional discourse. Therefore, it is expedient to first outline how 'professional discourse' is construed in modern linguistic scholarship. Gunnarsson (2009, p. 5) defines professional discourse as *'text and talk – and the intertwinement of these modalities – in professional contexts and for professional purposes'*. Depending on the agents involved in communication, the scholar differentiates three types of texts produced: *'Professional discourse includes written texts produced by professionals and intended for other professionals with the same or different expertise, for semi-professionals, i.e. learners, or for non-professionals, i.e. lay people. It also means that it includes talk involving at least one professional'* (Gunnarsson, 2009, p. 5). In their discussion of professional communication, Scollon and Scollon (2005, p. 3) approach the concept through the definition of 'professional communicators', who they take to be

'In this paper we adopt a wide approach to professional communication taking it to embrace contacts between professionals and non-professionals, and genres produced by professionals and targeted at laypeople, the tourist booklet being an example of such genre'

'anyone for whom communication is a major aspect of his or her work'. Although they do not state explicitly whether professional communication is performed in a closed community of professionals only or can involve non-professionals as well, the list of professional communicators offered includes positions in business such as a sales executive, a tour guide and a translator. From this it can be inferred that a non-professional actor may be a partner of a professional communicator. In this paper we adopt a wide approach to professional communication taking it to embrace contacts between professionals and non-professionals, and genres produced by professionals and targeted at laypeople, the tourist booklet being an example of such genre.

Gunnarsson (2009) identifies a set of features of professional discourse, which includes the expert character, goal-orientation typical of a specific professional environment, situatedness, strongly conventionalised forms and established patterns, a leading role in creating and recreating social groups and structures, its dependence on various societal framework systems, as well as dynamic changes in the language and discourse that reflect social transformations (Gunnarsson, 2009, p. 5-11). As can be seen, the scholar focuses on relevant pragmatic features while also pointing to the linguistic side of the phenomenon. In this paper, the discussion of the pragmatic characteristics is intertwined with the analysis of linguistic and multimodal aspects of the genre.

In linguistic scholarship professional communication is often viewed in terms of genre. Scollon and Scollon (2005, p. 35) define genre as *'any speech event, whether it is spoken or in writing,*

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which has fairly predictable sets of speech acts, participants, topics, settings, or other regularly occurring and conventional forms'. Conventions are seen as a basis for genre building and professional communication in general. Bhatia (2010, p. 33) offers a list of factors that contribute to the construction of professional artefacts: *'the genre in question, the understanding of the professional practice in which the genre is embedded, and the culture of the profession, discipline, or institution, which constrains the use of textual resources for a particular discursive practice'*. In other words, genres of professional communication are context-dependent and, in turn, predetermine the use of specific rhetorical and lexical-grammatic means. As will be shown, the tourist booklet as a whole represents a complex multimodal genre with a conventional structure, typical strategies and regular linguistic and multimodal resources.

The study of tourism discourse has gained popularity in the recent decades, and the linguistic and sociological scholarship on the topic reflects the emergence of new forms of tourism, such as ecotourism (Mühlhäusler & Peace, 2001; Spinzi, 2013), medical tourism (Mainil et al., 2011), food tourism (De Jong & Varley, 2017), music tourism (D'Andrea, 2013), etc. Increasingly, discourses of diverse types of tourism are viewed in terms of power relations and social construction, and take theoretical perspectives from leading power theorists such as Foucault (Church & Coles, 2009). Peace (2005) discusses the myth of ecotourism to explicate the contradictions between ideological claims on sustainability and actual ecotourism practices that lead to a significant ecological footprint. The dramatic rip that divides discourses and real ecotourism practices is pointed out by Mühlhäusler and Peace (2001), who refer to semantic changes in discourse that help to disguise consumerist practices: *'Over the years the prefix eco- has experienced severe semantic bleaching. Rather than referring to functional interrelationships between the inhabitants of an ecology, it has come to mean something like 'having to do with nature'* (Mühlhäusler & Peace, 2001, p. 378). Deconstruction of the classed dimensions of tourism policy becomes the research objective in De Jong and Varley (2017), where the authors reveal *'the ways Scotland's tourist policy landscape privileges the cultural symbols of the middle class, whilst marginalising particular foods positioned as working class, through the promotion of Scottish food'* (De Jong & Varley, 2017, p. 220). Medical tourism and its discursive practices are also discussed in marketing terms and as a locus where ethical voices surrender to the market logic (Mainil et al., 2011).

I should also point to the scholarly interest towards the genres of tourist discourse, specifically guidebooks (Metro-Roland, 2011), travel guides (Holovach, 2016; Olszańska & Olszański, 2004), tourism brochures (Luo & Huang, 2015) and tourist website texts (Abramova, 2020; Manca, 2013). The authors focus on various aspects of tourist discourse as a multi-faceted phenomenon.

Holovach (2016, p. 14) is concerned with how culturally relevant information is transferred from one culture to another through travel guides and claims that *'the comparison and contrast of 'home' and 'foreign' is one of the organising principles'*. The paper, however, has a purely speculative character and is based on reviewing others' contributions to the field, rather than original data analysis. Abramova (2020) also opts for a cross-cultural approach to tourism discourse, but performs it through considering lexical units, in particular Gaelic foreign elements and their function in English language texts from Scottish tourist websites. Manca (2013) performs a contrastive analysis of Italian and British tourist websites with the aim to discover how references to the five senses are used by farmhouse, hotel and campsite owners to promote the holiday they offer. The study convincingly demonstrates cross-cultural differences in the marketing strategies employed in the two countries.

While digital genres such as tourist websites are attracting more and more attention (Zuliani, 2013), traditional brochures and guidebooks still remain the objects of scrutiny. Drawing on Bhatia's (2010) theoretical framework, Luo and Huang (2015) develop a specific generic structure for tourism

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brochures and show how moves and strategies implement the communicative purpose of shaping destination image. Guidebooks are taken in a wider framework of semiotic approach to urban studies by Metro-Roland (2011, p. 3), who views them as instruments of meaning-making and *'understanding the way in which meaning is educed from the built environment'*.

While drawing on previous studies on professional communication, genres and tourist discourse, I choose to look at tourist booklets from a different angle. I am particularly interested to explore how this genre conceptualises interaction between professional actors and the customer, and what discursive mechanisms and semiotic resources are used by the professional actors to construct their status as experts and to involve laypersons in touristic activities.

4. STUDY AND RESULTS

4.1. Booklet: general characteristics

The tourist booklet can be viewed as both a material object and a type of multimodal text that has specific communicative goals achieved through an array of verbal and multimodal resources. As a material object, a booklet receives the following definition: *'a very short book that usually contains information on one particular subject'* (Longman Dictionary, 2006, p. 161). This very brief definition can be complemented with a few more details, based on my data observations. The most common size of the booklet is one-third of a standard A4 page, which is predetermined in terms of its utilitarian purpose: it is the right size to hold in hands, consult or put in a handbag or pocket, especially while travelling or being on tour. Depending on the amount of information provided, the booklet contains from only a few to over a hundred pages.

However, irrespective of the size, booklets are often published on high-quality glossy paper, which guarantees their attractiveness as well as durability. Tourist booklets are always polychromatic and accommodate a lot of visuals, including pictures, photos, schemes, maps, symbols, logos, etc. The combination of verbal and visual components constitutes their essential feature. Paper embossing on the cover, which appeals to the tactile perception, can add to the non-verbal side of the object.

Booklets also possess certain spacial semiotics, since they can be found in some traditional loci: information desks at airports, hotel receptions, tourist information points, travel agencies, booking offices in theatres and museums, etc. These loci as well as the accessibility of booklets signal to a potential user that they are distributed free of charge. Altogether, the aforementioned features provide for the recognisability of the booklet as a physical item that contains information for the target consumer of a specific touristic product.

At the same time, the tourist booklet as a whole represents a conventional type of a multimodal text, which has a specific communicative goal (or a set of goals) as well as regular structural characteristics, contents and stylistic qualities. Thus, the tourist booklet should be viewed as a genre within touristic social practices.

Defining the category 'social practice', Fairclough (2004, p. 25) offers the following explanation: *'Social practices can be seen as articulations of different types of social element which are associated with particular areas of social life <...> The important point about social practices <...> is that they articulate discourse (hence language) together with other non-discoursal social elements'*. Social elements and language are interrelated: *'Social relations are partly discoursal in nature, discourse is partly social relations'* (Fairclough, 2004, p. 25).

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Because the general aim of the booklet consists in promoting and – ultimately – selling some touristic products (city tours, hotels, museums, theatres, concerts, restaurants, various leisure activities, etc.), I define it as a genre of advertising discourse. Thus, there is a professional agent on one side of the interaction, who acts as an addresser, and a layperson on the other side, who acts as a potential addressee. In that, the touristic booklet as a genre enacts social agents, professional and non-professional, and relations between them through various semiotic resources.

I assume that Goffman's (1981) concept of participation framework can be mapped on to the genre of booklet. The three roles of the speaker distinguished by Goffman (1981) include: the principal, i.e. *'someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told'*; the author, i.e. '*someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded'*; and the animator, i.e. *'an individual active in the role of utterance production'* (Goffman, 1981, p. 144). If applied to the tourist booklet, this framework helps us recognise that tourism companies, bodies and organisations as well as local authorities play the role of 'the principal'. This implies that they are 'stakeholders', who promote their interests, which are not necessarily purely financial. For instance, local authorities might aspire to develop the area and improve its image nationally or internationally. The actual 'authors' of booklets are not known; they are invisible to the general public, and this fact is not really important to the customer. Finally, in this participation framework the booklet performs the function of the animator in that it is instrumental in conveying views of the principals, who, in turn, resort to the services of invisible authors. These three roles merge together to form a collective professional agent. Therefore, I will use the terms 'the professionals' and 'the authors' indiscriminately throughout the paper, meaning that the actual authors of the texts write on behalf of tourism companies and authorities. One of the linguistic signs of this merger is the use of the first-person pronouns in the texts.

4.2. Constructing the status of experts

As has been pointed out earlier, the tourist booklet presents a type of professional text that is conveyed from a professional to a lay person. In this communicational configuration the status of an expert predetermines the asymmetry of relations, which is made manifest through language and other semiotic resources. The study reveals a few discursive mechanisms involved in the construction of expertise. A very popular way to claim the status of professionals is realised in the explicit indications of expertise through the lexemes 'experience', 'experienced' and 'professional' (bold type mine):

(1) *WA's premier ballooning company invites you to experience breathtaking scenery above the picturesque Avon Valley* ***in our safe and experienced hands*** (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(2) ***The experienced*** *staff can arrange for any type of dive* (Countrywide Publications, 2012).

(3) *Step inside and do time with Fremantle Prison's* ***experiences guides*** (Countrywide Publications, 2012).

(4) *You will receive personal training by* ***experienced*** *competition shooters in* ***a safe enclosed indoor venue*** (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

As can be seen from the examples quoted, the issue of safety also comes to the fore when it comes to the proofs of professionalism *(safe hands, a safe venue)*. It should be added here that the issue of safety may acquire even greater value in the post-pandemic world, while at the same time shifting the focus of the issue to protection from potential epidemic threats.

Another aspect that might be pointed out by tourist professionals as validating their expertise is adherence to the law. In such contexts, guides are characterised as 'licensed', and hotels refer to their formal recognition by referring to the certificates granted:

(5) *The VENETS hotel gained recognition for a high level of service quality. The confirmations are grateful responses of our guests and the certificate of 'Three-star qualification', the certificate of 'Business and Conference Hotel' and the certificate 'China Friendly'* (The 'Venets' Hotel, 2019).

A successful history of work also contributes to the positive image of the professional actor:

(6) *29 years operations, over 30,000 happy customers, professional and award-winning team* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

By making all these claims and promises, tour organisers commit themselves before both a potential customer and the law. Taking responsibility for customers, the activities and their consequences should be viewed as a sign of a professional status. Its importance can be reinforced visually, with a photo portrait of a local government official within the booklet, thus giving validity to all the information inside it. The official status of the person is made manifest in their formal look and clothing, as is the case of the photo of Dr Kim Hames, Minister for tourism of Western Australia (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

Apart from this, the booklets offer a lot of factual information, thus representing the professional agents as knowledgeable and well-informed in the sphere. For instance, the promotion of city tours always contains the references to historical periods, events and prominent people participating in them (bold type original):

(7) *Our No.1 tour shows you* ***All the Main Sites*** *(and the hidden ones others pass by!). Berlin through the ages – from its humble beginnings as a Slavic fishing village, to the age of the* ***Teutonic Knights****, through the Bismarck era, and onto the tumultuous events of the 20th century – the* ***Nazi period*** *and the* ***Cold War*** (Insider Tour, 2017).

Interestingly, the authors of the text highlight specific words and word combinations for emphatic purposes, and, in this way, they manage both the selection of important facts and the perception of the consumer. Phrases in bold type attract more attention, while those in simple fonts are viewed as less essential, and this information might be overlooked.

The authors understand that tourists are often in a hurry, trying to absorb information about competing tourist attractions and make decisions about which to visit. Under such circumstances, words in bold facilitate 'skim reading' and manage the customer's choice.

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Another way to demonstrate expertise and construct the asymmetry of relations concerns the representations of promoted products. For instance, general characteristics of architectural structures normally include the date and circumstances of construction, the size of the building, its historical background and current location, as in the following example (the spelling mistake *it's* comes from the original version):

(8) *To the right, there is a baroque Kamienica pod Gwiazdą dating from the end of 17th century and believed to be one of the most beautiful tenement houses in Toruń. It's history begins in the Middle Ages when it belonged to the tutor of the king Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk's sons* (Idea Studio, 2010).

However, a typical pattern for the information presentation is not prescriptive, and the authors of texts exercise their privilege to select facts for the presentation, adding value to some of them and revaluing or ignoring others. A German booklet entitled *Let's go up!*, which provides information on the Berlin TV Tower (Berliner Fernsehturm), opens with a general characteristic of the building and the entertaining opportunities it has to offer:

(9) *Towering 368m above Berlin, the TV Tower dominates the city's skyline like no other building. In just 40 seconds, the two high-speed lifts will whisk you 203 metres above the city to the Observation Deck and Berlin's highest bar. Another four metres up at 207m is Germany's highest restaurant. The Berlin TV Tower – a must-see for visitors to Berlin. Let's go up!* (Berliner Fernsehturm, 2017).

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The linguistic description of the tower constructs an attractive object through both veritable details related to sizes, distances, quantities and time (368m, 40 seconds, two lifts, 203 metres, four metres, 207m), and persuasive rhetoric that contributes to the image of an impressive structure. The latter receives expression in the lexis of superiority *(dominates, like no other, high-speed)*, the superlative adjectives *(highest* used twice), the lexeme *a must-see* with the meaning of obligation, and the imperative *Let's go up!* used as an invitation. Because a booklet is an inherently multimodal genre, the text in example (9) constitutes a multimodal complex with the picture placed on a neighbouring page. The picture, in its turn, is a combination of a photo and graphic elements: the photo shows the Berlin TV Tower beautifully lit with electric lights against the background of the Berlin view at night. The graphic elements annotating the photo indicate schematically the facts mentioned in the written text. Thus, a strong connection is established between the written text and the picture, which helps both manifest the expert knowledge and perform the function of persuasion.

What should be noted, however, is that the description of the Berlin TV Tower offered in the booklet omits the story of its construction. No information is furnished on the date when the building was erected, or the people involved in this architectural project. The tower dates from the GDR (German Democratic Republic) times, as it started functioning in 1969 as a utilitarian edifice, but also as a symbol of a newly formed state – the GDR, established after WW2 in the Soviet zone of influence in Europe: *'It served as a symbol of communist power and remains a remarkable landmark of the now reunited city <...> The head of the East German state, Walter Ulbricht, inaugurated the building to mark the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR, on October 3, 1969. The structure served as a demonstration of the power of the communist state. The tower was indeed a masterpiece of engineering — even West German experts were ready to admit that'* (Dege, 2019). Omission of these basic historical facts in the booklet is apparently strategic and rooted in the authors' aspiration to disconnect the tower from its past, and present it as belonging to the reunited Berlin. From this example, it can be inferred that facts stated in booklets go through a selection process that is based on the authors' discretion and strategic goals.

'Indications of power, as it is practised in professional discourse, also include evaluative comments targeted at both the touristic objects promoted and historical figures referred to. Such comments are not necessarily shaped as assertives; more commonly, they are part of a syntactic presupposition'

Indications of power, as it is practised in professional discourse, also include evaluative comments targeted at both the touristic objects promoted and historical figures referred to. Such comments are not necessarily shaped as assertives; more commonly, they are part of a syntactic presupposition. Let's consider the following example:

(10) *We will show you where Marx and Engels, Einstein, J.F.K., Gorbachev and Reagan, all stood in their efforts to change the world from this city* (Insider Tour, 2017).

The main clause of the sentence presents a promise, a commissive speech act *(we will show)*. Yet, the presupposition for the claim includes the authors' acknowledgement of the fact that all the people on the list made efforts to change the world and did that in Berlin. The readers are expected to have certain background knowledge in order to understand why Marx and Engels are coupled as well as Gorbachev and Reagan, and who the abbreviation J.F.K. refers to.

4.3. Constructing rapport with the customer

While maintaining their professional status is essential for both touristic businesses and local councils, it is equally important to establish a good rapport with a customer. The distance between an expert and a layperson, although traceable and visible, should not discourage laypersons from using the promoted services. As a result, a whole array of strategies is used to develop rapport between professionals and customers.

1. One of the strategies consists in telling personal stories and providing personal information about those who represent the touristic business. I suggest calling this strategy ‘personalisation’. German booklets introduce their guides in a very informal manner, telling their names and personal life stories, as well as showing their photos. Altogether, such introductions give the impression of personal acquaintance with these people even before meeting them. Intriguing life stories of the guides show them not only as professionals, but also as fascinating characters who can attract attention. Visually, the guides are smiling in the photos, which is an apparent sign of friendliness and openness (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Information on the guides in the Fat Tire Tours (2017) booklet

One of the Australian visitor guides implements the personalisation strategy through accommodating an interview with the Head Concierge of the Parmelia Hilton Hotel in Perth. The interview is short, it contains only three questions; however, all of them are personally oriented:

(11) *What do you find is the most enjoyable part of your role as a Concierge?*

What would you suggest to any of your guests who are new to Perth, particularly in terms of experiencing the city and surrounding areas?

What is the best restaurant you have visited or are currently recommending and why? (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

Again, the verbal constituent of the interview is reinforced visually with a photo of the smiling person.

2. The other side of imitating interpersonal relations in professional discourse employs the strategy of personal attention to the customer. In his characteristic of institutional discourse Fairclough (1989, p. 62) introduces the category of synthetic personalisation, a tendency *‘to give the impression of handling each of the people handled en masse as an individual’*. The impression of being treated individually may be constructed through a number of tactics (bold type throughout examples 12-20 mine).

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Showing care for the customer:

(12) *Paved pathways* ***give easy access*** *to wheelchairs and prams* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(13) *We trust this guide* ***will assist you*** *to enjoy your stay here as well as be your constant* ***companion to navigate your way*** *around this beautiful place* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(14) *Your instructor* ***takes care of you*** *all the way* (Travelwest Publications, 2012).

An emphasis on the exclusive bonuses that the customer can get. The use of the lexemes 'special' and 'exclusive' implies that nobody else can get this bonus:

(15) *You will receive* ***a special bonus*** (Berlin-Highlights GmbH, 2017).

(16) *You'll even get* ***an exclusive reward*** (Berlin-Highlights GmbH, 2017).

(17) *You will get* ***an exclusive gift*** (Berlin-Highlights GmbH, 2017).

An approval of the customer's decision to travel to a specific place:

(18) *A visit to the German capital is always* ***a good decision*** (Berlin-Highlights GmbH, 2017).

Appeals to the customers shaped as imperatives:

(19) ***Take*** *a step back in time at our Dales Countryside Museum in Hawes* (Yorkshire Dales National Park, 2007).

(20) ***Enjoy*** *the bustle of market days, and sample delicious local produce from cheese and beer to Yorkshire curd tart* (Yorkshire Dales National Park, 2007).

3. Rapport between the provider of tourist services and the customer is also constructed through the building of a common emotional space. For instance, the organisers of tourist activities in Perth, Australia, exhibit their aspiration to share with the customers their love of Perth:

(21) *We want you to love Perth, Fremantle & Surrounds as much as we do* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

4. Finally, the results of the study show that one rapport strategy has a purely linguistic character, as it involves linguistic resources typical of conversational style. In the context of professional discourse these resources give the impression of casual communication and, thus, a closer contact between the interactants, i.e. the actors of tourist business and the customers. I will denote this as a 'conversational style' strategy.

Among the conversational resources discovered are the following.

Conversational syntax, including grammatically incomplete sentences:

(22) *Looking for special souvenirs?* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(23) *How it begins? How it continues? How it ends?* (Castelul Bran, 2019).

For an even more convincing imitation of a conversational style, conversational syntax can be reinforced through the usage of interjections, which according to English language grammarians *'have an exclamatory function, expressive of the speaker's emotion'* (Biber et al., 2007, p. 1083). The role of 'oops' and 'whoops' is explained as follows: *'They are used at the moment when a minor mishap occurs'* (Biber et al., 2007, p. 1084). From example (24), it becomes clear that the mishap involves forgetting the recommendation to visit an important attraction:

(24) *OOPS… nearly forgot – a visit to Kings Park for a view over Perth & Swan River by day and night is a MUST!* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

Interestingly, this fragment combines features of conversational speech with the efficient use of graphic resources: block letters emphasise the interjection *oops* and the insistent recommendation *a must*.

Phrasal verbs and idioms typical of informal interaction (bold type mine):

(25) ***Have a go*** *at chiming* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(26) ***Jump on*** *the Hop on Hop off City Sightseeing Bus Tour* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

(27) ***Hop on*** *an open air bus up to Kings Park* (Travelwest Publications, 2012).

The phrasal verbs and idioms in examples 25-27 have the grammatical form of the imperative, thus directing the customer to perform specific activities.

'Maps are an indispensable part of tourist booklets; they can be considered as a structural generic feature of the booklet. Because a deeply semiotic approach is taken to communicating information in booklets, almost any guide accommodates a map of the place, whether of the city or area as a whole, or a specific site – an exhibition, a museum, a park, etc. Maps differ in terms of their purposes, contents (information provided), as well as technical performance: detailing, type of graphical representation, visuals employed and colours'

Also, few instances of ungrammatical usage have been spotted; however, I cannot be sure if these are typos, or inadvertent errors, or deliberate mistakes used strategically:

(28) *If **your thinking** of your next function, then have a game of Supa Golf* (Eyezone Consolidated Media, 2012).

4.4. Multimodal techniques of involvement

The multimodal nature of a booklet entails the special techniques it employs to enhance the interaction between the professionals and the customers.

1. Maps are an indispensable part of tourist booklets; they can be considered as a structural generic feature of the booklet. Because a deeply semiotic approach is taken to communicating information in booklets, almost any guide accommodates a map of the place, whether of the city or area as a whole, or a specific site – an exhibition, a museum, a park, etc. Maps differ in terms of their purposes, contents (information provided), as well as technical performance: detailing, type of graphical representation, visuals employed and colours. In his classification of signs, Peirce (2000) places maps in the category of icons, i.e. signs that are related to their objects by resemblance. However, this resemblance is relative: while offering a general schematic and simplified view of the place, a map also adds other information 'layers' to it: information on transportation, special facilities, telephone numbers, directions, etc. What is more, along with the pragmatic function of guiding a tourist through the site, a map often serves an entertaining function. Such maps are densely illustrated with bright sketches and looking at and scrutinising them turns into a rather involving activity. The map of the Aquarium in Krakow, Poland (Muzeum Przyrodnicze Krakow, 2011) is apparently targeted at children: it is colourful and filled with sketches, which symbolically indicate different rooms, exhibits and animals. The suggested route shows the navigation and is painted deep red, so it cannot be missed. The utilitarian and entertaining aspects of the map are complemented with the educational one: the panel on the left accommodates brief descriptions of the animals exhibited. Thus, the three functions performed by the map (navigation, education, and entertainment) presuppose the intense involvement of the visitors and their response to the map with particular activities (following the specific directions as they are indicated on the map, reading and learning things, and having fun).

2. Involvement of the customers might be triggered by offering interactive tasks. For instance, that same booklet of the Aquarium offers a page with a quiz on animals. The quiz is intended for children aged 6 to 16, who are expected to tick the correct answers and return the page to the staff of the exhibition. Because the page contains the boxes for personal details, one can assume that the participants in the quiz will be contacted later in case of their success. Such involvement may also be thought of as a marketing tool – having the customers' contact details means the organisers can send them information about other attractions or repeat visits, etc.

Another example of interactivity can be found in the guide booklet 'Berlin Highlights' (Berlin-Highlights GmbH, 2017), which encourages the tourists to collect special stamps while visiting particular landmarks, stick these stamps in the desig-

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nated spaces on the booklet's special page, cut out the page (the cutting line is indicated with an image of scissors), hand it in at Berlin-Highlights partners and receive a reward. The page for stamps is arranged as a multimodal space with concise verbal instructions to the customers (e.g. *'Collect the stamps & get your rewards!'*) and a schematised route with the images of landmarks and spots for stamps designated on it. The customers become involved into a whole sequence of actions organised as a game, which promotes associated tourist attractions.

3. The authors and designers of tourist booklets may also include an empty page for notes, which motivates the customers to make their own personal written contributions to the booklet. Personalising the book adds to its value in the understanding of the customer. The customer's own notes give ownership to the booklet, making them more inclined to retain it and keep using it. In this respect, the customer becomes a co-author of the booklet, which reflects more general communication trends – ubiquitous authorship and blurred boundaries between the author and the addressee in modern communication space.

5. CONCLUSION

The study presented in this paper analyses the tourist booklet as a genre of professional discourse produced by professional agents in the field and aimed at potential consumers of touristic services. The professional agents in tourism seek to strike a balance between their image as experts in tourism, which presupposes the asymmetry of the roles in communication, and the need to construct rapport with the customers in order to encourage them to use the services promoted.

The validity of the professional image relies on such discursive mechanisms as providing expert knowledge on the touristic objects and services, explicit indications of expertise, presentations of themselves as law-abiding and formally recognised businesses, and references to socially important values (e.g. safety). Because booklets are complex multimodal phenomena, the meanings evoked by the linguistic resources are reinforced visually through the photo images of public officials or company representatives, who embody power and influence. In fact, power is exercised discursively, too. The selection of facts that are made available to the consumer and the evaluative comments are the privilege of the professionals. Also, commissive speech acts are the signs of accepting responsibility.

To mitigate the asymmetry of status, rapport with the customers is developed by means of a few strategies, which include the personalisation of the company by offering biographies and interviews with the company representatives, the demonstration of attention to the customers, the construction of a common emotional space, and the conversational style strategy. These strategies imitate interpersonal relations in professional discourse. Relying on linguistic resources, they also make use of multimodality, e.g. a visual component is essential in implementing personalisation.

Another shared feature of booklets is their attempt to interact with the customers by involving them in cognitively entertaining or challenging activities (like scrutinising a beautifully illustrated map or doing a quiz), or urging them to undertake some physical actions (like following a designated route or taking notes).

Thus, the study shows that professional-to-layperson communication is a multi-faceted phenomenon, whose complexity is predetermined by the combination of various intentions and multimodal resources that help implement these intentions discursively. The potential avenues in exploring tourist booklets as part of social practices include the choice of languages, promoted values, emotions referred to, and types of company presentations. It would also be relevant to investigate how transformations in touristic practices in the post-pandemic period will be reflected in discourse.

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TATIANA V. DUBROVSKAYA
Ural Federal University | 11 Kominterna Str., 620078 Ekaterinbourg, Russia
gynergy74@gmail.com

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Original Research

When linguistics meets computer science: Stylometry and professional discourse

by Jean Langlois

Jean Langlois Sciences Po, France jean.langlois@sciencespo.fr
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In an 1887 article, The Characteristic Curves of Composition, published in the journal 'Science' and resulting from discussions with the logician Augustus de Morgan, Mendenhall (1888) asserted that the length of words was a characteristic capable of distinguishing authors of a literary text. This study is often considered one of the founders of stylometry as a discipline. This paper analyses the development of stylometry and its use as a computerised analytical tool and explores its potential as a way of identifying authors of online professional communication by the vocabulary and style they use. The objective of this paper is to explain the concept of stylometry as an academic methodology, how it has been adapted to computers and how it is used in online investigation of author and narrative identity. The methodology is based on secondary research to explain how stylometry can be used in author definition and attribution and identification of texts. It goes on to analyse the types of stylometric entities and examines the role of computers in stylometry and its application to professional discourse. The study concludes that although the use of computers is an important quantitative tool in stylometric research, in the end it is human judgement that counts.

KEYWORDS: *stylometry, professional discourse, lexis, structural analysis, content analysis, Enron*

1. INTRODUCTION

The moment of crystallisation and theorisation of the methods of stylometry came in the second half of the 19th century with academics close to the *Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal*. The researchers who participated in the early development of stylometry were generally both philosophers and mathematicians and participated in the mathematical-logical foundation of computer science. This paper traces the history of stylometry and its current uses and explores its potential application to professional discourse.

Stylometry is based on the principle that each author or organisation develops its own linguistic style and expression. Therefore, documents from an individual or an organisation can be analysed to identify most probable authorship. Stylometry is also a valuable tool in professional discourse, not just for identifying who wrote what and when and why, but also for identifying lexical and grammati-

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'Stylometry is also a valuable tool in professional discourse, not just for identifying who wrote what and when and why, but also for identifying lexical and grammatical devices used in written communication, which can be compared with what is taught to students in business language textbooks'

cal devices used in written communication, which can be compared with what is taught to students in business language textbooks. In this sense, it is potentially an important source of authentic language used in professional discourse.

This study examines the background of stylometry and analyses the key types of stylometric entities used to identify and verify manuscript authorship. It then goes on to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of automatic word processing and concludes with its application to professional and organisational discourse. Based on secondary research, the study also includes a case study of Enron, the leading US finance firm that crashed in 2001, the responsibility for which was identified through the stylometric analysis of employees' emails using the Adaboost and SVM classifiers. It also examines the difference between the professional discourse language exponents taught in business language classes and the use of authentic language in business meetings to ultimately draw conclusions about the function of each in teaching professional discourse. Stylometric analysis is potentially an important technology not just in verifying literary narrative, but also revealing identity of key actors in organisational fraud and mismanagement and identifying authentic business language which can serve as a teaching resource.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As Sigelman and Jacoby (1996) point out, stylometry is a very reliable technique and is widely used in literary studies but not yet in business communication. Stylometry is based on a principle widely confirmed by scientific literature: the linguistic style of an individual is so particular that it can be used to distinguish their writing. Even a writer who flaunts an abstruse vocabulary will also need to use many mundane words. Stylisticians regard style as a general predisposition toward a particular mode of expression rather than an invariant habit or constant. Stylometry is based on a very simple theory: just as each person has their own fingerprints or their own genome, each individual has their own style of writing and expression. The most obvious examples of this kind of style specificity are repetitions of the same spelling mistakes.

Lowe and Matthews (1995) call stylometry 'stylistic statistics' and define it as the application of mathematical methods to extract quantitative measures from a text. The main data that stylometry focuses on is the word and its articulation in a sentence (hence the issue of punctuation). Word and punctuation are the raw materials of this science.

Holmes (1994), one of the most influential researchers in the field of stylometry, explains that each text can be defined by a set of measurable statistical characteristics: if several documents emanating from the same individual have the same characteristics, then we can think that the author is making recurring use of a particular style. Holmes (1994) explains that there are no better criteria for making a comparison work between authors than those used in stylometric analysis. *'The lexical level is the obvious place to initiate stylistic investigations, since questions about style are essentially comparative and more data exist at the lexical level than at any other in the form of computed concordances'* (Holmes, 1994, p. 87-88).

In order to be able to study the stylistic characteristics of a text by computer, they must meet a number of conditions described by Bailey (1969, p. 219): they should be *'salient, structural, frequent and easily quantifiable, and relatively immune from conscious control'*. When we measure such characteristics, we try to highlight the uniqueness of an individual's handwriting and distinguish what makes their style unique from that of another individual. As Holmes (2004) reminds us, stylometry makes it possible to distinguish between true stylistic differences and variations that are only due to chance. The best tool to perform stylometric analysis of a text, that is to say concretely to derive interpretable statistical indicators, is computer science. However, computational linguistics software cannot analyse a text with the same depth as a human researcher.

The objects of computer analysis are of two types: the so-called 'raw' data (punctuation, character strings, syllables, etc.) and data which is in the order of content (themes, lexical fields, formulations, language registers, vocabulary, etc.).

Writing style is an unconscious habit, which is different from author to author in that to express an idea an individual will have personal use of grammar, words and punctuation. Although the style of writing can change a bit over time, each author actually has a recognisable stylistic tendency.

Almost all of the literature on stylometry shows that this methodology has three main objectives.

1. The question of authorship: who is the author of this text?

2. The question of verifiability: is this text from author X (specialists call it 'matching'), is it from author Y or from X and Y?

3. The question of characterisation also called 'profiling': what constitutes X's style?

To these we can add a fourth and fifth objective.

4. How can stylometry be applied to professional discourse in a way that can be used to identify authors of social media posts and emails?

5. How can stylometry be used in written professional discourse to reinforce accepted ways of expressing content in emails and social media posts?

The Internet is supposed to be a space of great freedom, which is particularly linked to the supposedly anonymous nature of our actions on the web. However, not only do we know that our navigation path can be easily traced thanks to our IP address in particular, but the writings that we publish in various social networks, forums, commercial sites, etc. constitute different traces of our passage in these virtual places and above all can help to reconstitute our style of writing.

'Writing style is an unconscious habit, which is different from author to author in that to express an idea an individual will have personal use of grammar, words and punctuation. Although the style of writing can change a bit over time, each author actually has a recognisable stylistic tendency'

3. DEFINING THE AUTHOR

3.1. Author verification

Paternity verification using stylometry for online documents (e.g. emails, tweets) poses significant challenges due to the unstructured nature of these documents. In addition, a major requirement is that (repeated) authentication decisions must occur over a short period of time or over short texts or messages. Stylometric analysis of short messages is difficult due to the limited amount of information available for decision making. Likewise, most of the stylometry analysis approaches proposed in the literature use a relatively large document size which is not acceptable for continuous authentication.

Another important challenge to address when using stylometry is the threat of counterfeiting. An adversary with access to a user's sample writing may be able to efficiently reproduce many existing stylometric features. It is essential to integrate specific mechanisms into the authentication system that would mitigate tampering attacks.

Author verification follows a typical biometric verification process, in which the identity of an author is verified by one-to-one matching. Some researchers have studied authorship verification as a similarity detection problem, where the problem is to determine the degree of similarity given by two texts, by measuring the distance between them. Other researchers have studied this question as a problem with one or two classes, one class consisting of documents written by the author and a second class consisting of documents written by other authors.

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3.2. Attribution and identification

Author attribution follows a typical biometric identification process, where the system recognises an author by a 'one to several' comparison. The process consists of extracting features from sample texts and labelling the classes according to the authors of the documents. Typical entity categories include lexical, semantic, syntactic, and application-specific characteristics. This can also apply to SFL and professional discourse where different types and styles of online communication can be attributed to authors and organisations by the type of language they use. This is particularly important in the analysis of text classification.

Author attribution is similar to text classification. A key difference, however, is that author attribution is subject independent, while in text classification class labels are based on the subject of the document and features include subject dependent words. By being able to recognise the use of subject dependent words relevant to a particular type of communication, stylometry can be used to improve knowledge and application of appropriate means of expression in emails and social media posts.

Despite the significant progress made in identifying an author among a small group of people, it remains difficult to identify an author when the number of applicants increases or when the sample text is short as in the case of emails or online messages. For example, while Chaski (2005) reported an accuracy of 95.70% in his work on author identification, the evaluation sample came from a corpus of only 10 authors.

Likewise, Hadjij et al. (2009) obtained, using the K-means algorithm for author identification, a classification accuracy of 90% with only 3 authors; the rate decreased to 80% when the number of authors increased to 10. Hadjij et al. (2009) also proposed another approach called *AuthorMiner*, which consists of an algorithm that captures frequent lexical, syntactic, structural and content-specific patterns. The experimental evaluation used a subset of the Enron dataset, varying from 6 to 10 authors, with 10 to 20 text samples per author. The accuracy of perpetrator identification decreased from 80.5% to 77% as the size of the perpetrator population increased from 6 to 10. Hadjij et al. (2009) used the C4.5 and SVM classifiers to determine authorship and assessed the proposed approach using a subset of three authors from the Enron dataset. They obtained correct classification rates of 77% / 71% for sender identification, 73% / 69% for sender-recipient identification, and 83% / 83% for sender identification.

'Author attribution is similar to text classifica-tion. A key difference, however, is that author attribution is subject independent, while in text classification class labels are based on the subject of the document and features include subject dependent words'

The issue of author attribution is particularly important in identifying the actual author of a disputed anonymous document. In the literature, author identification is considered to be a problem of text categorisation or text classification. The process begins with data cleansing followed by feature extraction and normalisation. Each suspect document is converted into a feature vector; the suspect represents the class label. The extracted entities are classified into two groups: training and testing sets. The training set is used to develop a classification model while the test set is used to validate the developed model assuming that the class labels are not known. Common classifiers include decision trees, neural networks and SVM (Support Vector Machine). Author attribution studies differ in terms of the stylometric characteristics used and the type of classifiers employed. Cho et al. (2013) propose two approaches that attempt to extract authorship from emails in the context of computer forensics. The authors extract various characteristics from email documents, including linguistic characteristics, header characteristics, linguistic models and structural characteristics. All of these features are used with the SVM learning algorithm to assign authorship of email messages to an author.

In their famous study Chen et al. (2011) develop a framework for the identification of the author in online messages to address the problem of identity tracing. Within this framework, four types of writing style features (lexical, syntactic, structural, and content-specific) are extracted from English and Chinese online newsgroup posts. A comparison was made between three classification techniques: decision tree, SVM and backpropagation neural networks. Experimental results showed that this framework is able to identify authors with satisfactory accuracy of 70-95% and that the SVM classifier outperformed the other two.

3.3. Author characterisation

Author characterisation is used to detect sociolinguistic attributes such as gender, age, occupation and educational level of the potential author of an anonymous document. Stylistics or the study of stylometric characteristics shows that individuals can be identified by the redundancy of their writing styles. Olsen (1993) attempted to define what constitutes the 'singular style' of a given person: an individual's writing style is defined by the terms used, the selection of special characters and the composition of sentences. Studies in the literature show that there are no such optimised functionalities applicable to all fields.

4. FOUR TYPES OF STYLOMETRIC ENTITIES

4.1. Lexical features

A text can be seen as a sequence of 'tokens' which are grouped into sentences. A token can be a word, a number or a punctuation mark. Many studies of author attribution rely primarily on simple measures such as the number and length of sentences and the number and length of words. The advantage of these features is that they can be applied to any corpus in any language and without additional requirements (Schuster et al., 2020).

Lexical features allow you to understand how an individual or a business organisation or a particular profession uses characters and words. For example, these characteristics may be represented in the frequency of special characters, the total number of capital letters used, the average number of characters per word, the average number of characters per sentence and compliance with punctuation rules.

'Another method to define a set of lexical features consists in extracting the most frequent words in the corpus. It is also possible to provide various clerical error metrics to capture idiosyncrasies of an author's style. To do this, we must define a set of spelling errors and formatting and propose a methodology to automatically extract these measures using a spell checker'

A text can be thought of as a sequence of characters. Different character-level metrics can then be defined, including number of alphabetic characters, total number of characters, number of upper- and lower-case characters, letter frequency and number of punctuation marks.

Vocabulary richness functions quantify the vocabulary diversity of a text. Some examples of this measure are: the V/N ratio (V is the size of the vocabulary and N is the total number of tokens in the text), the measure of Yule, the number of hapax legomena (words appearing once) and the number of hapax dislegomena (words appearing twice). However, the richness of the vocabulary strongly depends on the length of the text.

Various functions have been proposed to achieve stability over text length, including Yule measure, Simpson measure, Sichel measure, Brunet measure, and Honore measure (Eder, 2017).

Another method to define a set of lexical features consists in extracting the most frequent words in the corpus. It is also possible to provide various clerical error metrics to capture idiosyncrasies of an author's style. To do this, we must define a set of spelling errors (omissions and insertions of letters) and formatting (capital letters) and propose a methodology to automatically extract these measures using a spell checker.

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4.2. Syntactic characteristics

Holmes (1998) defines syntactic characteristics as the patterns used to form sentences. This category of entities includes the tools used to structure sentences. These include punctuation and function words. Function words are common words (articles, prepositions, pronouns) like *while, upon, though, where, your.*

4.3. Structural features

Structural characteristics are useful in understanding how an individual organises the structure of their written speech. For example, how sentences are organised in paragraphs and paragraphs in a given document. Structural characteristics are generally suggested for email author attribution. In addition to general structural characteristics, several researchers have used specific characteristics of emails, such as the presence/absence of greetings and signatures and their position in the body of the email (Savoy, 2020).

4.4. Content-specific features

Content-specific features can be used to characterise the authors of certain texts in interaction situations such as in discussion forums using keywords. Work on the characterisation of authors has targeted the determination of various traits or characteristics of an author such as sex, age or level of education according to the use of a particular keyword repeatedly or of a specific formulation. The general approach is to create sociolinguistic groups from documents written by the same population, then to deduce to which group(s) an anonymous document could be linked.

Cheng et al. (2011) studied author gender identification from text using the Adaboost and SVM classifiers to analyse 101 lexical features, 10 syntactic features, 13 structural features, and 392 functional features.

In December 2001 a leading US financial firm, Enron, collapsed amidst accusations of fraud. In order to trace what had caused the crash and who was involved, the FERC subpoenaed for examination of 600,000 emails generated by 158 employees. The evaluation of the proposed approach involving 108 authors from the Enron dataset yielded classification accuracies of 73% and 82.23%, respectively, for Adaboost and SVM.

'As Fortier (1995) recalls, software is capable of analysing large amounts of information in record time, the tasks performed by specialised software are long and laborious, even impossible for humans alone. Moreover, unlike human analysis, the automated processing of data by specialised software is objective a priori. The algorithms allow the examination of a whole text without special attention being drawn to a particular passage more than on another'

Abbasi and Chen (2008) analysed the individual characteristics of participants in an extremist group web forum using the decision tree and SVM classifiers. The experimental evaluation gave success rates of 90.1% and 97% in identifying the correct author among 5 possible individuals for the decision tree and the SVM, respectively.

Kucukyilmas et al. (2008) used the k-NN classifier to identify a user's gender, age, and educational background. The experimental evaluation of 100 participants grouped by sex (2 groups), age (4 groups) and educational background (10 groups) gave precision of 82.2%, 75.4% and 68.8%, respectively.

As Fortier (1995) recalls, software is capable of analysing large amounts of information in record time, the tasks performed by specialised software are long and laborious, even impossible for humans alone. Moreover, unlike human analysis, the automated processing of data by specialised software is objective a priori. The algorithms allow the examination of a whole text without special attention being drawn to a particular passage more than on another. *'An algorithm has the immense advantage of not being subject to distractions, nor to preconceived ideas'* (Fortier, 1995, p. 101).

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Advantages of automatic word processing

There are indeed many advantages of automatic word processing. Burrows and Craig (1994) have shown in a long article on scientific debates in the field of textual analysis, that statistical computer analysis of literary texts has been an unprecedented revolution, not so much in that it brings a technical renewal to the field of study, but quite simply in that it has given a firmer basis to many methodological debates which, until then, were lost in conjecture (Vartanova et al., 2020; Zvereva, 2021).

Olsen (1993) reminds us that the automatic analysis of texts must be defined in a simple and limited way. It does this by highlighting the aspects of a text or of a series of texts which would be difficult to see with the naked eye. The computer is therefore above all what Olsen (1993) describes as an accelerator and a facilitator.

Automatic data processing can be used to analyse data from entire literary works rather than from individual texts themselves. The place of humans is then much more important, their involvement is more important, they must indeed collect, organise, classify and process data, etc. prior to automated processing.

In their research on the importance of female characters in French-speaking African literature, Ormerod et al. (1994) used several computer software programmes. The three researchers have assembled a representative corpus of ten novels written by male authors and ten written by women. The data submitted for the software review consisted of an exhaustive list of the characters in these twenty novels.

The characters were assigned three ratings from 1 to 5 (according to pre-established criteria): one corresponding to the importance given to the character, another to the power conferred on them in the social and professional field, and the last to their attitude in the novel. It is therefore at this level that the most important part of human intervention was located before automated processing. The researchers then highlighted the difference between texts by male authors and those by female authors.

Laffal (1995) has worked extensively on analysing the works of Irish writer Jonathan Swift. As this author not only wrote in English, Laffal (1995) also translated words from works that were in languages other than English and replaced proper names with names or places, whichever they referred to. The scholar identified the various words whose spelling had changed since the writing of these texts and associated them with corresponding words according to modern spelling. As Laffal (1995) explains at length in his article, he even had to intervene during the analysis to counter the problems of polysemy. From then on, he had to use two software: one read the text to be analysed and marked all words which had more than one meaning in the dictionary, and the other advanced through the marked text, stopping at each marked word with a display of numbered dictionary choices. The human editor selected the proper meaning by keying the relevant number.

5.2. Criticisms and limits

For some computer text analysis experts, led by Olsen (1993), computing has a lot to offer to stylometry, but software is often misused and the results do not have the impact they might have. The scholar considers that it is necessary to reassess the role of informatics in the analysis of the literature and to move in new directions. He quotes Potter (1989) who says that specialists using computer science in literature too often tend to make their reports very 'technical', which does not help to gain a readership of literary works.

There would then be a 'complex encountered by computer engineers' seeking to hide behind a technical vocabulary – too often poorly mastered. Potter (1989) also notes that this type of study is mostly limited to a small number of works.

Brunet (2003), for his part, raises the dangers of what he calls 'statistical stubbornness'. When a researcher wishes, for example, to determine the authorship of a text, he will begin by formulating a hypothesis first and then subjecting the text to tests in order to verify or refute his hypothesis. When it does not achieve the desired results and does not want its efforts to be in vain, there is a high risk

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'To date no known algorithm makes it possible to grasp whether a given word is used in a figurative or literary sense. To do this, it would in fact be necessary for the researcher to carry out encoding work beforehand, which constitutes a long and tedious task. According to Miall (1995), to predict a new era in which a computer would be able to grasp and understand a literary work would underestimate the complexity of the process of reading a text by a human being'

that it will push hard and try to interpret the results in a way that makes them say the right thing. Brunet (2003) recalls that there is a strong tendency in stylometry to give figures an almost divine superiority over words because they seem absolute, *'but this apparent incontrovertibility, however impressive, often conceals relative and contingent procedures that have nothing essential about them'* (Brunet, 2003, p. 70).

According to Olsen (1993), the main errors that are made by people using automated processing in the field of stylometry are not technical, but rather theoretical and methodological. Olsen (1993) explains that computer text analyses are usually done on the basis of too simple things like word length and what he describes as 'type-token' ratios, when these measurements give unsatisfactory results on their own. This is also the opinion of Miall (1995), who believes that *'the frequencies of words, collocations, or particular stylistic features tell us rather little about the literary qualities of a text, since these aspects of a text find their meaning only within the larger and constantly shifting context constituted by the reading process'* (Miall, 1995, p. 275).

As Fortier (1995) explains, it is by no means easy to transform textual qualities into analysable statistics. Although the texts are composed of words, their effects are produced by phenomena of a higher and more complex order. To date no known algorithm makes it possible to grasp whether a given word is used in a figurative or literary sense. To do this, it would in fact be necessary for the researcher to carry out encoding work beforehand, which constitutes a long and tedious task. According to Miall (1995), to predict a new era in which a computer would be able to grasp and understand a literary work would underestimate the complexity of the process of reading a text by a human being.

Nonetheless, one can agree with Olsen (1993) that automated word processing allows data to be updated which can form the basis of human deeper work. It would seem that the approach of using computers to analyse the linguistic and symbolic environment – the collective and social elements of language – in order to understand individual texts and rhetorical stances, suggests that computer analysis of text should play a central and well-defined role in our understanding of text. On the other hand, while some aspects of literary texts are quantifiable, others can never be.

5.3. Application to professional discourse

As mentioned above, computer analysis of text can add to professional discourse in two ways – security and modelling. As we saw in the analysis of the Enron email database, computer analysis can help identify who wrote what in emails and potentially in social media, thereby enhancing openness and transparency of authorship. Of more value to teachers and researchers, however, is the potential of computer analysis to identify areas of content and lexis used by native speakers to convey information and understanding through emails and other social media. In doing so, learners will improve both their ability and fluency in written communication through electronic media. Another factor in professional discourse is that the use of language and particularly jargon changes rapidly and can be difficult to keep up with, even by native speakers. The value of computer analysis is to identify these changes and, with professional human support, explain them and teach them in a way that learners will not only gain new informa-

'Computer analysis of text can add to professional discourse in two ways – security and modelling. As we saw in the analysis of the Enron email database, computer analysis can help identify who wrote what in emails and potentially in social media, thereby enhancing openness and transparency of authorship'

tion but know what language it is appropriate to use, and in what type and style of communication. An important point to consider is the difference between more formal and informal communication. Social media communication tends towards the informal whereas email can be both formal or informal. Understanding and observing the difference in language usage when reading or writing is important as it has an influence on cultural understanding and on building good relations.

One of the key areas of research in language and professional discourse is the relationship between what is taught in textbooks and what takes place in real life meetings, described as 'authentic' English. Authenticity is defined as something of undisputed origin and not a copy, based on facts, accurate and reliable. Williams (1988) identified the language used in real business meetings she attended: *'On reading the transcripts, the real meetings were almost unintelligible. The language contained a large number of unfinished sentences, false starts, overlapping utterances, interruptions and fillers, such as 'um', 'er' and 'you know'. A large proportion of the language contained jokes, quips, repetitions and asides. Some of the sentences were not grammatically correct'* (Williams, 1988, p. 45-58).

6. CONCLUSION

The computer allows researchers interested in the analysis of texts (literary or not) to add a valuable quantitative tool to their analyses. As Fortier (1995) writes, *'Using different software, specialists can obtain tables, graphs and statistics on the words that make up the works they are studying, as well as on syllables, punctuation marks, vocabulary, themes and lexical fields, etc. These results can then be used to compare authors or texts with each other. In particular, they can help the researcher to determine the authorship of a text, to distinguish imitations from authentic works, to understand the rhythmic patterns in verses or to grasp how a given author has contributed to the evolution of language'* (Fortier, 1995, p. 108).

Stylometry has mainly been used in literature and author identification by analysing writing style and use of lexis. As this paper suggests, it can also be used to identify styles of communication in electronic written professional discourse, differentiate between the vocabulary and expressions used by different organisations and professions, distinguish between formal and informal communication styles, thereby showing respect and building good relations and analysing and updating changes in the language used.

Automated text processing using algorithms should never be seen as anything other than a simple tool, which, while aiding the researcher, is by no means sufficient on its own. The researcher must indeed intervene before and after the automated analysis. Computer-assisted text analysis is not universally accepted, and experts have to contend with the limitations of this method.

Computer text analysis is marginalised by literary people. Most of them do not believe that computer tools can offer them any real help in their work and do not seem to have the curiosity to discover the possibilities of this tool. Unfortunately, a large number of articles dealing with automatic data processing in the field of computer text analysis are quite technical and sometimes off-putting for those who are not very familiar with statistics and computers. The human brain is able to grasp the meaning behind expressions, make associations of ideas, create and interpret metaphors, and even find new meanings in words that make up everyday vocabulary. No computer, even armed with the most advanced software, will ever be able to compete in intelligence and insight with a human author or reader.

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JEAN LANGLOIS
Sciences Po | 23, Rue St. Guillaume, 75337 Paris, France Cedex 07
jean.langlois@sciencespo.fr

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Original Research

The functional approach, semiotics and professional discourse

by Marina Peluso

Marina Peluso University of Bologna, Italy marina.peluso@gmail.com
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Michael Halliday, the founder of Systemic Functional Linguistics, was the key figure in linguistics to focus on the meaning of language as communication rather than just its structural form. He saw language as meaning and as a semiotic representation of values, attitudes and behaviours and in doing so introduced a vital area of academic study of languages. This paper explores the origins of Systemic Functional Linguistics and semiology, as well as the relationship between them, especially in applied professional discourse, both spoken and written. It analyses the use of Systemic Functional Linguistics in three case studies based on communication, semantics and non-verbal communication, and examines the implications for foreign language learning and teaching. The objective of the paper is to analyse Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and to show how it is exploited in newer communication approaches of Semiotics and UXD in intercultural business communication in English. The methodology is based on secondary research and focuses on three case studies, each presenting a new dimension of professional communication discourse. The first is the introduction of Globish, a simplified business vocabulary and grammar based on the requirements of international business negotiation. The second is the use of semiotics – signs that convey meaning and register. The third is the use of non-verbal communication based on the experiments of Albert Mehrabian. The results show that in a globalising economy Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics is an essential tool in managing international intercultural communication and professional discourse, but that ways of using discourse to convey meaning need to be considered.

KEYWORDS: *Systemic Functional Linguistics, semiotics, communication, transitivity, Globish*

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the centuries and particularly in the 20th century, observers of languages have analysed what language is, where it comes from and how it is used. In the comparative historical linguistic tradition observers noted the similarities between languages and particularly their relationship to key religious texts (Campbell, 2003). However, in the 20th century De Saussure (2011) shifted the emphasis on historical languages to focus on the structures and systems of living languages. As the 20th century progressed, two leading theories dominated linguistic studies. First was Chomsky's (2011) analysis of the structure of language, which stressed the importance of grammar and posited that grammar is an innate system. That was followed by Halliday (1975) who focused on language as communication and developed what is known as the functional approach or, more formally, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

Since the late 20th century we have seen the explosion of information technology through the use of information and communications technologies. We have also seen the huge development of international trade and the development of cross border supply chains involving the business communication between non-native speakers of English around the world and between native and non-native speakers. In addition to the use of language in professional communication (mainly English as a lingua franca), we experience more and more the interaction of different cultures with different interpretations of how language is used (register) and the meaning of cultural symbols all affecting professional discourse. This has affected how we understand the development of professional discourse and the use of language (Mukhortov & Poletaeva, 2020; Aleksandrova & Strelets, 2021).

The objective of this paper is first to analyse the functional approach (SFL) and to apply it to the newer communication approaches of semiotics, as well as to UXD (User Experience Design). To do so it uses secondary source research to analyse three case studies in professional communication as a way of negotiating meaning. The three case studies are: the introduction of 'Globish' in 1999 by Jean-Paul Nerriere as a simplified use of language vocabulary and grammar to ease business negotiations between non-native and native users; the importance of semiotics in brand management and international advertising, and the use of UXD to develop and adapt products and presentation in response to international user needs and cultural sensitivities; and, finally, the importance of non-linguistic expression through body language as a way of negotiating meaning, especially in professional discourse between different cultures.

These are some of the most important developments in the focus on how we communicate meaning in professional discourse, but they are not the only ones. As business theory and practice develops, new communication ideas and principles are being discussed, particularly the importance of authenticity and transparency in leadership and its influence on professional discourse and the use of language. The results will demonstrate that the theory of SFL and its focus on the communication of meaning will develop in its range of applications, especially in professional discourse, opening up new areas of language and cultural research.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Language is a communicative function

Meaning is the effect of communication and the manipulation of signs. In doing so we try to find the right signs, words and gestures to make sure we are understood and also to achieve certain social purposes. In SFL the primary function of language is to communicate a message. Structure and form exist to help this happen. Without function, the structure of a language has no point. However, you need to understand structure in order to understand how a particular function is achieved. Function and structure are two sides of the same coin.

Halliday (2013) emphasised that any theory of language must incorporate the functional use of language. He went on to say that language must be seen as a social semiotic system whose meaning and form are driven by the communication aims of the speaker and the context in which the message is delivered. He saw language as a social semiotic system, in other words a system whose structure was driven by the communicative goals of the user. Therefore, it must include the functions of language as it is used (Fontaine, 2012).

Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) analysed the functions of Systemic Functional Linguistics to include expression, content and context. Expression involves analysing phonetics and phonology. Content involves analysing lexico-grammar and semantics, and context involves analysing meaning

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making, the speaker's communicative goals (Halliday & Matthiesen, 2004). For Halliday (1978), the context was key. Text analysis should begin with context – the study of register and genre. He identified three variables: field (the topic), tenor (the communication participants' relationship) and mode (the communication channel used) (Halliday & Matthiesen, 2004).

Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) identified the meta-functions of any communication in three components: ideational, interpersonal and textual. Ideational is about the ability to organise experience into categories (experiential) and express the experience in a logical format. This is what they described as transitivity, made up of three main elements: processes, participants and circumstances and ideational metaphors. The interpersonal metafunction covers social roles and attitudes and divides into the study of mood, modality, speech acts and interpersonal metaphors. Finally, the textual function covers discourse, involving the study of rhyme, rheme and cohesive devices at lexical and grammatical levels (Halliday & Matthiesen, 2004).

SFL is at the basis of what is known as critical discourse analysis, the analysis of a text from the point of view of how meaning is conveyed and how it is interpreted. It studies the choices users have made from a range of alternative ways of getting their message across. This becomes an effective way of studying not just conversations but political commentary, media, advertising and, effectively, all forms of communication whether through speech, music, text or images.

2.2. Semiotics and the functional communication of meaning

Semiotics is defined as the science of signs and symbols and dates from the 17th century in the UK. However, our modern understanding of semiotics comes from the research of De Saussure (2011) in a series of lectures. Halliday (1975) was noteworthy for following De Saussure's theory. He conceived of language as a resource for construing meaning and described language as a social semiotic. So, for Halliday (2013) every language act was an act of meaning and that meaning meant acting semiotically. Therefore, every use of language reflects a social reality and in international business it needs to express a professional social reality which is recognised and hopefully accepted by the interlocutors.

Any message, visual, speech or textual, presents a range of semiotic options to the user. One of the most obvious visual images is traffic signals. In all countries, a red traffic signal means *stop* and a green traffic signal means *go*. However, in the UK an additional semiotic option exists – *yellow*, which occurs between the red and green lights. This means drivers can proceed with caution. Halliday identified three semantic options categories for the use of language which he called *transitivity*. The first is material (doing), talking or writing about actions. The second is mental (sensing) and the third is relational (relating). Systemic Functional Linguistics goes on to describe three main functions of language as meaning. Experiential meaning is how people talk about their experiences. Interpersonal meaning describes the processes of asking questions, giving information and instructions and also describes how users express their own judgements and opinions. Finally, textual meaning indicates the context in which the language is presented, in our case a professional context. All these are expressed in a clause. The principle is that to understand the semiotic meaning of what is said or written the clause needs to be analysed for its semantic connotations.

Let us take a simple phrase, often used in English in the greeting in a business email or letter, *If I may* as in *Dear Marina, if I may*. This is considered a polite way of bridging the gap between formality and informality when writing to someone you don't know. Normally, I might expect *Dear Dr Peluso* but in using the phrase *If I may* the writer is assuming a degree of commonality, maybe of profession or discipline or maybe of public status. In the same way, if called on a help line by phone, the caller may ask you, *May I call you, Marina?*, in order to establish a more personal relationship before continuing the conversation. If we examine the clauses *If I may* and *May I call you…?* semiotically, it is obviously relational and interpersonal, in Halliday's (2013) terms. It is interesting as Tomalin and Nicks (2014) explain, how in international professional communication people often get it so wrong by sounding too informal too soon or sounding more formal than they need to be. As Kress (1976) points out, any situation where a verbal or written exchange takes place needs to be understood as a semiotic structure. The words used have a social meaning and express a social value or values.

2.3. Semiotics and language use

In his lectures which treated language as a system of signs, De Saussure (2011) distinguished between the signifier, the actual symbol, and the signified, the concept or meaning behind the signifier. He went on to distinguish between parole (the words you use in speech or writing) and langue (the conventions that make the words used understandable and acceptable). It is the langue that semioticians and Systemic Functional Linguistics experts are most interested in especially in professional discourse.

Let us take a common example from French. If I make an offer or a request in French from somebody I know well, the answer may well be, *Si tu veux* (*If you want*). In French it is simply a phrase of acceptance but in English it often has a semiotic connotation which is completely different and can be explained as *If you want, but I don't*. In other words, positive acceptance in French may be construed as negative or reluctant acceptance in English. This is a common problem experienced by English speaking expats living in France. The implications for foreign language teachers are obvious. We need to pay attention not only to the literal translation but also to the semiotic context. In this case, *Si tu veux* may be more efficiently translated as *Yes, certainly*.

2.4. Semiotics and symbols

As well as language we use symbols, such as signs, slogans, logos and advertisements all of which play a significant role in international business communication, raising awareness of corporate brands and products. These are useful topics of study as are non-verbal communication in the use of verbal gestures such as the thumbs up sign or the A-OK symbol of forefinger and thumb joined to make a circle. In North America and Western Europe, the A-OK gesture means *good* whereas in Brazil it means the opposite, *nul*. The thumbs-up gesture traditionally means *good* whereas thumbs down means *bad* or even death. This paper goes more deeply into the significance of body language in relation to speech in the discussion of Mehrabian's (1972) research.

A leading figure into research into semiotic symbols was Barthes (2009), whose book of essays, entitled *Mythologies*, is still a basic research tool. Barthes (2009) argued that any communication presents a myth – an unconscious belief or a professional or personal representation of reality. We unconsciously accept or reject the myth we perceive behind any communication and that is why language teachers need to help students analyse professional discourse and learn to distinguish between the seen, what is said, written or shown and the unseen, the myth that lies behind it and which will determine professional acceptability or unacceptability.

2.5. Language and narrative

According to Barthes (2009) and others, the key was the narrative. In the use of language in a professional environment, what narrative will convey competence, courtesy and assurance and what narrative will suggest the opposite? A language speaker may be perfectly confident and competent in delivering the narrative required in their own mother tongue but be totally incompetent in doing so in a foreign language. Even though they are reasonably good at the structure of the language they are using (the parole or language form) but need experience in finding the right words or phrases to express the appropriate narrative (the langue).

As Thussu (2006) writes, foreign language users should never assume that the terminology, sounds and graphics used in their culture will be accepted by speakers of a foreign language. They should check all names and references for use in other ter-

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ritories or languages. They should remember that phrases that have positive connotations in their own language may have negative connotations in the foreign language they are using. In short, it's not the seen but the unseen that matters, not the literal meaning but the myth behind the meeting.

According to Thussu (2006), there are number of strategies that learners of professional English and its meaning can adopt to improve their communication in a foreign language. The essential is to control the narrative. Know the core values you want to express, write them down and check them. Show you are in control. Use words like 'investigating' or 'dealing with'. Demonstrate that you are being proactive. Say clearly what you are doing and intend to do. Also, demonstrate that you are in contact with the issues and people you need to deal with. For language teachers, the work is to find issues their students have to deal with and help them learn what professional native speakers actually say and write in such situations. This is the use of systemic structural linguistics and semiology to help learners achieve greater fluency and mastery of professional communication.

3. METHODOLOGY

This paper explores the use of language in context in two case studies. First, the use of the English language in professional contexts based on the business cultural framework of RADAR Communication compiled by Tomalin and Nicks (2014). Second, the use of the English language in professional contexts based on the international business English language of GLOBISH developed by Jean-Paul Nerrière, former vice-president of IBM. The study also explores the functional and semiotic significance of non-verbal communication through the work of Mehrabian (1972) in the United States. Examples of SFL in English will be analysed in the context of acceptable international professional communication.

4. CASE STUDY: RADAR COMMUNICATION

RADAR Communication is a concept developed by Tomalin and Nicks (2014) using communication contexts developed by intercultural theorists such as Hofstede (2011), Trompenaars (1996), Hampden-Turner (1990) and Lewis (2021) to identify six key communication paradigms (Table 1).

Table 1
The RADAR Communication Framework (Tomalin & Nicks, 2014)

TYPE OF COMMMUNICATION	ME	THEM	HOW ADAPT?
Direct/Indirect I say what I mean I change what I say to avoid confrontation or disagreement			
Precision/ Suggestions I go into detail I avoid detail – I leave room for creativity of interpretation			
What/Why – Why/What I say what I want then why I have to give background context first			
Formal/ Informal I am formal and respectful I am informal, relaxed and casual			
Neutral/emotional I keep my emotions under control It's important to let people know how I feel			
Interrupt/wait I speak fast, I interrupt I speak slow, I never interrupt			

'RADAR is itself used as an acronym, its five letters standing for Recognise a problem, Analyse it, Decide what solution to adopt, Act and finally Reflect on the results. The six categories juxtapose two types of communication and invite users to identify their key styles and write it in the box marked 'Me'

RADAR is itself used as an acronym, its five letters standing for *Recognise* a problem, *Analyse* it, *Decide* what solution to adopt, *Act* and finally *Reflect* on the results. The six categories juxtapose two types of communication and invite users to identify their key styles and write it in the box marked 'Me'. What they write indicates the communication style they largely identify with and where they feel most comfortable.

Let's take an example. Some people pride themselves on their directness, their willingness to say what they think. Others prefer indirectness, wishing to avoid a possible disagreement or confrontation. The issue is that when direct users and indirect communicators interchange their respective styles, it can cause attitude problems. For example, a direct communicator may come across as dominant, aggressive or just plain rude. On the other hand, an indirect communicator may come across as indecisive, uncertain or at worst, hiding the truth; in other words, a liar.

The key issue is how to resolve potential tension and disagreement and this is where the use of language appropriate to the situation comes in. The secret may to be prepared to say where you are coming from, what style you prefer to adopt. In this case, the direct speaker may say, *I'm a very direct person. I say what I think but it's nothing personal*. The phrase *It's nothing personal* is important because it neutralises what might otherwise be seen as a personal attack.

In the same way, the difference between attention to detail and to generalities, often described as 'the big picture' can often cause disagreements. 'Detail' people may come across as dominant and aggressive and 'picky' (over-focused on tiny points of detail). 'Big picture' people can often come across as unfocused and even as hiding or distorting the truth. Once again, the strategy to say where you are coming from is positive. If you say *I am a detail person*, your interlocutor is less likely to take offence if you start asking detailed questions to clarify a communication. It then enables you to ask more detailed questions to get the answer you want.

What Tomalin & Nicks (2014) describe as 'What/Why' and 'Why/What' is one of the biggest problems of international communication, especially in official meetings. A 'What/Why' communicator expects to say what they want and if necessary explain why they want it. A 'Why/What' communicator needs to explain the background context, often at some length, before they say what they want. This can be very frustrating for the 'What/Why' communicator and can affect the relationship between communicators. Using functional English to settle the fears of the 'What/Why; communicator, the 'Why/What' communicator can respond to questions by saying something like*, I'll answer your question but I need to give you a bit of background first*. The *bit of background*, even if it's quite a lot, helps satisfy the 'What/Why' communicator that his or her interlocutor appreciates their approach. The word *bit* also helps the communication. A *bit of background* suggests the explanation will be short. Another really important word to use is *just*, which suggests speed and brevity in English. A very good example is interruption in meetings. If a speaker can say something like *Can I just interrupt?* or *Can I just come in here?* the use of the word *just* has the function of suggesting the interruption will be brief, increasing the speaker's chance to make themselves heard.

Emotion is a very important part of communication and is contrasted with neutrality as a means of expression. In many parts of the world, expressing your emotions is seen as an important part of communication. However, the expression of emotion is limited in many countries to particular contexts

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or not accepted at all in business environments. In East Asia, for example, losing your temper in a business meeting can lead to serious loss of face (personal dignity). In Japanese the term *Hena Gaijin* translates as *crazy foreigner* and suggests that the person who uses emotional language in business meetings is unreliable and is not to be trusted (Tomalin & Nicks, 2014).

The fifth paradigm, formality and informality, is much better known as it indicates the way we should address people in a business or official environment. In a society where formal address is expected, informality may be regarded as rude and disrespectful. In a business environment where informality is expected, formality may be regarded as keeping your distance and showing inability to adapt.

Therefore, the ability to check and conform to business requirements is important. The functional usage of *How would you like me to address you?* or *What should I call you?* can be important in such exchanges.

An important functional phrase is *If I may* as in *Dear John, If I may* in starting an email to a professional colleague you don't know personally. It is an effective approach, inviting a degree of informality without being impolite.

Finally, Interrupt vs Wait. Described effectively by Lewis (2010) as ping pong (interrupting) and bowling (waiting), waiting can be seen as boring and perhaps as hiding information while ping pong can be seen as impatient. Latin countries can speak quite fast and don't mind too much being interrupted. In many East Asian communities, on the other hand, it is important to wait till your interlocutor has finished speaking, pause and then respond. That use of silence between utterances may even be used as a negotiating tool as your silence is interrupted by your interlocutor, impatient to break the silence, who may offer concessions in the process.

What RADAR Communication demonstrates is that the systemic functional language we use is influenced by intercultural as well as personal considerations which can affect our ability to build successful international relationships.

5. CASE STUDY: GLOBISH

5.1. Globish: a communication tool for intercultural communication

Another but more structurally based application of Systemic Functional Linguistics is Globish. One of the phenomena of the information century has been the dominance of the English language as a lingua franca. But what variety of English? We know that there are hundreds of varieties of English spoken in communities around the world but one form has been the common language used by members of different communities communicating across borders – Globish. 'Globish' was the term coined by a French executive, Jean-Paul Nerrière in 1995. A Vice-President of IBM based in New York, he listened to English speaking nationals of South East Asia communicating with Korean and Japanese counterparts and noticed how non-native English speakers found it easier to communicate with each other than with native speakers. As McGovern (2019) describes it, the reason why many non-native speaker users of English often prefer to negotiate with other non-native speaker users of English is that they find them easier to understand. L1 (English as a first language) speakers were unwilling to make concessions to L2 (non-native) speakers, spoke too fast and used idioms that made them difficult to understand.

Nerrière (2004), as a French speaker of English, came up with the idea of a 'decaffeinated English' or 'English-lite', a slightly simpler form of English which gave non-native speakers an advantage over their native speaker UK or US competitors. He christened this 'new' language 'Globish' and the term caught on (McCrum, 2010).

Nerrière (2005) began by compiling a subset of standard English grammar list and a basic vocabulary of 1500 words with which he said anyone could conduct a business discussion in basic English. The lexicon, with the stress in each word identified in bold type is accessible online. He popularised his work in two French-language handbooks, *Decouvrez le Globish* (Nerrière et al., 2005) and *Parlez Globish* (Nerrière, 2004). He argued that with this simplified grammar and vocabulary non-native speakers could exchange practi-

'Globish, however, was not just a term for a functional business vocabulary but has become a form of global communication, especially in the 'information age' of the Internet and ICT'

cally, if not perfectly, any information needed and also build common ground between speakers. What Globish aimed to do was to focus on clarity and expression (McGovern, 2019).

5.2. Globish as a global communication tool

Globish, however, was not just a term for a functional business vocabulary but has become a form of global communication, especially in the 'information age' of the Internet and Information and Communication Technologies. The most popular language of the Internet is Mandarin Chinese, due to the number of speakers and access to technology, but by far the most used language internationally is English. Globish therefore has two meanings: the restricted language first proposed by Nerrière (2004) for business intercommunication in English, and, far more important, the use of different non-native speaker varieties of English for effective business communication worldwide both face-to-face and via the Internet and social media.

What is evident is that the number of native speakers of English is tiny compared to non-native speakers. In his investigation of English usage around the world, Graddol (2007) produced a pie chart comparing the international use of English around the world. In his findings, 74% of English users were non-native speakers using a simplified version of English used by non-native speakers, consisting of the most common words and phrases only. According to Graddol's (2007) findings, only 4% of speakers communicated in English at native speaker level.

It's important to remember that Nerrière (2005) never saw Globish as a language, like, for example Esperanto. He saw it as a tool, a means of communication. McCrum (2010) described its infrastructure as economic, based on trade, advertising and the global market. Davidson (2011) gave examples of Nerrière's simplified English (e.g. *chat – speak casually to each other; kitchen – the room in which you cook your food)*. However, as Davidson (2011) goes on to say, words which already have international currency, such as *pizza*, remain as they are.

Globish also has a broader 'global' meaning. McCrum (2006, p. 5) talks of a Globish revolution, an environment where some form of English has become a universal global currency, *'the intellectual dialect of the third millennium'*, as he describes it. Lyons (2021) estimated that of an estimated world population of about 7.8 billion, 364 million were native speakers, but 1.35 billion spoke it as a foreign language. Chinese is the most common first language, followed by Spanish and then English in third place but English is the most widely studied foreign language in the world. On the Internet itself, McCrum (2006) estimates that 80% of the world's home pages are in English compared with 4.5% in German and 3.1% in Japanese. This means that social media, international manufacturing and distribution, mass consumerism and tourism and professions like law all use a form of English, to some degree different to that used by native speakers.

5.3. Communicating through speech acts

If we look at professional behaviour, there are also differences in the way we talk to each other and even write emails. Reflecting international good practice, Tomalin and Nicks (2014) suggest the following principles for speakers to help understanding.

1. Articulate. If you open your mouth more when you speak, you automatically slow down and become clearer.

2. Leave a beat when you speak. If you are conveying information, a very short pause before an important piece of information will help the listener attune their ears and absorb the message.

3. No jokes. This is widely recognised as an issue in international communication. Hearers may simply not understand or they may take offence or even take the joke as a serious statement of fact or

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intention. Cultural factors are important here as jokes may be considered a way of breaking the ice in business meetings in some countries but totally out of place in others. The British, in particular, are noted for their taste in sarcastic jokes and their tendency to want to lighten the atmosphere by telling jokes at the start of a meeting or a lecture. The phrase *I am reminded of the time when…* is often the functional phrase used to warn you a joke is coming in a speech.

4. Explain idioms and acronyms. Native speakers, in particular, naturally use idioms without thinking, and it is important to check what you say, and if you catch an idiom it's important to restate it in easily understandable language. One example is *Back to square one*. The phrase itself comes from the time when, in the press, football fields were represented as a diagramme divided into squares. Square One was the centre of the field where the players kicked off at the start of a match or after a goal had been scored. The diagramme has disappeared into history but the phrase remains in common use. *Back to square one* simply means *Let's start again*. Similarly, if you use acronyms or initials in speech or writing, say what the letters mean the first time you use them. It really avoids confusion and aids comprehension.

5. KISS. KISS means 'keep it short and simple' and applied to speech it means trying to keep your sentences short. The recommended length is between 15 and 25 words. It's important to go over what you have written if you are writing for international reception. Can you simplify and shorten what you write to make your message clearer? The same goes for emails, though WhatsApp, Instagram and Twitter may work differently.

KISS also applies to emails. 1. A 15 to 25-word sentence is much more effective. 2. One thought per sentence is a good way of thinking about the construction of an email communication as once again it helps clarify the message. 3. Leave a line between paragraphs. This makes the progress of the email clearer but it also allows one other thing. Many respondents respond to emails point by point underneath what you have written and using a different colour, type face, for example, green.

4. Signing on and signing off. Tomalin and Nicks (2014) make a distinction between what they call the *New Brutal* and the *Old Courteous*. The *New Brutal* is simply starting an email with a name and signing off with a name and no greeting; for example, *Marina* rather than *Kind Regards, Marina*. The *Old Courteous* would expect people to use a greeting as well as a sign-off phrase, such as *Hello, Marina* and *Best, Marina*. *Hello* and *Best*, meaning *Best wishes*, are increasingly common functional ways of starting an email and signing off.

5.4. The importance of non-verbal interaction in intercultural communication

These points offer practical advice on how to use SFL as a way of improving your way of conveying meaning through the use of language and also through the use of design and organisational features which enhance the comprehensibility and readability of the message. In other words, SFL is only part of the way we convey meaning. We also use design, layout and communication techniques. Albert Mehrabian, Professor of Psychology at the University of California, went further. In a famous experiment with students, Mehrabian (1981) demonstrated that the language we use is only a minor feature of communication. His experiments demonstrated that 55% is attributable to body language (facial expressions, gestures, posture, and appearance). 38% was tone of voice and only 7% to the actual words used. This came to be known as the 55-38-7 rule, meaning that the words we use only contribute a limited amount to total meaning and can easily be culturally misunderstood.

What is significant about this is that listeners in face-to-face and even online visual interactions will pay as much if not more attention to non-verbal signs to interpret meaning as to verbal language. The non-verbal communication signs, which may include stress, intonation and gestures, facial expressions and posture, demonstrate dominance. Dominance is when speakers' body language and tone of voice agrees with what they want to express. It is important that the verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication should be congruent. In other words, the non-verbal communication, if congruent with the verbal communication, will make it more dominant and more convincing.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper has been to explore the role and relationship of Systemic Functional Linguistics and semiology in language and communication. It has emphasised the role of Systemic Functional Linguistics in linguistic, functional and intercultural communication using English as a global language. It has analysed how the English language itself has internationalised in a world of global business and international communication through the Internet and is differentiated from the functional language used by native speakers. It has examined the significance of language in intercultural exchanges and also the development of new functional linguistic tools through the development of 'Globish'. Finally, it has briefly explored the role of non-verbal communication as a vital component of successful communication, face-to-face and online.

Systemic Functional Linguistics has become the key to managing the international use of language in a global business community in which non-native speakers dominate. However, it also demonstrates that it is not only the use of verbal communication that conveys meaning and that we must consider cultural differences and also different body language to correctly interpret and evaluate the meaning of the communication. In this respect, although the use of grammatically correct foreign languages is to be respected, equal attention needs to be given to the role of other signs systems interacting in the communication process. This involves teachers helping learners to analyse the real meaning of what they wish to express and write in a foreign language and to build linguistic and cultural sensitivity to what they say and write as well as improving the grammatical, semantic and, where appropriate, pronunciation skills in their foreign language ability. This is especially important for learners of English as a global business language and will become even more important as international markets develop and we find ourselves more and more in a multilingual world.

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MARINA PELUSO
University of Bologna, Italy | 18 Meadow Court, Hackness Road, M21H99 Manchester
marina.peluso@gmail.com

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Original Research

Semantic shift in conflict terminology in contemporary Russian socio-cultural media discourse

by Alina S. Antipova, Maria D. Rabeson and Olga V. Smirnova

Alina S. Antipova Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia antipovaaline@gmail.com
Maria D. Rabeson Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia maria.rabeson@gmail.com
Olga V. Smirnova Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia smirnovaorama@gmail.com
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Current socio-cultural means of communication stand no comparison to the ones that existed even a decade ago. Media have introduced new information exchange practices, provided novel areas for communication, triggered wider civic participation in social life worldwide. The increase of digitalised texts available to the public on an everyday basis on the Internet have created media-focused space whose main characteristic is constant content change. Therefore, each specific social sphere may be traced throughout content provided in media sources internationally and locally. Conflict as one of the key ideas of the media zone is not an exception, being one of the most commonly reported topics in the news globally. Our study is based on revealing semantic features of conflict terminology that is understood as the number of related-to-conflict words used together in socio-cultural media discourse. While global contexts are usually more vulnerable to long-lasting meaning change, socially and culturally predetermined local contexts tend to be less considered having shorter time to evolve and be viewed. However, smaller meaning shifts or changes in word usages occur here ubiquitously and may be revealed in short-term perspective of analysing more flexible information slices. The purpose of this study is to reveal contextual short-term meaning changes for conflict terminology in leading federal Russian newspapers and online media sources. The corpus of 10,707 texts was formed based on the occurrence of conflict-related topics as the object of this research. The research period was January-December 2020. The selection and analysis of publications was carried out using Integrum (the information retrieval system for monitoring and analysing the media) and word2vec (an algorithm based on artificial neural networks). The original methodology made it possible to determine the share of publications on conflict in the total mass of media reports to identify key thematic areas of conflict information agenda, features of its geography, to describe the semantic field of conflict and show its dynamics in time.

KEYWORDS: *media discourse, Russian media, conflictology, conflict terminology, semantic shift*

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the key trends in modern development is the mediatisation of all social processes (Vartanova & Gladkova, 2020; Vladimirova et al., 2020; Gureeva & Kuznetsova, 2021). *'Conceptualisation of the process of mediatisation primarily occurs within the framework of critical analysis of the relationship between media and society. The role of mediatisation as a theoretical framework is recognised by scientific community and helps to trace the mutual influence and transformation of media sphere and communication process as well as social processes'* (Gureeva, 2019, p. 15).

The high intensity of media informational involvement into the area of social conflicts of various kinds and levels has always been observed. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that in the context of digitalisation, society observes conflicts through mediating lenses (Budka & Bräucher, 2020). Media support becomes a natural part of the conflict throughout its development from the beginning to the resolution including its consequences. There are also tendencies towards the strengthening of media control of conflicts, which creates the basis for manipulation, production of fake news and further intensification of social contradictions. In fact, the media themselves are turning into a kind of conflict terminology factory, constructing key social meanings and creating semantic shifts. All of the above creates the basis for a media-centric approach to the study of social conflicts and conflict terminology in socio-cultural media discourse using interdisciplinary approaches and methodological tools.

The researchers emphasise the nature of the conflict as a purely intangible phenomenon, estimated indirectly through the traces left as the results of conflict interaction in the material world. Such traces in contemporary conditions of digitalisation are recorded primarily in socio-cultural media discourse and seem to be the most important indicators of both the level of conflict in society as a whole and a certain stage of its development. The analysis of these indicators, as well as further comprehension of the role of the media in covering, diagnosing, and developing ways to resolve the conflict and reduce the level of conflict tension in society seem to be important tasks that require serious attention from researchers. In this context, it is the content of the media discourse that is the key source of analysis.

Temporal dynamics of contextual meaning change is usually a characteristic of socio-cultural media discourse and periodical textual units that cover a span of specific social and political phenomena reflected in them.

The regular process of linguistic change in word semantics is analysed throughout different verbal storages based, due to current rapid development of information flow, mostly on big datasets such as corpora of contemporary languages, Google Ngrams and some other specialised frameworks. This approach has shown its significance and value in the case of the process of long-lasting meaning change, although today's world sets new goals presupposed by the major transformation in human and social communication that has become instant and contextualised.

The idea of the relationship between long-lasting meaning changes and word frequencies has been already discussed in a number of computational semantic change detection studies (Hamilton et al., 2016; Kahmann et al., 2017). Compared to long-lasting semantic shifts that take years and even decades, short-term semantic shifts may occur in socio-cultural media contexts in monthly periods reflecting changes in word usage rather than in meaning itself. Conflict-based terminology in this case is viewed as a constantly changing semantic cloud of related-to-conflict words and is viewed with respect to short-term frequencies.

Distributional semantic methods put forward the hypothesis that a word's meaning is conveyed in its co-occurrence relationships (Al Farsi, 2018). Our study, therefore, focuses on local changes to a word's nearest semantic neighbours that are more likely to experience socio-cultural drifts.

It is also stated that nouns are more likely to undergo changes due to irregular cultural shifts while verbs, for instance, more readily participate in regular processes of semantic change (Traugott & Dasher, 2001). Our research, consequently, focuses on semantically related-to-conflict groups of nouns (N=30) for every media source as we follow the idea of sensitivity of nominal shifts to short-term culturally predetermined contextual changes in the Russian language. We estimate the degree of pair relationships of conflict-related words in each time period stating that in the case of short-term semantic shift, contextual similarity increase in time indicates specific usage of connected pairs.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The objective of the study was to analyse the semantic shift in conflict terminology in contemporary Russian socio-cultural media discourse. The basic methods are content analysis, comparative analysis, descriptive method, continuous sampling method, statistical and historical method of linguistic analysis.

Using *Integrum* – an information retrieval system for monitoring and analysing the media – and the *word2vec* algorithm, we were able to promptly analyse significant volumes of digital texts in order to build models for recording the occurrence of words and identify semantically close lexical units and whole groups (Integrum, 2020). Some previous research analysing the creative potential of Russian political discourse in 2010-2020 using the linguistic material collected from the *Integrum* electronic mass media archive suggested that relevant results can be achieved through this kind of study (Kozlovskaya et al., 2020; Kiose, 2020).

The objects of the study are Russian federal socio-political newspapers *Komsomolskaya Pravda, Rossiyskaya Gazeta* and *Kommersant*, as well as online resources *Lenta.Ru* and *Gazeta.Ru*. Research period covers the months of January through December of 2020.

The selection and analysis of publications on the topic of conflict was carried out using *Integrum* configured to select texts including the key word 'conflict'. The *word2vec* algorithm based on artificial neural networks was used to detect semantically close words to the key concept of conflict. *Integrum* was later applied to detect the change frequencies of the closest word pairs. *Integrum* is the largest factual archive of the mass media in Europe. The system provides the opportunity to search specific materials and create automatised monitoring for more than 120,000 publications, TV channels and radio broadcasts, including selected media. The *word2vec* algorithm based on artificial neural networks allows obtaining vector representations of words, which is currently one of the most regularly applied methods for processing large data arrays in a short time. This fully meets the tasks of analysing media content that changes with high frequency. In our study, we used the method of creating word vectors – numerical representations of words that preserve semantic similarity within and outside contexts. The functionality of the *Integrum* system made it possible to determine the total number of journalistic materials published in the studied media in 2020 (259,227 items in total), as well as select from them publications containing the keyword 'conflict' (10,707 items in total). Sample B1 was formed on the basis of these publications. After that, the proportion of publications of the B1 sample in the total content of both individual media and their aggregate was determined.

Using *word2vec*, we were able to conduct a step-by-step analysis of the frequency of words within the media studied. The main semantic core of 'conflict' was built up according to the principle of including only nouns. The core of the lexical system of the language is most often identified on the basis of the frequency criterion. Therefore, the calculation of the average frequency of words occurrence allows attribution to lexical units the frequency of which is higher than the average to the core, while leaving all of those, which frequency is below the average on the periphery. The frequency ranges of connection occurrence of the word 'conflict' and the keywords in the core are set by the model automatically. The most repeated connections were identified during the analysis according to the principle of reducing the vector connection with the main categorising concept.

Proper names were not excluded from the analysis, which made it possible to identify the links between 'conflict' as a categorising concept and the specific culture-related objects or subjects.

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In addition, in the content of each example of the media under study, such publications were identified in which, in line with the keyword 'conflict', there were keywords that are parts of the semantic core for sample B1, namely: *Russian, President, USA, Ukraine* and *Karabakh*. These pairs were chosen as having the highest scores. Then the dynamics of pair frequencies for 'conflict' keyword in publications was analysed by months Jan-Dec, 2020 in the *Integrum* database.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Conflictology as a field of knowledge is aimed at identifying and explaining factors that systematically generate contradictions, social tension, and collisions in society. Recognition of contradictions as the natural state of any social system is one of the important criteria when considering the causes and circumstances of social conflict emergence. Researchers into various disciplinary directions in the field of conflict management emphasise that the impact on conflict and its resolution is predominantly informational in its nature. In modern conditions of digitalisation of all spheres of social reality, the role of the media in conflicts has critically increased (Smirnova & Shkondin, 2021). However, in the context of mediatisation of all spheres of public life, one can speak not only about the key role of media in informing society about conflicts, but often about their decisive role in escalating, stimulating and even creating conflict situations and processes (Vartanova, 2021; Vartanova & Gladkova, 2020; Smirnova, 2021).

According to the classical paradigm, conflict management is aimed at revealing the reasons and mechanisms that usually induce social tension, contradictions and oppositions in society. The conflictological paradigm, which has been used by researchers for a long time, seems to be the key one today. One of the important criteria of the paradigm was the recognition of conflict as a natural state of any social system (Vladimirov, 2013, p. 176). At the initial stages of conflictology development, the main approaches, as noted, were associated with the study of the causes and functions of the conflict and the construction of the conflict theory (Boulding 1962; Galtung, 2008). Thus, a methodological foundation was formed for *'modelling conflicts through the identification and use of structural and dynamic indicators and indicators common to all conflict types, as well as for examination by assessing their specific state on the basis of certain criteria and for developing recommendations for their constructive settlement'* (Antsupov, 2018, p. 29). Above we have already emphasised the processes of mediatisation of social conflicts noted by researchers caused among other things by the high intensity of media informational involvement in social conflicts of various kinds and levels. The digitalisation of media has created conditions for society to observe conflicts through mediating lenses (Budka & Bräucher, 2020) and for a media-centric approach to the analysis of conflicts and conflict terminology in media discourse.

Discourse approach in social context examines the interaction patterns between participants, social goals and types of social events. A question of particular interest is how the discursive practice reflects the relationship between text and social practice. Temporal shifts in the meaning are widely considered in scientific literature. However, other valuable dimensions, such as socio-cultural variability, remain less investigated. One synchronic approach was introduced to detect semantic shifts between different sets of texts that share a specific metadata feature (Azarbonyad et al., 2017). Neural embedded vectors were used to analyse semantic space. This approach captures meaningful semantic shifts and can help improve other tasks such as the contrastive viewpoint summary or ideology detection.

'Discourse approach in social context examines the interaction patterns between participants, social goals and types of social events. A question of particular interest is how the discursive practice reflects the relationship between text and social practice'

'The semantic field of conflict is extremely diverse. Conflict terminology in media discourse seems to be very sensitive to any changes in the global situation, thus, representing a vast domain for research into the possible semantic shifts in short-term perspectives'

Linguistic research of conflictology is one of the priority areas of study (Palij & Poteryakhina, 2018). We define conflict as confrontation of subjects with its own structure, constituents, and the conflict situation in which an unfolding conflict arises. As the media are not only a means of conveying information, but also a very powerful tool for shaping opinions, linguistic reconstruction of a conflict in media discourse is a way to perceive and interpret a conflict, the characteristics of the sides involved and the stages of its development.

The semantic field of conflict is extremely diverse. The theme of territorial and political conflict is covered within the framework of all the publications presented in the study. Conflict terminology in media discourse seems to be very sensitive to any changes in the global situation, thus, representing a vast domain for research into the possible semantic shifts in short-term perspectives.

Currently, the traditional approach to semantic shift focuses on the resulting changes in meaning as well as on the classification of these changes (Traugott, 2017; Kondratyuk et al., 2021; Shamionov, 2020). At the same time, the particular examples of semantic change are regarded separately from the broad context of their use. However, language represents a specific type of communicative activity which is highly dependent on the contextual parameters, including both the type of discourse and the socio-cultural framework. The general mechanism of semantic change can be to some extent inferred from the laws of common mental changes in the population. Most recent research in the field has aimed rather to reveal the pragmatic factors, leading to semantic shift than to describe the essence of particular changes. Cognitive linguists often approach semantic shift as a reflection or projection of the socio-physical world on the processes of reasoning (Sweetser, 1990). The core postulate of this approach states that words have no set meaning, i.e. they only evoke some meaning and serve as clues to the potential notion, as instructions to meaning reconstruction in the contextual field (Paradis, 2011). These meanings are non-discrete and can be described in a set of prototypical features with core and peripheral areas.

Representing reflections of *'conceptual organisation, categorisation principles, processing mechanisms, and experiential and environmental influences'* (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007, p. 3), linguistic meaning has a perspectivation function. This approach was deeply theoretically elaborated in the philosophical, epistemological position taken by cognitive linguistics (Lakoff, 2008; Johnson, 2013).

Semantic shift is often triggered by the change in language conventions within the group of speakers. This process is deeply rooted in socio-cultural and discursive practices as well as in the other paralinguistic factors. For instance, developing the system of key-words analysis (Wierzbicka, 2006) reveals not only the trends in lexicon along with the change in cultural schemas, but also the way lexical meaning evolves reflecting and promoting cultural change.

Key words reflect the worldview and attitude to certain historical, social, and political issues, determining the specific functional style in discourse. Key words are significant in the description of a historical moment, since they most objectively represent the life of the period under study. Keywords have been studied from a number of perspectives, e.g. linguistic-specific concepts of language (Wierzbicka, 1997; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2013), though semantic shift mostly remained beyond the scope of attention in this paradigm.

In the 20th century, profound research focused on semantic fields which include interconnected sets of lexical units. The idea of shifts and changes in semantic space was described in the studies of

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terminology development (Kay, 1975; Williams, 1976). These studies set the scene for the systematic analysis of semantic shifts based on the accumulated data.

Semantic field is a set of actual linguistic units that have semantic unity (a common seme or group of semes). The lexical-semantic field is divided into three components: core, centre and periphery. However, functional-semantic or grammatical-lexical fields often overlap and diffuse, although it is possible to distinguish between functional-thematic and functional-semantic, which emphasises that the semantic field is not determined by general language use but rather appears in particular language material. If the research material is represented as a text or a group of texts, functional-textual fields that do not differ from the linguistic ones in essence are identified, though they often differ from the linguistic field in the composition of the core and the periphery.

Semantic mapping also represents a suitable instrument for semantic change research. Developed as visual representations of interconnections in different concepts (Croft, 2001, p. 96), abstract maps can help to identify related meanings and to assess the extent of their similarity (Auwera, 2013). Moreover, they can be interpreted as references to close semantic clusters.

Research into semantic shift also involves the analysis of collocations, the relationship between words or lexical groups that coincide in the text. As the 20th century saw an immense increase in the availability of historical digital corpora, research into semantic shift gained some new approaches to the data processing. A pool of innovative methodologies was elaborated to explain semantic changes as a motivated construct (Allan & Robinson, 2011) as well as to apply the research into shifts to practice. These methodologies widely support the assertion that a great proportion of change occurs in minor segments that can be observed in clusters of textual shifts in collocations.

Computer-mediated statistical approaches to corpora analysis involve the investigation of collocates and co-occurring units in various contexts. Thus, shifts in collocations reflect the change in meaning if observed in 'diachronic collostructional analysis' (Hilpert, 2008). Semantic shift or change is often associated with the long-term processes in the structure of meaning of a semantic unit (word, or to be more precise, lexeme). However, it is also possible to interpret semantic shift as a phenomenon, manifested in language activity during short time spans (Newman, 2015).

However, short-term effects of change (Hilpert, 2012) have also been observed, which might suggest that the particular context can contribute to long-term semantic shifts. Web crawling techniques are also used for the purpose of applying statistical designs to a broad variety of texts (Kerremans et al., 2012). Distributional modelling of word meaning was also applied to the study of automatic semantic shift detection (Fiser & Ljubesic, 2019).

In recent years, pragmatic shifts in meaning have been regarded as the basis of semantic change (Fitzmaurice, 2016). As the research into variations and discursive specifics of semantics have broadened, it has became possible to combine synchronic and diachronic work in the study of semantic change. In this paper, short-term diachronic perspective is combined with a synchronic perspective to analyse the possible markers and prerequisites for the long-term consequences of contextual factors in semantic change.

Research into semantic change has recently benefited from innovative methodological opportunities. These include the immense development of digitalised corpora, unfolding new possibilities for big data analysis, and innovative computational technologies, providing statistically reliable methods for the processing of semantic information. Combination of the two conditions not only opens up a way to describe particular events within semantic fields, but also to understand core mechanisms of changes in semantics.

Several research approaches have been applied to the study of semantic shifts (Dubossarsky, 2018). These paradigms differ in three dimensions: (1) top-down or bottom-up modes of information processing; (2) large-scale or narrow scope of focus; (3) the use of rigorous statistical method. It is

'Word frequency has even been applied to explain semantic shifts, presumably high-frequency words are more likely to lose extra shades of meaning'

worth noting that all types of research methodologies are currently widely used in semantic research and support rather than replace the others.

The traditional semantic approach provides a valuable source of insights into the mechanisms and trends in semantic change, e.g. the database of semantic shifts (Zalizniak et al., 2012). Another perspective evaluates the shift in terms of the quantitative change in distributional statistics viewed from a diachronic perspective. Several examples can be found in relevant literature: measuring the shifts in target word frequencies (Bybee, 2006), diachronic collostructural analysis which is based on the statistical interdependence of frequencies of co-occurrence of two words (Hilpert, 2014). The quantitative paradigm is often used, though the top-down approach prevails, e.g. detecting semantic shift for further qualitative analysis (Tantucci et al., 2018). Word frequency has even been applied to explain semantic shifts, presumably high-frequency words are more likely to lose extra shades of meaning.

The computational paradigm states that meaning can be inferred from the context of the word use in language. As per the hypothesis of data distribution, close words occur in similar contexts. This postulate constitutes the foundation for most contemporary corpora computational models that focus on contextual clues to interpret meanings.

It is worth saying that none of the paradigms mentioned above deals directly with word representation. Instead, the meaning is either inferred subjectively (as in the traditional model), or interpreted through the strength of association (as in the quantitative approach). In contrast to these two systems, the computational paradigm necessarily first represents word meanings and then defines semantic change as a measurable difference between the two representations.

4. STUDY AND RESULTS

In this research the publications of the selected media were analysed during the yearly period from January to December 2020. At the first stage, the selected methodology made it possible to estimate the proportion of publications containing conflict terminology in the total array of media reports. Thus, in the course of the first procedure, a sample of publications # = 10 707 (sample B1) containing the keyword 'conflict' was formed. This sample correlated with the total number of publications in the selected media for the investigated period (sample B0) # = 259227 publications. Thus, publications containing conflict terminology averaged 4,1% of the total volume of publications. However, significant differences are noticeable in the presence of conflict terminology in the periodicals analysed: the maximum share of texts with conflict terminology is demonstrated by *Kommersant*, the minimum – by *Gazeta.Ru* (Table 1).

The next procedure involved the analysis of the lexical-semantic field of B1 sample using the *word2vec* algorithm, which included only lexical units denoting the actants of situations. The core of the lexical system of the language is most often identified on the basis of the criterion of frequency. Calculating the average frequency of a word allows to reveal the vocabulary that shows the highest frequency if compared to the average. This vocabulary constitutes the core. Words whose frequency is below the average are referred to as the periphery. The procedure made it possible to identify the field around the word 'conflict' that was considered in all forms with flexions. The semantic core was built up out of 30 most common nouns and was generated automatically according to the principle of identifying nominal units for objects and subjects including proper names with the highest scores. The occurrence of words was checked both for the 'conflict' joint category for all periodicals and within each of the media separately. Table 2 presents the data obtained for *Komsomolskaya Pravda, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, Kommersant, Lenta.Ru* and *Gazeta.Ru* correspondingly. Semantic analysis to a large extent confirmed the data obtained with the help of *Integrum*.

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Table 1
Publications including conflict as the key notion

PERIODICAL	TOTAL NUMBER OF TEXTS IN 2020	TEXTS WITH THE WORD *CONFLICT*	PERCENTAGE OF TEXTS WITH THE WORD *CONFLICT* (%)
Komsomolskaya Pravda	7,366	326	4,4%
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	16,492	584	3,5%
Kommersant	5,576	755	13,5%
Gazeta.Ru	133,221	4,408	3,3%
Lenta.Ru	96,572	4,634	4,8%
∑	259,227	10,707	4,1%

Table 2
Conflict terminology semantic core

KEY WORD	SEMANTIC CORE
Conflict	conflict, president, usa, ukraine, azerbaijan, armenia, head, karabakh, situation, attitude, action, power, decision, turkey, republic, news, territory, state, region, number, vladimir, minister, photo, result, problem, group, representative, court, leader, negotiations

A group of words describing geographical objects is significant for the problem under consideration. It includes 6 words out of 30: USA, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Karabakh, Turkey. Words are listed in decreasing order of frequency, that is, listing the more frequently used words first before the less frequently used ones last. Thus, it can be argued that news reports related to the United States in our study were encountered more often (11,531) than those reporting on Ukraine (9,578), Azerbaijan (8,482), Armenia (8,166), Karabakh (8,166) and Turkey (4,582). In addition to the proper names of specific places associated with conflict, the core includes more abstract nouns associated with location (region, territory) and state system (republic, state).

The semantic field of conflict also contains a large group of words describing various aspects of conflict environment and actions associated with it. This group included: situation, attitude, action, solution, problem, result, number, and negotiation. The subjects of conflict are represented at the core by the words *minister, representative, group* and *power*. This block also includes more specific nouns describing the general subjects of power, including proper names: *president, head, Vladimir* (Putin), *leader*. The aspect of the relevance and coverage of conflict is represented by the words in news and photos.

Further on, within the same methodology, the semantic cores of 30 nouns for the category 'conflict' were identified for each periodical selected for the analysis (Table 3).

Analysing semantic fields for conflict as a categorising category by periodical revealed significant meaning shift between media. This shift may be described in terms of frequency differences in specific conflict terminology combination. The most frequently used units included in the semantic core of the official state periodical *Rossiyskaya*

Table 3
Conflict terminology semantic core (by periodical)

PERIODICAL	SEMANTIC CORE
Lenta.ru	conflict, photo, azerbaijan, president, armenia, karabakh, ukraine, usa, news, power, channel, action, attitude, situation, republic, head, ria, territory, region, turkey, group, man, decision, state, company, leader, donbass, problem, murder, result
Gazeta.Ru	conflict, president, usa, ukraine, head, action, karabakh, armenia, situation, azerbaijan, attitude, turkey, power, decision, republic, state, news, territory, minister, result, negotiations, trump, leader, vladimir, ria, statement, number, representative, region, donbass
Kommersant	president, mister, conflict, head, usa, company, situation, decision, rf, attitude, power, vladimir, project, sergey, market, court, number, elections, ruble, negotiations, representative, government, problem, region, turkey, action, group, million, minister, ukraine
Komsomolskaya Pravda	conflict, family, attitude, karabakh, thousand, president, usa, situation, azerbaijan, armenia, parent, alexander, problem, ukraine, history, ruble, school, power, million, son, turkey, film, month, apartment, territory, court, sergey, state, moment, daughter
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	federation, law, legacy, president, decision, body, article, usa, court, attitude, citizen, power, conflict, situation, number, state, history, territory, head, system, government, organization, service, problem, thousand, action, rf, measure, condition, subject

Gazeta turned out to be *federation, law, law body* and *article*. *Kommersant* most frequently used semantic units such as *mister, company, project, market* and *rouble*. The semantic core of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, aimed at a mass audience, showed the priority of conflicts related to family and relationships.

The next procedure was to identify the frequency of semantic pairs presumably demonstrating reference vectors in the information agenda in connection with specific people, countries, hot spots, etc. that are relevant in different periods of 2020 and the dynamics of their usage in different publications within the year by month. To test this technique, the following semantic pairs were selected: *conflict/Russian; conflict/president; conflict/USA; conflict/Ukraine; conflict/Karabakh*. To hypothesise short-term semantic shifts, an analysis of pair frequencies throughout each periodical was carried out (Tables 4-8, Figures 1-5).

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Table 4
'Conflict/Russian' pair frequencies (by periodical, by month)

PERIODICAL	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
Komsomolskaya Pravda	9	6	9	6	8	8	7	9	3	21	24	10
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	55	60	39	37	21	52	51	48	42	56	64	59
Kommersant	33	46	28	17	15	25	33	31	44	53	37	59
Gazeta.Ru	150	178	93	102	88	127	122	108	116	193	232	164
Lenta.Ru	115	151	96	91	98	119	155	108	142	183	353	215
∑	362	441	265	253	230	331	368	304	347	506	710	507

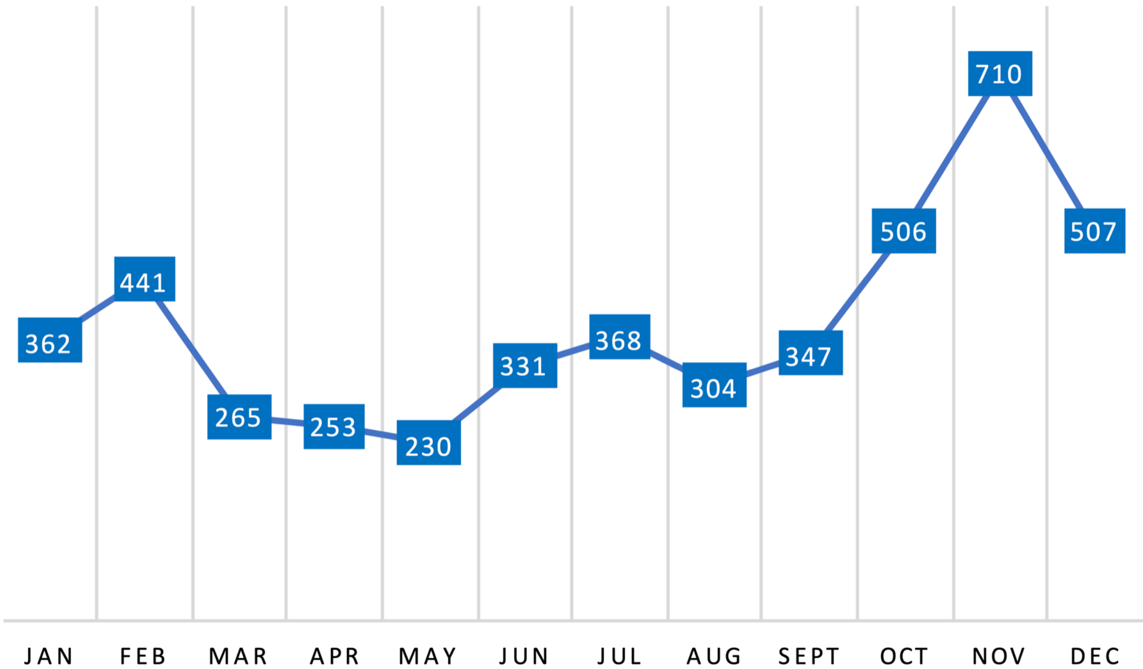

Figure 1. Semantic pair 'Conflict/Russian' (monthly dynamics)

Table 5
'Conflict/President' pair frequencies (by periodical, by month)

PERIODICAL	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
Komsomolskaya Pravda	10	8	4	4	0	5	8	13	2	17	14	5
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	29	20	18	12	14	27	22	21	17	21	36	28
Kommersant	35	35	28	18	16	22	32	40	46	64	47	45
Gazeta.Ru	197	186	105	88	97	124	145	128	166	305	221	135
Lenta.Ru	166	184	88	61	99	91	138	112	159	327	269	157
∑	437	433	243	183	226	269	345	314	390	734	587	370

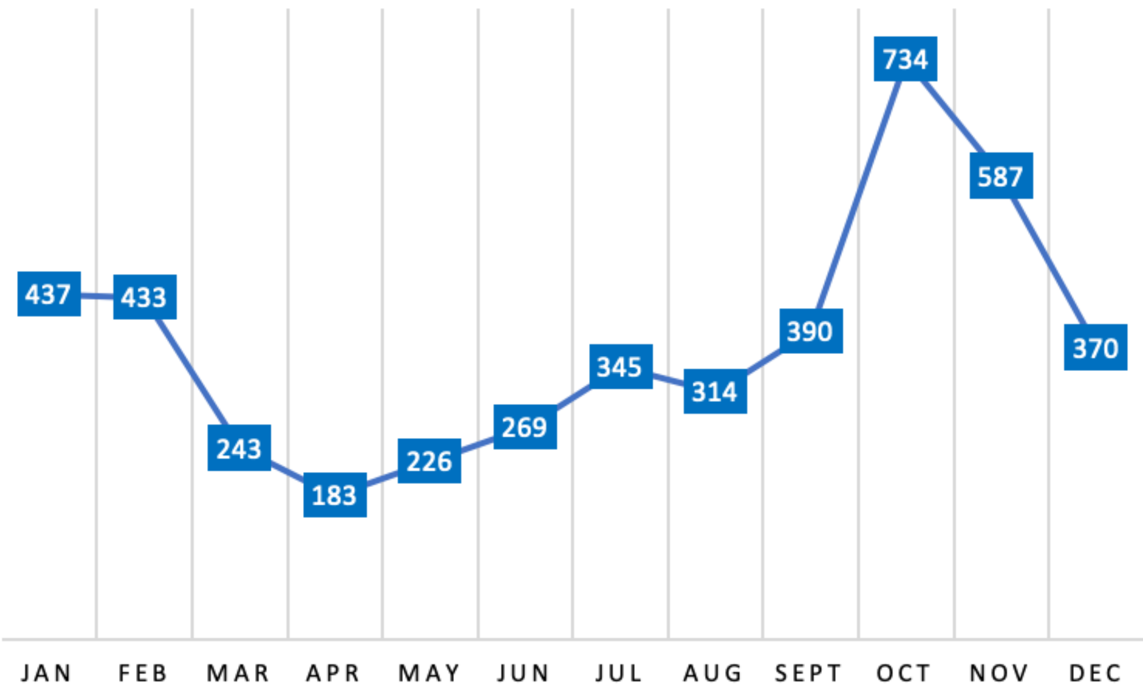

Figure 2. Semantic pair 'Conflict/President' (monthly dynamics)

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Table 6
'Conflict/USA' pair frequencies (by periodical, by month)

PERIODICAL	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
Komsomolskaya Pravda	5	9	5	8	1	8	5	4	2	17	13	6
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	21	20	8	7	7	24	16	7	13	12	11	18
Kommersant	20	25	11	10	10	19	20	18	21	32	23	22
Gazeta.Ru	138	129	54	67	75	111	106	91	98	166	105	70
Lenta.Ru	136	100	45	47	91	90	69	52	87	164	102	89
∑	320	283	123	139	184	252	216	172	221	391	254	205

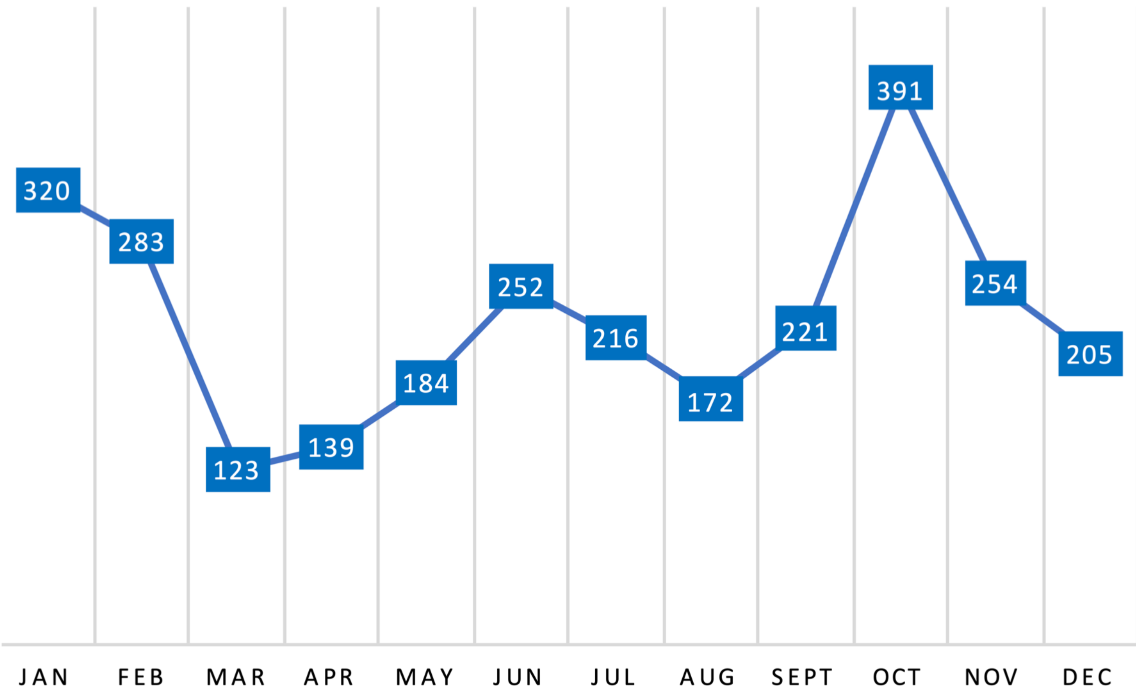

Figure 3. Semantic pair 'Conflict/USA' (monthly dynamics)

Table 7
'Conflict/Ukraine' pair frequencies (by periodical, by month)

PERIODICAL	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
Komsomolskaya Pravda	6	6	4	1	1	3	4	7	1	8	5	5
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	8	9	5	8	3	10	7	4	6	3	4	7
Kommersant	13	23	7	8	4	5	9	13	14	7	8	13
Gazeta.Ru	92	111	45	52	54	64	96	81	71	58	64	65
Lenta.Ru	79	99	71	50	90	82	105	66	75	58	62	96
∑	198	248	132	119	152	164	221	171	167	134	143	186

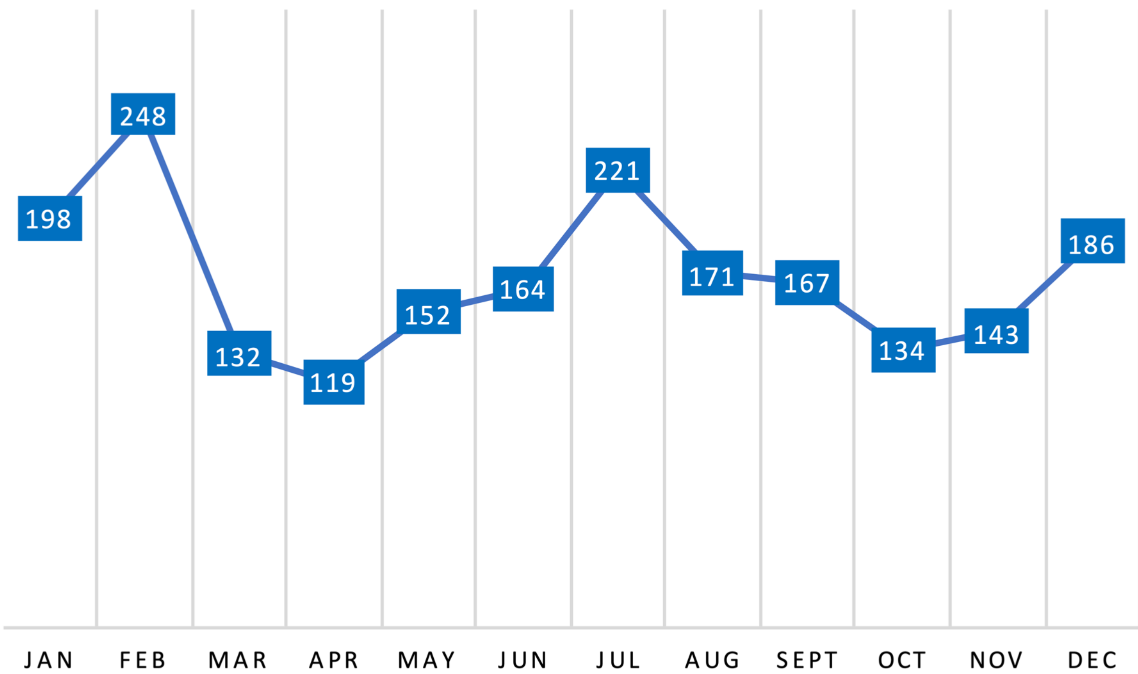

Figure 4. Semantic pair 'Conflict/Ukraine' (monthly dynamics)

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Table 8
'Conflict/Karabakh' pair frequencies (by periodical, by month)

PERIODICAL	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
Komsomolskaya Pravda	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	28	16	7
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	13	22	9
Kommersant	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	5	28	13	12
Gazeta.Ru	2	1	2	2	1	2	16	3	108	399	169	57
Lenta.Ru	4	2	0	2	3	1	31	2	144	396	299	118
∑	6	3	2	4	4	3	56	7	262	864	519	203

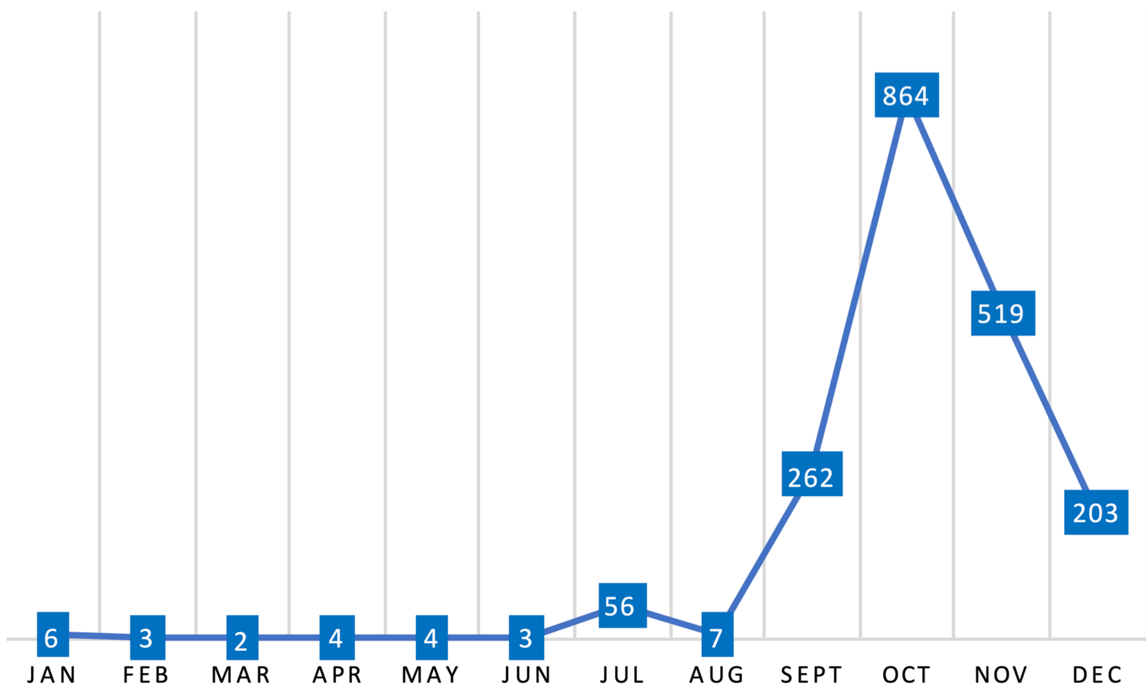

Figure 5. Semantic pair 'Conflict/Karabakh' (monthly dynamics)

5. DISCUSSION

The results of the experimental settings devoted to conflict terminology analysis show that the semantic field of contemporary conflict agenda within our study is extremely diverse. The current findings are the first step in the further research into socio-cultural media discourse within the frameworks of conflict terminology. In the future, we plan to conduct a deeper analysis of the semantic core, as well as identify and analyse semantic pairs formed by subject, geographic and other characteristics. Another possibility is a comparative analysis of the identified results with the current information agenda in the period under study.

6. CONCLUSION

The semantic field of conflict is multidimensional and miscellaneous. Territorial (geographical) and political aspects of conflict are the most regularly covered in all the periodicals under analysis. In addition to the general focus of the media on covering the conflict within territorial and political spheres, there is a certain focus of some publications on highlighting other conflict-related issues such as finance, law, the social sphere, family relations, education, culture, economics and criminal practice (forensic science). The regional relevance of publications is obvious due to the presence of Russian socio-cultural realities, with high frequencies such as proper names belonging to specific political figures in the contemporary regime. The geography of conflict representation in the media extends to several key countries, including the United States, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey and Russia. Conflict-related materials in *Lenta.ru* cover the area of criminal practice (forensic science) to a greater extent than the other four media outlets. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* focuses on the social sphere and intra-family relations more than the four other media. *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* in its turn presents the legal side of the conflict-based agenda.

The findings prove the existence of certain discrepancies in the semantic fields of conflict-related terminology in different periodicals of the Russian Federation that highlight the topic from different perspectives. Moreover, pair frequency analysis by month and periodical have shown slight short-term shifts in the usage of conflict terminology as interrelated words tend to have frequency leaps and falls due to certain socio-cultural factors underlying this dynamic.

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ALINA S. ANTIPOVA
Lomonosov Moscow State University | GSP-1, Leninskie Gory, 119991 Moscow, Russia
antipovaaline@gmail.com

MARIA D. RABESON
Lomonosov Moscow State University | GSP-1, Leninskie Gory, 119991 Moscow, Russia
maria.rabeson@gmail.com

OLGA V. SMIRNOVA
Lomonosov Moscow State University | GSP-1, Leninskie Gory, 119991 Moscow, Russia
smirnovaorama@gmail.com

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Review

Why study languages? (A review)

Original work by Gabrielle Hogan-Brun published by London Publishing Partnership 2021

Reviewed by Robert Williams

Robert Williams University of Westminster, UK r.williams04@westminster.ac.uk
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I'm a language teacher like most of you. Do we really need to read a book about why we should study languages? Yes, we do. Why? Because it explains how to motivate students to want to study languages and shows teachers how to engage students and motivate them to learn languages and indeed motivate us as teachers of languages in our work.

Part of a series of books published by the London Publishing Partnership, including titles on history, mathematics and geography as well as languages, the book is aimed primarily at students to encourage them to take languages seriously as a major employment advantage as well as a cultural interest and even, according to scientific research, a way of improving brain power. Practical, informative and readable, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun offers useful advice and information to all language teachers, backed up by a number of stories of people inspired by learning languages.

The book has seven chapters, simply and clearly written with a beautiful and clear presentation (credit to the publishers), plus a personal postscript describing the author's language learning adventures in Denmark and an explanation of key concepts and endnotes. There isn't room for an index, which would have been nice. The seven chapters cover why study, multilingualism, whether language study is right for you, what language study can do for you intellectually and career-wise, what you can do with language, how to study languages and where to look for courses.

Chapter 1 discusses the key issue, *Why study languages?* Hogan-Brun identifies three main language learning opportunities – school, university and, in later life, after schooling. A foreign language opens up career opportunities in international companies and organisations, like the UN, but is also an excellent way of developing mental and social skills. Speaking more than one language exercises your brain, helps develop reasoning flexibility and critical thinking skills and even leads to better overall health and well-being. It also helps you become a better communicator both in your mother tongue and in the foreign language you are learning and gives you a considerable advantage in education and employment. Learning a foreign language also inevitably puts you in touch with the native speakers' cultures. A leading restaurateur in London learned Spanish, lived in Mexico, learned the importance of food and Mexican cooking and opened a chain of Mexican restaurants selling Mexican style street food in the UK called *Wahaca* (the phonetic spelling of the Mexican state of Oaxaca). This is just one of the wonderful stories and anecdotes illustrating the value of foreign languages. Citing *metrolingualism*, a term coined by Alastair Pennycook and Emi Otsuji, she points out the proliferation of languages in a multicultural city like London, UK where as well as the languages you might expect you will also hear Turkish, Somali, Tamil and Farsi.

Chapter 2 asks *How multilingual are we?* At one level, suggests Hogan-Brun, we all have a degree of multilingualism due to the loan words we import from the people, products and countries we deal with. Also, increasingly, we are becoming multilingual nations. Many countries have more than one official language (Singapore has four, South Africa eleven, India 23 and Bolivia 37, the highest of any country in the world). However, as Hogan-Brun points out, there is still an insistence on 'mother tongue' and some resistance to other languages – *'the cultural othering of other languages'* – as she describes it. Nevertheless, she clearly feels that multilingualism is the future as she charts the rise of Mandarin Chinese as an international language alongside French, Italian and Spanish.

Chapter 3 examines the arguments why people say they can't or don't want to learn languages and notes the scientific research which shows that bilingual children tend to perform better across the curriculum, and neuroscience shows that bilingual brains are both denser and more pliable than monolingual brains.

In Chapter 4 entitled *What can languages do for us?* Hogan-Brun surveys the advantages of language learning in careers and personal experience, citing the experiences of leading chefs, journalists, novelists and sportswomen. She also mentions a number of international actors who are multilingual, including movie stars such as Jodie Foster, Kristin Scott-Thomas, Christoph Waltz and Natalie Portman. She also explores the world of those who invent languages for literature, TV and the movies, such as in *Lord of the Rings*, *Game of Thrones*, and *Star Trek*. She goes on to cite famous inventors and political leaders such as Gandhi, Engels and Marx and Cleopatra, the last Pharaoh of Egypt, who reportedly spoke ten languages.

Chapter 5 approaches the argument for languages personally by asking *What can you do with languages?* Once again, she follows the careers of real people, using examples of graduates who have found better jobs due to their knowledge of a foreign language, including in diplomacy, the civil service, in public life and in international business.

Her interviewees agree with her that knowledge of the language is key to understanding the local culture. It enables users to have the local touch and be culturally sensitive to the way people think about and do things and also understand cultural references in the language itself. Knowing and respecting a business partner's culture goes a long way to establishing trust and knowledge of even a little of the local language will help build good relations. Graduates in engineering are in an especially strong employment position if they can speak a second language, especially in international construction or infrastructure projects.

Communication is another area where language knowledge is important, especially to avoid errors in advertising and publicity. Hogan-Brun cites the Scandinavian Electrolux company, who launched a new vacuum cleaner in the United States with the slogan, *'Nothing sucks like an Electrolux'*. The aim was to demonstrate the power of the Electrolux to suck up dirt. Unfortunately, the word 'sucks' also means 'very bad' in US English. So, the slogan actually told the potential customer, *'Don't buy this product. It's terrible!'*. As Hogan-Brun summarises, *'In virtually all areas of work, being multilingual is an advantage'*.

Chapter 6 explores how you can actually go about learning a new language. Hogan-Brun identifies three types of learner: the idealist, the pragmatist and the reflective 'perseverer'. The idealist is drawn to a language through intuition and personal enthusiasm, they 'fall in love' with a language

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and the culture of the community that speaks it. The pragmatist learns a language to do a job. Hogan-Brun cites the example of Matthias Maurer, a German trainee astronaut. He wanted a position on a Chinese space station so he studied Mandarin Chinese in order prepare himself. The tennis star, Martina Navratilova, is a good example of the reflective 'perseverer'. She admits that in the early years of her international career in the US she found English difficult. Her mother tongue was Czech. She believed, rightly, that an ability to speak English was going to be important to her career and she thought about it (reflective) and never gave up learning (persevere).

Hogan-Brun also offers a fourth type of learner, the one who falls in love with a speaker of the language and learns it to communicate with him/her.

An important part of the language learning confraternity is the self-study student, described by Hogan-Brun as the 'self-driven' learner. She lists a number of techniques self-driven learners use to study successfully. They are: note important words; learn the essential structures; practise useful phrases; study regularly, frequently and consistently, dividing the material into manageable chunks; and immerse yourself in the culture of the language you are learning.

The final Chapter 7 looks at ways of studying languages at schools and university and related educational organisations. Although focused on UK resources, the important points made are valid for all schools and universities, and especially, building employability skills through the mastery of a foreign language. In a postscript, Hogan-Brun describes her own experiences learning Danish while on sabbatical in Denmark.

So, how will this book help language teachers? First and foremost, it is a great motivator, sharing immense amounts of fascinating information combined with the experience of adult learners to enthuse both 'tired' language teachers and students and adult learners. It offers lots of practical advice on learning psychology and techniques and shows how mastery of another language can improve your brain, enhance your lifestyle and even help you live longer. And, of course, it shows how learning foreign languages can improve corporate and public service employment opportunities and promotion in our global economy.

In conclusion, I can't do better than cite the comment of Baroness Jeanne Coussins, Vice-president of the Institute of Linguists and co-chair of the British All-party Parliamentary Group on Modern Languages. She says, *'I defy anyone to read this book and not end up passionate about the importance and the pleasure of languages. With a combination of research, statistics, anecdotes and human interest stories and interviews, it is precisely targeted to its main audience and their parents. If you still believe that (your native language) is enough, prepare to be disabused'.*

I agree and can only add it is a great resource for teachers wishing to stimulate their classes and even themselves.

ROBERT WILLIAMS
University of Westminster | L35 Marylebone Road, NW1 5LS London, UK
r.williams04@westminster.ac.uk

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News & Events

ICC News

by Barry Tomalin
ICC Board Member

Three priorities for ICC-Languages are our annual conference on June 5th, the expansion of our EUROLTA language teacher training programme, and the planning of our webinars and the recent EU CATAPULT project conference. ICC-Languages unites teachers in school and university from all over Europe and worldwide with members in 13 countries. We specialise in language learning and teaching, international communication and cultures and technology and assessment in language teaching and learning. You can follow our work at https://icc-languages.eu.

At our recent committee meeting we finalised the details of our Annual Conference to take place online on June 5th from 10:00-17:00 CET. The title of the conference is *Language Teaching and Learning in a New Era* and features presentations and discussions on remote classroom practice, blended learning and how to involve students in an online class.

ICC-Languages is delighted to have a keynote speech by Frank Heyworth from The Council of Europe's European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) and presentations on Building Community in online classes by Dana Kampmann, a holistic approach to learning by Claudia Schuhbeck, strategies for involving everybody in the classroom and online by Geoff Tranter, the contribution of neuroscience to language learning by Angela Martinez, the value of blended learning by Silke Riegler, and how to maximise meaningful communication with Neil Anderson. The conference closes with Edith Huerta Trejo on flexible learning in the face of pandemic. More details are available at https://icc-languages.eu/conferences/2019-berlin/conference-review.

A recent successful addition to ICC-Languages activities has been our webinar programme. In March, Geoff Tranter of Dortmund University in Germany did a wonderful presentation entitled *A Comedy of Errors*, using the title of Shakespeare's play to show how errors made by students, language teachers and the media and advertising can be the basis of a useful and amusing activity in class to motivate students and to correct common errors, particularly in lexis and grammar as well as language use.

Ian McMaster, Editor-in-Chief of *Business Spotlight Magazine* gave a seminar on April 23rd on *Authenticity in Language and Leadership: What is It and Do We Need It?* In his webinar he showed how authenticity is everywhere in business books and articles, and leaders and other professionals are urged to 'be more authentic' or 'be themselves'. However, he asked what exactly is authenticity and discussed various dimensions of authenticity in relation to both language and leadership. You can access the webinar at https://icc-languages.eu/webinars.

Another important conference on April 17th was the EU CATAPULT workshop on *Teaching Languages for Specific Purposes in Adult and Higher Education*. CATAPULT is the name of an EU project in which members of ICC-Languages are partners. The conference welcomed a keynote by Professor Thomas Tinnefeld of Saarbruchen University in Germany on the Changing role of the LSP (Language for Special Purposes) Instructor and Helen Bulluck from Ireland now living in Germany on how to tackle new topics in ESP (English for Special Purposes) in working for new companies when you are unfamiliar with the business or its

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products. The workshop also addressed the issue of orienting the curriculum to students' needs and the importance to satisfying participants' business requirements in teaching LSP. A useful day concluded with a panel discussion on how to improve LSP, to be complemented by participation in ECML and other workshops. You can access the presentations and slides at the webinars page at https://icc-languages.eu/webinars.

EUROLTA News

by Myriam Fischer Callus
EUROLTA Coordinator

Like most of its companion teacher training organisations, the pandemic has affected operations adversely. Of its 14 centres, 9 are currently in operation. However, EUROLTA online training and accreditation is developing apace with plans to develop the EUROLTA online certificate and other programmes.

ICC-Languages has just launched a new 30-hour course on *How to Teach Languages Online*. The aim of this certified course is to enable teachers to adapt the face-to-face teaching skills they already have to the online environment and to give them confidence in using technology in their classroom.

For more details, please contact Myriam Fischer Callus at myriam.fischer@icc-languages.eu.

There is no question that as refugees and asylum seekers in Europe increase, the role of the EUROLTA language teacher training programme is a major resource, especially in the practical training and qualifying of teachers working with immigrants and refugees.

EUROLTA is European Certificate in Language Teaching to Adults, developed by ICC. It is an internationally recognised teacher training programme to train you to teach languages using up to date methodologies.

You can learn more about EUROLTA at http://icc-languages.eu/eurolta.

RUDN University News

by Elena N. Malyuga
Editor-in-Chief TLC

RUDN University Ranks 317th in the QS WUR 2022 Ranking

According to the QS World University Rankings 2022, RUDN University has risen by 9 positions. The QS World University Rankings includes 1,300 universities from 93 countries, RUDN University ranking No. 317. Rapid growth of RUDN University is witnessed in Academic Reputation (No. 493 in the world – up by 62 points), Reputation Among Employers (No. 329 – up by 43 positions), and Student / Faculty Ratio (No. 72 – up by 25 positions). Particular success is seen in recognition from employers. RUDN University has 750 internship bases. Among university's partners are Mars, Nestle, Hyundai motor, Renault Group, SBER bank, VTB bank, Miratorg and other companies. RUDN University gives particular emphasis to internship and employment of foreign students in international organizations. RUDN University doctors from Egypt worked at the Ain Shams University Hospital in Cairo. Students from Bolivia, El Salvador, Palestine, Myanmar, Chad and 26 other countries took up internships at the embassies of their countries in Russia. Geologists of RUDN University from Angola and Guinea work in West Africa at enterprises to search for alluvial diamonds and evaluate deposits. RUDN University graduates work in the ministries and embassies of Colombia, Ecuador, Nigeria, Ghana, Greece, etc. The main employers of RUDN University graduates are KPMG, P&G, Renault Group, Huawei, Unilever, Brunel and other large companies. Peoples' Friendship University of Russia is in TOP 100 in the International Students category. This year, 160 countries are represented at RUDN University – for the first time, citizens of Malawi, Norway, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago have become students of the university.

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Joint Start: Let's Do Science Together

RUDN University is organising the *Joint Start: Let's Do Science Together* contest designed to support student associations, motivating them to develop innovative R&D projects based on research conducted at RUDN University. Among the key objectives are:

– stimulating and aiding the implementation and promotion of innovative projects aimed at obtaining financial and other types of support from third-party organisations within the framework of the priority areas of modernisation and technological development of the Russian economy and development areas of the RUDN University;

– identifying talented young scientists to work as teams for the benefit of practice-oriented research, further commercialisation and practical implementation of the results;

– developing an innovative and entrepreneurial culture among students of all levels, young scientists, and research teams of RUDN University.

Details on contest requirements and details are available at http://engr.rudn.ru/?p=16081.

Smart and Sustainable EU Cities Conference SSC-2021

RUDN University hosted the international scientific conference on Smart Sustainable EU Cities on May 25-26, 2021. The conference is part of the international Erasmus + project *Introduction of EU Sustainability Strategies for Indonesia and Russia (RESTIR)*. Conference participants discussed the issues of the development of smart cities in the EU states, the prospects of using modern technologies to support the concept of smart cities, the policies adopted to maintain their sustainability, and measures taken by states to achieve sustainable development goals. The conference welcomed attendees from the Financial University, the State University of Management, Higher School of Economis, Foro Italico University of Rome, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, as well as colleagues from Indonesia. Experts representing the business community also presented their reports. The conference was opened by the Dean of the Faculty of Economics Yuri Moseikin, moderated by Head of Marketing Alexander Zobov.

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info@tlcjournal.org
rudn.tlcjournal.org

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info@icc-languages.eu
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