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This issue of "Cognition, communication, discourse" presents results of interdisciplinary studies of political, digital, and literary text and discourse in English, Chinese, French, and Ukrainian by scholars who represent different universities of Ukraine and Tunisia. They focus on the shaping of urgency discourse around a political event in Tunisia, French agramaticalized constructions, Chinese euphemisms, revelative evidential markers in dream reports, and the notion of "leader's charisma". The authors explore these issues from corpus-based, cognitive, discursive, ecolinguistic, multimodal, and cross-cultural vantage points.

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## CONTENTS

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# U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S PRESS COMMUNICATIONS ON TUNISIA AFTER THE JULY 25, 2021 'STATE OF EXCEPTION': THE SHAPING OF URGENCY DISCOURSE

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**Abstract**
July 25, 2021 was an exceptional day in Tunisia, ushering in a new chapter in its contemporary political history and triggering a wave of global responses to the declared 'state of exception'. This research examines the U.S. administration's press communications on Tunisia following this event. Specifically, it explores (i) the dominant crisis frames permeating these communications and their underlying political agenda and (ii) the extent to which the discourse they imparted signals a change in U.S. foreign policy towards Tunisia in crisis situations. To meet these research objectives, a corpus-based investigation was undertaken using an integrative framework combining qualitative (frames) and quantitative (keyness and collocations) approaches. Results revealed changing discourses around the theme of crisis, moving from a sense of togetherness to urgency. This may echo the cautious attitude of the American government and its heightened concern about Kais Saied's transitional measures. In broad terms, the exploration offered a glimpse of how the dynamics of global politics unfold discursively. Importantly, the Biden administration's construction of Tunisia's political-democratic crisis in terms of urgency can have real-life consequences for international perceptions of the country's future. Theoretically, the study's implications touch primarily upon Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS, henceforth), particularly the evolving corpus linguistics concepts of keyness and collocation networks.

**Keywords:** U.S. press communications, Tunisia, July 25, crisis, urgency, CADS, framing, keyness, collocation network.

## 1. Introduction

The growing scholarly interest in political discourse analysis (e.g., Wodak, 1989; van Dijk, 2004; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011; Ullmann, 2021) stems mainly from the contention that political actors and institutions have the potential to mold public opinion and that language constitutes one of the prime strategies they deploy to meet this end (Chilton, 2004; de Bruijn, 2019). The discourse of politicians is thus driven by the constant "struggle for political power" (Kirvalidze & Samnidze, 2016, p. 165) and is overwhelmingly ideological (van Dijk, 2001). Political institutions, in fact, have the power to influence people's perceptions of the external world (Mayr, 2008). The present study sheds light on the U.S. administration's press communications (press statements, press briefings, and the like) as a form of political discourse that has so far spurred a vast array of studies in the fields of critical discourse analysis (e.g., Sun, 2010), CADS (e.g., Partington, 2003; De Candia et al., 2013), political communication (e.g., Hong, 2016; Zhabotynska & Brynko, 2022),

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amongst others. In particular, this article investigates the American government's press communications on Tunisia following the July 25, 2021 'state of exception'.

This small North African country grabbed the attention of the whole world more than a decade ago—2011—when Tunisians revolted against a long-time dictator, the then President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, and the Tunisian Revolution ushered in a wave of pro-democracy protests in the Middle East and North Africa, known as the Arab Spring. Since then, Tunisia has been witnessing a democratic transition marked by important milestones like the 2014 free and transparent parliamentary and presidential elections. A recent political event, however, has aroused global concern about the danger of democratic backsliding in Tunisia. On July 25, 2021, incumbent President Kais Saied wrote a new chapter in Tunisia's contemporary political history (Marzouki, 2022) by declaring a 'state of exception' and announcing the suspension of Parliament and dismissal of the prime minister. This landmark day came amid a prolonged political, economic, and health crisis that had been engulfing the country and widespread public anger and protests. Though Saied's exceptional measures initially garnered popular support,[1] the subsequent developments—including a new constitution with few checks on the president's powers (e.g., Grewal et al., 2022)—and his lack of a clear roadmap (e.g., Fetouri, 2022) fueled increasing criticism nationally and internationally.

The present research examines the intriguing issue of how the United States, with its purportedly liberal, pro-democracy tradition, communicated the unfolding events in Tunisia, an important ally against terrorism in the MENA region, to the press and, by extension, the whole world. Importantly, the American administration's representation of the crisis enveloping Tunisia would have implications for not only U.S. foreign policy agenda but also global assessments of the political, economic, and security situation in Tunisia, hence potentially the future of this nascent democracy. This assumption is premised on a recurrent argument in critical discourse analysis-based crisis research (e.g., Powers & Xiao, 2008; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011) stipulating that crisis events are construed partly discursively, given that they "influence, and are influenced by, what is said or written" (Mohd Don & De Rycker, 2013, p. 3). In this respect, political actors' discursive representations of crises are argued to impact public understandings of and responses to these events. Against this backdrop, this article addresses the two following research questions:

**RQ1**: Which crisis frames dominated the U.S. administration's press communications on Tunisia after July 25, 2021 and what kind of political agenda did they convey?

**RQ2**: To what extent did the communicated discourse mark a change in U.S. foreign policy towards Tunisia in crisis situations?

Methodologically, the study adopts an integrative analytical framework that combines framing theory (qualitative approach) and the corpus linguistics notions of keyness and collocation (quantitative approach). Equally important, critical discourse analysis represents the underlying theoretical background against which the results derived from the framing, keyness, and collocation analyses will be interpreted, thereby unveiling their ideological underpinnings. This research is thus best positioned within CADS, merging a discourse focus with corpus linguistics techniques (Ancarno, 2020).

## 2. Insights from political communication research

Drawing on political communication research, this work aims to identify the crisis frames that were prominently used by senior U.S. government officials in their post-July 25 press communications on Tunisia. This is intended to gather empirical evidence in response to the first research question (RQ1).

### 2.1. Framing theory

Framing is one of the most evolving theoretical concepts in the field of political communication research (Cacciatore et al., 2016). The major premise undergirding framing studies (e.g., Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993; Oxley, 2020, to name but a few) is that the ways in which elites such as politicians and journalists shape political issues influence public perceptions of these matters, hence the ultimate process of public opinion formation (Chong & Druckman, 2012; Shevchenko, 2022).

This is encapsulated in Entman's (1993, p. 52) oft-cited definition of framing as the process of "select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Framing scholars scrutinize media frames and/or political actors' frames (e.g., Entman, 2004; Hänggli & Kriesi, 2010; Bos et al., 2016, amongst others) with the aim of unveiling the role they may play in the construction of public discourse. Research on news framing has, in fact, uncovered substantial evidence on how the mass audience, in their understanding and interpretation of public controversies, tend to make recourse to those attributes that are most prevalent in mass media coverage of these very events (e.g., Iyengar, 1991). Likewise, it is argued that political communicators deploy framing as a strategy to manipulate people's minds (Oxley, 2020). In this regard, media agents partly draw on politicians' frames to generate their own set of frames; frame building, in the words of Rodelo and Muñiz (2019, p. 103), is conceived of as "the flow of frames from political actors to journalists and, thus, to news articles." Interestingly, with the proliferation of social media platforms, the general public itself has emerged as an active agent in the construction of the dominant frames through which current events are commonly perceived (Xie et al., 2022). In light of this, audience frames constitute the outcome of an interplay between different stakeholders—traditional and new—in the political communication environment.

### 2.2. Crisis frames

Narrowing the focus to crisis communication, it is enlightening to note that key agents in times of crisis adopt different framing strategies. Regarding media crisis framing, this is the process whereby "an organization selectively enhances the salience of some aspects of a crisis through news coverage and media communication, thereby influencing public perceptions" (Xie et al., 2022, p. 3). Crisis news coverage is reported to be dominated by five major frames (Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; An & Gower, 2009), notably *human interest* (a humanistic dimension), *conflict* (contradictory accounts), *morality* (moral/religious judgment), *attribution of responsibility* (who's to blame?), and *economic consequences* (economic impact). The prevalence of one or some of these frames over the rest is contingent upon the type of crisis. Accordingly, while the *attribution of responsibility* and *conflict* frames abound in human-made crises, *human interest* and *economic consequences* framing is characteristic of natural disasters (Xi et al., 2021). Other media frames that are associated with particular crisis types have also been identified in the literature. For instance, in their coverage of health crises, news media organizations tend to supplement the aforementioned frames with other themes such as *reassurance/pacification*, *new evidence/research*, and *actions to take/prevention* (Gerken & van der Meer, 2019; Xi et al., 2021; Xie et al., 2022).

For their part, government agents and organizations—such as airlines in the case of plane crashes—develop their set of framing strategies in times of crisis. Specifically, they deploy a number of crisis response frames such as *apology*, *denial*, *diminishing*, and *ingratiation* (Coombs, 2007, 2018; Tian & Yang, 2022), with a view to managing public response to the ongoing events. The public itself has recently become an active actor in setting the agenda during crisis times by mediating its own construction and interpretation of the crisis in question via social media networks (Ben Ghozlen, 2023; Cheng et al., 2016). The public's frames largely draw on the crisis frames employed by the mass media, on the one hand, and political actors and/or organizations, on the other hand, hence the interconnectedness or "alignment" (van der Meer, 2014, p. 751) between the frames generated by different stakeholders in times of crisis. On this account, Xie et al. (2022) propose a comprehensive model of crisis frames that builds on the recurrent themes in crisis communication and can serve as a useful framework to investigate public crisis framing.

Xie et al.'s (2022) model consists of four major frames, notably *Nature*, *Cause*, *Process*, and *Result*. The former denotes "the set of inherent attributes and core characteristics of crisis" (p. 4). This frame groups a number of sub-frames commonly reported in crisis framing studies such as *morality* and *seriousness*. Regarding the second frame, it identifies “the sources or related factors that lead to the crisis, including natural and man-made events” (p. 4) and encompasses such sub-frames as *attribution of responsibility, apology, denial,* and *human interest*. The *Process* frame, however, pins down the “evolution of a crisis event (crisis life-cycle), as well as the response and management strategies adopted by organizations and the public” (p. 4), covering—amongst others—the *conflict, new evidence,* and *reassurance* sub-frames. The last frame depicts “the consequences, including the injuries and deaths, economic losses, and other catastrophic effects, tangible and intangible” (p. 4). The *economic consequences* and *catastrophic effects* sub-frames fall under this category. The eclectic nature of Xie et al.’s (2022) framework boosts its applicability to different crisis types (natural/human-made) and frames’ generating sources (mass media, politicians, the public, etc.). It will therefore be employed in the present investigation, as section 4.1 elucidates.

## 3. Insights from corpus linguistics

Keyness and collocation (networks) analyses, widely used techniques in corpus linguistics (Gabrielatos & Marchi, 2011; Lehecka, 2015), can give insights into the aboutness (Phillips, 1989; Gabrielatos, 2018) and ideological undercurrents (Bondi & Scott, 2010; Bogetić, 2013) of a given corpus by comparison with another. This being so, these corpus linguistics notions are herein utilized to provide empirical evidence in answer to the second research question (RQ2).

### 3.1. Keyness analysis

Keyness analysis has attracted considerable scholarly attention over the last two decades (McEnery, 2009; Bondi & Scott, 2010; Goh, 2011; Durán-Muñoz, 2019, to name but a few). Introduced in the mid-1990s, this corpus linguistics concept targeting keywords is considered to be relatively recent (Gabrielatos, 2018). As Scott (1997, p. 236) succinctly put it, a keyword is “a word which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text … by comparison with a reference corpus.” It is noteworthy that keyness studies do not limit their focus to single words but can address other units of analysis such as n-grams (word chunks/clusters/bundles), discourse/pragmatics functions, lemmas, and POS tags (Gabrielatos, 2018). The notion of keyness “tells us the *aboutness* of text” (Taylor & del Fante, 2020, p. 35, emphasis in original), that is to say, the distinctive features of a text or corpus, encompassing the prevailing themes and attitudes it embodies. Undeniably, keywords have long been used to study the workings of ideology in language (e.g., Williams, 1976; Wierzbicka, 1997). The contribution of corpus linguistics (Scott, 1997) rather lies in basing keyness analysis on the comparison of two corpora through recourse to statistics and the use of corpus tools. Specifically, by conducting such a procedure, a researcher seeks to “identify large differences between the frequency of word-forms in two corpora (usually referred to as the *study* and *reference* corpus)” (Gabrielatos, 2018, pp. 227–228, emphasis in original).

While it is commonly agreed that a study or target corpus constitutes the primary focus of the researcher, different conceptions have been advanced for the notion of a reference corpus, resulting in major inconsistencies among corpus linguists as to what qualifies as a good selection (Goh, 2011). In this respect, Gabrielatos (2018) delineated two major misconceptions about the choice of a ‘good’ reference corpus, notably the argument that it should (i) be larger than the target corpus and (ii) display a general (vs. specialized) focus. Goh (2011), in a similar vein, ascertained that corpus size and genre are not important factors in the selection of a reference corpus, reiterating Scott’s (2009) assertion that a plainly ‘absurd’ reference corpus can still be a good one inasmuch as it is indicative of aboutness. In short, as Gabrielatos (2018, p. 253) posited, “there is nothing intrinsic in a corpus that renders it a good selection for a ‘study’ or ‘reference’ role ... . Any two corpora can be compared, as long as their characteristics … help address the particular research questions.” Further research is thereby needed to clearly pin down the characteristics of an appropriate reference corpus, given that even the contention that it should represent the norm against which the study corpus is compared and contrasted (Scott, 2008) is not plausible since defining what the ‘norm’ is tends, by itself, to be elusive and problematic.

### 3.2. Collocation (networks) analysis

The concept of collocation was introduced to linguistic theory by Firth (1957, p. 11) in his famous dictum "you shall know a word by the company it keeps." Corpus linguists, chiefly John Sinclair, then helped the term gain more prominence (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). It is important to note that there is no single and consensual definition ascribed to this concept and that "the meaning attached to the term collocation depends heavily on the particular application is being used for" (Anagnostou & Weir, 2007, p. 11). The present study adopts Sinclair's (1991, p. 170) conceptualization of collocation as "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text." Such a definition encapsulates a statistical view (Frath & Gledhill, 2005) of the phenomenon of collocation. Based on the premise that words are not combined randomly (Firth, 1957) in that "any given word tends to co-occur with certain words more often than it does with others" (Lehecka, 2015, p. 2), this research also gives due attention to the discourse-pragmatic grounding of collocations. In so https:doing, it draws on previous CADS studies (e.g., Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Gabrielatos, 2008; Baker et al., 2013) that deployed the concept of collocation to unravel the discursive strategies of representation in different contexts. In this sense, the analysis of collocations "offers a productive means for understanding ideology, as lexical co-occurrence may shed new light on complex webs of identities, discourses and social representations in a community" (Bogetić, 2013, p. 334).

An important feature of collocations is the connectivity between individual collocates, considering that "[c]ollocates of words do not occur in isolation, but are part of a complex network of semantic relationships" (Brezina et al., 2015, p. 141). This assumption triggered growing interest in the concept of collocation networks among corpus linguists (e.g., McEnery, 2006; Baker & McEnery, 2015). Accordingly, the study of collocation networks allows the identification of the underlying fabric of meaning associations and connections in discourse. It is worthy of mention that the notion of collocation networks originally borrows from Phillips's (1989) postulation that lexical networks are salient indicators of the aboutness of a text. On a practical plane, *GraphColl* (Brezina et al., 2015), developed at Lancaster University in 2014–2015, is a powerful corpus tool for constructing networks of collocations. Based on a range of association measures, this corpus utility creates graphical representations of collocation networks whereby a collocate of the original node can itself act as a second node for which a new network of collocates (second-order collocates) is generated. This process can be replicated, yielding an elaborate nexus of collocation networks (Brezina et al., 2015). On this account, the main merit of a collocation networks analysis is that it can capture complex webs of semantic associations permeating an entire corpus in one single graph (e.g., Figures 6 and 7 in this paper).

## 4. Method

The combination of qualitative (manual framing analysis) and quantitative (automatic keyness and collocation (networks) analyses) research methods in this study is anchored in the belief that they are complementary in nature and their synergy would provide deeper insights into the present investigation. In this light, corpus linguistics techniques and tools can corroborate the qualitative analysis of frames and, potentially, uncover new patterns that could otherwise have remained unnoticed to the human coder. Numerical and graphical evidence is, in fact, thought to offer a better understanding of the dynamics of the U.S. administration's construction of the multifaceted crisis enveloping Tunisia during Saied's presidency as expressed through its press communications.

### 4.1. Framing analysis

The framing analysis (RQ1) was conducted on a corpus (Saied corpus, henceforth) amounting to 5,004 words and consisting of the U.S. administration's press communications on Tunisia from July 25, 2021 (Saied's declaration of a 'state of exception') to September 14, 2022 (date of data collection). These communications include (transcripts of) press statements, briefings, releases, and conferences—in whole or in part—issued by the White House or the Department of State. They were compiled from the U.S. Embassy in Tunisia[2] and the American Presidency Project[3] websites using "Tunisia" as a search word. The Saied corpus was content analyzed manually along (i) three crisis types (political-democratic, economic, and health crises) and (ii) five crisis frames (Nature, Cause, Process, Result, and Actions to take). It is worth noting that the first four frames, representing Xie et al.'s (2022) framework, were selected deductively based on the existing literature reviewed in section 2.2, while the last one emerged inductively in the course of data analysis. The Actions to take frame, in fact, does not belong to Xie et al.'s (2022) original taxonomy of frames adopted in this work, though it was reported in some crisis studies (e.g., Xi et al., 2021).

The manual content analysis of the Saied corpus was performed by two human coders: the researcher and a Tunisian student pursuing his M.A. studies in English (Linguistics). Based on *ReCal2* (Freelon, 2010), an online intercoder reliability measure, the strength of agreement between the two coders was deemed 'Almost Perfect'. As regards the coding process, it relied on the following definitions of the coding categories:

**a) Type of crisis**: segments that refer, directly or indirectly, to a political-democratic, economic, or health (COVID-19) crisis are coded for the respective crisis type. The ones that evoke more than one crisis are double-coded.

**b) Type of crisis frame**: once the type of crisis is identified, the segment should also be coded for the type of crisis frame it realizes:

- **Nature frame**: how was this crisis described/labelled/perceived? How did it manifest itself? (e.g., Spokesperson Ned Price: "they [Tunisians] face the dual challenges of … and the COVID-19 pandemic" [Health crisis])
- **Cause frame**: who is responsible for the crisis? (e.g., Office of the Spokesperson: "the economic challenges that Tunisia is facing as a result of Russian aggression against its neighbor" [Economic crisis])
- **Process frame**: how did the crisis evolve and which response strategies did it trigger? (e.g., Secretary Antony Blinken: "Tunisia's July 25 constitutional referendum was marked by low voter participation" [Political-democratic crisis])
- **Result frame**: which negative consequences did the crisis have? (e.g., Spokesperson Ned Price: "… that have undermined Tunisia's independent democratic institutions" [Political-democratic crisis])
- **Actions to take frame**: which actions were recommended to preclude the aggravation of the crisis/to find a resolution to the crisis? (e.g., Assistant Secretary Barbara Leaf: "I also stressed the importance of Tunisia moving forward with urgency in its negotiations with the IMF … to arrest the ongoing economic crisis" [Economic crisis])

The abovementioned guidelines represented the codebook based on which the researcher and the second coder conducted the manual framing analysis of the Saied corpus. The few cases of coding disagreements were settled with further discussions and scrutiny. In contrast with automated research methods, qualitative approaches are undeniably notorious for their subjectivity.

### 4.2. Keyness and collocation (networks) analyses

Targeting RQ2, the keyness and collocation (networks) analyses investigated the extent to which the American government's representation of the crisis unfolding in Tunisia following Saied's declaration of a 'state of exception' marked a change in its foreign policy vis-à-vis this country in crisis contexts. Given the comparative nature of this research question, a second corpus (Essebsi corpus, henceforth) from the same genre and source as the first one was collected using the same search word "Tunisia." Late President Beji Caid Essebsi is Saied's predecessor—by national vote—; his presidency shares some similarities with Saied's, considering that it took place in a post-revolution period characterized by a fragile democratic transition and the occurrence of a number of crises, most critical among which are the two terrorist attacks on the Bardo museum and Sousse. The Essebsi corpus, comprising 7,930 words, thus constituted the reference corpus that was compiled between March 18, 2015 (Bardo museum attack) and July 25, 2019 (the passing of President Essebsi).

The selection of this reference corpus was informed by Gabrielatos's (2018) assertion that a 'good' reference corpus should neither be a general one nor much larger than the target corpus; rather, it has to meet the research objectives addressed. Potential differences between the target (Saied corpus) and reference (Essebsi corpus) corpora are expected to provide solid empirical evidence as to whether the American government's crisis-related discourse, with respect to Tunisia, varied across these two presidencies (RQ2).

Another noteworthy observation is that, despite the relatively small size of these two corpora (12,934 words), the collected data is believed to be a rich resource that can yield insightful research results in that its institutional nature makes every single word count. This type of discourse indeed consists of scripted and calculated statements (Konstantinova et al., 2019). The corpora under study, in this sense, represent 'loaded' language that is likely to be fertile ground for the exploration of ideology and stance taking. Equally important, the integrated methodological approach espoused by this work would not have been feasible, had the size of the Saied corpus been larger as the manual coding of frames is an arduous and time-consuming process. The present research utilized the corpus linguistics notions of keyness and collocation (networks) to carry out the aforementioned comparative analysis. The latest version of *#LancsBox* (6.0) (Brezina et al., 2021), developed at Lancaster University, is the corpus analysis tool that conducted keyness calculations (via the *Words* & *Ngrams* interfaces) and generated collocation profiles and networks (via the *GraphColl* interface) for the Saied and Essebsi corpora. This powerful software package is user-friendly and can be downloaded, free of charge, from the internet. Log-likelihood (LL) is the statistical significance test that was selected in this research to generate keyness values. According to Gabrielatos (2018), this statistical metric is widely used in keyness studies and can be said to be a reliable measure of keyness when the size of the collected corpora is small, which is the case for the present work. An effect size metric is, however, an indispensable keyness measure for larger corpora. The default threshold value in *#LancsBox 6.0* is 6.63. With respect to the collocation analysis, it was carried out using two association measures, namely Mutual Information (MI for effect size) and Log-likelihood (LL for statistical significance). *#LancsBox 6.0*, by default, sets the cut-off value of 3 for the former metric.

## 5. Results and discussion

This section describes a prevalent political-democratic crisis framed in terms of urgency and U.S. crisis-related discourse from Essebsi to Saied.

### 5.1. A prevalent political-democratic crisis framed in terms of urgency

Results of the framing analysis (RQ1) are outlined in Table 1. The first observation worth reporting is that, in its press communications, the U.S. government communicated the idea that the crisis engulfing Tunisia since July 25, 2021 is chiefly political-democratic (103 out of 169 occurrences). This salience may echo the scope of attention that was allocated by the Biden administration to Saied's declaration of a 'state of exception', considering it to be outweighing any other crisis that Tunisia was facing. This can be interpreted against the purported American tradition of promoting democracy worldwide.

*Table 1*

**Frequencies of crisis types and frames in the Saied corpus**

| | Potitical-democratic Crisis | Economic Crisis | Health Crisis | Total 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nature Frame | 30 | 27 | 6 | 63 |
| Cause Frame | 2 | 6 | 0 | 8 |
| Process Frame | 24 | 4 | 1 | 29 |
| Result Frame | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Actions to take Frame | 42 | 18 | 4 | 64 |
| Total 2 | 103 | 55 | 11 | 169 |

The framing analysis also revealed the preponderance of the Actions to take and Nature frames over the rest of crisis frames, with 64 and 63 (out of 169) instances respectively. The recurrent use of the former in the Saied corpus reflects the "prescriptive (what actors should do)" legacy (Loke, 2016, p. 854) underpinning international relations and politics. The remarkably low frequency of the Result frame (5 occurrences), by contrast, can be attributable to the fact that all the investigated crises are still ongoing and their consequences are yet unfolding. Overall, the evidence presented in Table 1 may suggest that U.S. crisis-related discourse on Tunisia following July 25, 2021 was more focused on the nature of the crisis and the required measures than its causes (8 occurrences) and development (29 occurrences).

For reasons of space, the analysis and illustrations will be confined to the political-democratic crisis and the frames of Actions to take and Nature by virtue of their prominence. A close examination of their realizations in the corpus unveiled a significant pattern, notably a remarkable sense of urgency in the ways in which U.S. government representatives described the crisis in Tunisia and outlined the actions to be taken in response. Specifically, the discourse of urgency emerged in part from the prevalence of the sub-frame of seriousness in the Nature frame, thereby construing Tunisia's political-democratic crisis as being serious and concerning. The underlined parts in the following examples illustrate this sense of criticality:

(1) Secretary Antony Blinken: *"Tunisia has experienced an <u>alarming erosion</u> of democratic norms over the past year and reversed <u>many</u> of the Tunisian people's hard-won gains since 2011."*
*(2)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"We are <u>concerned and disappointed</u> by recent reports from Tunisia on infringements on freedom of the press and expression and the use of military courts to investigate civilian cases."*
*(3)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"The United States is <u>deeply concerned</u> by the Tunisian President's decision to unilaterally restructure Tunisia's Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE)."*
*(4)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"We are particularly <u>troubled</u> by reports that media offices have been closed."*
(5) Secretary Antony Blinken: *"... have raised <u>deep questions</u> about Tunisia's democratic path, both in Tunisia and internationally."*

Secretary of State Blinken's statement in Example 1 was considered one of the strongest messages delivered by the United States in opposition to President Saied's transitional measures (Farooq, 2022). Nonetheless, deploying softer diplomatic rhetoric, the American government refrained from labelling what happened in Tunisia on July 25, 2021 as a 'coup.' This avoidance strategy was tacitly communicated in the State Department Spokesperson Ned Price's assertion that "[w]hen it comes to the actions that led to this point, more important than debating what to label these events is the critical work of supporting Tunisia on its democratic path." In this respect, harsh criticism was directed at the U.S. government's reportedly soft and reactive approach to the political-democratic crisis in Tunisia (Hamid, 2021; Yerkes, 2021).

Urgency discourse was also shaped through the construction of the suggested actions (Actions to take frame) as pressing and urgent measures. The underlined parts in Examples 6–10 impart a clear sense of emergency expressed in U.S. political discourse on the ongoing political events in Tunisia.

*(6)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"It is essential that the Government of Tunisia uphold its commitments to respect the independence of the judiciary as stipulated in the constitution."*

*(7)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"President Saied should appoint a prime minister to form a government able to address those urgent needs."*

*(8)* Secretary Antony Blinken: *"we urge the swift adoption of an inclusive electoral law that facilitates the broadest possible participation in legislative elections planned for December, including among those who opposed or boycotted the constitutional referendum."*

*(9)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"We have consistently communicated to Tunisian officials that any political reform process should be transparent and inclusive, and undertaken in coordination with a range of political parties, labor unions, and civil society."*

*(10)* NSC Spokesperson Emily Horne: *"the critical need for Tunisian leaders to outline a swift return to Tunisia's democratic path."*

Strikingly, the tone of the above 'recommendations' becomes quite harsh and severe in some instances. The sense of obligation, conveyed by the use of "essential that," "should," and "critical need," admittedly lays bare the exercise of power at work. The United States, as a superpower, gives itself the right to dictate what Tunisia—a developing country benefiting from U.S. assistance and currently relying on its support to secure a critical IMF loan—needs to do amid its escalating crisis. Such strong statements from top politicians in the Biden administration did not, however, go unnoticed; they "roiled the U.S.-Tunisian relationship" (Ryan, 2022, para. 5) and were considered by the Tunisian government to be a form of interference in the country's internal affairs.

Broadly speaking, the dynamics of power relations have always been of special interest to discourse analysts across different contexts, including crisis research. In particular, "the role of power and ideology in how crises function socially and discursively" (Mohd Don & De Rycker, 2013, p. 21) is revealing in multifarious respects. In the current context, for instance, the extent to which what happened in Tunisia warrants the aforementioned sense of emergency can be a subject of debate. According to a Sigma Conseil poll[4] conducted in May 2022, 65.2% of Tunisians continued to support President Saied despite mounting criticism nationally and globally. They reject the crisis narrative altogether and believe that the exceptional measures are constitutional and represent the only way to get the country back on track.

### 5.2. U.S. crisis-related discourse from Essebsi to Saied: a shift in focus

**5.2.1. Key words and bigrams.** In partial answer to RQ2, key words/bigrams were identified in the target (Saied) and reference (Essebsi) corpora with the aid of *#LancsBox 6.0*. On the grounds of feasibility, the analysis was limited to the top 20 Log-likelihood ordered key words/bigrams. Function words were discarded, given that they are unlikely to convey discourse-pragmatic meanings. Results, outlined in Table 2, showed that keywords characteristic of the Saied corpus (positive keywords) evinced the same dominant theme emerging from the framing analysis—a political-democratic crisis enveloping Tunisia and requiring urgent measures.

*Table 2*

**Keywords in the Saied and Essebsi corpora**

| Positive keywords | Freq. in Saied Corp. | Freq. in Essebsi Corp. | Key-ness value (LL) | Negative keywords | Freq. in Essebsi Corp. | Freq. in Saied Corp. | Key-ness value (LL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| secretary | 32 | 2 | 48.93 | caid | 20 | 0 | 18.99 |
| transparent | 19 | 0 | 36.96 | essebsi | 20 | 0 | 18.99 |
| assistant | 15 | 0 | 29.18 | attack | 18 | 0 | 17.09 |
| civil | 24 | 5 | 24.77 | tunisia's | 16 | 0 | 15.19 |
| process | 18 | 2 | 23.91 | terrorist | 15 | 0 | 14.24 |
| saied | 12 | 0 | 23.34 | assistance | 13 | 0 | 12.34 |
| return | 12 | 0 | 23.34 | investment | 12 | 0 | 11.39 |
| democratic | 35 | 15 | 21.24 | cooperation | 12 | 0 | 11.39 |
| constitutional | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | obama | 12 | 0 | 11.39 |
| diverse | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | together | 11 | 0 | 10.44 |
| voices | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | Young | 10 | 0 | 9.49 |
| kais | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | violence | 10 | 0 | 9.49 |
| society | 21 | 7 | 16.01 | counterterroris | 9 | 0 | 8.54 |
| journalists | 8 | 0 | 15.56 | citizens | 9 | 0 | 8.54 |
| path | 11 | 1 | 15.46 | security | 36 | 8 | 8.03 |
| economic | 32 | 18 | 14.00 | risk | 8 | 0 | 7.59 |
| inclusive | 18 | 6 | 13.72 | difficult | 8 | 0 | 7.59 |
| independent | 7 | 0 | 13.61 | bardo | 8 | 0 | 7.59 |
| swift | 7 | 0 | 13.61 | museum | 8 | 0 | 7.59 |
| trip | 7 | 0 | 13.61 | hard | 7 | 0 | 6.64 |

This aboutness was particularly mediated through such keywords as *transparent*, *civil*, *process*, *return*, *democratic*, *constitutional*, *diverse*, *voices*, *society*, *journalists*, *path*, *inclusive*, *independent*, and *swift*. It is enlightening to note that the semantic categorization of key words/bigrams in the present study was based on a rigorous examination of their co-text, as exemplified in the sample concordance lines included in this section. By way of illustration, Figure 1 displays the KWIC concordances for the keywords *transparent* and *swift* in the target corpus.

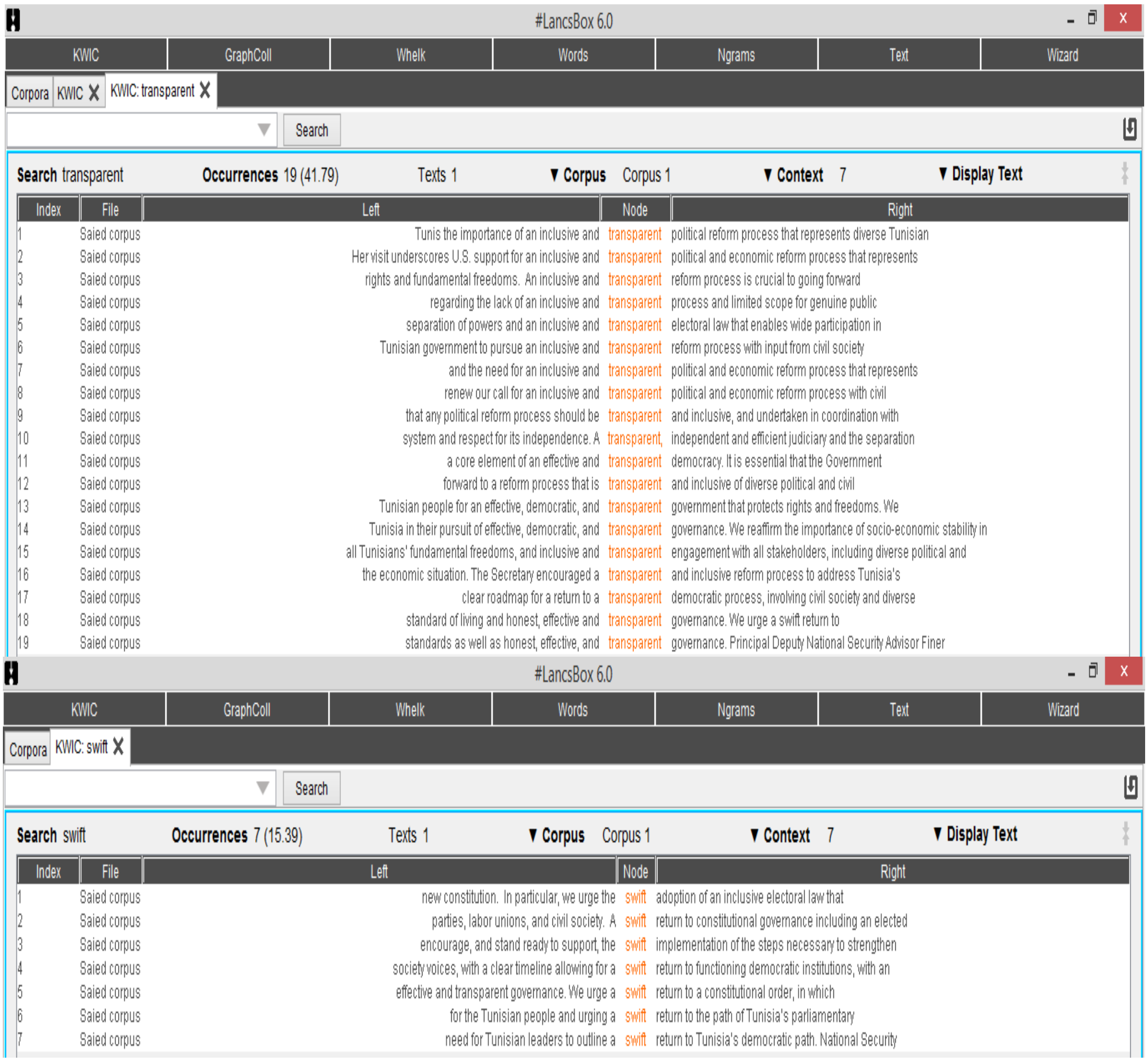



Figure1. KWIC concordances for the keywords
*transparent* and *swift* in the Saied corpus

Keywords typical of the Essebsi corpus (negative keywords), however, unveiled the prevalence of two distinct topics, notably terrorism (*attack*, *terrorist*, *violence*, *counterterrorism*, *security*, *risk*, *bardo*, and *museum*) and assistance and cooperation (*assistance*, *investment*, *cooperation*, *together*, and *obama*). The wider context of two sample keywords pertaining to these two themes in the reference corpus is provided in Figure 2.

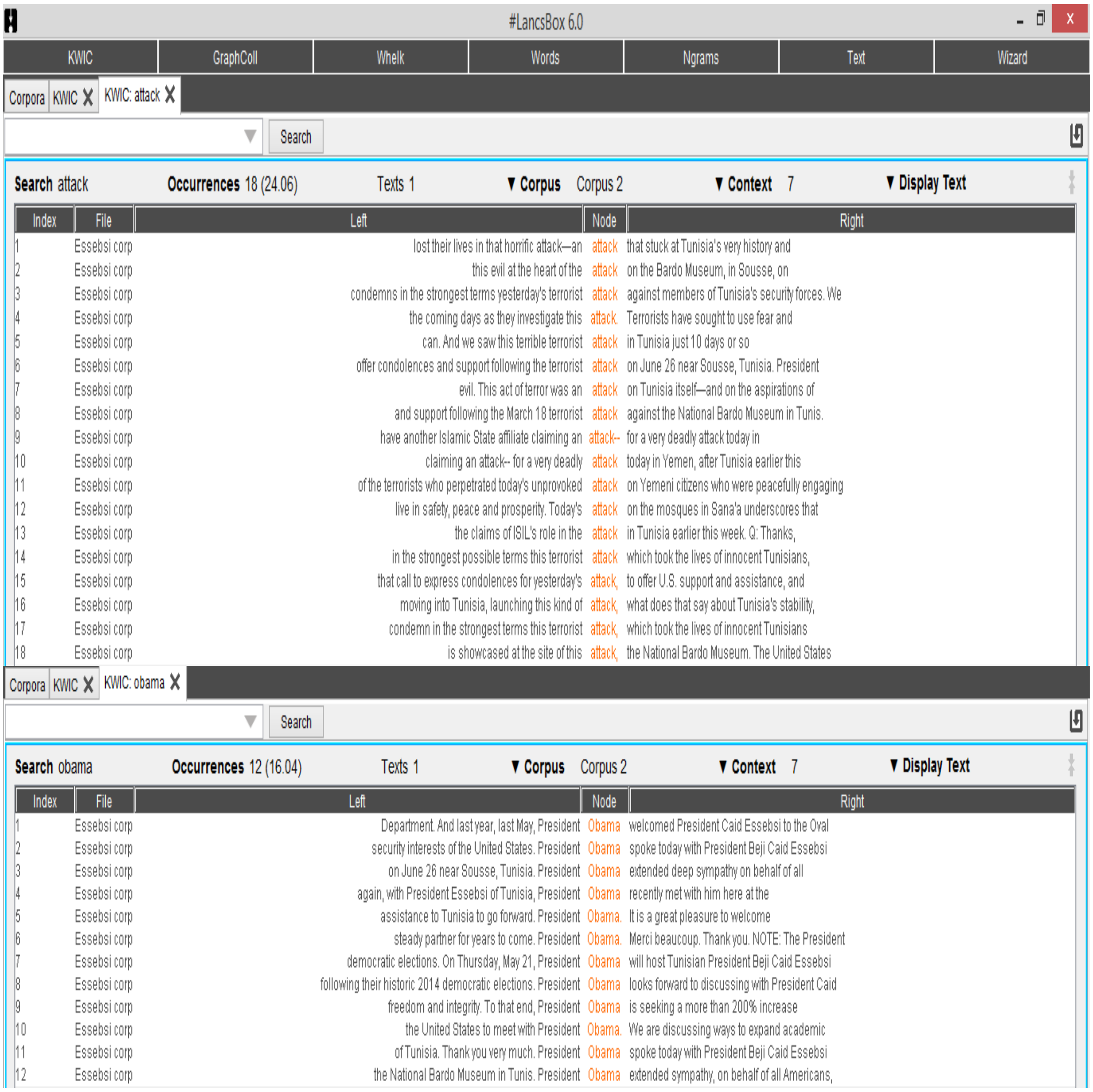



Figure 2. KWIC concordances for the keywords
*attack* and *obama* in the Essebsi corpus

The differences detected between the two corpora as to their aboutness can be indicative of a change in U.S. diplomacy with respect to the crises that Tunisia faced from Essebsi's to Saied's presidencies. U.S. press communications during Essebsi's term in office placed a dual emphasis on the terrorist attacks striking the country and the American administration's strong commitment to U.S.-Tunisia partnership and cooperation. When the measures to be taken in response to the crisis were discussed, it was equally revealing that they were constructed within a discourse of togetherness, as the KWIC concordance for the keyword *cooperation* shows (Figure 3).

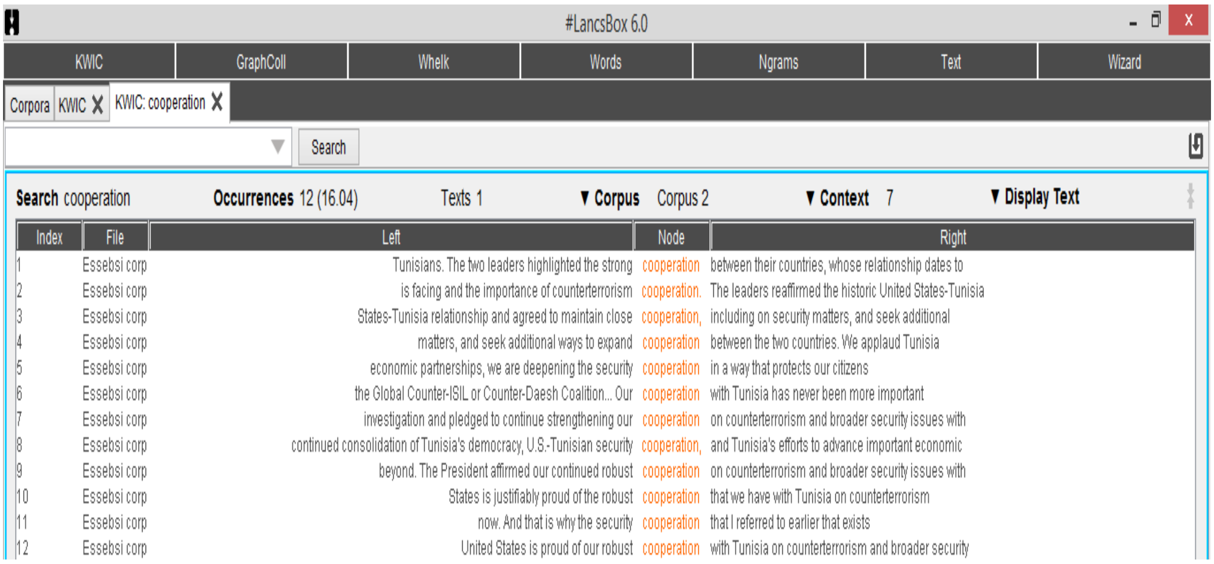



Figure 3. KWIC concordance for the keyword *cooperation* in the Essebsi corpus

By contrast, as Table 2 demonstrates, the theme of partnership and cooperation partially faded into the background during the presidency of Saied, giving rise to an alternative narrative: an endangered democracy and the urgency of reforms. The shift may signal a cautious attitude on the part of the Biden administration. This was tangibly reflected in the U.S. decision to reduce its military and economic aid to Tunisia in the wake of the July 25 event. Interestingly, even when the topic of U.S. cooperation and assistance was evoked in the Saied corpus, it was tacitly conditioned by the implementation of the suggested measures, reiterating the discursive strategies of dominance and control elucidated earlier in this article. Another noteworthy observation is the implication that U.S. cooperation and assistance efforts are directed at the Tunisian people, particularly the victims of Tunisia's political-democratic crisis, rather than Saied's government. Examples illustrating these intriguing patterns are as follows:

(11) Assistant Secretary Barbara Leaf: *"I reiterated U.S. support for the Tunisian people and our commitment to a long-term partnership. That partnership is <u>strongest when anchored in a shared commitment to democratic principles and human rights</u>."*

*(12)* Spokesperson Ned Price: *"The United States <u>supports the aspirations of the Tunisian people</u> for an effective, democratic, and transparent government that protects rights and freedoms."*

*(13)* Secretary Antony Blinken: *"the United States has and will continue to use all tools at our disposal to <u>support the Tunisian people</u> in forging a democratic and accountable government … U.S.-Tunisia partnership is <u>strongest when there is a shared commitment to democracy and human rights</u>."*

*(14)* NSC Spokesperson Emily Horne: *"… delivered a message from President Biden reaffirming his <u>personal support … the Tunisian people and urging a swift return to the path of Tunisia's parliamentary democracy</u>."*

Regarding the analysis of key bigrams, it did not detect significant disparity patterns between the two corpora, considering that only 6 key bigrams in the reference corpus (negative bigrams) attained statistical significance, as outlined in Table 3. The top 20 Log-likelihood ordered bigrams[5] in the target corpus (positive bigrams), nonetheless, echoed the same crisis (political-democratic) and urgency narrative emerging from the framing and keywords analyses reported earlier. This recurrent theme was particularly conveyed through the following 2-word clusters:

*and transparent*, *reform process*, *civil society*, *return to*, *democratic path*, *an inclusive*, *respect for*, *inclusive and*, *human rights*, *a swift*, *a clear*, and *diverse political*.

*Table 3*

**Key bigrams in the Saied and Essebsi corpora**

| Positive bigrams | Freq. in Saied Corp. | Freq. in Essebsi Corp. | Key-ness value (LL) | Negative bigrams | Freq. in Essebsi Corp. | Freq. in Saied Corp. | Key-ness value (LL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| assistant secretary | 15 | 0 | 29.18 | caid essebsi | 18 | 0 | 17.09 |
| and transparent | 13 | 0 | 25.29 | president caid | 14 | 0 | 13.29 |
| reform process | 11 | 0 | 21.40 | president obama | 12 | 0 | 11.39 |
| civil society | 20 | 5 | 18.63 | and security | 7 | 0 | 6.64 |
| president kais | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | bardo museum | 7 | 0 | 6.64 |
| return to | 9 | 0 | 17.50 | to meet | 7 | 0 | 6.64 |
| democratic path | 8 | 0 | 15.56 | | | | |
| an inclusive | 12 | 2 | 13.76 | | | | |
| respect for | 7 | 0 | 13.61 | | | | |
| inclusive and | 9 | 1 | 11.95 | | | | |
| senior administration | 6 | 0 | 11.67 | | | | |
| kais saied | 6 | 0 | 11.67 | | | | |
| administration official | 6 | 0 | 11.67 | | | | |
| of state | 6 | 0 | 11.67 | | | | |
| president saied | 6 | 0 | 11.67 | | | | |
| human rights | 15 | 6 | 9.75 | | | | |
| a swift | 5 | 0 | 9.72 | | | | |
| acting assistant | 5 | 0 | 9.72 | | | | |
| a clear | 5 | 0 | 9.72 | | | | |
| diverse political | 5 | 0 | 9.72 | | | | |

The KWIC concordances for the key bigrams *human rights* and *return to* succinctly illustrate the sense of emergency in U.S. political discourse on the political-democratic crisis Tunisia was grappling with, following Saied's exceptional measures. In particular, the lexical selections of "grapple," "erode," "critical time," "urge," "have been clear in," "a swift," "a rapid," "concerned and disappointed," "call for a clear," and "urging," occurring within the 7-word span of the bigrams, encapsulate this urgency discourse.

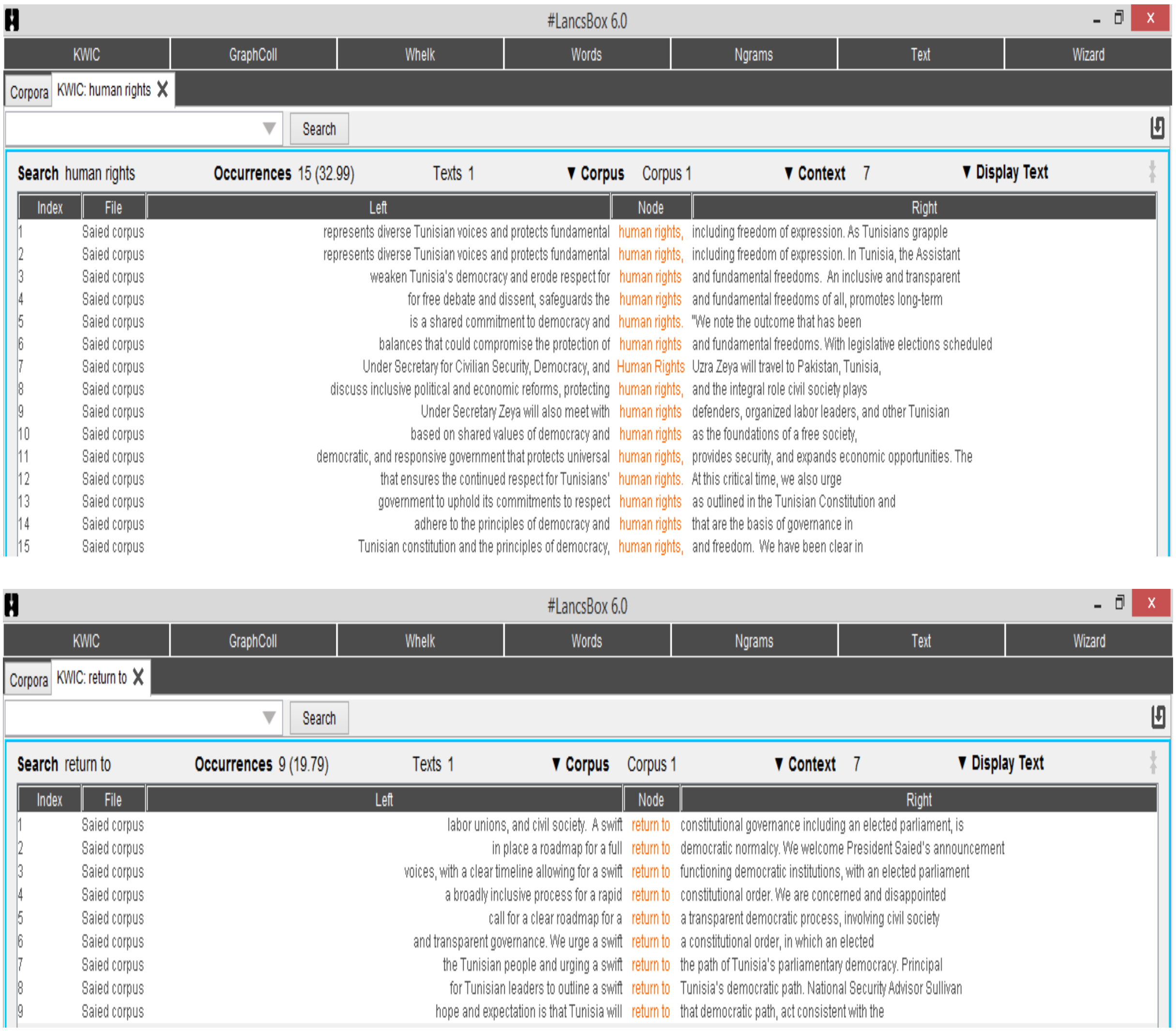



Figure 4. KWIC concordances for the key bigrams
*human rights* and *return to* in the Saied corpus

A final observation to make before reporting the results of the collocation (networks) analysis is that this sense of urgency would have been more detectable by the keyness analysis, had the corpus tool (*#LancsBox 6.0*) used the frequency of lemmas rather than word-forms in the calculation of keyness. In fact, Figure 5 demonstrates that the lemma URG occurred 14 times in the Saied corpus, compared to a total absence of occurrences in the reference corpus. None of its word-forms, however, reached a keyness value that is high enough to be on the top 20 keywords list. This consideration would hopefully further illuminate future research on the corpus linguistics concept of keyness.

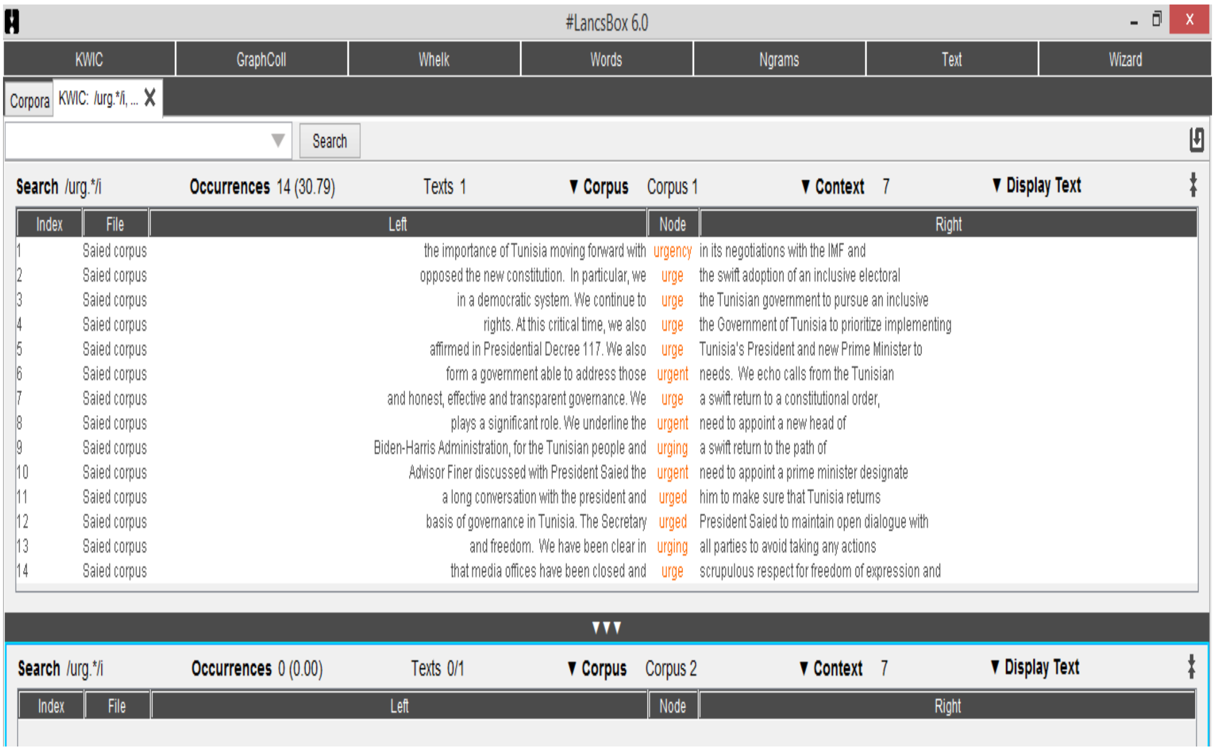



Figure 5. The lemma URG in the Saied and Essebsi corpora

**5.2.2. Collocation profiles and networks.** Unlike keyness analysis, the study of collocations requires the selection of a starting point—a node. The examination of the co-occurrences of the node TUNISIA, at a span of five words to the right and left, in the Saied and Essebsi corpora was thought to offer further empirical evidence in response to RQ2. Specifically, this collocational analysis would reveal potential discrepancies in the type of semantic categories that TUNISIA is frequently associated with across the target and reference corpora.

As noted in Table 4, the content words that reached the LL and MI cut-off values in the Saied corpus convey an association of TUNISIA with the notions of an endangered democracy (*democratic*) and the need to support the Tunisian people (*support* and *people*) against possible abuse from the president and his government (*president* and *government*). 'Connecting the dots' drew heavily on the findings elicited from the framing and keyness analyses that provided a solid empirical base in favor of such an interpretation, displaying the complementarity between the selected analytical methods. With respect to the Essebsi Corpus, the common collocates listed in Table 4 unveiled the connectedness of TUNISIA with the aforementioned themes of cooperation (*united*, *states* and *our*) and terrorism (*attack*). Needless to say, the categorization of the extracted collocates into semantic groups relied on close scrutiny of their expanded context in the Saied and Essebsi corpora.

*Table 4*

**Log-likelihood ordered collocates of TUNISIA in the Saied and Essebsi corpora**

| Saied corpus | | | | | Essebsi corpus | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Collocate | Position | Freq. | LL | MI | Collocate | Position | Freq. | LL | MI |
| the | R | 41 | 164.43 | 3.44 | and | R | 45 | 170.17 | 3.53 |
| to | L | 28 | 111.55 | 3.69 | the | L | 47 | 155.32 | 3.17 |
| in | L | 17 | 82.84 | 4.46 | in | L | 28 | 114.93 | 3.94 |
| of | L | 21 | 72.39 | 3.44 | to | R | 34 | 109.98 | 3.27 |
| democratic | R | 12 | 63.90 | 4.80 | of | L | 29 | 104.01 | 3.57 |
| and | L | 21 | 59.94 | 3.00 | president | R | 19 | 98.23 | 4.72 |
| on | R | 11 | 58.42 | 4.81 | with | L | 19 | 96.23 | 4.65 |
| that | L | 11 | 40.13 | 3.72 | that | L | 19 | 66.50 | 3.60 |
| its | R | 6 | 34.55 | 5.12 | states | L | 12 | 61.23 | 4.74 |
| a | R | 11 | 33.45 | 3.28 | united | L | 12 | 59.24 | 4.63 |
| government | L | 7 | 30.97 | 4.30 | has | R | 10 | 53.24 | 4.89 |
| will | M | 6 | 27.47 | 4.41 | for | L | 13 | 49.14 | 3.85 |
| support | L | 5 | 25.61 | 4.76 | as | R | 10 | 39.40 | 3.99 |
| with | R | 7 | 23.56 | 3.57 | essebsi | L | 7 | 37.83 | 4.96 |
| people | L | 5 | 21.29 | 4.21 | a | R | 12 | 35.44 | 3.26 |
| is | M | 6 | 20.43 | 3.61 | is | R | 10 | 27.44 | 3.12 |
| president | L | 5 | 19.50 | 3.97 | this | R | 8 | 27.11 | 3.61 |
| we | R | 6 | 18.01 | 3.32 | so | R | 6 | 26.64 | 4.36 |
| economic | L | 5 | 17.36 | 3.67 | on | R | 7 | 25.34 | 3.79 |
| as | L | 5 | 17.04 | 3.62 | our | L | 8 | 24.36 | 3.36 |
| | | | | | attack | L | 5 | 24.20 | 4.62 |
| | | | | | caid | L | R | 23.02 | 4.47 |

Though revealing in some respects, collocational profiles—being limited to one particular node—seem to have captured only part of the overall web of meanings around TUNISIA. Generating collocation networks from the node TUNISIA proved to paint a broader picture or, in the words of Baker (2016, p. 14), "give 'added value' to corpus analysis." By way of illustration, the network of semantic relationships highlighted in Figure 6 constitutes a graphical representation of the aboutness of the Saied corpus. The collocation network joining the nodes TUNISIA, DEMOCRATIC, RETURN, and SUPPORT indeed invoked the same dominant discourse emerging from the framing and keyness analyses: the urgent need for a swift return to the democratic path in Tunisia. In this light, the present investigation can have methodological implications for future research on collocation, suggesting that collocation profiles and networks are best used in tandem.

The node SUPPORT seems to be an idiosyncrasy in that it contradicts the aforementioned finding (keywords analysis) that the theme of cooperation and assistance was not quite prominent in the Saied corpus. Such speculation can, however, be refuted on two main grounds. Firstly, as shown earlier in this section, even when the issue of U.S. support was evoked, it was implicitly conditioned by the implementation of the recommended actions and tended to be targeted at the Tunisian people rather than Saied's government. Secondly, the collocation network in Figure 6 demonstrates how the node SUPPORT displays a limited network of meaning connections, reminiscent of the recurrent theme of the United States being in support of the people of Tunisia for a swift return to the democratic path.

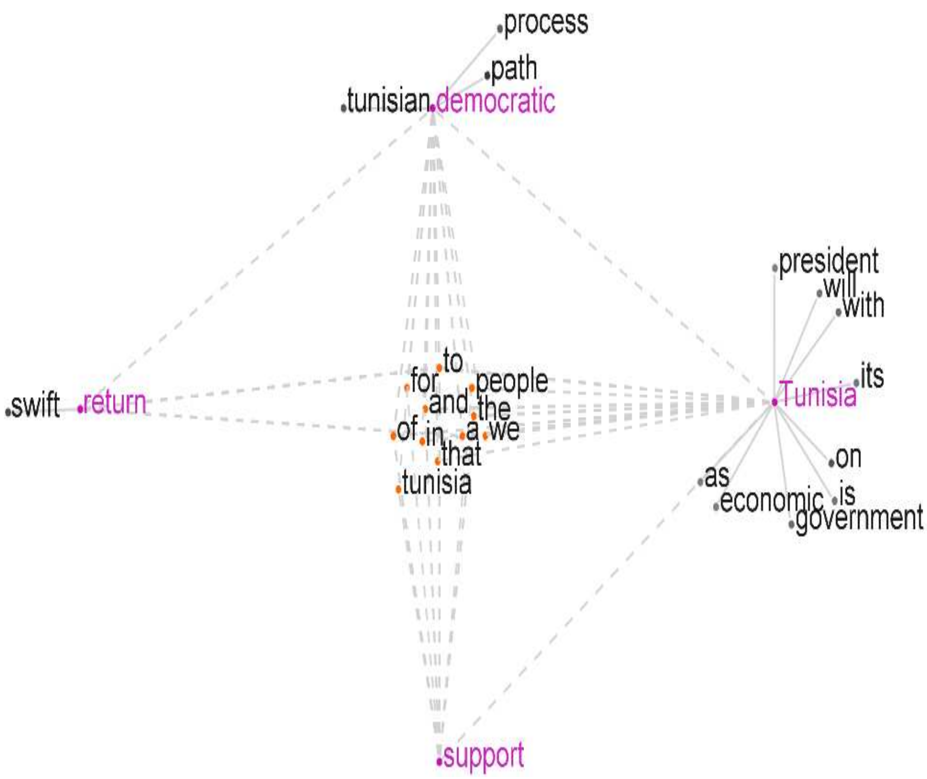



Figure 6. Collocation network
from the node TUNISIA in the Saied Corpus

Figure 7, by contrast, shows that the theme of support and cooperation has much richer meaning associations in the Essebsi corpus, evoking a wider and more complex web of related collocates such as *partnership*, *commitment*, *strengthening*, *support*, and *partners*. The node OUR, though being a function word, unraveled a significant network of third-order collocates pertaining to this sense of togetherness. The collocation network linking the nodes TUNISIA, ATTACK, STATES, and OUR also revealed the connectedness between Tunisia and the United States in their joint efforts against terrorism, thereby confirming the results of the keyness analysis reported earlier. The visual representation of fourth-order collocates of the node TUNISIA across the Saied and Essebsi corpora thus unveiled important cross-associations characteristic of each corpus.

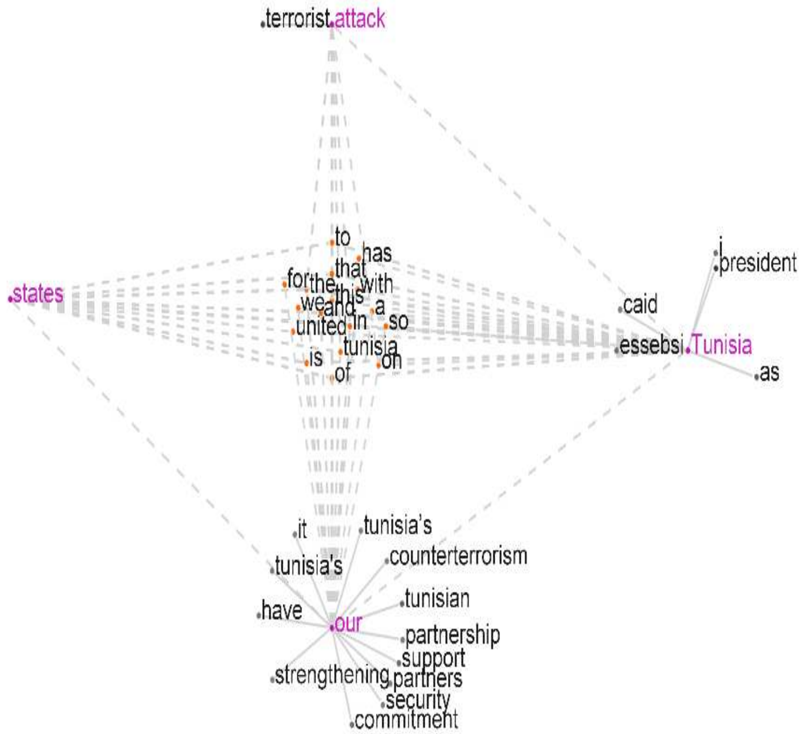
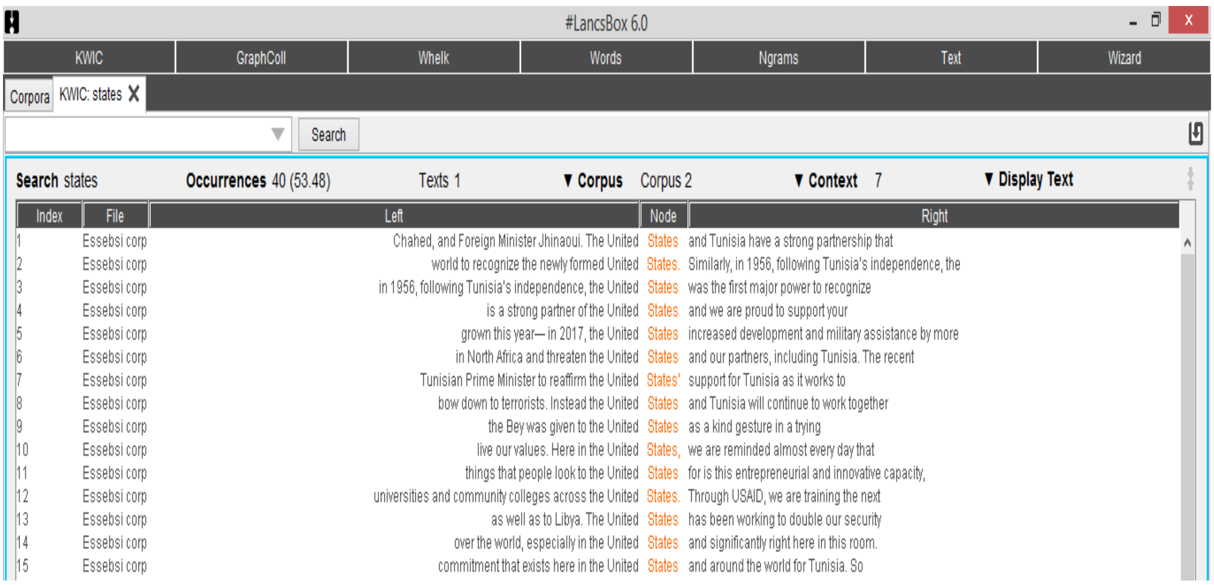



Figure 7. Collocation network from the node TUNISIA in the Essebsi Corpus

On the whole, the collocation (networks) analysis conducted in this research tended to uncover a change in the type of discourse surrounding Tunisia in a crisis context from Essebsi's to Saied's presidencies. The U.S. administration, as it seems, placed its prime emphasis on the political-democratic crisis unfolding in Tunisia and the urgency of reforms during Saied's term in office, relegating the discussion of partnership and assistance to a second position. In its press communications on the terrorist attacks that struck the country during Essebsi's presidency, however, the American government remarkably stressed its strong commitment to partnership and cooperation with Tunisia. The top 15 concordance lines around the node (United) STATES in Figure 8 illustrate this latter pattern.




| Index | File | Left | Node | Right |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Essebsi corp | Chahed, and Foreign Minister Jhinaoui. The United | States | and Tunisia have a strong partnership that |
| 2 | Essebsi corp | world to recognize the newly formed United | States. | Similarly, in 1956, following Tunisia's independence, the |
| 3 | Essebsi corp | in 1956, following Tunisia's independence, the United | States | was the first major power to recognize |
| 4 | Essebsi corp | is a strong partner of the United | States | and we are proud to support your |
| 5 | Essebsi corp | grown this year— in 2017, the United | States | increased development and military assistance by more |
| 6 | Essebsi corp | in North Africa and threaten the United | States | and our partners, including Tunisia. The recent |
| 7 | Essebsi corp | Tunisian Prime Minister to reaffirm the United | States' | support for Tunisia as it works to |
| 8 | Essebsi corp | bow down to terrorists. Instead the United | States | and Tunisia will continue to work together |
| 9 | Essebsi corp | the Bey was given to the United | States | as a kind gesture in a trying |
| 10 | Essebsi corp | live our values. Here in the United | States, | we are reminded almost every day that |
| 11 | Essebsi corp | things that people look to the United | States | for is this entrepreneurial and innovative capacity, |
| 12 | Essebsi corp | universities and community colleges across the United | States. | Through USAID, we are training the next |
| 13 | Essebsi corp | as well as to Libya. The United | States | has been working to double our security |
| 14 | Essebsi corp | over the world, especially in the United | States | and significantly right here in this room. |
| 15 | Essebsi corp | commitment that exists here in the United | States | and around the world for Tunisia. So |

Figure 8. KWIC concordance for the node STATES in the Essebsi corpus

In recapitulation, the keyness and collocation (networks) analyses reiterated the abovementioned finding, to varying degrees (RQ2). Interestingly, this shift in focus in U.S. foreign policy towards Tunisia in crisis situations can be accounted for in terms of the nature of the crisis at issue as well as U.S. strategic interests. Such variables understandably influenced the kind of diplomacy to adopt. In particular, terrorist attacks on a country considered a long-time ally against terrorism in the MENA region would incontrovertibly prompt a discourse of cooperation and assistance on the American part. Conversely, a reportedly president-generated political and democratic crisis entails a different political calculus. Equally important, the detected sense of urgency in the U.S. government's press communications on the latter crisis is best interpreted against the backdrop of the professed American legacy of democracy promotion. In this respect, the evidence collected in the scope of this research is consistent with Marzo's (2020) study postulating that security and democracy had been the building blocks of U.S. foreign policy in Tunisia since the September 11 attacks. Undeniably, together with country-specific circumstances, the foreign policy of the United States—including tangible and intangible foreign aid—is shaped by other external factors such as global geopolitical, economic, and sanitary developments.

## 6. Conclusion

In summary, this article shed light on the U.S. administration's press communications on Tunisia after President Saied declared a 'state of exception' on July 25, 2021. The empirical investigation rested on the integration of qualitative (frame detection) and quantitative (keyness and collocations) research methods. The framing analysis revealed the heightened attention that the American government allocated to the political-democratic crisis unfolding in Tunisia during Saied's presidency, shaping a discourse of urgency around it. This has implications for general perceptions of this country's degree of political stability since the mass media, an arguably key actor in public opinion formation, partly draw on political actors' frames in reporting on current events.

The comparative analysis of U.S. crisis-related discourse on Tunisia from Essebsi's to Saied's presidencies corroborated the qualitative study and, most importantly, unveiled how U.S. foreign policy in Tunisia presumably displayed a shift in focus. Specifically, the keyness and collocation (networks) analyses seemed to uncover a move from construing a discourse of togetherness around the crisis (terrorist attacks) during Essebsi's term in office to stressing a sense of urgency in discussing Tunisia's crisis (political-democratic) during Saied's presidency. Being confined to the context of crisis, the work's results might not yet be representative of American foreign policy towards Tunisia in its entirety. It is also noteworthy that this research makes no claims about a chronological policy shift, as this requires the investigation of a broader spectrum of crisis events.

Strikingly, the abovementioned urgency discourse reached a critical point when U.S. government representatives used a prescriptive tone in their delineation of the range of urgent measures to be taken by Saied's government, triggering escalating tension between the two countries. On this account, the analysis laid bare significant discursive strategies of dominance and control. The study's findings, therefore, need to be interpreted in light of the wider context of global politics and the underlying dynamics of power relations.

In view of this, the present article has intended to contribute to the unceasing discussion of language and power through the lenses of political communication research, corpus linguistics, and critical discourse analysis. Besides the merit of multidisciplinarity, this research has direct implications for the theory and practice of the relatively recent corpus linguistics concepts of keyness and collocation networks and opens up prospects for their further research. In particular, this work showed how they are, firstly, inherently complementary and, secondly, best used in combination with qualitative research methods. This synergy, in fact, has offered deeper insights into the ideological underpinnings of U.S. crisis-related discourse on Tunisia following the landmark day of July 25, 2021.

**Notes**

1. https://lapresse.tn/104654/sondage-emrhod-87-des-tunisiens-soutiennent-kaies-saied-et-approuvent-ses-decisions/
2. https://tn.usembassy.gov/
3. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/
4. https://kapitalis.com/tunisie/2022/05/17/tunisie-intentions-de-vote-kais-saied-et-le-pdl-toujours-en-tete/
5. Bigrams comprising only one function word were included in the analysis.

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# ПРЕС-КОМУНІКАЦІЇ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЇ США ЩОДО ТУНІСУ ПІСЛЯ «ВИНЯТКОВОГО СТАНУ» 25 ЛИПНЯ 2021 РОКУ: ФОРМУВАННЯ ДИСКУРСУ НАГАЛЬНОСТІ

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**Анотація**
25 липня 2021 року стало винятковим днем для Тунісу, який відкрив нову главу в його сучасній політичній історії та викликав хвилю глобальної реакції на оголошений «винятковий стан». У цьому дослідженні розглядаються прес-комунікації адміністрації США щодо Тунісу після цієї події. Зокрема, у ньому досліджуються (i) домінуючі кризові фрейми, що пронизують ці повідомлення та їх основну політичну програму, і (ii) ступінь, у якому цей дискурс сигналізує про зміну зовнішньої політики США щодо Тунісу в кризових ситуаціях. Для досягнення вказаних цілей дослідження було проведено корпусне вивчення з використанням інтегративної методики, що поєднує підходи якісний (фрейми) і кількісний (ключовість і сполучуваність). Результати показали зміну дискурсів за тематикою кризи, їх перехід від почуття єдності до першочерговості. Це може відтворювати обережне ставлення американського уряду та його підвищену стурбованість перехідними заходами Каїса Сайєда. У широкому сенсі дослідження запропонувало уявлення про те, як динаміка глобальної політики розгортається у дискурсі. Важливо, що тлумачення політико-демократичної кризи в Тунісі адміністрацією Байдена в термінах нагальності може мати реальні наслідки для міжнародного сприйняття майбутнього країни. Теоретично, застосування результатів дослідження стосується в першу чергу Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (далі CADS), зокрема еволюції таких понять корпусної лінгвістики як ключовість і колокаційні мережі.

**Ключові слова**: прес-комунікації США, Туніс, 25 липня, криза, нагальність, CADS, фреймінг, ключовість, колокаційна мережа.

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# ТИПОВІ АГРАМАТИЗОВАНІ КОНСТРУКЦІЇ ЯК АКТУАЛІЗОВАНІ МОНО- ТА ПОЛІСИНОНІМІЧНІ ТРАНСФОРМИ ВІРТУАЛЬНИХ ПЕРВИННИХ СИНТАГМ ТА ПРОПОЗИЦІЙ (НА МАТЕРІАЛІ СУЧАСНОЇ ФРАНЦУЗЬКОЇ ХУДОЖНЬОЇ ПРОЗИ)

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**Анотація**
У статті моно- та полісинонімічні типові аграматизовані конструкції визначено як віртуальні трансформи первинних синтагм та пропозицій, що реалізуються у вигляді звужених, розширених та кількісно рівнокомпонентних преференціальних опцій, в яких експресивність превалює над експресією. Метою наукової розвідки є побудова типології та визначення ступеня ко(н)текстуальної пертинентності типових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних трансформів французької художньої прози XX – XXI століть. У дослідженні використано процедуру зворотної реконструкції (мовлення → мова) первинної синтагми або пропозиції аналізованих типів моно- та полісинонімічних аграматизованих мовленнєвих інновацій. Метод систематизації застосовано для виокремлення та класифікації типових аграматизованих синонімічних преференціальних опцій. «Альтернативний» лінгвістичний експеримент залучено для виявлення ступеня ко(н)текстуальної пертинентності первинної структури та вторинних синонімічних трансформів. Виявлено, що у французькій художній прозі XX – XXI століть найчастіше трапляються типові аграматизовані моно- та полісинонімічні моно- та поліпредикативні висловлення, розширені питальним або відносним займенником *que*, особовим займенником *il* (та його просторічними аналогами), кількісно рівнокомпонентні преференціальні опції, що містять прономінальний компонент *que* та еліптичні конструкції з фінальною супресією додатка після прийменників *avec, sans, pour, contre, parmi, comme*. Доведено, що провідною метою актуалізації типових аграматизованих конструкцій є емфатично фокалізувати нові ко(н)текстуальні референти, стилістично нюансувати інтра- та / або інтерфрастичний ко(н)текст, синтаксично спростити складні структури або запобігти ре-актуалізації раніше введених до пре- або пост-тексту референтів.

**Ключові слова:** «альтернативний» лінгвістичний експеримент, ко(н)текстуальна пертинентність, моно- та поліпредикативні висловлення, моно- та полісинонімічні типові аграматизовані преференціальні опції, первинна структура.

## 1. Вступ

Прості (слова) та складні (синтагми і висловлення) синонімічні мовні знаки формуються у результаті трансформації первинних (стрижневих) структур із максимально заповненими синтаксичними позиціями та з певним семантичним значенням, що характеризуються

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«семантико-морфо-синтаксичною рівновагою» (Dubois, 1963, p. 50), у внутрішньому (невимірному) оперативному «мікрочасі» та актуалізуються у зовнішньому (вимірному) оперативному «макрочасі» (терміни Р. Валена (Valin, 1981, p. 11)), тобто на послідовних етапах, більш-менш віддалених від початкової точки створення уявлення про рух часу в лінгвістичній свідомості суб'єкта мовлення.

Внутрішній оперативний час визначаємо як загальний темпоральний субстрат виникнення мовних знаків, що охоплює внутрішні когнітивні поліоперації (психомеханізми) каузації (породження) мовно-мовленнєвого акту; зовнішній – як час, використаний мовцем для реалізації побудованих віртуальних (мовних) структур у вигляді ко(н)текстуально (лінгвістично та / або ситуативно) пертинентних граматизованих (усталених у мові та мовленні) та типових (усталених у мовленні та неусталених у мові) і нетипових (неусталених у мові та мовленні, побудованих «за індивідуальним проєктом» (Megentesov, 1993, p. 78)) аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних преференціальних опцій з порушенням «семантико-морфо-синтаксичної рівноваги».

***Актуальність*** цієї наукової розвідки обумовлено відсутністю в сучасному мовознавстві комплексного аналізу в континуумі мова → мовлення асистемних, нерегулярних (аграматизованих) моно- та полісинонімічних конструкцій та їхньої повної класифікації.

***Метою дослідження*** є побудова типології та визначення ступеня ко(н)текстуальної пертинентності типових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних трансформів сучасної французької художньої прози.

Процес формування, трансформації та реалізації системних (мовних) первинних та / або вторинних синонімічних лінгвістичних одиниць представимо схематично в такий спосіб:

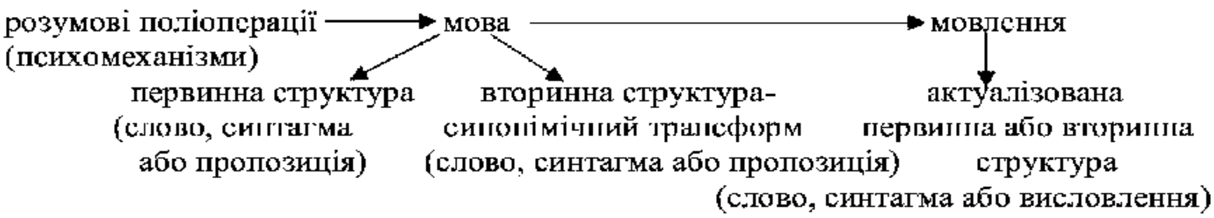


Рис. 1. Формування та актуалізація простих і складних первинних та трансформованих мовних знаків

Під час каузації дискурсивних формацій прості та складні мовні знаки, що розглядаються лінгвістами в мисленні людини (мовна система) і з погляду інтенції комуніканта в мовленні, продукуються як звужені (компресовані), розширені та кількісно рівнокомпонентні (термін авторки) (із рівною кількістю віртуальних та актуалізованих лексичних одиниць) моно- та полісинонімічні граматизовані ко(н)текстуально пертинентні преференціальні опції та нерегулярні утворення, або типові й нетипові аграматизовані мовленнєві інновації, результат «асистемної інтенції креативної особистості» (Styshov, 2009, p. 135), що характеризуються порушенням лексико-граматичної сполучуваності та актуалізація яких створює різноманітні стилістичні ефекти, що ускладнюють або полегшують адресату інтерпретацію поданої інформації залежно від ступеня їхньої асистемності.

Отже, при переході від мови як системи, що породжує норми, правила, обмеження у вживанні, до мовлення: *dicibilité mentale* (те, що можна висловити) → *dire effectif* (те, що висловлюється) → *dit terminal* (висловлене)) (Valin, 1973, p. 41) відбуваються зміни, що трапляються на всіх рівнях мови. При цьому в мовленні функціонують два типи засобів актуалізації мовних знаків:

- «пізніші» засоби, що належать імпровізованому, тобто засоби експресивності;
- «раніші» засоби, що належать установленому (мові), тобто засоби вираження (експресії) (ibid., p. 146).

У типових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних преференціальних опціях, предметі нашого дослідження, засоби експресивності превалюють над засобами експресії:

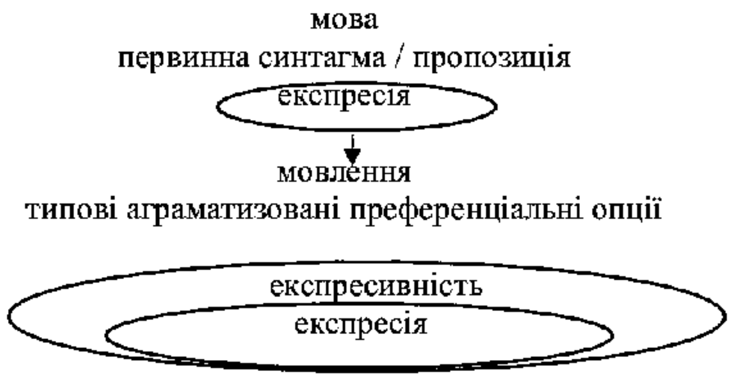


Рис. 2. Співвідношення експресивність + експресія у типових аграматизованих синонімічних структурах

Зазначимо, що в сучасній французькій художній прозі спостерігається тенденція до широкого використання типових та нетипових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних моно- та поліпредикативних висловлень (далі – МПВ та ППВ), семантико-синтаксичні, функціональні характеристики та частотність зустрічальності яких визначають індивідуально-авторські особливості бачення об'єктивної реальності, що виявляється в так званій «дискурсивній свободі» письменників, яка відображається у специфічній побудові творів.

## 2. Методологія і методи дослідження

У статті використано процедуру *зворотної реконструкції* (мовлення → мова) первинної структури аналізованих типів моно- та полісинонімічних аграматизованих мовленнєвих інновацій. Метод *систематизації* застосовано для побудови типології типових аграматизованих синонімічних преференціальних опцій. *«Альтернативний»* (термін Л. В. Щерби) *лінгвістичний експеримент*, що полягає в штучній заміні реципієнтом певної синтагми або висловлення досліджуваного дискурсивного фрагмента синонімічними синтагмою або висловленням, залучено для виявлення ступеня ко(н)текстуальної пертинентності первинної структури та вторинних синонімічних трансформів та обґрунтування ко(н)текстуальної адекватності актуалізованої аграматизованої конструкції.

## 3. Типологія та ступені ко(н)текстуальної пертинентності типових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних МПВ і ППВ французької художньої прози XX – XXI століть

Аналіз корпусу прикладів, вилучених з романів французьких прозаїків XX – XXI століть, дозволив виокремити такі види типових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних преференціальних опцій:

а) МПВ та ППВ з інверсією, що містять аграматизований зворотній або незворотній *Pp* (*participe passé*) + особовий займенник *je*:

(1) *Peut-être me trompé-je* (Abécassis, 2001, p. 21).

У наведеному прикладі звуженого моносинонімічного МПВ авторка замінює зворотній предикат у теперішньому часі (*me trompe*) дієприкметником минулого часу для позначення теперішнього моменту здійснення певної дії. Завдяки «альтернативному» лінгвістичному експерименту виявляємо, що ко(н)текстуальна непертинентність зворотно реконструйованої (мовлення → мова) первинної структури *peut-être que je me trompe* пояснюється, по-перше, багаторазовою реактуалізацією прономінальних компонентів *que* та *qui* в пре- та посттекстах, по-друге, інтенцією адресанта емфатично виділити вербальний компонент висловлення, наближаючи питання до риторичного:

> *Et ce **qui** est devant moi est si vague **que** je le devine plus **que** je ne le vois. Peut-être me trompé-je* (*Peut-être **que** je me trompe*). *Aurai-je réussi à dire autre chose **que** cette parole **qui** est mienne et **qui** n'est que mienne?*

b) синонімічні МПВ або ППВ із плеонастичним прономінальним розширенням питальним займенником *que*:

> (2) *Pourquoi qu'elle n'écrit jamais?* (Bazin, 1948, p. 33).

У поданому моносинонімічному МПВ спостерігається ініціальне плеонастичне прономінальне розширення займенниковим компонентом *que*, що замінює інверсію. Такі структури найчастіше трапляються в просторічному мовленні та використовуються письменниками для створення певного стилістичного ефекту шляхом фокалізації нового референта з метою полегшити інтерпретацію повідомлення адресатові. Порівняймо:

> *Pourquoi n'**écrit**-elle jamais* (первинна пропозиція з фокалізацією вербального елемента з метою підкреслити певну дію).
> ***Pourquoi** qu'elle n'écrit jamais?* (актуалізований синонімічний трансформ з фокалізацією ініціального питального займенника для акцентуації причини, з якої відбувається чи не відбувається певна дія).

c) МПВ або ППВ, розширені прислівниковими елементами *après, dès*:

> (3) *Y en a deux qu'ont ralenti à côté de moi et puis après j'ai entendu les autres s'encastrer comme dans du beurre* (Gavalda, 1999, p. 58).

У цитованому моносинонімічному ППВ уживання розширювача *puis* має суто ко(н)текстуальний характер, оскільки він плеонастично розширює, підсилюючи сему послідовності, постпозитивний прислівник *après*, що уможливлює котекстуальне співіснування цих двох синонімічних темпоральних адвербіальних компонентів. Очевидно, що структура з препозитивним темпоральним прислівником *puis* «виступає релевантним сигналом стратегій» (Zasiekin, 2001, p. 13) формування когерентного дискурсивного фрагмента, у якому описано послідовність дій / подій. Порівняймо:

> *...et après j'ai entendu les autres s'encastrer comme dans du beurre* (темпорально-констатувальна первинна пропозиція).
>
> *...et puis après j'ai entendu les autres s'encastrer comme dans du beurre* (темпоральна преференціальна опція).

d) експлікативні кількісно рівнокомпонентні ППВ із «синтаксичним оператором» (Mellet, 1992, p. 203) *que*:

(4) *Il n'y a donc personne pour s'en occuper, qu'elle m'a dit* (Milovanoff, 2011, p. 26).

У поданій преференціальній опції прономінальний елемент *que* слугує для того, щоб перервати значущість істини висловлення, що він уводить, та зробити його залежним від вербального або сполучникового компонента, який йому передує. Ко(н)текстуальна пертинентність семантично нюансованої кількісно рівнокомпонентної мовленнєвої інновації-моносинонімічного трансформу констатувальної стрижневої пропозиції *elle m'a dit qu'il n'y a donc personne pour s'en occuper* обумовлена комунікативною інтенцією автора фокалізувати новий референт *dire* з метою передати невпевненість протагоніста з приводу істинності інформації, висловленої в «матричному» (Marsac, 2006, p. 9) висловленні.

e) рівнокомпонентні ППВ, що містять відносний займенник *que*, з ініціальною частиною, яка передає пряме мовлення:

(5) *T'as parlé à un gars de la police, grosse bête, qu'il a dit* (Bernanos, 1993, p. 112).

У моносинонімічному ППВ виокремленого типу прономінальний елемент уводиться в постпозитивну частину (слова автора) для запобігання інверсування *P* (присудок) + *S* (підмет), тобто синтаксичного ускладнення конструкції (порівняймо: *qu'il a dit* (преференціальна опція) та *a-t-il dit* (первинна синтагма)). Такий вибір автора пояснюється, ймовірно, його комунікативним наміром синтаксично «розвантажити» ко(н)текст, в якому актуалізуються інверсивні структури та фокалізувати новий референт (займенник *il*) з метою підкреслити його значущіть в описаній ситуації:

*La Floupe a grossi, disait-il, chienne de rivière ! (…) Faut-il qu'il soit donc éreinté pour tout me dire! a-t-elle pensé. (…) T'as parlé à un gars de la police, grosse bête, qu'il a dit.*

f) МПВ з ініціальною антепозицією іменної частини присудка, прономінально розширені відносним займенником *que*:

(6) *Une lutte, que ç'avait été* (Queffélec, 1973, p. 189).

У цьому моносинонімічному трансформі первинної пропозиції *ç'avait été une lutte* з вербальною головною лексемою – «tête lexicale», за термінологією А. Абейе (Abeillé, 1998, p. 136)), письменник фокалізує новий ко(н)текстуальний референт *une lutte*, що переноситься в ініціальну позицію, для вираження припущення, яке робить один з протагоністів роману щодо претекстуальної інформації. Натомість актуалізація нерозширеної структури, що констатує певний факт дійсності, передавала б його абсолютну впевненість в реальному стані справ і спричинила б зміну семантики ко(н)тексту:

*Tourné vers l'orient, à coups de gestes et de mots il représenta la scène. Une lutte, que ç'avait été (Ç'avait été une lutte). Les deux hommes avaient l'air de batailler alors que dans le moment il n'y avait pas plus amis qu'eux.*

g) кількісно рівнокомпонентні МПВ з ініціальною антепозицією іменної частини присудка:

(7) *Noiraude je l'appelais* (Milovanoff, 2011, p. 68).

У наведеній моносинонімічній преференціальній опції зміна фокалізованого референта (у стилістично нейтральній констатувальній первинній пропозиції фокалізується дієслівний компонент: *je **l'appelais** Noiraude*) пояснюється комунікативною стратегією письменника емфатично виділити значущий для персонажа референт у наративній частині роману, що наближається за структурою до казки (про виділення в казці див. (Tsapiv, 2022), а саме:

> *– Noiraude je l'appelais. Quand je criais son nom, elle traversait le grand pré et s'arrêtait contre la porte. La plus douce vache que j'aie jamais vue. Et bonne donneuse avec ça! (…)*

h) еліптичні МПВ та ППВ з фінальною супресією додатка після прийменників *avec, sans, pour, contre*, рідше *parmi, comme*:

> (8) *Donc, il y a des nuits sans?* (San-Antonio, 1995, p. 100).

У прикладі (8) моносинонімічного звуженого МПВ наявний фінальний еліпсис з імплікованим непрямим додатком, що відновлюється з претексту (*des plaintes*):

> *– Que pensez-vous des plaintes que nous avons entendues?*
> *Moue en issue d'œuf de l'ardent Sana.*
> *– C'est ainsi tous les soirs?*
> *– Presque.*
> *– Donc, il y a des nuits sans?*
> *– Peu.*

Отже, ко(н)текстуальна пертинентність компресованої преференціальної опції пояснюється, з одного боку, семантико-синтаксичною надлишковістю вже актуалізованого в претексті референта, з іншого боку, прагненням автора підсилити стилістичні ефекти «загадковості» та «очікування», що притаманні детективному жанру.
i) звужені МПВ з ініціальною антепозицією прямого або непрямого додатка:

> (9) *Un gus kif ma poire, il avait pas encore rencontré* (San-Antonio, 1995, p. 288).

У наведеному прикладі спостерігається ініціальна фокалізація прямого додатка *un gus kif ma poire*, що становить ознаку типової аграматизації, оскільки в граматизованій конструкції наявний феномен репризи ініціального компонента-додатка: *un gus kif ma poire, il n'en avait pas encore rencontré*. До того ж у преференціальній опції автор елімінує проклітичний елемент *ne*, що вказує на його інтенцію передати особливості розмовного мовлення персонажів. Неактуалізація стрижневої пропозиції *il n'avait pas encore rencontré un gus kif ma poire* пояснюється домінуванням констатувальної семи, натомість реалізоване МПВ характеризується високим рівнем експресивності:

> *Le père Swetzla avec un taquet bleuissant sur la gogne. Il est saisi en m'apercevant, me diabolise par la pensée. Un gus kif ma poire, il avait pas encore rencontré. Mais suis-je-t-il donc Lucifer?*

> (10) *De cela la vieille femme solitaire ne doute pas* (Milovanoff, 2011, p. 119).

Досліджувана моносинонімічна структура становить приклад типової аграматизації, оскільки в граматизованій конструкції, як зазначалося вище, акцентований ініціальний компонент уводиться в постпозитивну частину у вигляді особового займенника: *de cela, la vieille femme solitaire n'en doute pas*. Реалізація аналізованої конструкції обумовлена комунікативною інтенцією письменника експресивно виділити прономінальний референт. У стрижневій пропозиції *la vieille femme solitaire ne doute pas de cela* фокалізується вербальний компонент *douter*.

j) розширені моносинонімічні ППВ із катафоризацією вказівного займенника:

(11) *Mais cela, il n'y avait que des savants pour s'en apercevoir* (Abécassis, 2001, p. 51).

У сучасній французькій художній прозі іноді трапляються типові аграматизовані ППВ із катафоричним вказівним займенником *cela / ça*, що перебуває в ініціальній позиції, з постпозитивною інтрафрастичною репризою особовим займенником *en*. Граматизована конструкція аналізованого прикладу має такий вигляд: *mais de cela, il n'y avait que des savants pour s'en apercevoir*. Завдяки «альтернативному» лінгвістичному експерименту обґрунтуємо ко(н)текстуальну непертинентність стрижневої пропозиції *il n'y avait que des savants pour s'apercevoir de cela*:

*…Mais cela, il n'y avait que des savants pour s'en apercevoir.*
*– C'est pour cela que je fais appel à toi. (…) Car il n'y avait qu'eux pour avoir accès aux rouleaux.*

Як бачимо, розширення первинних пропозицій прономінальними елементами та презентативами (*c'est…que*, *il n'y a…que*) становить одну з ідіостильових особливостей письменниці, яка афективно виділяє ко(н)текстуально значущі референти.

k) моносинонімічні МПВ або ППВ із *Pp* + *Sn* (номінальний підмет):

(12) *Passé trente ans, il était temps* (Sender, 2012, p. 9).

У наведеному ППВ ініціальна синтагма з фокалізацією постпозитивного компонента (*trente ans*) становить типову аграматизовану мовленнєву інновацію, оскільки дієприслівник минулого часу не узгоджується в числі з інверсованим підметом. Граматизована неінверсивна побудова має такий вигляд: *trente ans passés* або *passés trente ans*. Віртуальний синонімічний ряд аналізованої преференціальної опції такий: *quand / lorsque trente ans ont passé* (первинна підрядна пропозиція) → *trente ans étant passés* → *trente ans passés* → *passés trente ans* → *passé trente ans*. Підставимо всі віртуальні трансформи в інтрафрастичний ко(н)текст з метою обґрунтувати їхню непертинентність:

*Après, sa décision était prise, elle rentrerait chez elle, à Copenhague, et ouvrirait un nouveau chapitre de son existence. Sûrement plus calme, moins intense, mais plus constructif aussi. (Quand / lorsque trente ans ont passé, trente ans étant passés, trente ans passés, passés trente ans, passé trente ans), il était temps. C'était angoissant et excitant à la fois.*
*L'ancien chalutier industriel de quarante mètres, battant pavillon hollandais, avançait vers les Féroé, incognito.*

Неактуалізація первинної пропозиції обумовлена прагненням авторки до синтаксичного спрощення реалізованих конструкцій, що є однією з характеристик її ідіостилю. Натомість ко(н)текстуальну неадекватність трансформів, що містять предикат-копулу *être*, пояснюємо пре- та посттекстуальним уведенням цього дієслова в аналізований дискурсивний фрагмент. Ініціальне розташування дієприслівникового компонента в преференціальній опції змінює фокалізацію, що є одним з комунікативних завдань письменниці: *trente ans* ***passés*** – *passé* ***trente ans***.

l) полісинонімічні подвійно розширені ППВ (презентативи *c'est…que* або *voilà…que* +

особовий займенник *il* (*i*, *y*)):

(13) *Dites donc, cria du seuil la mairesse, c'est-il que vous emporterez toute ma ficelle?* (Bernanos, 1993, p. 82)

ППВ (13) становить типову аграматизовану полісинонімічну конструкцію з подвійним розширенням: презентативом *c'est…que* та особовим займенником *il*, що у просторіччі може скорочуватися до граматично та фонетично помилкових варіантів *y* або *i* (*t* + *i*). Порівняймо:

(14) *Voilà-ti pas que ces messieurs grattent leurs allées et venues, à présent!* (Bazin, 1948, p. 114).

Стрижнева структура досліджуваного фінального сегмента *vous emporterez toute ma ficelle* зазнає подвійної трансформації: *c'est que vous emporterez toute ma ficelle* (розширення «нефокалізувальним презентативом» (Lepetiukha, 2017, p. 108), тобто виділювачем усього висловлення, що не специфікує окремого референта) → *c'est-il que vous emporterez toute ma ficelle* (розширення прономінальним компонентом з інверсією презентатива). Завдяки «альтернативному» лінгвістичному експерименту виявляємо, що актуалізація первинної пропозиції видається непертинентною, оскільки вона характеризується семантичним значенням констатації факту, тоді як обидва трансформи – конклюзивні синонімічні структури, що відповідають авторському задуму побудови розповіді. При цьому неінверсивна структура синтаксично спрощена порівняно з актуалізованою, яка відображає ідіостильові особливості Ж. Бернаноса, що дозволяє обґрунтувати її ко(н)текстуальну пертинентність.
m) моносинонімічні МПВ та ППВ, розширені особовим займенником (*il*, *t* + *il*, *y*):

(15) *Je peux-t-y les reprendre à mon compte, non?* (Bernanos, 1993, p. 123)

Цитоване моносинонімічне МПВ, розширене просторічним помилковим варіантом особового займенника *il*, являє собою трансформ неінверсованої первинної пропозиції: *je peux les reprendre à mon compte, non?* Актуалізація досліджуваної конструкції пояснюється намаганням автора передати особливості мовлення дружини мера, яка протягом всього роману актуалізує розширені презентативами або аналогічними особовими займенниками конструкції (див. приклад 13).

## 4. Висновки та перспективи

Типові аграматизовані конструкції, що становлять моно- та полісинонімічні трансформи первинних синтагм та пропозицій, реалізуються у вигляді компресованих, розширених та кількісно рівнокомпонентних преференціальних опцій, в яких експресивність превалює над експресією. Виявлено, що у французькій художній прозі XX – XXI століть найчастіше актуалізуються моно- та полісинонімічні типові аграматизовані моно- та поліпредикативні висловлення, розширені питальним або відносним займенником *que*, особовим займенником *il*, кількісно рівнокомпонентні преференціальні опції, що містять прономінальний компонент *que*, та еліптичні структури з фінальною імплікацією додатка після прийменникових компонентів. За допомогою «альтернативного» лінгвістичного експерименту доведено, що автори актуалізують нетипові аграматизовані преференціальні опції з метою емфатично фокалізувати нові ко(н)текстуальні референти, стилістично нюансувати інтер- та інтрафрастичне ко(н)текстуальне оточення, синтаксично спростити складні структури (зокрема інверсивні) або запобігти реактуалізації вже введених до пре- або посттексту референтів.

***Перспективним*** напрямом подальших студій є комплексний системно-функціональний аналіз та побудова класифікацій нетипових аграматизованих моно- та полісинонімічних мовленнєвих інновацій сучасної французької художньої прози.

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# TYPICAL AGRAMATICALIZED CONSTRUCTIONS AS ACTUALIZED MONO- AND POLYSYNONYMIC TRANSFORMS OF VIRTUAL PRIMARY SYNTAGMATA AND PROPOSITIONS (ON THE MATERIAL OF MODERN FRENCH FICTION)

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**Abstract**
In this article, mono- and polysynonymic typical agrammaticalized constructions are defined as virtual transforms of primary syntagmata and propositions, actualized in the form of reduced, extended, and quantitatively equacomponential preferential options, in which expressivity prevails over expression. The aim of this research was to suggest a typology and to determine the degree of co(n)textual pertinence of typical agrammaticalized mono- and polysynonymic transforms in modern French fiction. To reach this aim I used the procedure of inverse reconstruction (discourse → language) of the primary structure of the analyzed types of mono- and polysynonymic agrammaticalized discourse innovations. The method of systematization made it possible to build a typology of common agrammaticalized synonymic preferential options. An "alternative" linguistic experiment, i.e., an artificial substitution by the recipient of a certain syntagm or proposition of the analyzed discourse fragment by a synonymic syntagm or proposition, helped to determine the degree of co(n)textual pertinence of the primary structure and secondary synonymic transforms. As a result, the types of mono- and polysynonymic typical agrammaticalized constructions were distinguished, the primary structure and members of virtual synonymic series were inversely reconstructed, and the co(n)textual pertinence of the constructions under analysis was justified by means of the "alternative" linguistic experiment. I claim, that in the French fiction of the 20$^{th}$ – 21$^{st}$ centuries, the most frequent elements are mono- and polysynonymic typical agrammaticalized mono- and polypredicative utterances, extended by the interrogative or relative pronoun *que*, the personal pronoun *il* (and its colloquial analogues), quantitatively equacomponential preferential options containing the pronominal component *que*, and elliptical constructions with final suppression of complement after prepositions *avec*, *sans*, *pour*, *contre*, *parmi*, *comme*. I also claim, that the main reason for actualizing typical agrammaticalized constructions is to emphatically focalize new co(n)textual referents, stylistically nuance the intra- and / or interphrasal co(n)text, syntactically simplify complex structures, or prevent the re-actualization of referents previously introduced to the pre- or post-text.

**Key words:** "alternative" linguistic experiment, co(n)textual pertinence, mono- and polypredicative utterances, mono- and polysynonymic typical agrammaticalized preferential options, primary structure.

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# LINGUISTIC MEANS OF FORMING EUPHEMISMS IN THE MODERN CHINESE LANGUAGE

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**Abstract**
The article discusses the linguistic means of forming euphemisms in the modern Chinese language and the study of the concept of "euphemism" synchronically and diachronically. Authors highlighted and described several linguistic classifications of euphemisms, presenting the historical prerequisites for their appearance in China, analyzing the connection between taboos and euphemistic vocabulary and formulating the main subject-thematic groups of Chinese euphemisms. Attention is paid to the methods of formation of euphemisms in the Chinese language, including the phonetic allusion, antonomasia, euphemization of certain fixed expressions, metaphor, metonymy. With the help of deductive-inductive analysis and a vast set of examples, authors describe how some foundations of Confucious morality and ethical-ritual traditions in Chinese society led to restriction of the usage for some lexical units and resulted in the emergence of a large number of euphemisms in the Chinese language. The study reveals many factors influencing the usage of euphemisms in the modern Chinese language including the development of society. Special attention in the article is given to the role of euphemism as a universal phenomenon, providing an opportunity for better understanding the culture of the Chinese people and their language and widening the field of effective cross-cultural communication. The authors examined the works of prominent Chinese linguists and emphasized some certain differences in their classifications. The conducted study shows that the phenomenon of euphemism exists in all nations of the world and refers to the same origin but differs in the methods of the research and therefore in the ways of forming certain lexical units.

**Keywords:** Chinese language, euphemism, lexical unit, linguistic means, metaphor, metonymy, taboo.

## 1. Introduction

In every language there always tends to be a certain number of words, which are instinctively or deliberately avoided due to the fact that the speakers or listeners consider them either unpleasant, rude, or impolite. Therefore, people often use substitutes for such units, and these substitutes are euphemisms. Euphemisms originate from ancient taboos; they evolved along with the development of civilization and have not lost their frequency today.

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Euphemization is a structurally heterogeneous significant linguistic phenomenon in the lexical system of the language. Euphemism is not only a trope, consisting of the implicit expression of a negative evaluation, but also an element of language structure, which plays an important role in its historical development. Euphemization is a continuous process of replacing one name with another, based on a person's constant evaluation and reevaluation of forms of expression resulting from a desire for successful communication.

Linguists around the world have covered many structural and functional aspects of euphemisms in the English and Chinese languages, yet one cannot study a particular phenomenon separately from specific interactions with the cultural world. Thus, when we discuss the process of euphemization, we should not exclude its cultural aspect.

Ukrainian linguistics feels an urgent need to study Chinese euphemisms from social and cultural vantage point. It is a vital necessary for Ukrainian scholars and students to conduct research in the field the cognitive-linguistic aspects of the Chinese language. Therefore, the study of this topic provides an opportunity for better understanding the culture of the Chinese people, their language, and their communicative behavior.

***The purpose*** of our research is to study the linguistic means of forming Chinese euphemisms in a social-cultural perspective. To achieve this goal, we will solve the following **tasks**: to define the concept of euphemism; to present the classification of euphemisms in the Chinese language; to analyze the functions and methods of euphemisms formation in the Chinese language; to determine the areas of their use in everyday discourse.

***The object*** of our study is euphemistic vocabulary in modern Chinese. In our article, we have given examples of the most commonly used euphemisms in the modern Chinese language. The ***research material*** consists of 408 euphemisms taken from the Dictionary of Chinese Euphemisms (Zhang, 1996).

## 2.Theoretical background and method

The latest studies of euphemization show various approaches, including controversial ones, to this phenomenon, which results from different research frameworks. The dynamic and multifaceted nature of euphemisms is the reason for the great variety of their lexical and grammatical forms, emotional neutrality or stylistic coloring, variability of their euphemistic potential.

These characteristics of euphemisms lead to the fact that the problem of their definition presents certain difficulties for researchers. Thus, Wu and Yang (2009) claim that "(e)uphemisms are emotionally neutral words or expressions used instead of synonymous words or expressions that the speaker considers obscene, rude or tactless" (p. 152).

Another correspondent definition was provided by the researcher (Cao, 2020), who characterizes euphemism as "a softened expression refraining from inappropriate words that serves under certain conditions to replace undesirable, not entirely polite, too harsh designations" (p.1095).

In his dictionary of euphemisms, Holder (2008) notes that euphemisms are emotionally neutral words or expressions used instead of synonymous words or expressions that appear obscene, rude, or tactless. Euphemisms may also replace taboos or archaic names. Euphemisms are occasional individual-contextual substitutions of some words for others with the purpose of distorting or masking the true essence that is being denoted (p. 20).

People use euphemisms to soften what they say or write. According to their functional interpretation, euphemisms serve as hedges: they are "a mitigating designation of any object or phenomenon, a softer expression instead of a rough one" (Wang, Zhang, & Dong, 2012, p.67).

Euphemisms have a softening effect, they are indirect substitutes for names of the terrible, shameful or odious, brought to life by moral or religious motives (Hui, 2002, pp. 76-77). As Qian (2020) puts it, "a euphemism is a word or phrase used to replace an unpleasant word or expression with a relatively more acceptable one" (p. 10). This makes euphemisms an important part of polite discourse.

According to Allan and Burridge (2007), “euphemisms are soft and permitted, meliorational-allegorical, and sometimes simply more acceptable for one reason or another, words or expressions used instead of a thematically stigmatizing or socially incorrect antecedent, instead of words or expressions, which are prohibited, indecent, unacceptable from the point of view of moral standards accepted in society, or even simply rude and tactless” (p. 25).

Beiying and Jiguang (2022) consider euphemisms as forms of words that (for various reasons) express an idea in a softened, or veiled, or more respectful way. Moreover, this softening sometimes only implied (p. 69).

Li (2009) claims that the euphemisms is the use of a non-offensive or pleasant term instead of a direct, offensive one, with the purpose of masking the truth (pp. 152-53).

Linfoot-Ham (2005) defines a euphemism as “a method of indirect, periphrastic and at the same time mitigating designation of an object, property or action...” (p. 230).

In search of a comprehensive concept that reflects the meaning of all the definitions of euphemisms presented above, we suggest the following: a euphemism is the replacement of any impermissible or undesirable word or expression with a more correct one to avoid directly naming issues that cause negative feelings, as well as in order to mask certain facts of reality.

To generalize, we claim that euphemism performs three main functions:

1. Softening of rude and unpleasant issues for the speaker. At the same time, the speaker evaluates the subject of speech, if the perception of its direct meaning contains rudeness, harshness, obscenity;

2. Softening of rude and unpleasant issues for the interlocutor. The use of euphemism varies in different contexts and speech situations.

3. Hiding reality. Speakers select euphemisms to soften certain unacceptable words or expressions and to mask the nature of the denotation.

Scholars mainly study the phenomenon of euphemism in several aspects: sociolinguistic (taboos, their areas of use), functional (motives of euphemization), grammatical and semantic ones (structure of euphemisms, methods of euphemization).

Many aspects of euphemisms still remain controversial. Thus, the motives of euphemisms are defined and classified in different ways (the reasons for replacing some words and phrases by euphemisms), there are different classifications of the ways of forming euphemisms, there is no consensus about the place of euphemisms among related linguistic phenomena.

Since ancient times, euphemisms emerged from linguistic “taboo”, and followed the development and progress of civilization. In the modern world, euphemisms function in various spheres of social life.

Chinese scholars proved that the verbal taboo in a number of cases is related to the magical function of the Chinese language, which comes from deep antiquity. While studying the national-cultural component in the semantic structure of words, he pointed out the important role of taboos in the implementation of language names – euphemisms Euphemisms have been firstly mentioned in the Book of Songs (诗经), written between the 11th and 6th centuries BC (Wang, Zhang, & Salasiah, 2023, pp. 853-854). These euphemisms used to describe some unfortunate events that were about to happen 习习谷风, 以阴以雨(“The mountain winds are raging there, and the weather is still bad”).

In this present research, we used, among the general scientific methods, deductive-inductive analysis, which provided for theoretical and practical generalizations and made it possible to draw certain research conclusions and interpret the results of the analysis of empirical material. We also applied the classification method to group lexical material; the descriptive method and the method of comparative analysis to identify distinctive and common features of euphemisms in the Chinese language.

## 3.Findings and discussion

There are different classifications of euphemisms in modern linguistics. Hui (2002) classifies euphemisms of the general literary language. This group includes “softening” in order not to call too "rough" words (pp. 76-77). Such euphemisms penetrate the literary language and contribute to the development of its vocabulary: they expand polysemy, increase the number of homonyms.

In addition, Hui Yu points out euphemisms of various jargons. They differ from the general literary language since they are used not only in relation to such subjects and concepts, the exact names of which are sometimes not very convenient to pronounce. Based on various jargons, separate short-lived literary currents developed.

Regarding the next classification, contextual euphemisms make a separate group. They are more complex and determined by the conditions of a special context or the character of the person expressing the thought. These euphemisms obtain all the properties of euphemisms but are hardly reproducible. Contextual euphemisms often convey figurative and metaphorical meaning. The euphemistic substitutions are determined by a consituation, its ethno-cultural orientation, and communicants' characteristics.

There is another classification (Holder, 2008, pp. 56-58), which distinguishes linguistic euphemisms that are fixed in the language but their potential is not quite clear for native speakers of the modern language. Holder singles out historical euphemisms and dysphemisms. Dysphemism is a trope opposite to euphemism; it is the use of a more vulgar word or expression instead of an emotionally and stylistically neutral one.

In fiction and journalism, dysphemism expresses a negative, critical, or contemptuous attitude towards a certain fact, phenomenon, or person. In everyday discourse, dysphemisms mainly serve to make the utterance unpleasant for the recipient, to reinforce its negative aspects. Various means of negative evaluation of behavior or personality can be used as dysphemisms − from expressive words that are within the limits of literary word usage to rough spatial vocabulary.

Dysphemisms comprise a set of sociocultural and psycholinguistic factors, which add a kind of "fashion edge", new realities or neologisms to speech. Dysphemisms are expressive units used instead of neutral ones, they help more accurately express the speaker's attitude to what is being said. Like euphemisms, dysphemisms quickly wear out due to their widespread use, because over time they lose their negative meaning and begin to be perceived as an acceptable neutral expression.

Over time, occasional speech euphemisms can pass into the category of linguistic ones and significantly lose their euphemistic potential.

Stylistically, Lu and Kong (2006) divided euphemisms into two large groups − positive and negative. Positive euphemisms can also be called stylistic or 'exaggerating' euphemisms (Lu & Kong, 2006, pp. 17-20).

Semantically, there are various types of euphemisms (Li, 2009): 1) euphemisms that appeared on the basis of superstition; 2) euphemisms that appear due to a feeling of fear and dissatisfaction; 3) euphemisms based on sympathy and pity; 4) euphemisms caused by shyness; 5) euphemisms generated by politeness (Li, 2009, pp.152-153）.

Euphemisms are also classified by their purpose. These groups are:a) euphemisms mitigating various types of discrimination: age discrimination, property discrimination, discrimination of people with physical and mental disabilities, racial and ethnic discrimination; b) euphemisms that reduce superstitious fear of any phenomena; c) euphemisms that increase the prestige of a certain profession; d) euphemisms that distract attention from the negative phenomena of reality, e.g. those that serve as a cover for aggressive military actions, those that mitigate the negative consequences in the socio-economic spheres associated with crime, etc. (Gomez, 2009, pp. 728-729).

The most detailed is the thematic classification of Wang Xiaoling, Zhang Meng, Dong Hailin, in which they singled out sixty lexical-semantic subclasses of euphemisms. Some of them are: premature termination of pregnancy, mistakes, failures, age, bankruptcy, indebtedness, fraud, commerce and banking, industry (Wang, Zhang, & Dong, 2012, pp. 66-70).

In his classification, Luo (2018) distinguishes ten lexical categories of euphemisms according to conceptual areas: names of supernatural forces; names of the concepts of death and disease; names referring to mental and physical disabilities; names referring to sex; names denoting the concept of poverty; names referring to some professions; names related to the field of physiology, names of clothing items (Luo, 2018, pp. 70-72).

Thus, by the criterion of their linguistic means Chinese euphemisms may be classified:

- structurally (a word, a phrase or a sentence);
- stylistically (elevated, neutral or lowered);
- semantically (metaphor, metonymy, transformation of meaning, etc.);
- phonetically (phonetic distortions);
- morphologically (conversion, affixation, abbreviation, borrowing, etc).

Chinese linguists who study the relationship between intralinguistics and extralinguistics paid attention to the categories of taboos and euphemisms, analyzing them from different angles. Thus, Huang, noted the importance of studying taboos and euphemisms for the theory and practice of translation (Huang, 2019, pp. 103-104). Huang's analysis of taboos and euphemisms revealed their relevance for both native speakers and foreigners.

The origin of euphemism and euphemization lies in the nature of human beings and the dates back to human evolution. In ancient times, primitive man's superstitious fear of direct naming gave rise to a ban (taboo) on certain words, instead of which new names appeared. Thus, primitive superstition gave rise to the oldest layer of euphemisms − permitted names hiding the subject. Historically, these names developed into nominations, whose euphemistic nature in people's minds is preserved as a remnant of ancient magical beliefs.

With the evolution of society and the progress of human civilization, the functions of euphemisms are expanding. In modern society, their use is no longer limited to specific prohibited subjects and ideas, or the need to avoid psychological discomfort (for example, due to shyness) in communication. We claim that the main reason of speech euphemization both in ancient times and in modern society is human psychology.

The word "taboo" is a prohibition to pronounce the direct names of dangerous objects or phenomena, which, according to the idea of a primitive man, can cause danger. The taboo is connected with a custom that existed among many peoples in ancient times, and is still in use among some tribes in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Australia. The superstitious fear of spells, the magical effect of words, the fear of naming of certain objects led to banning of usage of some lexemes. Following the custom, superstitious people did not name the things, phenomena and actions by their real names, but used hints instead. Thus, such taboos, archaic names were gradually replaced by euphemisms.

Taboo as a linguistic superstition is closely related to euphemism. When objects and phenomena are the subject to prohibition, it is quite natural for euphemism to appear. Taboos and euphemisms are widely used in all languages of the world, as well as in Ukrainian and Chinese. The phenomenon of euphemism is based on deep archaic remnants of linguistic taboos.

Taboo as a cultural and ethnographic phenomenon affecting people's mindset, behavior, and everyday life arose in China at an early stage of social development not knowing the laws of nature, being weak and defenseless against the formidable manifestations of its forces, the ancient Chinese worshiped and spiritualized these forces, endowed them with reason for supernatural power. Thus, one of the most important forms of primitive religious ideas —animalism appeared in China. In ancient times, people were pagans who worshiped all natural phenomena: the Sun, the Moon, stars, trees, plants, animals, etc. The ancient Chinese believed that they could not cut down or burn a sycamore; this was a sin and it would harm a person. This comes down to their beliefs: long ago people noticed the main property of many plants —death in winter and rebirth in summer —and saw in this the presence of a certain divine power; plants that most corresponded to these ideas became a totem. People in ancient China had a mixed feeling of worship and fear. Taboos that arose among the Chinese due to the fear of the forces of nature were a means to protect themselves from all kinds of calamity.

At a higher stage of social development, during the era of imperial rule, the taboo reached an unprecedented spread in Chinese culture. The state began to pay attention to taboos during the Zhou dynasty (III century BC). Later, during the Qin dynasty (201–206 BC), the taboo, established in the form of state law, received systematic development, and in the Tang dynasty (7th – 10th centuries AD), it supported the ideology of Confucianism and reached a high degree of development. The sources of taboos in these periods are prohibitions issued by the imperial palace, superstitions and etiquette rules. Thus, common people were strictly forbidden to wear yellow that was the color of emperor's yellow clothes with the image of a dragon on them. To help the emperor act successfully and his subjects not to violate the prohibitions, the "imperial calendar" was created.

Prohibitions due to various reasons find their reflection in the language. Therefore, in ancient China, it was not allowed to use syllables denoting the emperor's name. Hence the need for euphemisms to indicate the name of the emperor and members of his family: the emperor himself was called 天子 "the Son of Heaven" and 万岁 "Ten Thousand Years" as a symbol of longevity that was used as a respectful address to the emperor. Instead of the name of the empress, the name东宫"Eastern Palace" was used, and the second wife of the emperor was called 西宫 "West Palace": the empress always lived in the main palace, which was located on the eastern side, and the second wife occupied the palace in the western part.

Another reason for the emergence of taboos and, accordingly, the emergence of euphemisms is the need to use decent, polite words and expressions that comply with the rules of etiquette. Many respectable etiquette forms have appeared in the Chinese language since ancient times. For example, instead of 您的女儿 "your daughter", they said 您的千金 "your preciousness", and when addressing his father-in-law, the son-in-law called him 泰山 "Mount Taishan", in this way he expressed his respect because Mount Taishan is was considered the highest and most revered in ancient China. It was considered impolite to say 她怀孕了 "she is pregnant" to a pregnant woman, so people replaced this phrase with 她有喜了 "she has joy", 她有喜脉 "she has a joyful pulse".

In ancient China, one of the sources of taboo was the human fear of certain animals, which gave rise to a number of euphemisms: a tiger was called 大虫 "a large insect" or 猛兽 "a beast of prey", instead of the word 蛇 "snake" they used 长虫 "a long insect" and others.

In Saussurian tradition, the connection of the taboo with socio-cultural, historico-political, and national factors determines its study from the standpoint of external linguistics. The impact of taboos on society and individual life occurs in the form of a change in language names (renames) implemented as euphemisms. As a lexical-semantic phenomenon, euphemism is an object of study in internal linguistics.

The ancient Chinese considered a personal name to be a person's property, they also believed that the soul of each individual was contained in their name. It led to the ban on calling a person directly by a personal name as presumably 'harmful' to the person.

Since ancient times, there have been three types of taboo names: state taboo, taboo on the names of famous people and sages, family taboo (Lai & Chen, 2019, pp.190-200). The dominant place in ancient China belonged to the "state taboo", which must be observed by all subjects and even the emperor himself. The state taboo is a ban on using the name of the emperor and his ancestors, the names of the empress and her ancestors, the names of previous dynasties, the names given to emperors after their death; the names of the graves of the emperors, the surnames of the emperors and their zodiac signs.

According to ancient Chinese law, officials could have several wives at the same time; but, except for the first wife, they did not obtain real power in the family and were called concubines. For the purpose of consoling these women and sounding cuter, the euphemistic name arose − 侧室(Side room).

The second type of taboo—the taboo on the names of famous people—was widespread in different dynasties. Thus, according to the law of the Qin dynasty (17th – 20th centuries), it was strictly forbidden to use the names of Confucius and Mencius in books out of respect for the personality of these people.

In addition to the above-mentioned taboos, in ancient China there was another type of taboo—the ban on naming officials. Unlike other types of taboos, the taboo on the names of officials has not become legal despite the fact that it has become widespread among the people.

The third type—the "family taboo" was limited to the circle of relatives, where young people could not use the names of their ancestors and, therefore, call them directly by their names. Let us give as an example the greatest Chinese historian Sima Qian − the author of "史记", who had never used the word 谈in this work because this character coincided with his father's name. Moreover, the scientist renamed all historical figures bearing the same name to 同, which bears the meaning of "the same".

In communication between different family groups, people had to respect this tradition and observe the relevant prohibitions. The family taboo reflects the social and moral consciousness of ancient Chinese society, and therefore it received state recognition. It should be noted that the same tradition is preserved in modern China.

Taboo in Chinese culture extends not only to names, but also to many other areas of social life. The usage of taboo vocabulary is much narrower in modern China, but some traditions still exist among the people, including a family taboo for using names, restriction on wearing red clothes at a funeral, some taboo numbers.

In the modern Chinese language, there is an expression 永远休息了 "went to eternal rest" or 不在了or 没了 (may be compared to English "no longer alive"), or some others 逝世了, 过世了, 逝世了 "left the world". If a person died while performing his duty, then the more prestigious terms 牺牲，献身, 就义, 捐躯, 殉国, 殉职are used, meaning "to sacrifice one's life for the homeland".

There is a long-standing expression 梁上君子"to pan on the balcony of the house", which means "to be a thief". This euphemism appeared due to the fact that earlier, when the owner unexpectedly returned, the thief often hid on the balcony of the house. This euphemism is also used in modern Chinese. In today's society, drug addicts are called 隐君子"master with passion".

As for numbers, the Chinese believe that they have magical power and can directly affect a person's life. As a result, people use numbers that can bring a person happiness and luck and avoid numbers that are associated with trouble and misfortune, for example, odd numbers, numbers that are consonant with unpleasant phenomena. Thus, the taboo on numbers, which arose in ancient times, is preserved in modern culture.

There are three types of <u>number taboos</u>:

▪ Taboo on an odd number. The Chinese consider odd numbers 'unlucky': they always have an extra number that does not have a pair, which means that it disrupts the harmony of existence. For the Chinese, a couple is a symbol of happiness. A couple is the harmony of nature like the Sun and the Moon, the sky and the earth, the husband and the wife, the dragon and the phoenix (in an ancient Chinese legend). Mandarin ducks always swim in pairs and symbolize eternal marital love. When lotus flowers bloom in pairs on one stem, it means pure love, inseparable life of a couple.

The Chinese always give something in an even number, trying to avoid an odd number. For example, two vases, two watches, eight goldfish, etc. The Chinese express their sympathy for even numbers when choosing a wedding date, considering even days to be the most suitable time for marriage. Moreover, the symbol of the wedding is two identical joined characters 喜 "joy", meaning "double happiness".

▪ Taboo on the use of numbers consonant with unpleasant nominations. Because homophones are widely represented in the Chinese language, people often associate some words with undesirable phenomena just because of the consonance of the words. This is especially characteristic of some numbers, e.g., the number 'seven' is consonant with the word 'angry' (气), 'four' is consonant with the word 'death' (死). In this regard, when choosing a phone or car number, people try to avoid these numbers and strive for those that cause pleasant associations: the numbers '168' in the car plate remind the phrase "to get rich all the way while driving" 一路发; '998' stands for the expression 九九发 "to be constantly rich"; '5878' is consonant with the expression and 我发妻发"I will get rich, and my wife will get rich" etc.

▪ Taboo on numbers associated with death. These include the following numbers: 73, 84, and 100. Because Confucius died at the age of 73, and his disciple and follower Mengzi passed away at the age of 84, since ancient times the Chinese have believed that these numbers are unlucky, so they try not to use them in conversations. The Chinese, like other nations of the world, have preserved the fear of the name ‘death’ since ancient times till modern days. 100 years is considered such a rare age for people that when a person turns 100 years old, he can answer the question about his age: “I don't know, I don't remember my age”, always hiding his years.

The Chinese, like other peoples of the world, have been afraid to name death since ancient times. This is how the taboo on this word appeared, and the need for euphemisms to name this concept gave rise to a significant number of them. Thus, when naming the death of the emperor, a special expression was used − 崩 (meaning “to collapse”). For other officials of various ranks, the euphemisms 薨 conducting the meaning death, were often used. The people used expressions for the name of this concept: 成仙了“to become a celestial”, 去见老祖宗了“went to see the ancestors” (to pass away).

Another reason for the use of euphemistic substitutes in the modern Chinese language was the desire to avoid direct concepts related to relationships of families, intimate relationships, etc. Since ancient times, the Chinese could not directly name the above concepts and resort to euphemisms. For example, marital relationship is called 夫妻生活“married life”, 房事“room on the right”, 同房“being in the same room”. It is not customary to say “to go to the toilet”, but a euphemistic substitute is used 方便“to relieve oneself”.

We claim that the main ***types of euphemism formation*** in the Chinese language include:

- phonetic allusion,
- antonomasia,
- euphemization with fixed expressions,
- metaphor.

1. Phonetic allusion. Numerous homophones characteristic of the Chinese language make possible an associative connection based on the consonance of words. The association can be found as positive, pleasant, and negative.

Consonant words are present in various spheres of language nomination. As a result of the fact that people believe in the magic of language, in the possibility of its influence on the surrounding world and the personal life of a person, there was a desire to avoid words and expressions with unpleasant meanings, taboo them and to replace them with appropriate euphemisms.

Thus, because the phrase 福到in the sense of “happiness has turned over” is consonant with the saying 福倒, which means “happiness has arrived”. During the Spring Festival, every family stick on the door the character 福“happiness” upside down, so that the guests who come, noticing it, can say “Happiness has arrived”, which is considered to be the best New Year's greeting.

Since in ancient times students have been very afraid of failing the state exams for the rank of an official, thus the words 落第“failed to pass the exam” became taboo for them. They even avoided the consonant word 乐“fun, joy” and replaced the persistent wish in the letter 安乐“prosperity and happiness” with the expression 安康meaning “well-being and health”.

Merchants never use the word 折“losses”, and even the consonant with this word, 舌头“tongue, organ” is called 口条“strip in the mouth”. Actors, being afraid of losing the audience, do not use the word 散“to leave, go” using 伞“umbrella” instead, with the phrase 雨盖“rain cover”. The most terrifying word for fishermen is 沉“to get drown”, they even avoid the word 乘“to stick”, which has a similar pronunciation, and instead of saying 乘饭“to place food” they say 添饭“to add food”.

The word 作家“writer” is a substitute for the word 坐家“to sit at home”, hence the semi-joking euphemistic replacement 坐家“to sit at home”, conveying the idea of “being idle”. To conclude, phonetic allusion is one of the most productive ways of forming euphemisms in the Chinese language.

2. Antonomasia. According to its definition, antonomasia is a logical paraphrase in which the name of a famous person is replaced with an expression containing an indication of his main role, function, subject related to it.

Antonomasia is based on a stable association, the source of which is historical, literary, and cultural connotations. In the Chinese language, antonomasia is often used to express the character of a person. Therefore, instead of the description “ugly and stupid girl”, the Chinese say Dong Shi 东施 (Dong Shi is a historical person, an unattractive girl who imitated the facial expressions of the beautiful girl Xi Shi); 刘倍(one of the Chinese emperors liked to shed tears when solving problems and thereby achieved his goals). 陈世美(about an official in ancient China who abandoned his wife after taking a high position (when she married him, he was poor); a frivolous and evil woman is called 潘金莲− “ the name of a frivolous woman” , who killed her husband with her lover (in ancient Chinese literature); the short man is called 武大郎in the name of her (潘金莲) husband, who was very short.

<u>3. Fixed phrases as a source of euphemisms</u>. Many fixed phrases of the Chinese language perform the function of euphemisms to soften the harshness of the statement. For example, instead of preventing 献媚, they say 戴高帽子“to put a high hat on someone”, instead of having received a refusal 遭到拒绝, they use the expression 吃了闭门羹“ate jelly in a closed courtyard”. 炒鱿鱼“Fried squid” is said when you lose your job because of being laid off; “he has red eye disease” 他有红眼病instead he is envious of the good fortune of others 他嫉妒别人. The expression “play Shuang Huang” 演双簧is used as a euphemism in a situation where two people deceive others by colluding with each other; the expression 染指(literally “to paint a finger”) is a substitute in a situation when a person is involved in some unpleasant business, crime.

We also claim that there are three main ***functions of euphemisms*** in the Chinese language: those of etiquette, hiding, and emphasizing.

<u>The etiquette function</u> of euphemisms is of major importance in the Chinese society. A forty-year-old woman is described as 第二春“to have a second youth”; a person who has recently graduated from university and does not have work experience yet is called 书生气十足人(typical intellectual).

<u>The function of hiding</u>, masking, or veiling is quite frequent in the Chinese language. For example, an organization that provide jobs for disabled people is called a 福利院“welfare house”, and institutions where old people without relatives live are called a 敬老院“a house of respect for the elderly”. A mentally retarded person is said to be a person who 有智力障碍者“has obstacles in the mind”.

In ancient China, a whore was called 青楼女子“the woman who lives in the blue temple”.

The use of euphemistic ciphers is especially noticeable in social spheres: illegal income is called 灰色收入“gray income”, crimes, bribes are 社会灰暗面“the gray side of society”, and unemployment is called 下岗“leaving the job”.

<u>The function of emphasizing</u> the prestige of certain professions and organizations is also typical for euphemisms in Chinese culture. For example, in modern Chinese society, cleaners are referred to by the descriptive expression 环卫工上“a worker who protects the environment”, as well as through positive coloring 绿衣天使“an angel in green robes”.

In ancient China, the profession of an actor was considered unprestigious and unqualified, so actors were called 戏子“person who plays”. Furthermore, there was also a euphemistic name 角儿 “role”. Euphemisms in Chinese are used as substitutes when mentioning undesirable phenomena (*to die, perish*), names of unpleasant insects, animals, etc.

Thus, we believe that taboos and euphemisms are an important socio-cultural and linguistic phenomenon both for ancient and modern Chinese societies. They reflect the specifics of Chinese culture and present great linguistic value for foreigners studying the Chinese language and culture.

### 4. Conclusions and research perspectives

This present study analyzed euphemism as unique linguistic phenomenon that stimulates communication, maintains polite linguistic behavior and goodwill, reflects ethno-cultural specificity. It dates back to ancient times and serves to veil language units that are considered inappropriate in order to avoid negative emotions, images, and misunderstandings and to achieve effective interaction.

The main functions of euphemism are to reduce unpleasant or offensive aspects of denotation, protect against offense, reduce tension and shyness, as well as to perform a stylistic function.

Our paper revealed the underlying mechanisms of euphemization. Historically, euphemisms go back to ancient times when they were closely associated with taboos. Indecent and socially unacceptable words and expressions were included in the taboo vocabulary, which gave rise to the revival of euphemistic language units and the use of more tactful language.

Euphemisms are an important sociocultural and linguistic phenomenon for modern and ancient China, underpinned by its religion, emperor's power, and traditions. This phenomenon reflects the ethno-cultural character of the nation development and its language. We claim that euphemisms function in various spheres of the Chineze world construal, but the most frequent are euphemisms of "death" and "aging".

This present study also demonstrated the relationship of linguistic, social, psychological and pragmatic aspects of euphemisms. It also revealed the difference in European and Chinese research frameworks of euphemism and corresponding methods. Since Chinese is a tonal language, in addition to morphologically universal ways of forming euphemisms, there are many specific Chinese ones. As the same time, semantically euphemization has many universal roots in human evolution.

Our findings open up ***prospects*** for further analysis of euphemisms. They stipulate the search for new methods of how taboo and euphemisms can be researched, theorized and described in Chinese and in other languages and cultures.

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## МОВНІ ЗАСОБИ ФОРМУВАННЯ ЕВФЕМІЗМІВ В СУЧАСНІЙ КИТАЙСЬКІЙ МОВІ

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**Анотація**
Статтю присвячено дослідженню лінгвістичних засобів утворення евфемізмів у сучасній китайській мові, також увагу приділено дослідженню поняття «евфемізм» у синхронічному та діахронічному аспектах. Авторами дослідження було виділено та писано декілька лінгвістичних класифікацій евфемізмів, представлено історичні передумови їх появи в Китаї, проаналізовано зв'язок табу з евфемістичною лексикою та сформульовано основні предметно-тематичні групи китайських евфемізмів. Особливу увагу приділено способам утворення евфемізмів в китайській мові, зокрема фонетичній алюзії, антономазії, евфемізації окремих сталих виразів, метафорі, метонімії. За допомогою дедуктивно-індуктивного аналізу та великої кількості ілюстративного матеріалу автори наводять докази того, що основи конфуціанської моралі та етико-ритуальних традицій у китайському суспільстві призвели до неможливості використання деяких лексичних одиниць через невідповідність нормам етики та моралі та сприяли появі великої кількості евфемізмів в китайській мові. Дослідження розглядає вплив багатьох чинників на вживання цих одиниць у сучасній китайській мові, у тому числі як наслідок розвитку суспільства. Особливу увагу приділено ролі евфемізму як універсального явища, що надає можливість для кращого розуміння китайського народу та його мови і розширює поле для ефективної міжкультурної комунікації. Було розглянуто праці таких видатних китайських лінгвістів, де автори підкреслюють певні відмінності у цих класифікаціях. Проведене дослідження показує, що

явище евфемізму існує в усіх народів світу і має однакове походження, але відрізняється як певними методами дослідження так і способами утворення окремих лексичних одиниць.

**Ключові слова**: евфемізм, китайська мова, лексична одиниця, метафора, метонімія, мовний засіб, табу.

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# REVELATIVE EVIDENTIAL MARKERS IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DREAM REPORTS: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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**Abstract**
This corpus-based study investigates revelative evidential marking in English dream reports, specifically focusing on the word *dream*. Analyzing a corpus of 60,155 dream reports, the research identifies the expressions *in * dream* (*in the dream, in my dream* etc) and *of the dream* as most frequent revelative evidentials. The frequency of the central revelative marker *in the dream* reveals a conventional conceptualization of DREAM IS A CONTAINER, aligning with the broader linguistic metaphor of STATES ARE CONTAINERS. Concordance analysis of the second-frequent phrase *of the dream* illustrates that narrators tend to use the marker for navigation and coherent narrativization of the dream experiences, conceptualizing the experience as DREAM IS A STORY or DREAM IS A SPACE. Identified with the help of cluster analysis, the trends in dream experience narrativization also emphasize navigation and coherence. The study argues for pragmatic and cognitive implications of evidential marking, which is accounted for by juxtaposing dream content with real-world knowledge via the use of evidential markers in dream reports. It has been found that evidential marking serves to maintain a coherent construal and retain the epistemic control over the conceptualization of the narrated experience. The findings contribute to the expounding revelative evidential labelling, specifically, as well as of the broader semantic evidential system of the English language, advancing the scholarship on linguistic expressions of subjective states and narrativization of subjective experience.

**Key words:** revelative evidentiality, revelative evidential markers, dream reports, dream journals, narrative, metaphor

## 1. Introduction

The already broad and still burgeoning scholarship around the linguistic category of evidentiality encompasses rather varied approaches to this linguistic phenomenon. The term “evidential” was initially coined by Jakobson (1957, p. 46) to refer to the grammaticalized encoding of information source and epistemic certainty. A significant part of most substantial evidentiality studies were carried out on grammaticalized evidentials (Aikhenvald, 2004, 2018; Plungian, 2010). Evidentiality systems in human languages constitute an outstanding anthropological interest (Aikhenvald, 2004), providing insights into the ways knowledge can be construed and shared. Given this broad perspective on evidentiality that was brought into light, it traveled across language studies and prompted researchers to broaden their understanding of evidential encoding to lexical means and justify the semantic status of the category for languages where it is not an obligatory grammatical category. The contemporary view of evidentiality hence tends to put the concept at the intersection of semantics and pragmatics, entailing the varied (lexical, grammatical, contextual) means of

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linguistic encoding of information source and the speaker's epistemic certainty (Mushin, 2001, p. 17). Researchers working with European languages that do not have grammaticalized evidential elements focus on the lexical and paraphrastic systems that those languages have to mark information by its source or the degree of certainty in its epistemic status (Gurajek, 2010; Wiemer, 2010; King & Nadasdi, 1999; Squartini, 2008; Whitt, 209, 2020). As for specifically revelative evidentiality in the English language, it has not yet received enough interest from the research community.

Revelative evidentiality, with the term "revelative" coined by Jacobson (1957), refers to marking the information as learnt from a dream (Aikhenvald, 2004, p. 57). Such information was not obtained by an actual perceptual channel from the external world, but was produced in the consciousness of the speaker like a hallucination during sleeping or revelation in a specific state of consciousness conductive of such information processing (Kratschmer & Heijnen, 2010, p. 333). In this paper, revelative evidentiality is analyzed in relation to information obtained exclusively during sleeping, not at the moment of spiritual revelation, as the former appears to be a far more statistically common human experience.

In the English language, the dreamed experience is marked by the explicit lexeme *dream* in varied phrasal combinations (*in the dream, in my dream, dream-self, dream started with* etc). Dream reports as such having already been the subject of corpus studies targeting thematic tendencies, coherence, and discourse types (Hendrickx et al., 2016; Fogli et al., 2020), none of the existing studies known to us targets the ways to mark information as obtained be the speaker from a dream. The ***subject*** of this study is hence the revelative evidential marking strategies in English. They remain to be explored, and the lack of specific scholarship on the topic constitutes the research gap that informs the ***relevance*** of this study.

Human dreams are conceptualized in a unique fashion compared to other kinds of human experience because the epistemic status of dreams is rather self-contained and outstanding. Dreams are a specific kind of hallucination appearing during sleeping (Hobson et al., 2000, p. 7). Their epistemic status is ambiguous because dreams are neither real nor made up or hypothesized; they are a fact of one's psychological reality that constitutes a first-person embodied experience while the agentivity of the dreamer may be compromised and the dreamed events are not real in the conventional meaning of reality. In English, similarly to other European languages (unlike, for instance, some Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 344)), perceptual evidentials (*to see, to hear* etc.) are also used to retell a dream, but they render its content without signaling its epistemic status as of non-real, dreamed events. Yet, with no grammaticalized revelative markers in the English language, the lexeme *dream* serves to mark such experience's status as dreamed in retelling and in particular, to differentiate it from the real information communicated.

It was established in our previous research (Bondarenko & Nikolaienko, 2022) that when retelling dreams, the narrator construes two simultaneously maintained narrative spaces that blend and project certain elements onto each other but are construed separately. These narrative spaces are that of the dream and that of reality that allows to contextualize the dream. It presupposes that the revelative evidentiality exists in the mutually constitutive opposition with anti-revelative marking that tag information as real to distinguish the real context from the dream events (Nikolaienko, 2023). Dreams are retold from a waking perspective and dreamers/narrators provide some real information to make sense of the dreams and to tag the unreal, bizarre facts or events in the dream as such.

***The aim*** of this corpus-based and corpus-driven study is to address the revelative evidential marking tendencies in dream reports in the English-language. The specific **objectives** towards this aim are to analyze and juxtapose the frequencies of the revelative markers with the lexeme *dream*, to elucidate the composition of the most frequent phrases with the lexeme *dream*, and to discuss the conceptual meaning of the most frequent phrases, which constitutes the qualitative part of the study.

## 2. Methods

The corpus used for this study consists of 60,155 dream reports (22,148,009 words). The corpus was compiled in 2023 by using the *Octoparse* web scraping software from the dream journals that users put online in open access on the website dreamjournal.net. It was manually cleaned up to remove irrelevant or noisy data. No demographic information was collected, and in print, all names are omitted to protect the users' anonymity. The size of the corpus accounts for its representativeness of the English-language written dream journal genre.

The corpus was processed in the *AntConc* [Build 4.2.1.] corpus management software for MS Windows (Anthony, 2023). First, the Plot tool was applied to visualize the distribution of the *dream* lexeme hits across the individual texts of the corpus (individual dream reports). Second, word frequency tool was used and cluster searches were run for the word *dream* to establish its most frequent immediate collocates and co-occurrences. Third, concordance searches were run for statistically pervasive revelative markers (*in the dream*, *of the dream*). Finally, the KWIC (Key Word In Context) tool was analyzed to manually (qualitatively) examine the immediate context of the markers.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1. Plot analysis of the distribution of the word *dream*

The purpose of the study is to analyze the revelative evidentiality markers with the word *dream* that serve the narrators to mark the epistemic status of the narrated events in retelling their dreaming experience. Therefore, for an initial analysis, the Plot tool was applied to visualize the concordance search results in a barcode format with each hit represented by a vertical line within the bar. Each vertical line stands for a hit (a *dream* word) positioned at a respective place in the text (i.e. towards the beginning, the middle, or the end).

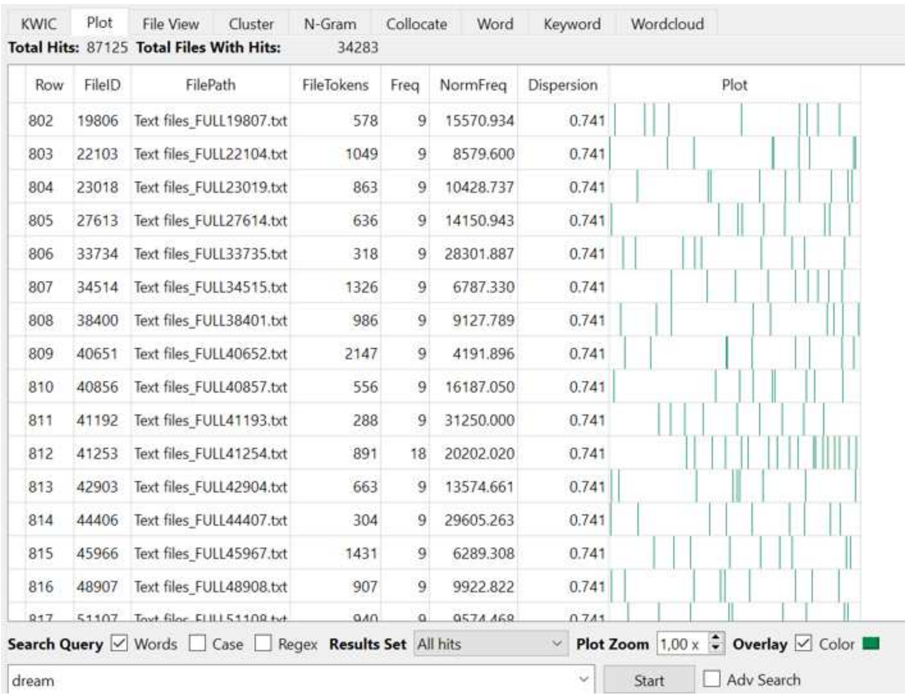
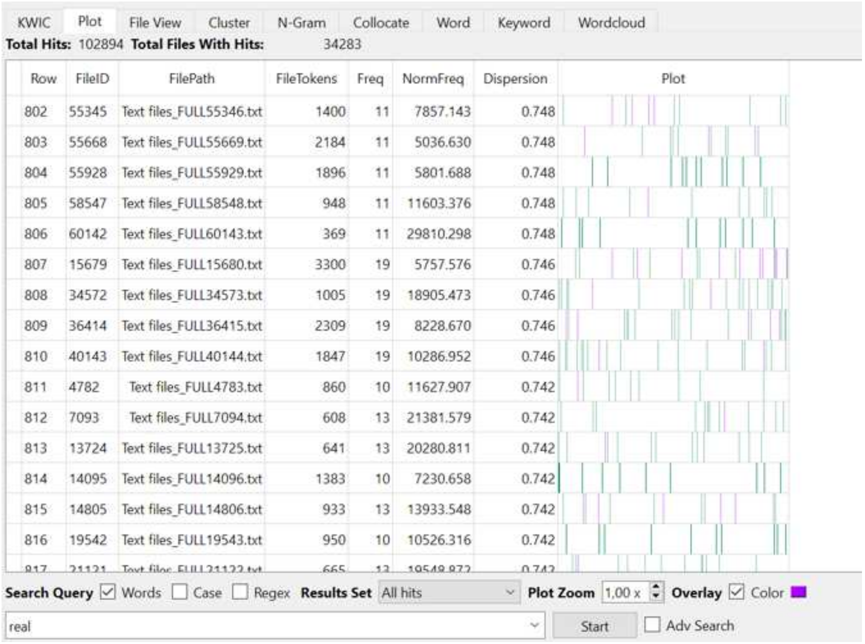



Figure 1. A fragment of Plot analysis for *dream*

The results (see Fig. 1 for a fragment of the corpus query) allow us to conclude that the lexeme *dream* is used throughout the texts of reports. Although it would be intuitively plausible to suggest that narrators need to introduce the origin of the narrated events at the beginning, the dream mentions are more or less evenly distributed, without disproportion towards the beginning of the report. Given the genre of the web platform dedicated specifically to dream reports, unlike in conversational genres, the narrators might drop the revelative marker by default, but their persistent usage of the word *dream* demonstrates the need to maintain the epistemic status of the narrated conceptualization.

The results were then overlaid with the search for *real* hits in the corpus texts, and the trend consists in these two words often appearing close or alternately in the texts (see Fig. 2). This confirms the idea that the narrators label their experience as dreaming or real (using words *real, waking)*.




| Row | FileID | FilePath | FileTokens | Freq | NormFreq | Dispersion | Plot |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 802 | 55345 | Text files_FULL55346.txt | 1400 | 11 | 7857.143 | 0.748 | |
| 803 | 55668 | Text files_FULL55669.txt | 2184 | 11 | 5036.630 | 0.748 | |
| 804 | 55928 | Text files_FULL55929.txt | 1896 | 11 | 5801.688 | 0.748 | |
| 805 | 58547 | Text files_FULL58548.txt | 948 | 11 | 11603.376 | 0.748 | |
| 806 | 60142 | Text files_FULL60143.txt | 369 | 11 | 29810.298 | 0.748 | |
| 807 | 15679 | Text files_FULL15680.txt | 3300 | 19 | 5757.576 | 0.746 | |
| 808 | 34572 | Text files_FULL34573.txt | 1005 | 19 | 18905.473 | 0.746 | |
| 809 | 36414 | Text files_FULL36415.txt | 2309 | 19 | 8228.670 | 0.746 | |
| 810 | 40143 | Text files_FULL40144.txt | 1847 | 19 | 10286.952 | 0.746 | |
| 811 | 4782 | Text files_FULL4783.txt | 860 | 10 | 11627.907 | 0.742 | |
| 812 | 7093 | Text files_FULL7094.txt | 608 | 13 | 21381.579 | 0.742 | |
| 813 | 13724 | Text files_FULL13725.txt | 641 | 13 | 20280.811 | 0.742 | |
| 814 | 14095 | Text files_FULL14096.txt | 1383 | 10 | 7230.658 | 0.742 | |
| 815 | 14805 | Text files_FULL14806.txt | 933 | 13 | 13933.548 | 0.742 | |
| 816 | 19542 | Text files_FULL19543.txt | 950 | 10 | 10526.316 | 0.742 | |

Figure 2. A fragment of Plot analysis for *dream* overlaid with *real*

The idea can be best illustrated by several concordance lines (here and in all examples the original spelling and punctuation are preserved):

(1) *I am driving my green chevy s-10. I go to what is my parents house* ***in real life*** *but* ***in the dream*** *a freind of mine owns it and I am staying there for a while.*

In (1), the narrator compares the location they dream about as it presents in real life to the bizarre dreaming representation of the same. This juxtaposition requires labels, *in the dream* and *in real life,* which are arguably revelative and anti-revelative markers that allow the narrators to signal the epistemic status of the information communicated. Such comparisons are ubiquitous in dream reports and illustrate the fact that any naturally occurring narrative is grounded in the speaker's knowledge of the world (Fludernik, 2002). When this knowledge deviates from the dream, the speakers mark it accordingly.

(2) *My* ***dream*** *sister (****in real life****, I am an only child) was a normal person, but we were both cowed by our* ***dream*** *mother.*

As illustrated in (2), variations with the word *dream* are possible to tag the piece of information as one originating in dreaming, such as *my dream sister* and *our dream mother.*

Similarly, in (3), *the dream kept it* works as a label of dreaming content as opposed to reality, which prompts me to regard all mentions of the word *dream* in different combinations as revelative evidential markers in English:

(3) *... making sure everyone had their passports, since we'd be crossing borders. I had to rummage to make sure I brought it, but* ***the dream kept it where I keep it in reality****, so all was well.*

I suggest that any mentions of *dream* in dream narratives, as illustrated in (1), (2) and (3), should be deemed revelative and evidential because of the role it inevitably plays in rendering the narrators' cognitive construal of the experience as dreamed events, not real-life experience. (We might want to exclude the cases where narrators give meta-narrative comments, such as "*I had a similar dream in childhood*", but they also contextually indicate the status of the narrated events.) On the one hand, such labeling is essential for the readers' understanding of the narrative as a dream experience. Dreams being elusive material for remembering and writing down, the process of their narrativization represents the way this mental experience is processed and construed by narrators themselves.

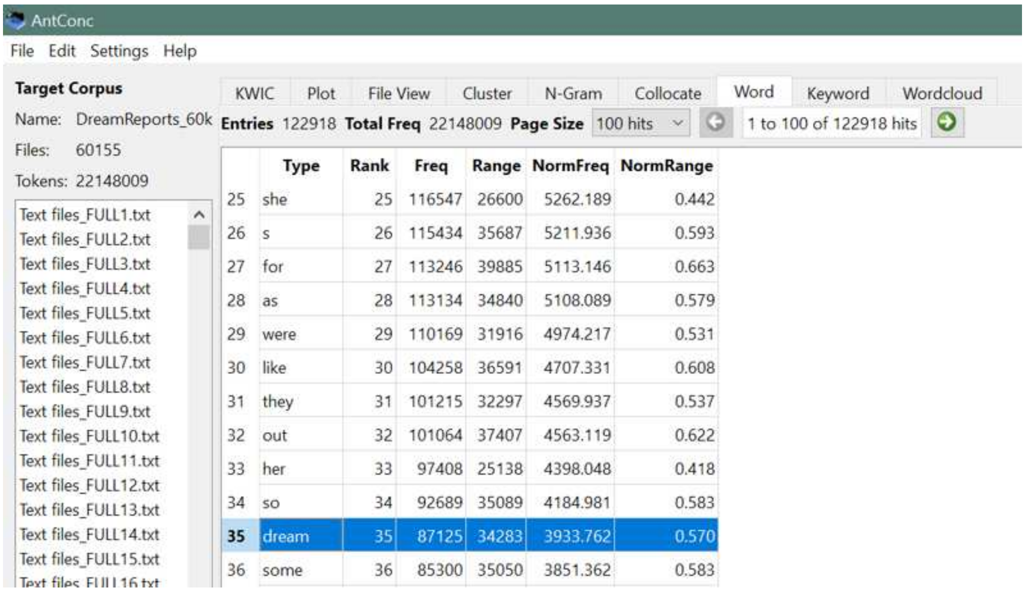
From this point of view, frequent mentions of *dream* serve for the narrators to position their dreamed experience in their real-life experience, contextualize it, and to retain the epistemic control over the conceptualization. Ronald Langacker emphasizes the inherent desire of speakers to mark the existential, epistemic status of the profiled event (2017, p. 20). In order to have control over the conceptualization of events, it is necessary to distinguish between real and unreal events, hence speakers often add *in the dream* or its variations when the dream content deviates from the real state of affairs.

(4) *part of me was disturbed, flattered, and even a bit arroused [****in waking life*** *i am 37 years old and the woman* ***in my dream*** *had to be at least 80something]...*

The anti-revelative markers that label real information as opposed to the dreaming narration typically include the word *real* or *waking*, as in (4).

### 3.2. Word frequency analysis of the corpus

High frequency of revelative evidential markers is perfectly illustrated by the word frequency list for the corpus. The word frequency analysis puts the word *dream* in the 35th position among most used words of the language, as illustrated by Fig. 3.




| | Type | Rank | Freq | Range | NormFreq | NormRange |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | she | 25 | 116547 | 26600 | 5262.189 | 0.442 |
| 26 | s | 26 | 115434 | 35687 | 5211.936 | 0.593 |
| 27 | for | 27 | 113246 | 39885 | 5113.146 | 0.663 |
| 28 | as | 28 | 113134 | 34840 | 5108.089 | 0.579 |
| 29 | were | 29 | 110169 | 31916 | 4974.217 | 0.531 |
| 30 | like | 30 | 104258 | 36591 | 4707.331 | 0.608 |
| 31 | they | 31 | 101215 | 32297 | 4569.937 | 0.537 |
| 32 | out | 32 | 101064 | 37407 | 4563.119 | 0.622 |
| 33 | her | 33 | 97408 | 25138 | 4398.048 | 0.418 |
| 34 | so | 34 | 92689 | 35089 | 4184.981 | 0.583 |
| 35 | dream | 35 | 87125 | 34283 | 3933.762 | 0.570 |
| 36 | some | 36 | 85300 | 35050 | 3851.362 | 0.583 |

Figure 3. Word frequency analysis of the corpus

*Dream* being among the most frequent words in the whole corpus additionally illustrates the narrators' need to always refer to their dream explicitly or mark the nature of the experience narrated. That being said, in order to delve into the roles the expressly frequent dream mentions perform in the narrators' conceptualization of the dream experience, more searches were run.

**3.3. Cluster analysis of phrases with *dream***

To obtain specific insights into the composition and the conceptual perspective of the phrases with the word *dream* that narrators use to label the information as dreaming experience, cluster analysis was carried out on the corpus.

Cluster Tool (of the size of 3 items with the word *dream*) was used to explore the contiguous (appearing together in a sequence) word patterns that constitute the revelative evidentiality markers. For the purpose of the analysis the 3-item clusters whose frequency is over 1,000 were selected from the cluster frequency list for the word dream.

Table 1

**Cluster analysis**

| **Cluster** | **Rank** | **Freq** | **Range** |
|---|---|---|---|
| in the dream | 1 | 10970 | 8184 |
| of the dream | 2 | 4909 | 4201 |
| in this dream | 3 | 4349 | 3944 |
| in my dream | 4 | 3961 | 3284 |
| dream i was | 5 | 3227 | 2904 |
| of this dream | 6 | 1527 | 1475 |
| dream that i | 7 | 1489 | 1453 |
| had a dream | 8 | 1358 | 1306 |
| had this dream | 9 | 1289 | 1248 |
| dream i had | 10 | 1187 | 1137 |
| dream i am | 11 | 1153 | 1084 |
| in a dream | 12 | 1133 | 1019 |

It was found that the most frequent (by a large margin) expression is *in the dream*, while its variations *in this dream, in my dream* and *in a dream* also rank high in the cluster list by ordered frequency. Arguably, *in * dream* is the central revelative marker. Fig. 4 presents a fragment of the KWIC tool results exploring the immediate context of the item *in the dream*.

A qualitative analysis of the concordance (KWIC) for *in the dream* demonstrates that the marker can be used towards the beginning of the sentence and serves as an opening evidential to introduce new information and mark its epistemic status. However, *in the dream* can appear in any place of the sentence. Another conspicuous tendency of its usage is its co-occurring with concession conjunctions such as *but, although, though,* which testifies to the role of the revelative markers in distinguishing the dreaming vs. real information as was discussed above.

| Left Context | Hit | Right Context |
|---|---|---|
| don't know who they are or who they represent in the waking world, but | in the dream | I knew the woman's name was Martha] and I trip on the gravel road and |
| ıough, the people left, and I felt happy to get rid of them. At some point | in the dream | I hear knocking at my door and I get up and go down stairs, while carrin |
| um. ok i remember | in the dream | i see chris the boy whose locker is beside mine. i never talk to or think ab |
| f lint or non-fitting. This all ended up making me late for school. Later on | in the dream | I was explaining to my (dream) sister why I had chosen those particular u |
| nstead. i went before the train left so i decided i would have to be faster. | in the dream | i was seeing it all from first person and running really fucking fast. i got t |
| th.. it varied. and i could not figure out why she hated me so much. even | in the dream | i had never met her before... she just... hated me. and had my number. |
| t fell on the table? The candles would start a fire. Oh well. Sometime later | in the dream | I found some of my belongings laying in a heap on the floor of a bright |
| from french class was at the same table. I have a crush on her. Although | in the dream | I knew it was her, she was actually replaced by another girl. One I know f |
| ıere to listen to them, while honestly I was waiting for a lecture (but even | in the dream | I didn't know which lecture that was...) |
| ıer boas. I feel rather underdressed myself with my plain clothes, though | in the dream | I am wearing a dress, too (which I never really wear in real life). I need to |
| o I could participate while I was here, seeing as I had nothing else to do. ( | in the dream | I don't seem to have much of a reason for being away from home). I de |
| m starts off with me standing at my balcony, i dontreally have a balcony | in the dream | i did and it was really big so yeah i was there looking down on my back |

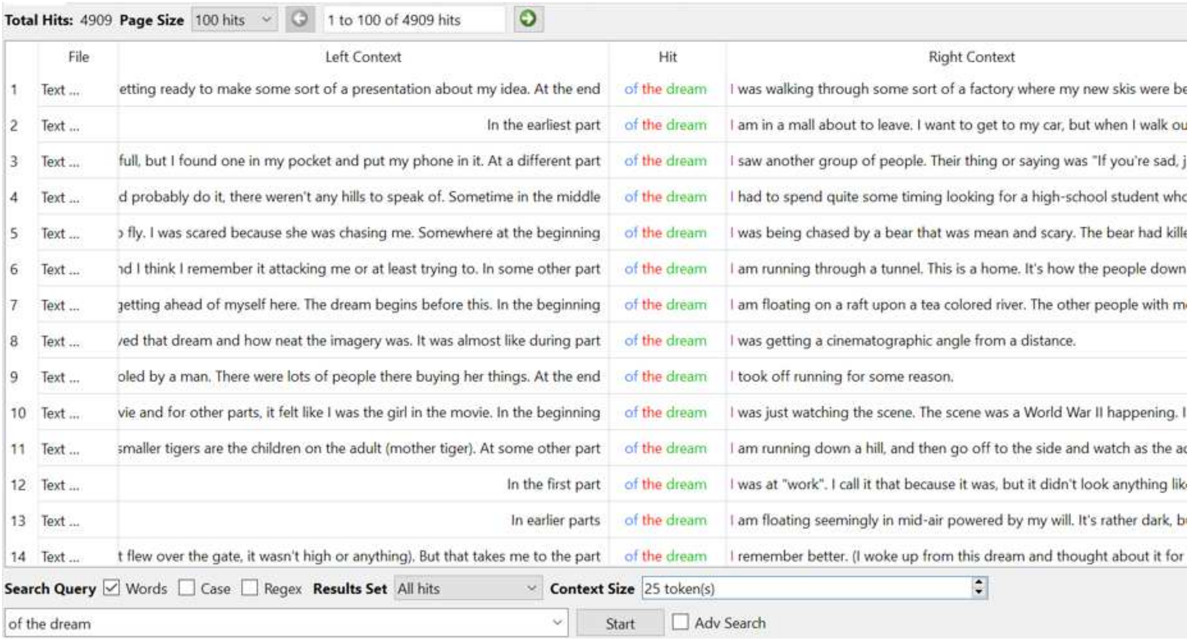
Figure 4. A fragment of the concordance for *in the dream*

The choice of the preposition in the most frequent phrase *in the dream* (or *in * dream)* renders the conceptualization of the dream as a container. The framing of the dream as a container is rather traditional for the English-speaking linguistic and cultural communities. DREAM IS A CONTAINER is reflected in the English-language expressions such as *to fall asleep*, *to emerge from sleep*. The sensation of falling when one is falling asleep is hypothesized to be physiologically conditioned due to the brain's reorientation to the physical position of the body (Cuellar, Whisenant, & Stanton, 2015), which may be the embodied ground for conceptualizing the dream experience as some physical container.

Essentially, dreaming is a state of one's mind, and the pervasive STATES ARE CONTAINERS metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008/1980, p. 31-32; Kövecses, 2017, p. 340) applies here. Dreamers conceptualize their dreams as containers where they operated or perceived the dreaming content, to which testifies the overwhelming frequency of *in the dream* (and ***in*** * *dream)* expression in the corpus. However, dream has more container features than states such as anger or love, since dream has a natural topology and is thought of as a kind of space where the narrators can travel and that has parts.

Dreaming topology is expressly present in linguistic marking of dreaming experience as that different from reality, which makes a dream a certain space where people "go" when they fall asleep. Dream is conceptualized as a story that unfolds and has a beginning and ending. In turn, stories (storyworlds) are conceptualized as containers and spaces (essentially, *worlds*).

Indeed, the concordance for another frequent marker, *of the dream*, shows that its role is mainly navigation in the dream (see Figure 5). The dream is construed as a kind of a story that has a beginning and ending, and the narrators refer to these parts of the dream narrative.



Total Hits: 4909 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 100 of 4909 hits

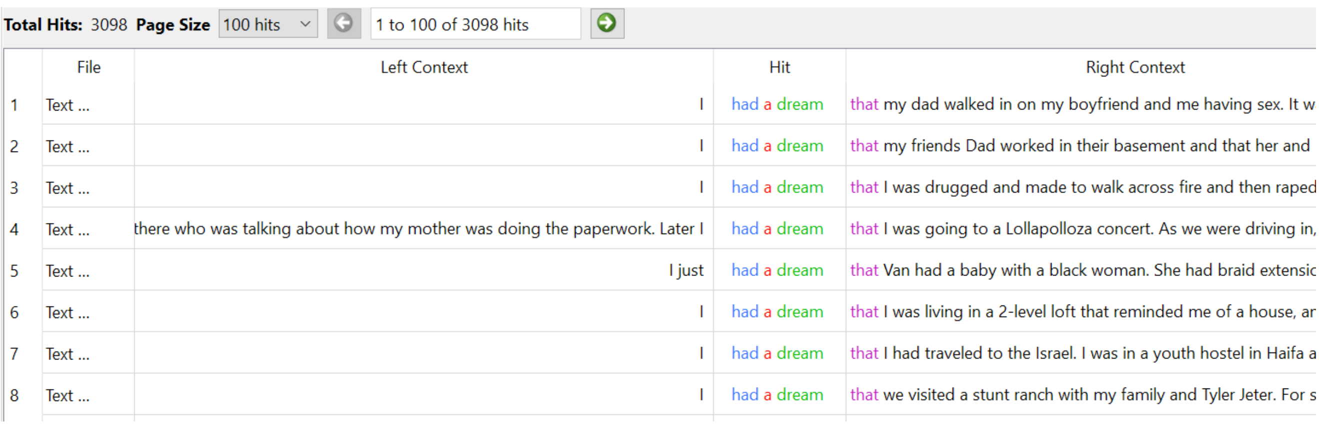
| | File | Left Context | Hit | Right Context |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Text ... | etting ready to make some sort of a presentation about my idea. At the end | of the dream | I was walking through some sort of a factory where my new skis were be |
| 2 | Text ... | In the earliest part | of the dream | I am in a mall about to leave. I want to get to my car, but when I walk ou |
| 3 | Text ... | full, but I found one in my pocket and put my phone in it. At a different part | of the dream | I saw another group of people. Their thing or saying was "If you're sad, j |
| 4 | Text ... | d probably do it, there weren't any hills to speak of. Sometime in the middle | of the dream | I had to spend quite some timing looking for a high-school student whc |
| 5 | Text ... | ɔ fly. I was scared because she was chasing me. Somewhere at the beginning | of the dream | I was being chased by a bear that was mean and scary. The bear had kille |
| 6 | Text ... | ıd I think I remember it attacking me or at least trying to. In some other part | of the dream | I am running through a tunnel. This is a home. It's how the people down |
| 7 | Text ... | jetting ahead of myself here. The dream begins before this. In the beginning | of the dream | I am floating on a raft upon a tea colored river. The other people with m |
| 8 | Text ... | ⁄ed that dream and how neat the imagery was. It was almost like during part | of the dream | I was getting a cinematographic angle from a distance. |
| 9 | Text ... | oled by a man. There were lots of people there buying her things. At the end | of the dream | I took off running for some reason. |
| 10 | Text ... | vie and for other parts, it felt like I was the girl in the movie. In the beginning | of the dream | I was just watching the scene. The scene was a World War II happening. I |
| 11 | Text ... | smaller tigers are the children on the adult (mother tiger). At some other part | of the dream | I am running down a hill, and then go off to the side and watch as the ac |
| 12 | Text ... | In the first part | of the dream | I was at "work". I call it that because it was, but it didn't look anything lik |
| 13 | Text ... | In earlier parts | of the dream | I am floating seemingly in mid-air powered by my will. It's rather dark, b |
| 14 | Text ... | t flew over the gate, it wasn't high or anything). But that takes me to the part | of the dream | I remember better. (I woke up from this dream and thought about it for |

Search Query ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 25 token(s)
of the dream Start ☐ Adv Search

Figure 5. A fragment of the concordance for *of the dream*

Curiously, poetic representations of dreaming often feature the metaphor of traveling to some distant place, capturing this conventional conceptualization of dreaming experience. From S.T. Coleridge ("*What if you slept. And what if. In your sleep. You dreamed.* ***And what if. In your dream. You went to heaven."***) to Billie Eilish (*When We All Fall Asleep,* ***Where Do We Go****?*), poets recognize the similarity of dreaming to traveling to places with their specific rules. Yurii Lotman believed that dreaming gave the human the first experience of otherness, of imagined places and scenarios, which prompted the imagination of work and arts, including the art of telling stories (Lotman, 2009, p. 35). The idea that dream is a prototypical story, and dreaming is a narrative mechanism inherent in human adaptations agrees quite well with the conceptualization of the dream as a story and a space.

Finally, the search for *had * dream* also returns a rather high number of hits in the corpus (3098), which makes it a conventional way to introduce dreaming content retelling as well.

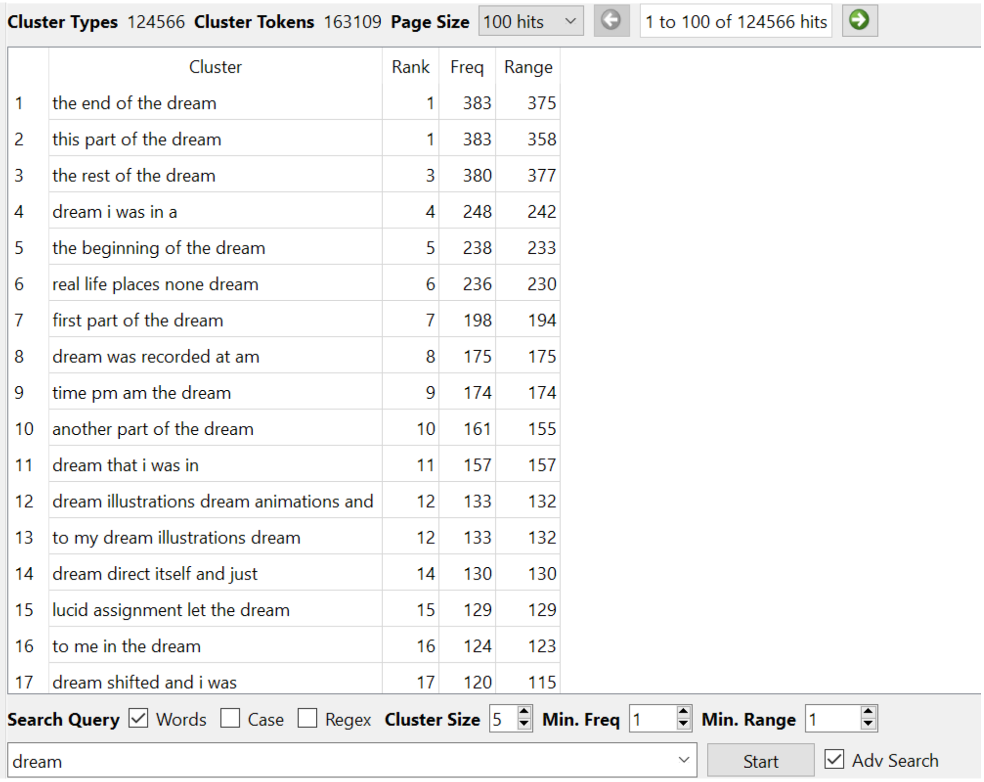


Total Hits: 3098 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 100 of 3098 hits

| | File | Left Context | Hit | Right Context |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that my dad walked in on my boyfriend and me having sex. It w |
| 2 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that my friends Dad worked in their basement and that her and |
| 3 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that I was drugged and made to walk across fire and then raped |
| 4 | Text ... | there who was talking about how my mother was doing the paperwork. Later I | had a dream | that I was going to a Lollapolloza concert. As we were driving in, |
| 5 | Text ... | I just | had a dream | that Van had a baby with a black woman. She had braid extensic |
| 6 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that I was living in a 2-level loft that reminded me of a house, ar |
| 7 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that I had traveled to the Israel. I was in a youth hostel in Haifa a |
| 8 | Text ... | I | had a dream | that we visited a stunt ranch with my family and Tyler Jeter. For s |

Figure 6. A fragment of the concordance for *had * dream*

Cluster search for larger groups of words (5 items) frequently co-occurring together was carried out to pinpoint trends in mentioning dream or marking experience as such (see Fig. 7).




| | Cluster | Rank | Freq | Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | the end of the dream | 1 | 383 | 375 |
| 2 | this part of the dream | 1 | 383 | 358 |
| 3 | the rest of the dream | 3 | 380 | 377 |
| 4 | dream i was in a | 4 | 248 | 242 |
| 5 | the beginning of the dream | 5 | 238 | 233 |
| 6 | real life places none dream | 6 | 236 | 230 |
| 7 | first part of the dream | 7 | 198 | 194 |
| 8 | dream was recorded at am | 8 | 175 | 175 |
| 9 | time pm am the dream | 9 | 174 | 174 |
| 10 | another part of the dream | 10 | 161 | 155 |
| 11 | dream that i was in | 11 | 157 | 157 |
| 12 | dream illustrations dream animations and | 12 | 133 | 132 |
| 13 | to my dream illustrations dream | 12 | 133 | 132 |
| 14 | dream direct itself and just | 14 | 130 | 130 |
| 15 | lucid assignment let the dream | 15 | 129 | 129 |
| 16 | to me in the dream | 16 | 124 | 123 |
| 17 | dream shifted and i was | 17 | 120 | 115 |

Figure 7. Five-item cluster frequency analysis fragment

The results in Fig. 7 reveal that key co-occurring clusters render the idea of navigation throughout the recollected dream and naming its parts such as beginning or end (hits 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7). Other rather conspicuous (at the top of the frequency list) 5-item clusters also mark the narrator's efforts to narrativize the quickly changing dream circumstances and arrange them into a coherent narrative (e.g. hits 10, 17). Rather on top of the cluster frequency list there is cluster 6 that renders the narrator's descriptions of the dream's difference from reality, referring to location, just like clusters 4 and 11 also identify location. These insights provide an idea of how the narrators most stereotypically use the word dream in their reports.

## 4. Conclusion

This corpus-based study has delved into the revelative evidential tagging tendencies in written dream reports in the English language. The research addressed the gap in existing literature regarding the revelative evidentiality markers in English. The study narrowed the attention to the frequencies, collocations, cluster co-occurrences, and plot analysis of the word *dream* as a means to mark the epistemic status of narrated events in retelling dreaming experiences. The application of the corpus tools to a sizable corpus of 60,155 dream reports, comprising 22,148,009 words compiled with the dream journals allowed to single out expressions *in * dream* (*in the dream, in my dream* etc) and *of the dream* as most frequent revelative evidentials, or phrases that perform evidential labeling roles in English. Qualitative insights were derived from the analysis of concordance lines. In particular, the DREAM IS A CONTAINER (consistent with STATES ARE CONTAINERS) and DREAM IS A STORY or DREAM IS A SPACE conceptualization were found conventional, which is statistically proven. Additionally, the study explored the clustering of words around the word *dream* to uncover trends in narrativizing dream experiences. The analysis pointed towards a prevalent theme of navigation throughout the dream, naming its parts, and efforts to organize rapidly changing circumstances into coherent narratives. Finally, from the evidential point of view, the pragmatic and cognitive implications of evidential marking are argued to maintain a coherent construal and retain the epistemic control over the conceptualization of the narrated experience. This assumption is supported by the presence of juxtapositions of the dreaming content to the real-world knowledge of the narrator found in the reports.

The findings invite ***further exploration*** into the evidential potential of English words and expressions and their frequency and usage nuances in the reports on dreaming or altered states of consciousness.

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## РЕВЕЛЯТИВНІ ЕВІДЕНЦІЙНІ МАРКЕРИ В АНГЛОМОВНИХ ОПОВІДЯХ ПРО СНОВИДІННЯ: ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ НА МАТЕРІАЛІ КОРПУСУ

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**Анотація**
Стаття презентує корпусне дослідження, яке предметом якого є ревелятивне евіденційне маркування в англомовних оповідях про сновидіння, а об'єктом виступають вирази із ключовим словом *dream*. Аналіз корпусу з 60 155 оповідей про сновидіння виявив, що в оповідях у якості евіденційного маркування найчастіше зустрічаються вирази *in * dream* (*in the dream, in my dream* тощо) та *of the dream*. Висока частотність маркера *in * dream* свідчить про загальноприйнятність концептуалізації СОН ЦЕ КОНТЕЙНЕР, що узгоджується з ширшою лінгвістичною метафорою СТАНИ ЦЕ КОНТЕЙНЕРИ. Аналіз контекстів другого за частотністю маркера *of the dream* ілюструє, що оповідачі вживають його для орієнтації в спогадах про сновидіннях і продукування зв'язних розповідей про них. Тенденції в наративізації сновидінь, виявлені за допомогою кластерного аналізу, також наголошують на ролі евіденційних маркерів для навігації та зв'язності оповіді. Дослідження фокусується на прагматичних та когнітивних наслідках евіденційного маркування, що підкріплене зіставленнями змісту сновидінь з реальними знаннями за допомогою ревелятивного та антиревелятивного евіденційного маркування в оповідях про сновидіння. Виявлено, що ревелятивне евіденційне маркування слугує для підтримання зв'язності оповіді та збереження епістемічного контролю над концептуалізацією досвіду, який оповідується. Отримані результати сприяють розумінню функцій ревелятивного евіденційного маркування та семантичної евіденційної системи англійської мови загалом, роблячи внесок у дослідження лінгвістичного вираження суб'єктивних станів та наративізації суб'єктивного досвіду.

**Ключові слова:** ревелятивна евіденційність, ревелятивні евіденційні маркери, оповіді про сновидіння, щоденники сновидінь, наратив, метафора

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# ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE NOTION "LEADER'S CHARISMA" (BASED ON ENGLISH NON-FICTION LITERATURE)

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*Leadership is not a position;*
*it is the continuous process of being*
*responsible for a cause* (Nakka, 2019, p. 8).

## Abstract

The research attempts to study various aspects and correlations between the verbal and non-verbal characteristics of charismatic leaders from an ecolinguistic perspective. The analysis of the lingual and non-lingual repertoire of a charismatic leader, his main characteristics and correspondence of his verbal, non-verbal and supra-verbal behavior to the ecological principles of communication demonstrates that if the leader avoids using in their speech the elements producing a harmful effect on physical, psychological or emotional state of a partner they can reach ecologically effective influence on the audience. A charismatic leader's identity emerges from psychological and social factors that manifest in their speech. This statement correlates with the principles of ecolinguistics, which involve the analysis of verbal, non-verbal, and supra-verbal phenomena in the unity with natural, social, and psychological factors. Modern English non-fiction literature was chosen as the research material. The non-fiction authors – scientists, psychologists, coaches, and business-trainers, focus the reader's attention on the main criteria for creating the image of a charismatic leader, which includes verbal and non-verbal communicative components, as well as their ecological combinability. Core features that effectively shape the image of a successful leader are charisma and high communicative skills, which include preservation of communicative maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner. The focus of ecolinguistic research on a charismatic leader who influences the society and achieves their goals through various means, including language, contributes to further development of the theory of discursive personality. The results of this study can be used in discourse studies, studies of verbal and non-verbal communication, pragmalinguistics, and communication theory.

**Keywords:** charisma, discursive personality, ecolinguistics, non-verbal communicative component, supra-verbal communicative component, verbal communicative component.

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## 1. Introduction

The topic of leadership and charisma refers to popular areas of self-development in modern society (Farmer, 2009; Gardner, 2009; Gaspar, 2021; Nakka, 2019; Profiles in Leadership). As it is mentioned in modern non-fiction literature, self-development launches with the awareness of one's own aspirations, because all changes, first of all, commence with the conscious pursuit of the set goals. This idea of conscious actions, deeds and reflections correlates with the basic principles of ecolinguistics. Considering charisma as a sociocentric phenomenon, it can be claimed that such concepts as “leader”, “authority”, “genius” are related to “charisma” as the features of personal characteristics (Tytarenko, 2022, p. 40). From the point of view of the ecolinguistic approach to the study of this phenomenon, we consider it appropriate to note that the notion “charismatic” in this research is treated as the ecologically effective factor that affects the audience through verbal, non-verbal and supra-verbal means of communication and does not have a harmful effect on the addressee’s physical, psychological or emotional state.

The high interest of modern society to non-fiction literature on the topic of leadership and management, as well as the need to turn to ecological communication through modern realities of life determines the ***relevance*** of this present study. The ***object*** of our study is the verbal, non-verbal and supra-verbal communicative components used by a charismatic leader. The ***subject*** is the identification of pragmatic features and functions of verbal and non-verbal components in the image of a “charismatic leader” from the perspective of ecolinguistics and the basics of ecological communication. The research ***aim*** lies in revealing the verbal and non-verbal repertoire of a charismatic leader, its main characteristics and the compliance of the leader’s verbal, non-verbal and supra-verbal behavior with the principles of ecological communication.

## 2. Method

Research ***methods*** are based on speech and pragmalinguistic analysis including traditional critical studies of discourse in the ecolinguistic perspective.

Ecolinguistics, which arose as a part of the general “ecological turn” in the humanities and social sciences (Stibbe, 2023), studies the relationship of language and environment, and man and society, in particular (Zhang & Wei, 2020), as well as the mechanisms of their mutual influence. In ecolinguistics, a key feature is the focus on context and engagement. This emphasizes that lingual meanings do not exist independently. Instead, they are only potential meanings that communicators construct during their interaction in a specific context (Shevchenko, 2015, p. 115).

Firstly, the ecolinguistic analysis relates linguistic analysis to the communicative situation and sociocultural, psycholinguistic, and socioeconomic characteristics of the speech community. Secondly, the holistic approach within ecolinguistics views the world as an indivisible whole, characterizing all phenomena in two key ways: 1) the phenomena are interdependent, meaning each unit is linked to others and the entirety; if one element disappears, the nature of another phenomenon changes; 2) they're interactive, demonstrating a two-way interaction where no unit impacts others without being affected itself, although the dominance among the parts may exist without symmetry. Thirdly, ecolinguistics relies on a descriptive frame that emphasizes the mutual transition of the private and the general (universal). The unified approach directs ecolinguists to the theory of general systems and concepts of open systems, dynamics, and origins. The specified theoretical prerequisites define language as an intermediary between cultural and natural ecosystems, and the notion “dynamism” describes changes in personal, situational, and cultural reality (Shepel, 2022, p. 681–682). Such changes in personal and situational reality include a change in the individual’s self-awareness on the way to obtaining and accepting the position of a charismatic leader.

A commonly cited definition of ecolinguistics by the International Ecolinguistics Association (IEA) states that “ecolinguistics explores the role of language in the life sustaining interactions of humans, other species and the physical environment” (Stibbe, 2023). One of the most important criteria of ecolinguistics definition is the relationship with anthropocentrism, and therefore, the scientific study of everything related to a person should be carried out in view of the environment in which they live (Tytarenko, 2022). The principle of environmentalism views language as a tool for organizing society and perceiving the world. It highlights a strong connection between the material aspects, sociocultural factors, and cognitive environments of human existence. The ecological approach in linguistics includes the comprehensive consideration of the context in analyzing natural languages. This approach examines the natural, semiotic, sociocultural, communicative, and cognitive environment of individuals, exploring its influence on language and, conversely, the impact of the language on these environments (Tytarenko, 2022). That is, ecolinguistics presupposes a view on the language within the unity of its internal structure and natural, social, psychological and regional environment (Skrynnik & Soloshchuk, 2022). The personality of a charismatic leader is formed on the basis of psychological and social factors, which are embodied in their speech. Ecolinguistic principles contribute to the formation of the direction of a personality's development on their way to obtaining and assuming the role of a charismatic leader.

The ***material*** of this present research comprises non-fiction literature on leadership and management. It includes 356 samples selected from scholarly articles, books, and publications that delve into various aspects of leadership theories, management practices, and organizational behavior. The selected literature encompasses studies on effective leadership styles, the role of emotional intelligence in management, organizational development strategies, and the impact of leadership on employee motivation and performance.

## 3. Findings

The definition of the notion "leader" entails someone within a team or organization shouldering the responsibility of establishing and communicating clear goals to the audience. They further advocate positive actions toward achieving these objectives (Farmer, 2009, p. 3). This definition aligns with ecological principles of communication and interaction. This means that the moral principles and characteristics associated with a charismatic leader's image, as proposed in contemporary non-fiction literature by psychologists, opinion leaders, certified trainers, and business coaches, align with the overall norms of ecological communication. These are deemed effective for interaction.

In the contemporary landscape, following ecological principles of communication does not merely construct effective communicative connections; it also molds the portrayal of a charismatic leader. This approach illustrates an educated individual who comprehends the repercussions of their actions and their influence on humanity as a whole. *«It has truthfully been said that intelligence is our first line of defense» – Allen Dulles's (Director of Central Intelligence) statement regarding the proposed National Security Act of 1947, April 25, 1947* (Profiles in Leadership, p. 34). The conscious use of verbal and non-verbal components lies at the forefront of education and ecological preservation of the image of a charismatic leader.

The results of the research indicate that the main characteristics that form the image of a successful leader are charisma and high communicative skills, which include observance of the core principles of effective communication – quantity, quality, relation, and manner. The research proves that the image of the charismatic leader is effectively built with the help of appropriate verbal, non-verbal, and supra-verbal communicative components.

## 4. Discussion

Charismatic personalities communicate and manifest their subjectivity through speech and gestures, essential elements for their social actions (Petlyuchenko, 2019, p. 76). The portrait of potential charismatic leaders and the definition of their contrasting features rely on four parameters – biological, social, psychological, and discursive – shaping their charismatic discursive portraits (Petlyuchenko, 2019, p. 78). Contemporary approaches to studying discourse and its types actively form and seek unity in defining this concept. However, discourse analysis makes it possible to reveal different types of interaction between speakers in society, to identify rules and laws used by certain individuals, who can be considered as representatives of a certain social class, group, profession, etc. The concept of a discursive personality, a complex cognitive and communicative phenomenon, finds active usage in modern linguistics. It requires involvement of both verbal and non-verbal factors to the analysis of this personality (Soloshchuk, 2022, p. 122). In non-fiction, the authors note that the characteristics that form the image of a successful leader are:

- charisma

*charisma and charm will instantly help to convey the passion you have and to get people on board. You aim to become a better orator and to better communicate the vision you have for your team and the reasons why it matters* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 36);

- high communicative skills

*communication is particularly important because it is what will prevent avoidable mistakes. If you are not able to communicate what needs to be done or why, then people will set about completing the wrong task, and with the best will in the world, there will be mistakes* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 36).

A charismatic leader reveals his positive professional qualities through effective communication. The postulates of effective communication of a modern charismatic leader mostly coincide with the classical postulates of communication by P. Grice (Grice's maxims – *quantity, quality, relation, and manner*) (Grice, 1975). Thus, one of the criteria for effective communication is the ability to convey the exact meaning in a short time:

> *Your objective is to convey the exact meaning you want to in the shortest amount of time. This keeps your 'communication overhead' lower, so that less time is wasted on meetings, and it will also help you to communicate what you need to communicate more efficiently with less margin error* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 40).

In this case, it becomes inappropriate to be verbose or to use slang expressions, which is explained by the author from a psychological point of view. Usually communicators act in this way to appear more experienced, but in reality, the interlocutors perceive them as insecure, as those who produce an impression that they want to prove something. Also, verbosity prevents some people from understanding them better, which provokes communicative dissonance.

Definitely, when operating a poor lingual repertoire, human language may seem to be more like the language of a robot. In this case, the principle of relevance is assumed. However, in this case, the principle of relevance implies the primary function of precisely selecting words that reflect either the existing reality or the speaker's thought:

> *Precision is the ability to convey the exact meaning you want and often this means selecting the right word for the job. Saying 'it's cold today' has a subtly different meaning than saying 'it's freezing today'. What's more, is that the latter conveys more emotion at the same time – and it's that emotion that helps you to motivate and to make people act (such as putting on a coat!). Seeing as the word 'freezing' conveys more information in fewer words, we can safely conclude that this word is more "efficient" and thereby the slightly more decorative language, in this case, was the right choice. When it comes to the written word, efficiency and accuracy become even more important* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 41).

From the point of view of the method of transmitting information or "manner" according to P. Grice (1975), the presentation of information is important. Modern postulates of effective communication and leadership also do not deny this component:

> *It [message] has a branching structure, similar to a tree:*
> *1. Fundamental ideas form the "trunk". These are the three or four essentials of the message.*
> *2. Next come the "Major themes" of the message that grow from the fundamentals, like branches.*
> *3. Later come the "Minor themes" growing from the major.*
> *4. Finally, there are the numerous details, like the leaves on a tree.*
> *It is important to deliver your message in a logical order* (Farmer, 2009, p. 13).

A charismatic leader's formation encompasses the non-verbal dimension of communication, collaborating with the verbal element, thus, aligning with the leader's specific style. Charismatic rhetoric is additionally shaped by a kinesic (gestural-mimic) component, functionally linked to the prosodic aspects of speech, enhancing communication effectiveness. A gesture, denoting an action or bodily movement, serves as a signaling mechanism through which an individual communicates their presence and intentions concerning specific objects (Petlyuchenko, 2019, p. 78). Notably, charismatic political communication is distinguished by emphatic or contextually appropriate gestures. These gestures, particularly involving hand movements, serve various purposes within the communication process. The speaker employs them to elucidate specific points, complement verbal expressions, underscore key aspects, and reinforce the overall message. The recipient interprets these gestures as a kinematic manifestation of verbal rendering, wielded by the speaker to influence followers and/or opponents, motivating them towards actions aligned with specific objectives (Petlyuchenko, 2019, p. 78). Broad persuasive confident gestures advertise the personality as a charismatic leader:

> *Those gesticulations are important too. This is the way that you move your hands and your body as you speak and when you do it right, it can make a massive difference to how charming and convincing you seem. The most charismatic people in the world all get this right. When you can move your hands around and use big body language, you take up more space which makes people more interested and engaged with what you're saying. But you also demonstrate more conviction and congruence* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 37).

The prosodic specificity of charismatic discourse strengthens all its dynamic and tonal components. In phonetic research, this acoustic effect refers to prosodic intensity, indicating sharp changes in pitch, variations in loudness and tempo, and pauses within crucial statements comprising positive semantics and addresses (Petlyuchenko, 2019, p. 78). Such a prosodic component as the pace of speech serves as an indicator of the speaker's confidence. A charismatic leader, seeking alignment with their established image, strategically employs a deliberately slowed speech tempo, a tactic perceived to enhance persuasiveness among the audience:

> *Slowing down will instantly help you to come across as more confident because we naturally speak quicker when we're nervous. What's more, is that slowing down will make what you're saying easier to follow, it will give you time to think of your next statement and it will make you appear objectively more intelligent. It even makes your voice sound deeper and helps it to project better* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 38).

Furthermore, the deliberate reduction of speech tempo enhances vocal quality, resulting in a more favorable perception by communicative counterparts.

The supra-verbal component also presents a vital part of communication (Skrynnik, 2021). A leader's effectiveness in persuading and guiding holds significant importance, with appearance and attire playing crucial roles in displaying power and influence. Leaders set themselves apart through heightened success, efficiency, and aesthetic appeal, generating legends around their persona. These figures continuously attract an audience and compel involuntary compliance. This phenomenon, known as charisma, defies measurement or evaluation, yet it precisely shapes history (Gaspar, 2021). External attributes of power and leadership are of great importance, by which some leaders have gone down in history. External attributes play a crucial role in the historical legacy of certain leaders. Winston Churchill's sartorial style, notably his habit of wearing a pocket square alongside his iconic cigar (Figure 1), contributed to his distinctive appearance, reflecting his confidence and authority. Steve Jobs often wore a black turtleneck (Figure 2), symbolizing his minimalist style and innovative mindset.

Figure 1. Winston Churchill

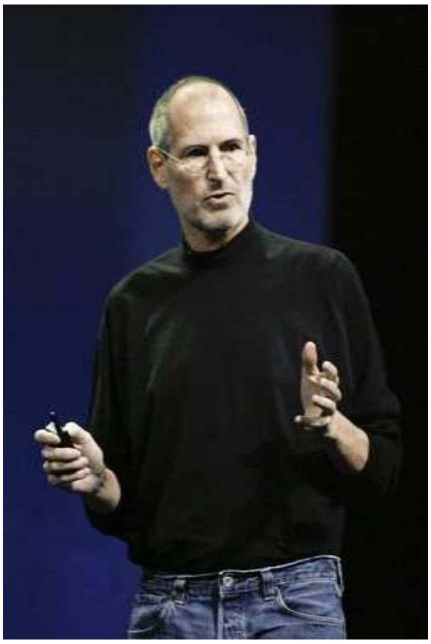

Figure 2. Steve Jobs

Coco Chanel's trademark pearl necklace (Figure 3) signified elegance, sophistication, and a revolutionary approach to fashion. Karl Lagerfeld frequently wore dark sunglasses (Figure 4), becoming a signature accessory in his fashion repertoire.

Figure 3. Coco Chanel

Figure 4. Karl Lagerfeld

They projected an image of enigmatic authority and style. Such external characteristics become decisive in forming the image of a charismatic leader who has gone down in history. That is, appearance and attire, as supra-verbal components of communication, become a kind of “law of attraction”:

> *This might seem shallow, but the fact is that people are more inclined to follow others if they look like leaders. That means you should take care in your presentation – in the way you dress, the way your hair looks, and even your physical fitness. This makes you appear more capable altogether and it also makes it look like you care more. And we’ve already seen in detail why caring is so important when it comes to motivating a team. This all boils down to what is known as the ‘law of attraction’. If you look a certain way and act a certain way, then you will become the person you are already acting like. This is because you will change the way you feel about yourself and you will change the way others see you, therefore changing the way that others treat and respond to you. As the saying goes: dress for the job you want!* (Gaspar, 2021, p. 42).

A charismatic leader embodies the very idea that humanity aspires toward, inspiring followers to emulate his image, adopt his appearance, manners, and embrace his life principles. Society willingly follows this leader due to its aspiration to mirror this ideal.

Modern writers, psychologists, and practitioners offer abundant advice on enhancing the mental abilities of a charismatic leader. They advocate for improving memory, boosting mental activity and intellectual endurance, fortifying the power of thought, fostering general intelligence, augmenting learning abilities, refining concentration skills, elevating brain energy, nurturing focused abilities, heightening mental alertness (Gardner, 2009, p. 14). These components contribute to the supra-verbal indicators shaping a charismatic leader’s image, reinforcing their societal position, and amplifying the efficacy of their endeavors.

From a psychological perspective, a charismatic leader’s formation stems significantly from their nuanced approach to the audience, encompassing various facets such as their adeptness in captivating the crowd’s attention, leveraging persuasive rhetoric, employing empathetic communication, demonstrating exceptional emotional intelligence, fostering a sense of trust and rapport, and skillfully adapting to diverse audiences’ needs and preferences. This multifaceted interaction with the audience shapes the leader’s charisma, dictating their influence, impact, and effectiveness in garnering support and inspiring action. Oden (1982) claims:

> *The jargon of charismatic movements, floating freely in the linguistic atmosphere of verbal formalities, gets rid of spontaneity, sincerity and understanding, and this leads to the transformation of a person’s psychological intuition into a set of standardized observations and makes his lexicon a means of combating countless variants of problems* (Oden, 1982, p. 30–33).

A truly charismatic leader who enjoys influence and popularity in society must understand the psychology of his audience, applying his psychological intuition in the right direction, namely to maintain contact with the audience through harmonious, “ecological” communication by means that do not harm the physical, psychological and emotional health of communicators.

The table below summarizes the aspects of a charismatic leader’s portrait (Table 1):

Table 1.

**The aspects of a charismatic leader's portrait.**

| Aspect | Key points |
|---|---|
| Verbal repertoire | Effective communication relies on charisma, high communicative skills, and conveying precise meanings efficiently. |
| Non-verbal repertoire | Charismatic personalities communicate and manifest their subjectivity through speech and gestures, essential elements for their social actions. The use of emphatic gestures, slowing speech tempo, and deliberate non-verbal cues enhance communication effectiveness. |
| Supra-verbal repertoire | Appearance, attire, and external attributes contribute to forming the image of a charismatic leader and their historical legacy. |
| Psychological aspects | Understanding audience's psychology, empathetic communication, and maintaining ecological communication are key for charismatic leaders. |

## 5. Conclusions

In scholarly exploration, charisma encapsulates a constellation of distinct qualities and attributes inherent to an individual, enabling them to magnetize, captivate, forge unity, and motivate others through their compelling presence and persuasive abilities. This charismatic personality transcends mere individual traits, embodying a captivating aura that engenders trust, resonates with diverse audiences, and inspires collective action. A contemporary charismatic leader's image is intrinsically intertwined with their profound engagement and adeptness in navigating societal interactions and communication channels. Their effectiveness hinges on fostering meaningful connections, articulating a compelling vision, exhibiting authenticity, empathy, and resonance, all of which are pivotal in sculpting an enduring and impactful image within society. That is, the image of a charismatic leader arises from his verbal, non-verbal, and supra-verbal expressions.

Modern nonfiction literature offers the principles and features of creating this image, pointing out the need to observe communicative norms, which, for the most part, coincide with the classical postulates – the conversational maxims of P. Grice. The main direction of our research is the ecolinguistic approach, which allows to compare the correspondence of the image of a charismatic leader to the ecological principles of communication. This comparison illustrates that adhering to communicative norms and principles remains vital for effectively gaining and preserving the image of a charismatic leader. By drawing from a wide array of sources, this present research provides a comprehensive understanding of the discourse surrounding leadership and management, exploring key concepts and emerging trends within the field.

Additionally, the review of non-fiction literature contributes to the synthesis of existing knowledge, forming a foundation for the analysis and discussion of leadership principles in diverse organizational contexts.

The ***prospects*** for further research include the consideration of gender and age aspects of the formation of the image of a charismatic leader, which will contribute to the further development of the theory of discourse in general, the theory of discursive personalities in particular, and the development of an ecolinguistic approach to the study of discourse.

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# ЕКОЛІНГВІСТИЧНИЙ ПІДХІД ДО ВИВЧЕННЯ ПОНЯТТЯ «ХАРИЗМА ЛІДЕРА» (НА МАТЕРІАЛІ АНГЛОМОВНОЇ НАУКОВО-ПОПУЛЯРНОЇ ЛІТЕРАТУРИ)

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**Анотація**
Дослідження спрямоване на вивчення різних аспектів та взаємозв'язків між вербальними та невербальними характеристиками харизматичних лідерів з еколінгвістичної перспективи. Аналіз мовленнєвого та немовленнєвого репертуару харизматичного лідера, його основні характеристики та відповідність його вербальної, невербальної та надвербальної поведінки екологічним принципам комунікації демонструє, що якщо лідер уникає використання елементів у мовленні, що мають шкідливий вплив на фізичний, психологічний чи емоційний стан партнера, він може досягти екологічно ефективного впливу на аудиторію. Особистість харизматичного лідера формується на основі психологічних та соціальних чинників, які проявляються у його мовленні. Це твердження відповідає принципам еколінгвістики, які включають аналіз вербальних, невербальних та надвербальних явищ у взаємодії з природними, соціальними та психологічними факторами. В якості матеріалу дослідження використовувалась сучасна англомовна науково-популярна література. Автори науково-популярних робіт – вчені, психологи, коучі та бізнес-тренери – зосереджують увагу читача на основних критеріях створення образу харизматичного лідера, до яких відносяться вербальні та невербальні комунікативні компоненти, а також їх екологічна відповідність. Дослідження зосереджено на тому, як висвітлені у науково-популярних текстах критерії створення образу харизматичного лідера та як вони відображають ідеї еколінгвістики про взаємодію мовленнєвих та немовленнєвих проявів особистості. Основними рисами, що ефективно формують образ успішного лідера, є харизма та високі комунікативні навички, включаючи дотримання конверсаційних максим: кількості, якості, релевантності та манери мовлення. Фокус еколінгвістичних досліджень на харизматичному лідері, який має вплив на суспільство та досягає своїх цілей за допомогою різних засобів, включаючи мовлення, сприяє подальшому розвитку теорії дискурсивної особистості. Це дослідження відкриває можливості для розуміння, як мовленнєві та немовленнєві ресурси впливають на сприйняття харизматичного образу лідера в сучасному світі, а також вкладає у розвиток концепції дискурсивної особистості з еколінгвістичної перспективи. Результати цього дослідження можуть бути використані в дискурсивних дослідженнях, вивченні вербальної та невербальної комунікації, прагмалінгвістиці та теорії комунікації.

**Ключові слова:** дискурсивна особистість, вербальний комунікативний компонент, надвербальний комунікативний компонент, невербальний комунікативний компонент, еколінгвістика, харизма.

## GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS 2024

### General information

“Cognition, communication, discourse” (CCD) is an on-line open-access journal in Linguistics and languages, Literature, and Philology (UDC Subjects 80, 81, 82). Both its editorial team and the choice of authors are international.

**Aims and scope.** CCD focuses on language as an instrument for construing meaning, exchanging information, and a form of social practice. It focuses on high-quality doctoral and post-doctoral research in cognitive linguistics, linguistic pragmatics, including cognitive pragmatics, corpus linguistics, and discourse analysis and on interdisciplinary approaches in neighboring research areas such as semantics, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics.

**Our aim** is to publish innovative content, which contributes to a broad range of cognitive, pragmatic, discursive, and related theories drawing attested data from a wide range of languages and cultures in synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Alongside with full-length articles, the journal welcomes discussion notes and book reviews on topics, which are at the cutting-edge of research.

**Mission.** CCD presents a forum for linguistic research on the interaction between language and cognition, structures and strategies of discourse, communication studies.

The journal is aimed at linguists, teachers, graduate and post-graduate students who are doing their researches in Philology and conjoint spheres.

**Article formats**: Research article, Book review.

**Language** of publication: English, multiple. Summaries in English and Ukrainian.

**Reviewing**. CCD is a double-blind peer-reviewed journal. All research articles in this journal undergo rigorous double-blind peer review, based on initial editor screening and refereeing by anonymous referees. The journal is committed to meeting high standards of ethical behaviour approved by the Ethical Code of The Scientist of Ukraine (Етичний кодекс ученого України) and by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (https://publicationethics.org/about) at all stages of the publication process.

The editorial board reserves the right to reject an article that does not meet the established requirements or the subject matter of the journal. In case of rejection of the article, the editorial board gives the author a reasoned conclusion.

The term of reviewing the article does not exceed 2 months. The author is to make necessary changes in their material in two-week’ time.

An article which was not recommended for publication by the reviewer is not accepted for reconsideration. The text of the negative review is sent to the author by e-mail.

**Publishing ethics**. In accord with the principles of academic integrity, all articles undergo the process of plagiarism checking using modern software and plagiarism online detector “Strikeplagiarism.com” (owner “Plagiat.pl”). The system establishes similarity coefficient 1 (the percentage of text that determines the level of borrowing found in certain sources, consisting of text fragments, containing at least 5 words) and similarity coefficient 2 (percentage of text that determines the level of borrowing found in certain sources that consist of text fragments containing at least 25 words). The recommended indicators of originality of articles are:

- similarity coefficient 1 – no more than 20%,
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The editorial board of the journal takes the final decision on the presence of plagiarism or the lawfullness of borrowings found by the anti-plagiarist system.

**Submission.** Submission of the article is understood to imply that the article neither has been published before nor is being considered for publication elsewhere. The manuscript should be submitted by e-mail to the following address: cognition.discourse.journal@karazin.ua with a copy sent to the editor-in-chief (iryna.shevchenko@karazin.ua) and executive secretary (alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua).

**Important**. No parts of the articles submitted to "Cognition, communication, discourse" should be posted on the Internet prior to publication. Pre-publishing is possible with a corresponding reference to CCD after the article is accepted and confirmed to be published.

## Content arrangement of the paper

- Title of the paper in English (12 pts, bold, CAPITAL letters, align center).
- Name and surname of the author(s) (12 pts, align center).
- Institution, place, country (12 pts, align center).
- Abstract with key words (minimum 250 words or 1800 signs, 12 pts).
- Titles of the chapters (12 pts, bold).
- Text of the paper (12 pts).
- Notes if any.
- Abbreviations if any.
- References and Sources for illustrations (if any) (12 pts, bold, CAPITAL letters, align right).
- Contact details – name(s) of the author(s) with their academic degree(s), name and address of the affiliated organization, e-mail(s) and ORCIDS of the author(s).

## Text format

All materials should be Times New Roman, 12, font 1; indentation 1,0 cm, margins: left – 2 cm., right – 2 cm., top & bottom – 2.5 cm. The first lines in all sections and after figures and tables are not indented.

Manuscripts may be submitted as email attachments in Microsoft Word 97-2003/2010 (author's name.doc/docx) if they do not contain unusual fonts. If special symbols are used their fonts should be sent separately.

Contributions should be in English, may include multilanguage examples. Spelling should be either British or American English consistently throughout the paper. If not written by a native speaker of English it is advisable to have the paper checked by a native speaker.

Papers should be reasonably divided into numbered sections and, if necessary, sub-sections.

The title and author(s). Please use * for the corresponding author. Example:

**TITLE (TIMES NEW ROMAN, 12, BOLD, CAPITAL LETTERS, CENTERED)**
**First Author Name and Surname* (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)**
**(Affiliation, City, Country);**
**e-mail ORCID**
**Next Author Name and Surname (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)**
**(Affiliation, City, Country);**
**e-mail ORCID**

**Abstract:** (one in English and one in Ukrainian)
An abstract is a brief, comprehensive summary of the contents of the article; it allows readers to survey the contents of an article quickly. The abstract should normally be a single paragraph *between **200 and 250 words*** (minimum 1800 signs, key words included). A good abstract is accurate, nonevaluative, coherent and readable, clear and concise. It uses verbs rather than their noun equivalents and the active rather than the passive voice; uses the present tense to describe conclusions drawn or results with continuing applicability; uses the past tense to describe specific variables manipulated or outcomes measured. An abstract for *a theory-oriented paper* should describe: how the theory or model works and/or the principles on which it is based; what phenomena

the theory or model accounts for; and its linkages to empirical results. An abstract for a *methodological paper* should comprise the general class of methods being discussed; the essential features of the proposed method; and the range of application of the proposed method. Given the small amount of words allowed, each word and sentence included in your abstract needs to be meaningful. In addition, all the information contained in the abstract must be discussed in the main body of the paper.

**Keywords:** List five to ten pertinent keywords specific to the article; use singular nouns.

## 1. Introduction

The body of a manuscript opens with an introduction that presents the specific problem under study and describes the research strategy. The structure of the introduction should necessarily comprise the author's ***aims / tasks / objectives, the subject-matter*** and the ***material*** of the study.

Exploring the importance of the problem the article should state how it is related to previous work in the area. If other aspects of this study have been reported previously, how does this report differ from, and build on, the earlier report?

Describe relevant related literature. This section should review studies to establish the general area, and then move towards studies that more specifically define or are more specifically related to the research you are conducting. Your literature review must not be a series of quotations strung together; instead it needs to provide a critical analysis of previous work.

State hypotheses and objectives, their correspondence to research. The statement of the hypothesis should logically follow on from your literature review and you may want to make an explicit link between the variables you are manipulating or measuring in your study and previous research. The present tense is used to state your hypotheses and objectives.

**Sections and subsections of the paper.** Divide your article into clearly defined sections. Any labeled sections / subsection should be numbered (i.e., 2. or 2.1, 2.2 if necessary) and given a brief heading marked in bold (Times New Roman, 12 without full stops at the end). Each heading should appear on its own separate line.

A good paragraph should contain at least the following four elements: transition, topic sentence, specific evidence and analysis, and a brief concluding sentence. A transition sentence acts as a transition from one idea to the next. A topic sentence tells the reader what you will be discussing in the paragraph. Specific evidence and analysis support your claims that provide a deeper level of detail than your topic sentence. A concluding sentence tells the reader how and why this information supports the paper's thesis.

## 2. Method

The Method section describes in detail how the study was conducted, including conceptual and operational definitions of the variables used in the study. It also permits experienced investigators to replicate the study.

The method section should be written in paragraph form with as little repetition as possible. This section will often be broken down into subsections such as participants, materials and procedure. The subsections you use will depend on what is useful to help describe and explain your experiment.

In the method section of the paper you should use the past tense since you are describing what you did; for example, e.g. *An experiment was performed…, The participants were instructed to …* .

## 3. Findings / Results

This section describes but does not explain your results; it provides the reader with a factual account of your findings. You can, however, draw attention to specific trends or data that you think are important. Your aim in your Results section is to make your results as comprehensible as possible for your readers.

If you are presenting statistical results, place descriptive statistics first (means and standard deviations) followed by the results of any inferential statistical tests you performed. Indicate any transformations to the data you are reporting; for example, you may report percentage correct scores rather than straight scores. Raw data and lengthy whole transcripts of qualitative data should be put in the appendices, only excerpts (descriptive statistics or illustrative highlights of lengthy qualitative data) should be included in the results section.

Authors should refer in the text to all tables and figures used and explain what the readers should look for when using the table or figure. Focus only on the important point the readers should draw from them, and leave the details for the readers to examine on their own. Each table and figure must be intelligible without reference to the text, so be sure to include an explanation of every abbreviation (except the standard statistical symbols and abbreviations).

Give titles to all tables and figures, number all tables sequentially as you refer to them in the text (Table 1, Table 2, etc.), likewise for figures (Figure 1, Figure 2, etc.).

**4. Discussion**

If necessary an article may have more sections and subsections.

All examples are italicized. One word or word-combination examples are given within the body of a paragraph.

Sentence or textual examples, preferably numbered through the article, are given in separate paragraphs in italics (their source is given straight) with indentation 1,0 cm for the whole paragraph and separated from the previous / following text by one blank line. Example:

(1) *“I'm Prendergast,” said the newcomer. “Have some port?”*
*“Thank you, I’d love to.”* (Waugh, 1980, p. 46)

**5. Conclusions**

This section simply states what the researcher thinks the data mean, and, as such, should relate directly back to the problem/question stated in the introduction. By looking at only the Introduction and Conclusions sections, a reader should have a good idea of what the researcher has investigated and discovered even though the specific details of how the work was done would not be known. After moving from general to specific information in the introduction and body paragraphs, your conclusion should restate the main points of your argument.

Conclusions should finish up with an overview of future possible research.

**Acknowledgments** (not obligatory and not numbered paragraph). Identify grants or other financial support (and the source, if appropriate) for your study. Next, acknowledge colleagues who assisted in conducting the study or critiquing the manuscript. End this paragraph with thanks for personal assistance, such as in manuscript preparation.

**Footnotes** should be avoided. Any essential **notes** should be numbered consecutively in the text and grouped together at the end of the paper.

**In-text citations.** The journal uses APA-6 format (APA STYLE). If you are directly quoting from a work and the author is not named in a signal phrase, you will need to include the author, year of publication, and the page number for the reference: (Pocheptsov, 1976, p. 15; Leech, 1985, pp. 373-4).

If the quotation includes the author's last name, it is simply followed by the date of publication in parentheses; if no last name is mentioned in the text it is given in parentheses. For example: According to Jones (2005), “Students often had difficulty using Gerunds and Infinitives, especially when it was their first time” (p. 156). Or “Students often had difficulty…” (Jones, 2005, p. 156).

If you cite a work of two to five authors (use ‘&’ within parentheses; use ‘and’ outside parentheses):

a) Becker and Seligman’s (1996) findings contradicted this result. This result was later contradicted (Becker & Seligman, 1996). Mind no comma before & in citing two authors!

(b) Medvec, Madey, and Gilovich (1995) examined a group of Olympic medalists. Or medalists were examined in (Medvec, Madey, & Gilovich, 1995) (Mind a comma before & in citing three to five authors in parenthesis!) A subsequent citation would appear as (Medvec et al., 1995).

In case of six or more authors, cite only the last name of the first author, followed by "et al." and the year of publication: Barakat et al. (1995) attempted to …

| APA-6 | In-Text and Parenthetical Citation Examples |
|---|---|
| Quote with author's name in text | Smith (2019) states that, "..." (p. 112). |
| Quote with author's name in reference | This is quoted as, "…" (Smith, 2019, pp. 112-4). |
| Paraphrasing with author's name in text | Smith (2019) stated these facts, too. |
| Paraphrasing author's name in reference | This fact has been stated (Smith, 2019). |
| No author – give title of work abbreviated to first major word | This book is true (*Long*, 2019). |
| *Italics for books & journals*, "quotation marks" for articles & web pages | This article is true ("Long," 2019). |
| Citing entire website – put URL | This has evidence (www.pubmed.gov). |
| Quote from website – use paragraph number | According to, "…" (Smith, 2019, para. 4). |
| More than one author with same last name | P. L. Smith (2018) and J. M. Smith (2019) |
| Source has more than one author in text | Smith and Lee agree that (2019) |
| Source has more than one author in reference | This is agreed upon (Smith & Long, 2019). |
| Citing more than one work | We all agree (Smith, 2019; Lee, 2018). |
| Citing more than one work by same author published in the same year | We all agree (Smith, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c)<br>Smith (2019a) believes .....<br>It has been reported ... (Smith, 2019c) |

The quotations longer than three lines should constitute a separate block, indented 1.0 cm paragraph(s), single spaced, font 12 pts, italics, with no quotation marks, e.g., Kövecses (2018, p. 133) writes:

> *In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts………………………………………………*

For such quotations their author may be cited in a parenthesis below, not italicized, e.g.:

> *In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts. This is a natural phenomenon, given the nature of conceptual metaphors as based on the general structure of concepts (i.e., that the concepts have various aspects and we use the conceptual metaphors to comprehend those aspects).* (Kövecses, 2018, p. 133).

**Quotation marks**. Single quotation marks should be used for the translation of non-English words, e.g., *cogito* 'I think'.

Double quotation marks should be used in all other cases, i.e., direct quotations in running text. Please always use rounded quotation marks (". . .") not "straight" ones.

**Dashes**. Spaced EM dashes (long English dashes) are used as parenthetical dashes ("text — text"). Please do not use double hyphens (--).

Unspaced EN dashes (a short dash corresponding to the Ukrainian dash) should be used between inclusive numbers to show a range), e.g., 153-159, 1975-1979.

A long dash (EM dash, —) without spaces on the left or right in English texts might set off a phrase at the end of a sentence—like this one. Or, EM dashes may set off a phrase midsentence—a technique that really draws a reader's attention—as they do in this sentence.

***Italics*** should be used for:

- Words, phrases, and sentences treated as linguistic examples
- Foreign-language expressions
- Titles of books, published documents, newspapers, and journals
- Drawing attention to key terms in a discussion at first mention only. Thereafter, these terms should be set straight.
- Emphasizing a word or phrase in a quotation indicating [emphasis mine]

**Bold** or underlining may be used sparingly to draw attention to a particular linguistic feature within numbered examples (not in the running text).

Please keep the use of italics and boldface type to an absolute minimum. CAPITAL LETTERS and SMALL CAPS should not be used for emphasis.

**Punctuation**. Please use a serial comma (an Oxford comma or a Harvard comma) placed immediately before the coordinating conjunction (and or or) in a series of three or more terms as in "France, Italy, and Spain" (with the serial comma), but "France or Spain" (two terms only).

Put a comma before 'which' to introduce attributive clauses ("Tom's book, which he spent ten years writing, is now a best seller."). Do not use a comma to introduce questions and prepositional phrases ("in which").

**Abbreviations**. List of Common Latin Abbreviations for APA Style

| Abbreviation | Meaning | Used inside of parentheses only |
|---|---|---|
| cf. | "*compare*" or "*consult*" (to contrast information) | Never put a comma after "…in (cf. Zeller & Williams, 2007)". |
| e.g., | "for example," (*exempli gratia*) | Always put a comma after: "Some studies (e.g., Macmillan, 2009)…" |
| etc. | "*and so on*" / "*and so forth*" | Put a comma before if used to end a list of at least two other items: " (chemistry, math, etc.). In other cases do not use a comma "(biology etc)". |
| i.e., | "that is," (*id est*; specific clarification) | Always put a comma after: "(i.e., first, second, or third)" |
| vs. | "*versus*" | Put a full stop after: "(low vs. high)", do not italicize. |
| ibid. | "*ibidem*" for citations | Not used in APA to refer again to the last source previously referenced. Instead give each citation using author names as usual. |

**References (Times New Roman 12, bald, caps, not numbered)**

A reference list (usually about 30 authors, preferably of the last decade) must comprise all the references cited in the text of your paper, listed in alphabetical order at the end of the paper and not numbered. Each reference in the reference list needs to contain all of the bibliographic information from its source (citation style APA-6). In each new item, its first line is aligned right, other lines (if any) are indented 1,0 cm. Please make your URL and DOI active.

**For materials in Latin:**

Books (authored work) & e-books:

Langacker, R.W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chandler, D. (1998). Semiotics for beginners. Retrieved September, 1, 2018, from http://www.users.aber.ac.uk/dgc/Documents/S4B or doi:10.............

Book chapter:

Mind that editors' first names are cited before their family names, without a comma before "&" for two or more editors:

Haybron, D. M. (2008). Philosophy and the science of subjective well-being. In M. Eid & R. J. Larsen (Eds.), *The science of subjective well-being* (pp. 17–43). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

E-book not from a database and without a DOI: in the URL field include the full URL or the homepage URL. Leave out Place and Publisher:

Austen, J. (1853). *Pride and prejudice: A novel.* Retrieved from https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=ZXY1CwAAQBAJ&lpg=PP1&dq=pride%20and%20prejudice&pg=PT4#v=onepage&q=pride%20and%20prejudice&f=true

E-book from a Library database: In the URL field include the URL but remove the ezprozy details:

Best, A., Hanhimaki, & Schulze, K. E. (2015). *International history of the twentieth century and beyond* (3rd ed.). Retrieved from https://ebookcentral-proquest-com

Journal articles:

Peterson, T. (2017). Problematizing mirativity. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics, 15*(2), 312-342. doi: 10.1075/rcl.15.2.02pet

On-line newspaper article:

Brody, J. F. (2007, December 11). Mental reserves keep brain agile. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com

Several volumes in a multivolume work:

Koch, S. (Ed.). (1959-1963). *Psychology: A study of science* (Vols. 1–6). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Reference book:

VandenBos, G. H. (Ed.). (2007). *APA dictionary of psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Print journal article. Article titles use sentence style capitalization, i.e., capitalize the first word of the title and subtitle (after a colon, if there is one), and any proper nouns (names**).** Journal/magazine and newspaper titles use headline style capitalization, i.e., capitalize each significant word but not articles and prepositions. In the year field for reference type Article in press enter the words: (in press). Mind a comma before "&" to cite more than one authors!

Where relevant, enter data in either the DOI or URL. In 2017, Crossref updated their DOI display guidelines, their new recommended format looks like this: doi:10.1037/ARC0000014

Wilson, S., Spies-Butcher, B., & Stebbing, A. (2009). Targets and taxes: Explaining the welfare orientations of the Australian public. *Social Policy & Administration, 43*, 508-525. doi:10.1037/ARC0000014

Fennimore, D. L. (1981). American neoclassical furniture and its European antecedents. *American Art Journal*, *13*(4), 49-65. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org

Webpage, with author but no date:

Flesch, R. (n.d.). *How to write plain English*. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from http://www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz/writing_guide/writing/flesch.shtml

Webpage with corporate author (an organisation or group):

New Zealand Government. (2008). *Digital strategy*. Retrieved April 12, 2009, from http://www.digitalstrategy.govt.nz/

Dissertation. Print/Hardcopy format

Knight, A. (2001). *Exercise and osteoarthritis of the knee* (Unpublished master's dissertation). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

Thesis or dissertation, online from an institutional repository or a website

Thomas, R. (2009). *The making of a journalist* (Doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10292/466

Conference paper in regularly published proceedings, retrieved online:

Houzel, S., Collins, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593-12598. doi:10.1073/pnas.0805417105

Film/movie

Scorcese, M. (Producer), & Lonergan, K. (Writer/Director). (2000). *You can count on me* [Motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.

Blog post:

Author, A.A. (2019, December 12). Title of post [Description of form]. Retrieved from http://www.xxxx

**For more details go to:**

EndNote for PC: A comprehensive guide to the reference management software EndNote. Retrieved October 3, 2019, from http://aut.ac.nz.libguides.com/endnote/APA_and_EN_Books

**For materials in languages other than English:**

Standard format: Author, Initials. (year). *Title of book* (Edition if later than first e.g. 3rd ed.) [Title translated into English]. Place of publication: Publisher.

!All titles other than English (French, Spanish, etc.) are to be translated!

Book:

Piaget, J. (1966). *La psychologie de l'enfant* [The psychology of the child]. Paris, France: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bennahmiasm, J.-L., & Roche, A. (1992). *Des verts de toutes les couleurs: Histoire et sociologie du mouvement ecolo* [Greens of all colours: history and sociology of the ecology movement]. Paris: Albin Michel.

Journal articles (brackets contain an English translation of the article's title, not the journal):

Janzen, G., & Hawlik, M. (2005). Orientierung im Raum: Befunde zu Entscheidungspunkten [Orientation in space: Findings about decision points]. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie, 213* (4), 179–186. doi:10.1026/0044-3409.213.4.179

Zhabotynska, S. (2018). Dominantnist` ukrayins`koyi movy` v umovax bilingvizmu: nejrokognity`vni chy`nny`ky` [Dominance of Ukrainian in the bilingual setting: neurocognitive factors.]. *Visnyk Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni V. N. Karazina, 87*, 5-19.

E-materials:

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). Ekonomicheskaya optimizatsia [Economic optimization]. *Neftyanoe khozyaistvo, 11*. Retrieved from http://www.opus

Conference papers:

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). Osobennosti proektirovaniya [Features of design]. Trudy 6 Mezhdunarodnogo Simpoziuma: *Novye tekhnologii*. Kyiv, 267-272.

Dissertations:

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