

Discursive construction of “others” in the semiotic space of political communication

Lyudmila V. Kulikova, Siberian Federal University, Russia, info_ifivak@sfu-kras.ru

Iuliia I. Detinko, Siberian Federal University, Russia, ydetinko@sfu-kras.ru

The paper is devoted to the presentation of linguo-semiotic and linguo-pragmatic means of discursive construction of “otherness” in modern British political communication. “Others” in political communication are viewed in two perspectives: intra-cultural (“others” are in the same country as the speaker / writer) and inter-cultural (“others” are the representatives of the countries different from the addressant’s). The idea of discursive construction of reality reflects the modern tendencies in today linguistics and is defined in the paper as an instrumental-analytical method that allows to categorize a fragment of reality in discursive terms. The research is conducted in the context of a pragmatic approach to the study of political communication involving the methods of critical and multimodal discourse analysis. The authors present linguo-communicative model of constructing “otherness” with the four basic strategies (identification of “otherness”, justification and retention of the status of the “others”, transformation and destructive strategies) and twenty-one discursive-semiotic techniques which display “otherness” through the range of linguistic, discursive and multimodal means. The presented model of the discursive construction of “otherness” in British political communication can provide a basis for a comparative analysis of political systems in different countries which is topical in the contemporary cross-cultural interaction.

Keywords: discursive construction, “others” in British political communication, intra- and inter-cultural perspectives, linguo-communicative model, multimodality

1. Introduction and theoretical framework

Today, in the light of numerous international events in the political arena, the question of detailed study of the discursive-semiotic space of political communication between Russia and the West is especially topical, since for the productive cross-cultural interaction of the countries it is necessary to take into account the discursive techniques involved in the construction of political opinions and relations. The study of the British political space allows us to build a linguo-communicative model for political discourse analysis, providing a basis for a comparative study of different political systems. The tools of political struggle are steadily growing, new ways of manifesting political convictions and opinions are emerging, which are largely determined by the cultural specifics of political communication in different countries. These ways require an adequate interpretation with the use of various methodologies and practices to identify the pragmatic intention of the political text in its full expression, both in the perspective of verbal and iconic components; taking into account various aspects of power: sociological, (inter-)cultural, interpersonal, cognitive, etc. “Others” is one of the main concepts in political communication, therefore, discursive construction of “otherness” takes a special place in political and discursive linguistics. The researchers’ interest in identifying the features of the discursive reflection of reality and, in particular, the description of the model of constructing “otherness” in political communication is very high, which explains the topicality of this study.

Discursive construction being the central concept of this research is defined as an instrumental-analytical method that allows to categorize a fragment of reality in discursive terms (Detinko & Kulikova, 2017). The term “discursive construction” is used for different purposes depending on the subject of the study. So, we can talk about discursive construction of social world (Makarov, 2003; Filinskij, 2002); national identities (Wodak, et al., 2009); teacher identities (Delarue & Lybaert, 2016); identities in a social network-educational space (Chau & Lee, 2017); language attitudes among the Japanese youths (Saito, 2014); knowledge and equity in classroom interactions (Shepherd, 2014); intercultural relations (Liddicoat, 2013); experience of intercultural communication in a biographical narrative (Smirnova, 2011); empathy, goodwill, “democracy in action”, solidarity (Plotnikova, 2011; Plotnikova, 2015); historical memory (Drugovejko, 2014); a world-class city (Flowerdew, 2004); scientific (un)certainty about the health risks of China’s air pollution (Liu & Zhang, 2018); contested environmental issues in the news media (Lidskog & Olausson, 2013); English naming practice in Mainland China in the perspective of nationalism and authenticity (Wang & Yao, 2018), etc.

The research hypothesis put forward in this study is the following: discursive means of constructing “otherness” in the British political communication differ in terms of “others” in the intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives.

1.1. Identifying “others” in social and political practices

“Otherness”, first of all, is a socio- cultural phenomenon, which is an integral part of discursive identity of the individual. Identity is formed on contrast with others, since identity is the process of separating oneself from the “other”, alien, many; distinct division of “self” and “other”. To identify oneself in the society, a person generates two types of practices – the discourse of difference and discourse of similarity, rejecting or accepting the corresponding characteristics (Riggins, 1997). In this sense, any social, status or even sex and age group can be perceived as “others”: men for women, rich for the poor, young for the elderly, employers for the hired workers, etc. Most often, the boundaries of the group with which a person identifies himself / herself are clearly defined, the differences within a group get a minimal value, while the differences between separate groups are always easily recognized, exaggerated, and

perform an identification function, being a kind of password for the “self-group” (Kolosov, 2004).

According to the theory of discourse by E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe (see Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002), identities are accepted, rejected and discussed in discursive processes, since the notion of identity is a social category and can relate to discursive and, consequently, to political practice. F.P. Kazula notes that within the discourse not only the world view but also, to some extent, the actors themselves are produced – because their identities are not initially prescribed but are formed politically through a discursive struggle for denotation (Kazula, 2009). So, identity is understood as the result of the process of naming, attributing some characteristics to someone or something. Some statements for understanding identity in E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe’s theory correlate with the features of the category of “otherness”, which allows us to consider “otherness” through constructing a discursive identity:

- the subject is fundamentally *split*, it never quite becomes “itself”;
- it acquires its identity by being *represented* discursively;
- identity is thus *identification* with a subject position in a discursive structure;
- identity is discursively constituted through *chains of equivalence* where signs are sorted and linked together in chains in opposition to other chains which thus define how the subject is, and how it is not;
- identity is always *relationally* organized; the subject is something because it is contrasted with something that it is not;
- identity is *changeable* just as discourses are;
- the subject is *fragmented* or decentered; it has different identities according to those discourses of which it forms part;
- the subject is *overdetermined*; in principle, it always has the possibility to identify differently in specific situations. Therefore, a given identity is *contingent* – i.e. possible but not necessary (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002: 43, the authors’ italics).

Looking at these statements from the position of constructing “otherness”, we have deduced some important principles, namely:

- one person identifies the other as “alien” together with self-identification;
- one person defines the other as “alien” through representation in discourse;
- the image of “the other” is constructed discursively through a comparison of oneself with others and always depends on the position of the speaker / writer.

In this connection, there is a need for discursive marking of belonging to the group of “others”. Since the comprehension of “others” is due to the self-identification of a person, V.I. Karasik draws attention to the possibility of distinguishing various “others” in relation to those who feel threatened by certain social groups (Karasik, 2011). Analyzing the sphere of political communication, A.V. Olianich emphasizes that any association of politicians, any group or party, a military grouping, or a warring militaristic clan sets the task of developing its own system of identification signs that would allow people to mark apart “self” and “others” (Olianich, 2007). In the context of representation of “others” the dichotomy “self – others” logically implies the clarification of “others” as dangerous or not causing fear (Karasik, 2011).

Thus, the opposition “self – others” is conceptualized in discourse by means of four logical-cognitive methods:

- identification as a distinction between Good and Evil in accordance with the views of the identifying person (*You used to be my friend, but now you are my enemy*);
- attribution or rapprochement on the basis of some characteristics (*An enemy who has a number of negative characteristics – A friend who has a number of positive characteristics*);
- stereotypes (*The enemy because he is my enemy’s friend; The enemy because that’s what all enemies look like*);
- associative links (*The enemy because from the West, and everyone in the West is an enemy*) (Bazhenova, Lapcheva, 2003).

Political discourse is based on the opposition “self – others”, therefore, the content of political communication at the functional level can be reduced to three components: the formulation and explanation of the political position (orientation), the search and consolidation of supporters (integration), the fight against the enemy (fight). This functional triad is projected onto the basic semiotic opposition of political discourse “self – others”: identification is nothing more than the identification of the agents of politics (who is who, who belongs to the “self-group”, who belongs to the “others”), integration is the consolidation of the “self”, fight is the struggle against the “others” for the members of the “self-group” (Shejgal, 2000).

The term “other” was introduced primarily through the interdisciplinarity of scholars who identify with post-modernism and cultural studies (Riggins, 1997: 3). “Others” is a concept realized at different levels of society, included in various everyday, religious, state and other situations and representing a special social position, the need for which is presupposed in the society (Lotman, Uspenskij, 1982). There is a number of cognitive consequences of dividing people into “self” and “others”:

- 1) we have a tendency to expect members of our ingroups to behave and think similarly to the ways we do;

- 2) we have a tendency to put our own ingroups in a favourable light when we compare them to outgroups;
- 3) we have less anxiety about interacting with members of our ingroups than about interacting with members of outgroups;
- 4) we tend to be more accurate in predicting the behaviours of members of our ingroups than we are in predicting the behaviours of members of outgroups (Gudykunst, 1998: 71);
- 5) members of outgroups are considered similar to each other and different from members of our ingroups;
- 6) there is more diversity among members of our own ingroups rather than among members of outgroups;
- 7) assessment of members of outgroups tends to extremes: it is either very positive, or very negative (Leontovich, 2005).

In this sense, the “other” is close to the image of the enemy. V.I. Zhelvis defines enemy as a stranger, the relations with whom are clarified on the battlefield in direct and figurative senses (Zhelvis, 2001). V.I. Karasik notes that the sign of the enemy is the presence of threat from his side to a group of people with whom the individual identifies himself / herself (Karasik, 2011). The enemies differ in the nature of threat (the destruction of the individual or the people, the death of the soul, the threat to the sacred idea, the danger to the environment, etc.), in scale or degree of threat (global and local), in level (concrete and symbolic), by manifestation (explicit, or external, and hidden, or internal) (*ibid.*).

However, even realizing that “others” bear clear negative information, they can be treated differently. T.V. Tsivjan notes that the other can take different meanings in a value opposition “good / bad”, and this gives additional opportunities for the variational division of the world (Tsivjan, 2009). This is displayed through the change of a purely negative attitude towards the “other” to a tolerant attitude, which under certain circumstances can turn into a positive treatment.

1.2. Political discourse as the space for the explication of “otherness”

Political discourse is the result of politics which, on the one hand, is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 5). The specificity of political activity lies in its predominantly discursive nature: many political actions are by their nature speech acts (Shejgal, 2000). R. Wodak states that political groups need their own language and portray themselves via this language; they signal their ideology through certain slogans and stereotypes; their ideological structure is joined together in a certain way and so is their argumentation (Wodak, 1989: 137).

Being one of the instruments of social power (Blakar, 1987), language is one of the most powerful forms of influence. According D.A. Graber, facts and especially ideas cannot become powerful until they become known. In most cases, this requires language that is appropriately formulated to convey these facts and ideas so that they appear important in very specific ways to receptive audiences. Without language, facts and ideas are mute, unable to generate thought and communicate meanings (Graber, 1982: 197).

In this study we distinguish three approaches to understanding political discourse: the first approach is based on the fact that political discourse is realized through a special sign system; supporters of the second point of view argue that the language of politics is characterized by a specific content, rather than a form; and, finally, representatives of the third direction believe that understanding political discourse is impossible without studying the context. These approaches allow us to present political discourse in different aspects and taken together, contribute to a more complete comprehension of the specifics of the concept.

A.N. Baranov and E.G. Kazakevich define political discourse as the sum of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as rules of public policy, formed by tradition and tested by experience (Baranov, Kazakevich, 1991). The political language is a special sign system designed specifically for political communication: for the development of public consensus, the adoption and justification of political and socio-political decisions (*ibid.*). E.I. Shejgal proposes to consider a broad understanding of political communication, defining it as a peculiar sign system in which the semantics and functions of different types of language units and standard speech actions are modified (Shejgal, 2000). Then, the political communication includes any speech formations, the subject, whose addressant or content belong to the sphere of politics: Talk about politics (in the most diverse perspectives – everyday, artistic, journalistic, etc.) is similar to the peculiar streams feeding the river of political struggle as they contribute to the formation of political consciousness, to the creation of public opinion, which in the end can influence the political process (*ibid.*). This research is devoted to the institutional communication by which we understand specialized cliched version of communication between people who may not know each other, but must communicate in accordance with the norms of this community (Karasik, 2002). Participants in political communication are the representatives of various levels of government, public figures, political analysts and journalists who describe the political situation, predict its further development, assess the events and facts. It should be noted that functioning in a semiotic field, the space of political discourse is formed by signs of different nature, both verbal and non-verbal. For example, in this study, we analyse images as one of the ways of implementing “otherness” in political communication.

According to the second point of view, the term “political discourse” does not mean any specific form, but a specific content. In this case, the main criterion in the definition of political discourse is thematic, i.e. its notional

correlation with the sphere of politics. Ch. Schäffner explains that political texts fulfil different functions due to different political activities; their topics are primarily related to politics, i.e. political activities, political ideas, political relations, etc. (Schäffner, 1996: 202). The main goal of political discourse is struggle for power, therefore we note that in this study of relations of “otherness”, the content of political communication is mainly polemical.

Following the third point of view, political discourse is determined not only by political discourse structures, such as language and content, but also by political contexts: understanding political discourse presupposes knowledge of the background, expectations of the author and audience, hidden motives, plot patterns and favorite logical links peculiar for a concrete epoch (Demjankov, 2002). According to D.A. Graber, “what makes verbal and non-verbal language *political* is not a distinctive vocabulary or form. Rather, it is the substance of the information it conveys, the setting in which this information is disseminated, and the functions that political languages perform” (Graber, 1982: 196). As J. Wilson puts it, “the reality is that in most cases it is the context or reflected form of the words which carries the political message” (Wilson, 2003: 409).

Considering the multifaceted nature of political communication and taking into account the specifics of this research, in our opinion, it is necessary to combine the presented approaches and view political discourse as a structured set of verbal and non-verbal signs that are actualized in the institutional sphere, oriented to the polemical nature of communication and realized in close interrelation with the national, cultural and socio-political context (Detinko & Kulikova, 2017: 25).

1.3. Intra- and inter-cultural perspectives of representing “others” in political communication

The choice of discursive means of marking “others” in political communication is due to various factors, for example, cultural and historical conditions (the formation of political institutions in different cultures took place in different ways, this affected political communication), the national cognitive base (the influence of the people's mentality on the specifics of perceiving “others”), the desire to maintain tolerant relations with “others” and, finally, the perspectives of actualization of “otherness”, namely intra-cultural and inter-cultural ones.

The terms “intra-cultural” and “inter-cultural” are borrowed from ethnolinguistic studies on intercultural communication and works on national communicative behavior. These terms often correlate with the notions of “self – other” (or “in-group – out-group”) with their inherent attributions to refer participants to the special “we-group” as opposed to their outsiders. Relationships in “we-group” are characterized by solidarity, whereas relations with “they-groups” (“others-groups”, in W. Sumner’s terms) by hostility (Sumner, 2008).

If we follow the traditional understanding of the opposition “self – others” it can be presented in the following way (Fig. 1):

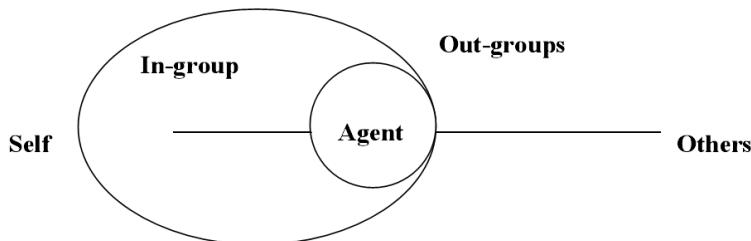


Fig. 1. Opposition “self” (intra-cultural / in-group) and “others” (inter-cultural / out-group)

Looking at the two perspectives: intra-cultural and inter-cultural; we should take into consideration that

- 1) the relationships with the “others” are traditionally connected with inter-cultural communication;
- 2) according to the modern understanding, inter-cultural communication can be viewed in both narrow and wide sense (Kulikova & Detinko, 2014).

Inter-cultural communication in the wide sense is the communication between the representatives of different cultures; in the narrow sense intercultural communication additionally looks at the peculiarities of communication within one country, even within different institutions and organizations. This “inter-cultural” moment can appear due to difference in age, professions, background of the communicants, different behavior and choice of words, for example, use of slang, language literacy and so on (Kulikova, 2004). In other words, within one culture there can be some relationships of otherness, because the culture is not homogeneous and there is also an element of the “other” in the “self”-culture.

As it was mentioned before, interpretation of “others” is always mediated by the “self” position. Proceeding from H. Bausinger’s statement that “other” is a subjective category and “other” is always alien only to a specific “self” (Bausinger, 1988, cit. from Kulikova, 2004), it is necessary to have a clear idea which group the addressant belongs to, which allows us to determine the context of communication and analyze the communicative and pragmatic realization of the speaker / writer’s intention. It can be done with the deictic means being the indicator of the relations of “otherness”. P. Chilton proposes a model for measuring deixis in relation to “self” as a reference point, which, in our opinion, can be considered as confirmation of the existence of “different others” (Fig. 2).

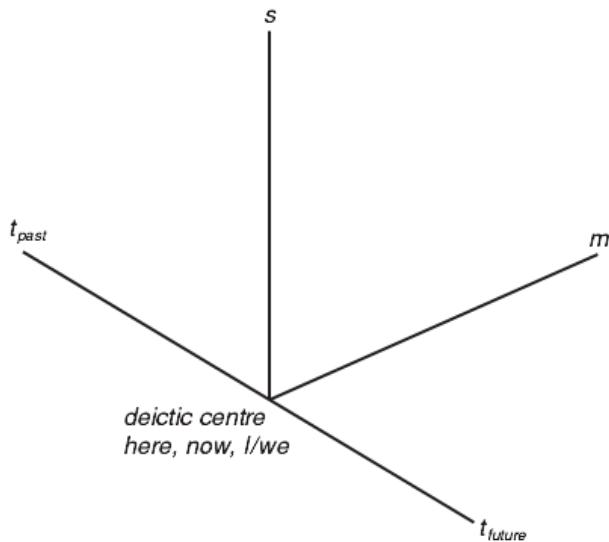


Fig. 2. P. Chilton. Dimensions of deixis (Chilton, 2004)

As P. Chilton notes, deixis sets a certain center and is used to designate an “anchor”, allowing the speaker (or writer) to clearly define his position and the position of the “other”. Thus, the pronouns *we*, *our*, *us* are used to conceptualize group identity, parties, coalitions, etc. as “self” or “others”. The researcher distinguishes three dimensions of deictic means, namely space, time and modality, which are represented in the form of axes of coordinates with the center in the “basis” of dimensions – *i*, “we-group”, where *t* means time, *s* space and *m* – modality.

On the axis *s* there are spatial deictic representations, for example, pronouns. The speaker (*I* or “we-group”) is placed in the center – “here”. Expressions with pronouns of the second and third person are “placed” along the *s* axis, some closer to the center, others are further. In this case, we are not talking about distance as such, the idea is that people tend to “dispose” people and other objects on a scale of remoteness from “themselves”, using their assumptions and attitudes. On this axis there are objects with a metaphorical “social” distance, possibly explicitly marked by such units as *near relations*, *close cooperation*, *remote connection*, etc.

On the axis representing the temporal dimension, *t*, the time of speaking is “counted” from the moment “now”. Since time can be conceptualized through “movement” in space (for example, by metaphors *the end of war is coming*, *we are approaching the end of the war*), the distance in relation to “self” and events (also from “self” and events) can be represented as near and distant: *the revolution is getting closer*, *we are a long way from achieving our goals*.

Modality (axis *m*) can also be updated by the principle of remoteness with the beginning of the axis in the position “right” directed to the position “wrong”: *far from the truth, he has gone too far, outside the rules of convention, beyond the pale*. The most illustrative are the examples intuitively connected with insiders and outsiders: insiders are those who *stand close to, meet our standards*; outsiders are expected the opposite, which, in fact, is considered morally or legislatively “incorrect”, and distances from “self” (Chilton, 2004: 56-61). So, on the basis of cognitive processes, a person “disposes” his arguments and statements about other people, social groups, objects, etc. in accordance with three dimensions: time, space and modality, approximating or distancing them in relation to “self”. This model, in our opinion, confirms the fact that within one culture the relations of “otherness” are possible, which manifest themselves depending on the position of the speaker / writer.

For a more “radical” example of “otherness” within a single culture, one can turn to the studies of peoples, separated by historical events several decades ago, but now reunited. Thus, L.V. Kulikova analyzes the situation in Germany, where, despite the unification of the western and eastern parts of the country, the problem of “internal unity” remains relevant both among politicians and among the population (Kulikova, 2004). So, being in fact one country, speaking the same language, people are divided by the mental boundary between the two identities. The “other” then is not only a group belonging to a different nation, the “other” is also one I can feel either superior or inferior towards (Galasin’ska & Galasin’ski, 2003: 850). L.V. Kulikova gives a study of G. Maaz with a description of the features of communication between Eastern and Western Germans, in which the Easterners constantly experienced “a sense of inferiority and uncertainty in contacts with Western Germans” after having passed “begging and pose of a petitioner”. While the Westerners were characterized by “generosity, a constant posture of a giver and teacher, a sense of superiority” (Maaz, 1990, cit. from Kulikova, 2004).

So, we believe that the fact of belonging to the same or different cultures determines the kind of attitude towards the “others”. Thus we can differentiate the relationships with the so called “close others” (when the “other” is within the same culture as the agent) and “distant others” (when the “other” is outside the culture which the agent belongs to). It can be demonstrated in the following way (Fig. 3):

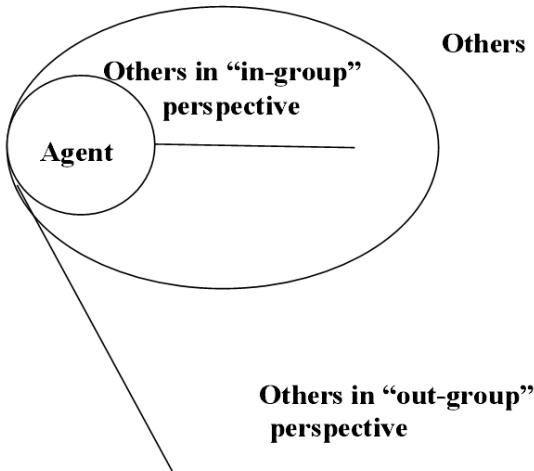


Fig. 3. Representation of “others” in intra-cultural (in-group) and inter-cultural (out-group) perspectives

Correspondently, when we analyse the construction of political otherness in the intra-cultural perspective we study the interaction between political parties and political agents, journalists belonging to the same national lingvo-cognitive community, which can be viewed as one country. In frames of inter-cultural perspective we study the attitude towards the political agents – representatives of other national linguo-cognitive communities (so to say, other countries).

The term “national linguo-cognitive community” is defined as social, economic, cultural, political and mental community of the people sharing the same language and cognitive base (Kulikova & Detinko, 2014).

In the intra-cultural communication “others” are the representatives of different political parties (Conservative, Labour, Liberal-Democrats) represented in the British Parliament. The majority of the empirical data were taken from the British media. The criterion of the selection was the address of the discourse directed on the intra-cultural representatives.

From the position of inter-cultural perspective, “others” for the British culture are all the non-British political parties and communities. For example, we studied Britain’s relationships with China, France, Iran, Iraq, the Russian Federation, the United States of America and so on. The main source of empirical material were the publications in the British press devoted to the issues of foreign policy.

2. Methods

2.1. Critical discourse analysis in the study of the interaction between “self” and “other”

Discourse analysis (in the broadest sense) is a sphere of studying language communication in terms of its form, functions and situational socio-cultural conditions (Makarov, 2003). The method of discourse analysis lies at the intersection of linguistics, communication theory, sociology, anthropology, ethnology and other disciplines and is the most versatile and diverse of all methods allowing to analyze the process of human communication (Leontovich, 2011). The emergence of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse is due to a number of reasons:

- 1) interest in the natural use of language as opposed to abstract language examples and invented examples;
- 2) the need to explore larger units than isolated words and sentences – texts, discourses, communicative events;
- 3) the inclusion of communicative actions and interactions in the sphere of linguistics;
- 4) taking into account not only verbal, but also non-verbal aspects of communication;
- 5) the study of language in a social, cultural and cognitive context;
- 6) appeal to a number of concepts that were previously ignored by scientists, such as coherence, macrostructures, speech acts, the role of communicative roles, etc. (*ibid.*).

“Others” are discursively designed in accordance with many factors related to the context and content of communication. In the political discourse, whose main goal is the struggle for power, the problems of inclusion in the group and the exclusion from the group (“self – others”) are actualized most acutely. Taking into account the peculiarities of political communication, it seems logical to consider the discursive construction of otherness in the mainstream of the critical discourse of analysis, which is presented in detail in the works of T.A. van Dijk (Dijk, 1993; 2003), R. Wodak (Wodak, 2007; 2011), N. Fairclough (Fairclough, 2001), G. Kress (Kress, 1990), in the joint works by M. Krzhizhanovski and R. Wodak (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2009), L. Chouliaraki and N. Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010), in the collections “Methods of critical discourse analysis” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), “Critical discourse analysis: Theory and interdisciplinarity” (Weiss & Wodak (Eds.), 2003), “A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity” (Wodak & Chilton (Eds.), 2005), The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies (Flowerdew & Richardson (Eds.), 2018) and many others.

Critical discourse analysis is based on authentic everyday communication in the institutional, media, political and other spheres, focuses its attention on the intersection of language, discourse, speech, social structure (Leontovich,

2009) and is aimed at unmasking ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use (Wodak et al., 2009: 8). It can be concluded that critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach with a linguistic basis.

Discourse plays an active role in construction of social reality. With language we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality. That does not mean that reality itself does not exist. Meanings and representations are real. Physical objects also exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002: 8-9). The task of the researcher is reduced to a detailed study of the spoken or written material and the determination of the social consequences of various representations of reality.

Considering a number of characteristic features of critical discourse analysis we came to the conclusion that each of them reflects the problematics of the discursive construction of “otherness” and influences the interpretation of this phenomenon in political communication:

1) critical discourse analysis refers to the discursive methods by which texts are produced and consumed (perceived and interpreted), representing an important form of social practice that contributes to the constitution of the social world, including social identities and social relations;

2) within the framework of critical discourse analysis, discourse is considered as a form of social practice that not only constitutes the social world, but is also constituted in other social practices;

3) critical discourse analysis deals with a specific linguistic textual analysis of the use of language in social interaction;

4) critical discourse analysis correlates the analyzed text with other types of discourse (intertextuality and interdiscursivity), involving a wider range of factors influencing texts;

5) critical discourse analysis is presented as a critical approach, which implies the obligatory involvement of the researcher himself in the process of interpreting and explaining the discourse (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002: 60-64; Fairclough, Wodak, 2004: 271-80).

As T.A. van Dijk notes that critical discourse analysis is not just a direction, a school, a specialized field of research, one of many other approaches in discursive studies. Rather, it is aimed at developing a common “model” or “perspective” for constructing theory, methodology, and practice in a sufficiently wide research space (Dijk, 2013).

The paradigm of critical discourse analysis is not homogeneous. There are several varieties, each of which is determined by the research approach. The British variety, represented by such figures as G. Kress, R. Hodge, R. Fowler, N. Fairclough, T. van Leeuwen, has drawn upon M. Foucault's theory of discourse and, in its linguistic dimension is associated with the systemic linguistic theory formulated by J.R. Firth and M.A.K. Halliday. The cognitive-oriented approach of Dutch critical discourse analysis, exemplified by the work of T.A. van Dijk uses a triadic model to show how personal and social cognition mediates between social structures and discourse structures (Wodak et al., 2009).

Discourse-historical approach, which goes back to the socio-philosophical tradition of critical theory, differs in the focus on interdisciplinarity, the use of many research methods, the use of various empirical data and all available (contextual) information on the history of the issue (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2009: 21; Wodak, 2002: 149). Such a versatile approach to the analysis of discourse and extralinguistic social structures is provided by the principle of triangulation, which involves studying the discursive phenomenon from the point of view of various methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from different disciplines (Wodak et al., 2009). Thus, in the study of the category of “otherness”, the interdisciplinary approach makes it possible to combine socio-political, cultural-historical and linguistic methods of research. The principle of triangulation involves the use of different methods of collecting empirical material and analysis of various sources, which makes it possible to represent the category of “others” in a multifaceted perspective. In our case, we study political speeches, articles in newspapers, television and radio interviews with politicians, scripts of the meetings of the British Parliament, etc.

The principle of triangulation is based on a detailed representation of the context, which includes four levels:

- the co-text of each utterance or clause;
- the con-text in the macro-text; the genre analysis;
- the socio-political context of the speech-event;
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of the respective speech event to other relevant events (Wodak, 2007: 211).

The social context is fundamental for our research, since the intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives of political discourse are viewed in the context of the socio-political attribution of people to a particular group. The wider the context is presented, the more completely is it possible to trace the spectrum of relations to the “others” in political discourse.

The analytical apparatus of the discursive-historical approach is determined by three levels of analysis – the content, strategies involved and the forms of their linguistic implementation.

One more approach to critical discourse analysis topical to this study is the text-oriented discourse analysis represented by N. Fairclough, who distinguishes three stages of discourse analysis – the description of text and its formal properties, the interpretation of the relationship between the text and those who create it, and the explanation of the relationship between the text and the social situation, which gave rise to this text (Fairclough, 2001: 21-22, 91).

Central to N. Fairclough's research is the notion that discourse is an important form of social practice that simultaneously reproduces and alters knowledge, identities and social relationships, including relations of power, and at the same time discourse itself is formed by other social practices and structures that imply social relations in society in general, and in special institutions (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002). N. Fairclough uses a detailed analysis of the text to understand how discourse processes function linguistically in specific texts taken in conjunction with other texts and the social context (*ibid.*).

So, considering the phenomenon of "otherness" as a form of actualization of social identification, it seems very effective to apply the paradigm of critical discourse analysis to the discursive construction of "others" in contemporary political discourse. This method makes it possible to conduct a detailed study of the context and give the most diverse analysis of the linguistic means that represent "otherness" in political communication.

2.2. Multimodality as a semiotic source to show "otherness"

A communicative and pragmatic approach to understanding the language and text suggests that the comprehension of reality is realized through a combination of speech and non-speech aspects. The phenomenon of text heterogeneity at the level of its form, achieved through the combination of various semiotic systems, for example, verbal and visual, is known as a "multimodal text", and the analysis of this combination of verbal aspects, figures and other non-speech elements of communication is known as multimodal analysis. This relatively new sphere of discourse is known under different terms ("multimodality", "multimodal analysis", "multimodal semiotics", "multimodal studies", "multimodal discourse analysis") (O'Halloran, 2011). K. O'Halloran and B. Smith note that multimodal analysis involves analysis of communication in all its forms, but in particular deals with texts that contain interaction and the introduction of two or more semiotic resources – or "modes of communication" – necessary to realize the communicative functions of the text (O'Halloran & Smith, 2010). Modus is a socially formed and culturally conditioned resource for creating meanings (Kress, 2009: 54). Semiotic resources include such aspects as intonation and other characteristics of sound; the semiotic effect of physical resources (face, hand, body) and proxemics; as well as products of human production, such as engraving, drawing, writing, architecture, image or sound recording; and in a more modern era, interactive computer resources (O'Halloran & Smith, 2010).

To denote the non-verbal part of the text, researchers refer to such concepts as "iconic component", "non-verbal component", "paralinguistic means", "multimodal means", "visual means", "semiotic resource". In our work we accept the term "visuals", basing on N. Fairclough's interpretation, according to which visuals are all non-verbal components that either accompany the verbal part of the discourse or act independently. The use of this term is explained by the fact that non-verbal means are visually perceived by interpreters (Fairclough, 2001: 22-23).

An important position in the study of multimodal texts is that information perceived by means of different channels (semiotic modes) is integrated and processed by the recipient holistically (Leeuwen, Kress, 2011). Because of this, the multimodal text appears as a complex text formation, in which verbal and visual elements form one structural, semantic and functional whole, aimed at a complex pragmatic impact on the addressee. Considering the ratio of the verbal and visual components of the multimodal text, one can say that "words provide the facts, the explanations, the things that need to be said in so many words; images provide interpretations, ideologically colored angles, and they do so not explicitly, but by suggestion, by connotation, by appealing to barely conscious, half-forgotten knowledge" (Berger, 1972, cit. from Leeuwen, 2008: 136).

P. Chilton notes that linguistic meanings and visual meanings are based on the same cognitive mechanisms: "where" and "what", i.e. the location of objects relative to the intended recipients and the identification of objects. The "where" component relates to deixis and the idea of the "position of the subject"; and the "what" component is a designation of objects associated with cognitive frames and socio-cultural knowledge; the description of the depicted actions (processes) correlated with cognitive scripts, which is a culturally mediated parameter.

When analyzing the image, P. Chilton suggests the following:

- image value: position of the recipient and types of objects that have a "value" for the recipient;
- "ideological" significance of objects for the observer is analyzed not through structure and content, but through logical inferences and explanations;
- the observer's point of view is determined by the spatial perspective of the image, and is explained by the visual system of the human brain;
- the position of the recipient can be interpreted from the point of view of social significance, sometimes on the basis of a metaphor, for example, "look down" (look from the top down), "look respectfully" (look upwards), "on one level", "seeing eye-to-eye with someone", "face-to-face confrontation", etc.;
- objects and people are identified on the basis of social knowledge, including social and racial stereotypes;
- cognitive operations: metonymy (for example, a shopping bag), blending of different domains of social knowledge;
- emotions that arise in the observer: fear, pity, solidarity, etc. (Chilton, 2010, lecture material)

An important contribution to the development of the methodology of multimodal analysis was made by such researchers as T. van Leeuwen (Leeuwen, 2005, 2008), G. Kress (Kress, 2009, 2010), (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006; Leeuwen, Kress, 2011), R. Hodge (Hodge & Kress, 1995), D. Machin (Machin, Leeuwen, 2007, 2016), K.L. O'Halloran (O'Halloran, 2004) and others.

T. van Leeuwen and G. Kress, made a number of patterns of representation and interpretation of relations of "otherness" through the image. The approach is based on two questions: "How are the depicted people related to the viewer?" and "How are people depicted?" Answering the first question the researchers suggest considering the image in three dimensions:

- the social distance between depicted people and the viewer;
- the social relation between depicted people and the viewer;
- the social interaction between depicted people and the viewer.

In pictures, as in real life, distance communicates interpersonal relationships. We "keep our distance" from strangers; we are "close to" our nearest and dearest and so on. In pictures distance becomes symbolic. People shown in a "long shot" from the far away, are shown as if they are strangers; people shown in a "close-up" are shown as if they are "one of us".

The second parameter is the angle from which we see the person, and this includes the vertical angle, i.e. whether we see a person from above, at eye level, or from below; and the horizontal angle, or perhaps from somewhere in between. These angles express two aspects of the represented social relation between the viewer and the people in the picture: power and involvement. Vertical angle is related to power differences. To look down on someone is to exert imaginary symbolic power over that person, to occupy, with regard to that person, the kind of "high" position. To look up at someone signifies that someone has symbolic power over the viewer, whether as an authority, a role model, or something else. To look at someone from eye level signals equality. The horizontal angle realizes symbolic involvement or detachment. Its real-life equivalent is the difference between coming "face to face" with people, literally and figuratively "confronting" them, and occupying a "sideline" position.

In the social interaction we check whether or not depicted people look at the viewer. If they do not look at us, they are offered to our gaze as a spectacle to our dispassionate scrutiny. The picture makes us look at them as we would look at people who are not aware we are looking at them. If they do look at us, if they do address us directly with their look, the picture articulates a kind of symbolic demand. The people in the picture want something from us – and what that something is, is then signified by other elements of the picture: by facial expressions, by gestures, and also by angles.

So, there three dimensions – distance, angle, and the gaze – which must always be there. The gradations and multiple combinations these dimensions allow can realize many different ways of depicting people as "others" (Leeuwen 2008: 137-147).

Answering the second question "How are people depicted?" Theo van Leeuwen offers five ways of visual representation of people. Special interest for us is how the people meant as "others" are depicted:

- deliberate exclusion of people from all the contexts where in reality they are present;
- depicting people as the "agents" (the doers of the actions) or the "patients" (the people to whom the action is done) in the situations which are considered negative, oppressive, criminal, humiliating and so on;
- depicting people as homogenous groups thereby denying their individual characteristics and differences;
- negative cultural connotations connected with the image of the depicted person (hairstyle, clothes, etc.);
- negative racial stereotypes associated with the depicted people (*ibid.*).

Our interest lies in the research of visual components, namely the pictures (cartoons) in newspapers and magazines, reflecting the political themes and actualizing the intention of the representation of "otherness". As an example we will take the cartoon by S. Bell published in the British newspaper *The Guardian* on the 11th of October 2012. (Fig. 4). It should be mentioned that the cartoons are usually the reaction on the social and political events happened recently. They express criticism towards some actions which is represented through the images.



Fig. 4. Steve Bell on David Cameron's privilege pledge – cartoon. *The Guardian*. 11.10.12.

This cartoon is the reaction on the part of the speech by the British Prime-Minister D. Cameron made in the Conservative Party Conference on the 10th of October 2012. In his speech D. Cameron talks about the system of education in Great Britain:

And to all those people who say: he wants children to have the kind of education he had at his posh school...I

say: yes – you're absolutely right. I went to a great school and I want every child to have a great education. I'm not here to defend privilege, I'm here to spread it.

Having said that the Prime-Minister himself went to a great school, Mr. Cameron underlines that he would like the same education to every child finishing his idea with the words “*I'm not here to defend privilege, I'm here to spread it*”. This phrase evoked wide response because of the combination of the word “*spread*” having the meaning “*to become or cause sb/sth to be distributed over a large area*”; and the word “*privilege*” meaning “*a special right or advantage available only to a particular person or group of people*”. It is hardly possible to “*spread the privilege*” (in other words, right for something) and besides, in this context D. Cameron is seen as a benefactor spreading (or giving) the privilege. In Steve Bell's picture we can see a smiling Prime-Minister standing on the doorstep of the house and giving blue ribbons, the symbol of “privilege” to a grey indefinite crowd of people who humbly stand in the rain and wait for some “benefaction”. Only the figure of the Prime-Minister and “the privilege” (ribbon) are coloured, whereas the people and the street itself are grey and gloomy. The people's faces are almost indistinguishable which is a marker of representation of “others”. However, in this cartoon, considering the opposition and proportion of bright and grey it can be concluded that the Prime-Minister is represented as the “other” towards the people. Moreover, the character depicting Mr. Cameron is standing much higher in comparison to the people waiting in the street some of whom are standing with their necks adroop and with the stoop. That is the way how “otherness” is manifested through people's (social) position: Prime-Minister looks down on the crowd (Kulikova & Detinko, 2014).

2.3. Linguo-communicative model of the description of “otherness” in political discourse

Based on the fact that the relation to “others” is a form of realization of social identification, the discursive construction of “otherness” must go through several stages characteristic for the formation of a group. In our opinion, it will be logical to follow the analytical approach proposed by the researchers on the problem of national identity, according to which the discursive construction of “self” and “others” is carried out in the following way:

- 1) labelling of social actors;
- 2) generalization of negative attributions;
- 3) elaboration of the arguments to justify the exclusion of many and the inclusion of some (Wodak, 2008: 295).

At the same time, R. Wodak notes that discursive realizations can be more or less intensified or mitigated, more or less implicit or explicit, due to historical conventions, the public levels of tolerance, political correctness, the specific context and, public sphere (*ibid.*).

In terms of cognitive semantics, the construction of “otherness” goes through four stages:

- 1) self-identification of the speaker / writer;
- 2) awareness of the presence of “others”;
- 3) conceptualization of the “others”, based on past experience;
- 4) the development and use of tools in such a way that “others” are perceived as an opposition, or even, “enemy” (Sego, 2001).

So, we can represent the process of constructing otherness in the following way:

- 1) discursive identification of “others” (linguistic means and visuals are used to clearly refer social agents to a group of “others”);
- 2) discursive justification of the status of “others” (linguistic means and visuals are used to explain the belonging of the agent to a group of “others” and to retain (strengthen) the status of “others”);
- 3) discursive transformation of the image of the “others” (linguistic means and visuals are used to demonstrate a possible change in the attitude to “others”);
- 4) discursive delegitimization of “others” (linguistic means and visuals serve to strengthen “otherness”).

These components of constructing the image of the “others” in political communication are the basis for distinguishing the basic strategies of discursive construction of “otherness” within the framework of political interaction. In understanding strategies, we come from the definition given by R. Wodak and other researchers who characterize strategies as a set of processes that act (consciously or unconsciously) at different levels of communication and mediate between the goals of various communication partners and the realization of these goals (Titscher et al., 2000). Following R. Wodak and her colleagues' concept (Wodak, 2002; Wodak et al., 2009), we distinguish the following strategies as the basic ones in the process of discursive construction of “otherness”:

- strategy of identification of “otherness”;
- strategy of justification and retention of the status of the “others”;
- transformation strategy;
- destructive strategy.

Let us look at these strategies in detail.

The strategy of identification of “otherness” aims at “building” and positioning a certain socio-political group – “others”. This strategy is considered the most complex, being primarily a verbal expression that forms a certain “they-group” through acts of reference, for example, by pronouns “they” in connection with the mentioning another party or party system, other political views, traditions, laws, etc. The expressions of “separation” are often traced in the context and demonstrate distancing from and marginalization of “outsiders” (at the same time assuming identity and solidarity with “we-group”, with “self”).

The strategy of justification and retention of the status of the “others” aims at preserving, maintaining and reproducing a certain status that can potentially change under the influence of some circumstances. This strategy is realized through justifying, or legitimizing, the current state of affairs. In relation to the “others”, this is connected with the accumulation of “evidence” that the object is “other”, was such and most likely will remain it.

The transformation strategy aims at changing the established status of the group into some other image. For example, changing the positive image of the opponent presented to the public and replacing it with a more realistic one from the point of view of the speaker / writer; the transition of the negative image of “others” to a more friendly image of “allies” or, perhaps, “friends”.

A destructive strategy is used to discredit “others”, to bring disbelief, accusations, and so on. This strategy is aimed at delegitimizing the image of “others” without offering another, alternative one.

Based on the selected strategies and the analysis of empirical material, it was found that for each of the strategies presented, there is a specific set of realization processes subject to the pragmatic intention of the speaker / writer. Terminologically, we call these processes discursive-semiotic techniques which are defined by us as a set of intentionally motivated verbal and non-verbal means characterized by the multimodality of representation, conditioned by the national linguistic and cognitive features of the participants in communication and oriented towards constructing “others” within a certain strategy and cultural perspective (Detinko & Kulikova, 2017).

The means constituting the discursive-semiotic techniques of the manifestation of “otherness” belong to different levels of the language, the communicative-pragmatic and semiotic spaces of discourse, and are actualised in such dimensions as semantics, grammar, syntax, pragmatics, visualization, etc. Drawing attention to the diversity of levels of representation of means in political communication, L.V. Kulikova writes that political discourse can be viewed at the level of semantics, where the impact is realized mainly through metaphors and antonyms, including the use of negatively or positively connotated vocabulary; at the level of nominative means where the result is achieved through the acts of political reference; at the thematic level where the general choice of the topics of communication is discussed; and finally, at a communicative-pragmatic level by specific strategies and tactics (Kulikova, 2009). J. Wilson notes that at the level of lexical choice there are studies of such things as loaded words, technical words, and euphemisms; in grammar, there are studies of selected functional systems and their organization within different ideological frames; there are also studies of pronouns and their distribution relative to political and other forms of responsibility and studies of more pragmatically oriented objects such as implicatures, metaphors, and speech acts (Wilson, 2003).

Ch. Schäffner points out that analysis of political discourse can be most successful when it relates the details of linguistic behaviour to political behaviour (Schäffner, 1996: 202). The author offers two perspectives to analyze political speech. On the one hand, “we can start from the linguistic micro-level and ask which strategic functions specific structures (e.g. word choice, a specific syntactic structure) serve to fulfil. Or, we can start from the macro-level, i.e. the communicative situation and the function of the text and ask which linguistic structures have been chosen to fulfil this function (ibid.: 202-203). The second way is closer to the logic of our research, in accordance with it we carry out analysis, taking as a basis such a communicative situation in which there is a clash of interests of political opponents, open or veiled polemic, violation of accepted norms and rules, conflict of views.

Thus, the study of the discursive construction of “otherness” in political communication boils down to the following:

- 1) content analysis which means interpretation of the relationship between the text and the situation in which this text was created;
- 2) the identification of strategies and discursive-semiotic techniques for the realization of “otherness”;
- 3) a description of the properties of the text, realized by linguistic or other semiotic means.

3. Results and discussion

The political sphere is an important part of the national culture. The linguistic picture of the political world is a complex combination of mental units (concepts, stereotypes, models, values, etc.) related to political discourse (Chudinov, 2007). Political communication is determined by cultural and historical factors and is nationally marked, i.e. in each country there are national peculiarities in the ways of perception and linguistic representation of political reality, which is explained by the national mentality, the use of language and historical conditions of political culture formation. According to A.V. Olianich, each socio-political system corresponds to its own basic model of political culture, which determines its originality in comparison with other socio-political systems (Olianich, 2007). The factors of socio-cultural development that significantly affect political communication include the development of religious culture, the historical development of the society, and traditions in the socio-political sphere (Samarina, 2007). In other words, each national linguo-cognitive community has a number of discursive-semiotic techniques of actualization of “otherness” with their linguistic, discursive and visual means of representation. Based on the concept of our research, we can add that each national linguo-cognitive community is characterized by intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives of “otherness”, within which discursive-semiotic techniques, specific for each perspective, are observed, as well as linguistic and visual means.

The political discourse of Great Britain is characterized by such features of the socio-political sphere as democracy, pluralism of opinions, political correctness, the desire for solidarity with voters (Samarina, 2007). The traditional party-political mechanism is based on the predominance of the two main political parties in it. The British

two-party system was formed at the end of the 17th century, the main political parties in Britain were the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party (later the Liberal-Democratic Party). In 1906, the third party appeared –the Labor Party; in 1911 – the Socialist Party of Britain; the Communist Party of Britain existed for more than seventy years. During the 20th century, the Conservative and Labor Parties fought for leadership in the political arena; after the merger of Socialists and Liberals, the new party (Lib-Dems) existed as the “third force”, affiliating with one or the other leading party (Bodrunova, 2010). In connection with the essentially two-party system, the election political discourse is most often built on the basis of a choice between the two possible options – the Conservative Party or the Labor Party.

As the result of the study we present the main strategies and discursive-semiotic techniques of constructing “otherness” in the intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives of modern British political communication (Table 1).

Table 1. The main strategies and discursive-semiotic techniques of constructing “otherness” in the intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives of British political communication

Strategy of identification of “otherness”		Discursive-semiotic techniques	
<u>Intra-cultural perspective</u>	<u>Inter-cultural perspective</u>		
– technique of negative positioning of opponents – isolation technique	– technique of evaluating positioning of “others” – technique of paternalistic attitude towards “others”		
Strategy of justification and retention of the status of the “others”			
<u>Intra-cultural perspective</u>	<u>Inter-cultural perspective</u>		
– presupposition of negative persistence – presupposition of negative consequences – technique of emphasizing negative similarities – technique of expressing distrust	– presupposition of frequency of negative situations involving “others” – presupposition of obviousness of the presented arguments – presupposition of lack of changes in the position of “others” – technique of explication of suspicion		
Transformation strategy			
<u>Intra-cultural perspective</u>	<u>Inter-cultural perspective</u>		
– presupposition of negative present with the subsequent suggestion of an exit from the developed situation – presupposition of forthcoming changes – presupposition of the difference between “now” and “then”	– technique for forecasting the situation – technique of prescriptive advice or recommendation – tolerating technique		
Destructive strategy			
<u>Intra-cultural perspective</u>	<u>Inter-cultural perspective</u>		
– technique of authority derogation – technique of accusation	– technique of critique towards the position of “others”		

For the intra-cultural perspective of the British political discourse, the representatives of various political directions are “others” to each other: the Conservative Party, the Labor Party and the Liberal Democrats. The main empirical material for our study was the British politicians’ election speeches as well as publications in British social and political media. The collected material dates to 2007 – 2013. The criterion for selecting examples was the targeted intra-cultural orientation of the text and discourse: for the purity of the analysis, the addressee was a representative of the British national linguo-cognitive community. The study showed that the intra-cultural perspective of the British political discourse is characterized by a high degree of polemics due to the fact that the losing party automatically becomes an opposition and is fighting for the leading place in the Parliament in the next election with the need to constantly emphasize the contrast between “them” and “us”. In addition, according to our observations, the realization of attitudes toward “others” in the intra-cultural perspective is characterized by high emotionalization. The term “emotionalization” is understood as the “involvement” of emotions into political communication. It is believed that politicians must express emotions and feelings in response to the demand of the people, so that interaction with politics carries an emotional burden (Lilleker, 2010). Emotionalization, in our opinion, is more connected with intra-cultural perspective, because the political discourse addressed to the representatives of other cultures is subject to international etiquette norms and is built in a more emotionally low-key manner.

In Table 2 we present the linguo-communicative model of constructing “otherness” in intra-cultural perspective of British political communication.

Table 2. The linguo-communicative model of constructing “otherness” in intra-cultural perspective of British political communication

Strategies	Discursive-semiotic techniques	Means on realization
Strategy of identification of “otherness”	technique of negative positioning of opponents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – personal and possessive pronouns (<i>they, them, those</i>) – nominations that cause negative associations (<i>You are Mr. Brown a prime minister «full of sound and fury, signifying nothing»</i>) – personification with political organizations and party names represented in a negative context (<i>irresponsible, profligate Gordon Brown government somehow hanging onto office for another five years</i>) – negative metaphor (<i>sofa government, seagull manager</i>) – visual metaphorical images, emphasizing negative professional qualities of the opponents
	isolation technique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – opposition based on lexical units of <i>choice</i> and <i>difference</i> with the conjunctions <i>or, and</i> (<i>A choice between a weak and divided Government and a strong, united Conservative team</i>) – transferring the personal qualities of politicians to the characteristics of parties whose representatives they are (<i>the plastic PR and wobbliness of David Cameron</i>) – particle <i>not</i> and adverb <i>instead</i> in combination with the nomination of the opponent (<i>Conservatives, not Labor</i>) – adjective <i>the only</i> (<i>The Liberal Democrats are the only party offering a hard-headed assessment of the needs of different regions and parts of the economy</i>)
Strategy of justification and retention of the status of the “others”	presupposition of negative persistence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with semantics of <i>repetition, stopping in development, inactivity</i> (<i>still, continual, same, time and again, always, continue</i>) in a negative context – using in one context a certain verb in the grammatical forms of present and future times (<i>Labour are top-down. Always will be</i>) in a negative context – comparative constructions <i>as ... as ever</i> – (<i>they are still as soft on crime as ever</i>)
	presupposition of negative consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with the semantics of <i>inevitability, faultlessness</i> (<i>inevitably, make no mistake</i>) – lexical units with the semantics of a “possible” future (<i>imagine, think of</i>) in a negative context – subjunctive mood (<i>Imagine if they just adopted the idle and outdated logic of Gordon Brown</i>) – visualization of images presenting the state now and the expected state in the future, more often negative
	technique of emphasizing negative similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – constructions <i>no better, alongside, like any other, all</i> – “equating” one opposition party to another in a negative way – “equating” politicians with representatives of other institutions in a negative context – visualization of people who are categorized as “others”, in a negatively evaluated situation, or with other people who have a negative reputation
	technique of expressing distrust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units and lexical-grammatical constructions with semantics of <i>distrust</i> (<i>doubt, we cannot believe</i>) and <i>suspiciousness, risk</i> (<i>The speed of formation of the Cameron-Clegg coalition is suspicious</i>) – modal verbs <i>should, should not, can, cannot</i> in the construction of <i>How can they ...? Why should we ...?</i> – metaphor (<i>behind closed doors</i>) – anaphora and epiphora – rhetorical questions

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – enumeration and simplification of arguments (<i>His values are wrong. His policies are a risk. To jobs, living standards, tax credits, family finances, schools and hospitals.</i>) – mentioning opponents in a negative context
Transformation strategy	presupposition of negative present with the subsequent suggestion of an exit from the developed situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negatively connotated epithets in describing the current state of affairs (<i>a monster deficit, massive social problems</i>) – lexical units with the meaning of <i>problem resolution, help, exit (rescue, way out, the only way)</i> – conditional sentences in present tenses to show the unchangeable logics (<i>If people with progressive values don't want to go back to the same old Tories, then backing Labour is the only way to prevent it</i>)
	presupposition of forthcoming changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with the semantics of <i>change (change, make a difference, different, need for change)</i> – lexical-grammatical construction <i>cannot go on like this (Our Armed Forces cannot take another five years of Labour. This is it – they need to be valued)</i> – metaphor (<i>wind of change</i>) – constructions representing the relation to the future (<i>to be about, to be ready</i>)
	presupposition of the difference between “now” and “then”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – positively connotated lexical units for the presentation of the past (<i>our great country was the 4th largest economy in the world</i>) – negatively connotated lexical units for the present (<i>Now it is falling behind</i>) – statistics and exemplification – visualization through images that explicitly or implicitly realize the idea of a positive past and a negative present
Destructive strategy	technique of authority derogation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negatively connotated lexical units (<i>lack, fail, unable</i>) – constructions <i>let's make it clear, I want to be clear, let's be fair</i> presenting some negative features of the opponent (<i>And I want to make something very clear: I believe Gordon Brown has proved he is just not capable of doing that</i>) – content reframing (<i>Now let's try a phrase “freedom to local Councils”. In New Labour speak this does not mean “here are our proposals what do you think.” No it really means “this is what we are going to do and anyone who disagrees is a scaremonger”</i>) – the opposition of “words and deeds” – description of the opponent's actions in a negative context – exemplification of negative characteristics and simplification marked by the phrases <i>the simple truth, simply (But here's the simple truth. Labour's mistakes have left Britain with two great problems. A broken economy and a broken society)</i> – fictitious scenarios – visualization through images of the characters in a difficult, confusing situation, not knowing how to get out of it
	technique of accusation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negatively connotated lexical units with an insulting element including (fictitious) direct appeal to an opponent (<i>Because YOU, Mr. Brown, spend more time facing down mutinies in your own party than running our country</i>) – lexical units with the meaning of <i>dishonesty, insincerity, lack of straightness (lie, deceive)</i> – theatrical metaphors and epithets with the meaning of <i>fictionality, forgery (a depressing spectacle, a phoney war)</i>

From the point of view of the inter-cultural perspective, all non-British political parties and communities are “others” to the British national linguo-cognitive community. As part of this study, we examined examples of British interaction with the Russian Federation, the United States of America, France, Germany, China, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and other states dating to 2007-2013. The main source of empirical material was presented by the publications in the British media related to international politics; the politicians’ speeches at the Parliament devoted to international policy issues. When collecting the material, we focused on the large international events covered in the press where the interests of Great Britain and other countries collided; we also looked at Britain’s reaction on the world political events. In the course of the study, we came to the conclusion that the representation of “otherness” in the inter-cultural perspective of British political communication is characterized by the formality and officiality of expression, the tendency to emotionalization and critique, the desire for a clear differentiation of “self” and “others”; the underlined desire to find a compromise, positioning themselves as “helpers” in resolving conflicts or handling a predicament. After analyzing various cases of manifestation of “otherness” in the inter-cultural perspective, we found that the language means reflect the politicians’ intentions and are realized in a negative, neutral or positive form of representing “others”. It should also be taken into account that in the inter-cultural perspective, we consider the British national linguo-cognitive community as a single group and do not focus on which of the British parties the speaker / writer supports. Table 3 presents the linguo-communicative model of constructing “otherness” in inter-cultural perspective of British political communication.

Table 3. Linguo-communicative model of constructing “otherness” in inter-cultural perspective of British political communication

Strategies	Discursive-semiotic techniques	Means on realization
Strategy of identification of “otherness”	technique of evaluating positioning of “others”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – personal and spatial nominations (<i>Russia, Russians, China, Chinese, the USA, Obama, Georgia</i>) – deictic means (<i>there, in Beijing, in Ukraine, they, them, their</i>) – lexemes semantically explicating a position “in relation to us” (<i>rival, opponent, ally, friend</i>) – emotionally colored units – labels (<i>spoiler</i>) – visualization is represented through the images of key political figures, the image of a person or a group of people undoubtedly identified with the specific people through specific attributes (e.g. flags), manifesting the political line of the “others” in a negative light
	technique of paternalistic attitude towards “others”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical constructions with the meaning of <i>care, guardianship, assistance, partnership, security, peace, stability, support, help, safety, partner, contact</i> (<i>Our strategy in Afghanistan depends on contact with the local people, persuading them they are safe with us</i>) – direct address to enhance the effect (<i>We'll help you</i>) – the contrast between the prevailing negative situation and the role of Great Britain as a guide, refuge, or peacemaker (<i>Britain has emerged as a haven for wealthy Russian dissidents</i>) – visually the intention of patronage is manifested through non-verbal signs of assistance
Strategy of justification and retention of the status of the “others”	presupposition of frequency of negative situations involving “others”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with an element of repeatedness, frequency, sequences represented in a negative context (<i>the latest in a line, earlier, persue, previous, first ... last</i>) – comparison of data for a certain period to demonstrate a negative progression marked by the expressions like <i>the same period of the last year</i> – a link (perhaps a hint) to previous cases, connoted negatively (<i>The last time Britain and Russia conducted tit-for-tat expulsions, in 1996</i>)

	presupposition of obviousness of the presented arguments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – introductory structures with semantics of clarity (<i>it's beyond argument, without doubt, what seems increasingly clear</i>) – a step-by-step description / explanation of the plan of action against the opponent, marked by adjectives, adverbs, ordinal numerals (<i>Our aims are clear: first, to advance our judicial process; secondly, to bring home to the Russian Government the consequences of their failure to co-operate; and thirdly, to emphasise our commitment to promoting the safety of British citizens and visitors</i>)
	presupposition of lack of changes in the position of “others”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with the meaning of reluctance to change themselves or change the existing state of affairs (<i>choose not to stop, prefer not to change</i>) – a statement of negative permanence – underlining the absence of a positive result (<i>Elections on 7 November were neither free nor fair. No political prisoners have been freed</i>) – negative constructions <i>neither ... nor</i> – visually presupposition of the absence of changes in the position of “others” is realized by an image consisting of two parts located side by side: images explicate activity (movement of hands, bodies) and at the same time the permanence of the main components
	technique of explication of suspicion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lexical units with the semantics of <i>distrust, danger, caution, secrecy</i> (<i>backroom deal</i>) – modal verbs and passive voice constructions to “soften” the negative part of the utterance (<i>should not</i>) – “yes, but” constructions with the words <i>but, nevertheless, however</i>, and the expression <i>at the same time</i> (<i>Russia has offered to assist the US in the transport of non-military supplies to Afghanistan. At the same time, however, Moscow agreed a backroom deal last month with Kyrgyzstan which is likely to lead to the closure of the US's key military base in central Asia</i>) – metaphors with semantics of caution against a background of the general negative context (<i>keep a close eye on, we must never lose sight</i>)
Transformation strategy	technique for forecasting the situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – constructions with future intentions – lexical units with an element of predictability of the behavior of “others” like <i>clearly, no doubt</i> (<i>Clearly Russia will not go as far as the US or the Europeans would like</i>) – visually the technique of forecasting the situation is represented by the image of the actor in a situation i.e. assessed negatively from the point of view of a hypothetical future
	technique of prescriptive advice or recommendation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – “indirect” advice, expressed by using the subjunctive mood (<i>It would certainly help if ...</i>) – explication or implication of discontent with the current situation – imperative (<i>Join the international community now</i>)
	tolerating technique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – positively connotated vocabulary with the semantics of consolidation (<i>relationships, to build, to partner, to co-operate, mutual</i>)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – comparative degree of adjectives to demonstrate improving relationships (<i>better than previous</i>) – the argument is built on the type “their actions are not very correct, but ...” – grounded arguments demonstrating the benefits of mutual cooperation (<i>The foundation of an effective international partnership is a set of shared values</i>)
Destructive strategy	technique of critique towards the position of “others”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negatively connotated vocabulary (<i>foolish, alarmist and vitriolic rhetoric</i>) – litotes (<i>minuscule</i>) – simplification with the metaphor (<i>to define “chocolate” in a chocolate directive</i>) – categorical reasoning – rhetorical questions – excluding structures (<i>not a single member, it was ... that ...</i>) – exemplification, emphasizing negative details – interpretation of the behavior of “others” in a negative manner – visualization is based on the contrast of positive and negative images; often the object of criticism is indicated indirectly

4. Conclusion

The study confirms that the space of modern British political communication is characterized by two perspectives of representing “others”: intra-cultural, in which we considered the discursive interaction of representatives of political parties and political agents belonging to the British national linguo-cognitive community (Conservatives, Laborists and Liberal-Democrats); and inter-cultural, realizing the attitude to political agents – representatives of non-British national linguo-cognitive communities. The study demonstrated that the discursive means of constructing “otherness” in the British political communication differ in terms of “others” in the intra-cultural and inter-cultural perspectives.

In developing the linguo-communicative model of the discursive construction of “others”, we relied on the methods of critical discourse analysis and multimodal analysis, the analytical apparatus of which was used to study the ways of representation of “others” in the intra- and inter-cultural perspectives of British political discourse. As a result, four strategies for the discursive construction of “otherness” and twenty-one discursive-semiotic techniques were identified – eleven techniques specific for the intra-cultural perspective and ten techniques that characterize the inter-cultural perspective of British political communication.

In modern British political communication discursive-semiotic techniques are explicated by linguistic, pragmatic and multimodal means, namely: lexical units with semantics corresponding to the discursive-semiotic techniques, deictic units, metaphor, litotes, epithet, label; passive structures, modal verbs, syntactic parallelism, negative constructions; content reframing, rhetorical questions, fictitious scenarios, direct appeals, hints, grounded arguments, enumeration, simplification; visualized metaphorical images with direct or indirect marking of “others”.

The presented linguo-communicative model of discursive construction of “otherness” in British political communication can be projected onto the study of the actualization of the relation to the “others” in different national linguo-cognitive communities, for example, Russian political discourse.

5. Literature

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