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ECOLOGY OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: PROBLEM STATEMENT[1]

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Abstract: The article offers a comparative description of typological mechanisms for political communicative practice and methods of verbal explication of its axiological and symbolic constituents, determining mental universals of individual/collective consciousness. The research position is based on the system multilevel analysis of the component structure of discourse in order to identify and characterize the linguistic and sociocultural dominants of political interaction, organized by a certain language system, taking into account the semiotic and literary-genre specifics of legitimate and illegitimate communicative acts. The methodological concept aimed at modeling institutional interactions in the context of ecological compatibility/toxicity of the transmission of ethno-sociocultural components of the universe allowed the authors to characterize the ways and mechanisms of representation and transformation of the sign structures of political communication, which determine the algorithms of verbal and discursive behavior. The combination of methods of discourse analysis, linguistic and cognitive projection, linguistic and

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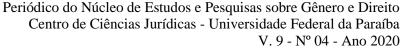[4] Federal State Budget Educational Institution of Higher Education "Pushkin State Russian Language Institute"
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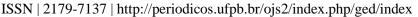
cultural interpretations and functional-pragmatic consideration of text units made it possible to identify and qualify the linguistic and semiotic elements of legitimate/illegitimate political practices and to carry out the ecolinguistic typology of the basic linguistic components of political communication. The results of the study indicate a special communicative register of Russian political discourse, the markers of which are the processes of diffusion/recontextualization of language and persuasive techniques, semiotic consolidation of institutional reversion, various verbal indicators of social asymmetry (from metaphorization, euphemization, nominalization to the tactics of disintegration and manipulation), which not only actualizes the linguistic and cultural resources of ideologically marked discursive practices, but also significantly expands the area of possible communication risks. The modern political logosphere, as a part of the ecosystem, synergetically included in all spheres of human communication, forms new contextual concepts, stereotypes of assessments, norms (often limiting) of verbal behavior of all subjects included in it and communicative traditions of the universum as a whole.

Keywords: political discourse, ecolinguistics, legitimate and illegitimate political practices, social and linguocultural dominants, communicative risks.

1. Introduction

In modern geopolitical conditions, migration and integrative processes and the related problem of bi-/multiculturalism and bi-/polylinguism are becoming increasingly important, because a language, being social and national by its nature, is marked by the peculiarities of world outlook, ethical and moral values, as well as the norms of verbal behavior characteristic of this universum. It is no coincidence that the multi-aspect and determinant nature of the factors, forming the phenomenon of language (from ethnohistorical to psychosocial) are the subject of interpretation for philosophers, political scientists, cultural scientists, philologists, etc., and the issues of functioning of the socio-communicative system, its structural and semiotic organization, the identification of the principles of education and existence of

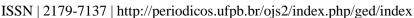the most important social realities are of particular importance.

A significant impact on the nature of the functioning of natural (in a broad sense) language in the modern linguocultural situation has a change in the information dissemination channels, especially the development of computer technology and the transformation of the Internet into an everyday tool of communication. Global and local information and communication spaces are characterized by the complexity of relationships in the social field, the expansion of the semantic sphere, the increase in connotative elements, etc., as a result, there is a clear modification of the norm-setting factor: the use of literary language is gradually narrowing due to its merging with colloquial speech and sociolects; in electronic communication there is the English language enhancement as well as at an intellectual (professional terminology), and at a domestic level (the use of Internet slang, etc.), thereby there is a displacement of literary norms by the norm of "information language", in which the form is of secondary importance and orthoepic, lexical, grammatical and stylistic errors are not taken into account. Such phenomena (numerous violations of the language system in oral or written speech) not only lead to an increase in public verbal activity of individuals with a different (often insufficient!) level of language competence, to the significant changes in the norms of communicative behavior and the rules of speech aesthetics, but also create a new reality that requires the competent evaluation and interpretation.

In this regard, the emergence of a new, formed at the intersection of environmental and linguistic issues of research – *ecolinguistics*, the subject of which is determined by the ratio of the categories "object" and "environment" is quite obvious. These concepts justify the principle of research in the ecological paradigm[7] and determine the systemic relationships between the analyzed phenomena: *the environment* is a complex of interrelated abiotic and biotic factors that are outside the "organism" and determine its life activity; *the object* is an organism that exists in a given environment and interacts with it. The

[7] Ecology is a science that studies the relationship between organisms and external factors (physical, chemical, biological, etc.); they are influenced by the latter or collectively affect these organisms [1].

basic ecological principle "*Everyone* shall *have* the *right* to a *favorable environment*" (article 42 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation) can be applied to any object. Accordingly, depending on what kind of "organism" is considered as an object of ecolinguistic observation and what constitutes the environment of its functioning, there are two approaches to the study of linguistic problems in the framework of ecolinguistics – *the ecology of language/speech* and *the ecology of man/society*.
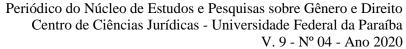
The combination of these aspects is the basis of authors' analysis of the material and allows them to formulate the following definition: ***ecolinguistics*** is the sphere of linguistics, synergetic field of socio- and pragmalinguistics, the subject of which is the state of the language as a semiotic system, due to the influence of social and other extralinguistic factors on the linguistic consciousness of society and its speech culture; ways and means of protecting the language as a component of communicative interaction from negative influences, on the one hand, and

its enrichment and development – on the other[8]. At the same time, the authors emphasize that the reasons for the formation of ecolinguistics and the problems solved by it are universal (relevant for any language community), since the axiological dominant of the new scientific field can be considered as "the preservation of the linguistic identity of the ethnic group and on this basis of moral health of our society and national security of the state" [3: 28].

This methodological position, on the one hand, transforms linguistics, turning it from an analytical-descriptive science into a practice-oriented science, focused not only on the characterization of linguistic representation of the facts of interpersonal/public activities of our society and the problems of non-linguistic reality, but also on the identification of social and communicative technologies for resolving the issues of unjustified (taking into account linguistic polyfunctionality) verbal behavior, on the other – it forms a wide range of tasks that require its implementation based on the specificity of research views: "the peculiarity of the

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[8] It is necessary to note A.P. Skovorodnikov's comment to the definition of the scientific field: "It seems that the injury to the language can be caused only if the consciousness of the people, speaking this language, is injured" [2: 208].

approach to the language facts and speech from the standpoint of ecolinguistics is their social assessment, based on historical conditions and trends in the development of this language, the factors of the system and norms, the criteria of sociocultural, political, economic, ethical and aesthetic order" [2: 207-208].

The range of environmental problems of the Russian-language space, allocated by various scientists, is large; moreover, it cannot be static, because the linguistic and ecological situation itself is a diffuse phenomenon. At the same time (despite the absence of the single metalanguage apparatus and a variety of nominations) the following statements are clearly distinguished:

- lexical and semantic loss (archaization of literary lexis and the "deposition" of a considerable number of paremiological units from the language consciousness of native speakers) and the simultaneous retrieval of histo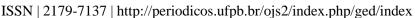ricism – words and phraseology – as the functioning of linguistic units (change/expansion of their semasiological component)[9];

- jargonization[10]/vulgarization of speech (especially media) and explosive "implementation" of foreign-language verbal signs (usually of Anglicisms/Americanisms), which are barbarisms;

- "blurring" of ethical and aesthetic norms of speech communication[11], due to a certain loss of the value component of Russian (and not only) classical literature and the coexistence of dialectically unrelated phenomena (for example, invective/obscene vocabulary and the general pathos of statements) in a variety of modern texts;

- "rethinking"/discrediting of verbal signs that are national symbols (public authority, historic victories, ethno-cultural involvement, etc.);

- manipulative use of sociocultural terms and connotative ambivalence of the broadcast of ideologically marked units, determined not so much by the fundamental political attitudes of the

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[9] The system changes in the language occur under the influence of changes in speech, when the latter acquire a mass and long-term character.

[10] Undoubtedly, in some cases, the exclusion of slang vocabulary from the repertoire of journalistic and colloquial speech is impractical,

since its expression and "economical accuracy" are irreplaceable by other means.

[11] This does not relate to the tasks and idiosyncrasy of the work of art. But here, the "sense of proportion" is not always kept.

communicants as by the latent goals of audience management;

- construction, reproduction and often monetization of discursive practices that have a harmful impact on the world outlook, value preferences and society's behavior, especially on the younger generation (involving discursive practices of radical and criminal communities, discourses, associated with the promotion of suicide, child molestation, etc.).

It is obvious that the range of ecolinguistic problems "covers" all spheres of human life, but they are most noticeable in the space of political communication, on the grounds that, being an integral part of the ethnic culture of any society, political communication is a complex conglomerate of ideas, where the goals and interests of the state as a whole are indicated.
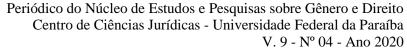
In a broad sense, the word "policy" refers to the action programme, various human activities, public institutions (in this case, it is possible to talk about the policy of organizations, the e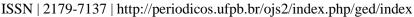ducation policy at the level of municipal government, family policy, etc.); this lexeme can also be used to describe a set of actions and measures aimed at achieving certain goals. It is no coincidence that the modern political field covers a wide range of phenomena: it includes political actors and communities; institutions and organizations; normative subsystems, traditions and rituals; political culture and ideology, methods and techniques of political activity, means of information, etc. However, the absolute verbalization of manifestation is its most important feature: evolving on the basis of the linguistic material accumulated by society, the policy is carried out only in the process of language interaction, the task of which is to create a certain picture of the world in society.

The political life of language and the nature of political language remain unknown to date[12]. What metaphors and proverbs does the modern political language use? What linguistic and extralinguistic factors affect negatively (or positively) the linguistic consciousness of its speakers? What discursive practices represent[13] it and

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[12] The authors do not underestimate the role of a significant number of researchers of political discourse and their scientific works.

[13] It should be reminded that Aesopian language is efficiently used by the writers of XIX-XX centuries in the political satire and drama as a

how is it transformed? Finally, is it possible today to talk about a special communicative register of Russian-language political discourse of the XXI century? These general questions in the aspect of ecolinguistic views determine the need to describe the essence of modern political discourse, to identify its categorical units and to formulate a number of linguistic and pragmatic laws, which can be extrapolated to the solution of environmental problems of the language as a whole.
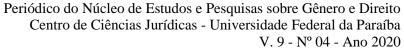
2. Materials and methods

Methodological concept of the study, which was based on both humanitarian and heuristic methods (registration, instrumental methods, modeling method; taxonomic, dynamic and explanatory description), and methods of linguistics – the method of formalization of linguistic descriptions, component, contextual and categorical synchronous analysis, the method of segmentation of specific verbal phenomena (facts), followed by their generalization, abstraction and characterization of underlying ethno-

mental entities, etc., is aimed at a multidimensional study of social problems of discursive practices in the context of the environmental approach and includes linguocultural and linguo-cognitive vectors of discourse description, dependent on a multidimensional set of components of the socio-communicative field.

The material of the study of legitimate political discursive practices were the scripts of the speeches of representatives of the Russian political elite, the choice of which was due to two factors: on the one hand, the state foreign and domestic policy of the Russian Federation, given the current geopolitical situation, is of increasing interest to researchers, including linguists; on the other hand, the speeches of "significant" Russian politicians largely form a global political discourse, so the analysis of these speech products (speeches) allows creating a completely objective picture of the unification and specificity of the use of communicative techniques in linguistic and cultural universums. An additional criterion for the selection of material was the genre

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technique for encoding and transmission of ideologically unacceptable meanings (and as the

communicative register), which, however, in our time, has changed considerably.

and thematic community of speeches, in this connection special attention was paid to the press releases published in official sources, comments and interviews, explicating the essential unity (with the ambiguity of ideological positions) of the linguistic and semiotic constituents of the political space (more than 1000 text units).
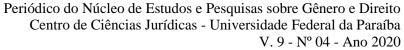
The study of illegitimate political discursive practices was based on the body of texts collected at the stage of pre-trial investigation of cases of involvement in the activities of terrorist organizations, the functioning of which is prohibited in the territory of the Russian Federation by the decision of the Supreme court of February 14, 2003.the body includes 43 records of oral conversations with a total duration of 74 hours and a volume of 405 thousand words.

The integrity of the proposed model of the study of communicative interaction, focused not only on the national and value categories of society, but also on the tense points of institutional communication, with respect to which the manipulation of public consciousness, as well as the representativeness of the research material and its volume provide,

according to the authors, the reliability of the conclusions of the comparative and typological analysis.

3. Results

Ecolinguistics, being anthropocentrically oriented branch of research, occupies a special place in the scientific paradigm of modern linguistics: it defines the study of text units in terms of impact on the subject and society as a whole and characterizes the role of language as a complex semiotic system in the possible violation of environmental situations, identifies the ways of eliminating negative consequences. The range and scope of ecolinguistic problems today are extremely wide, but they are the most "convex" in the space of political communication, as the modeling of methods and communication channels in the dialogue construction in the system of "power – society" is of particular scientific importance. Political discourse as a separate spatiotemporal formation and at the same time a systemic phenomenon, explicating multidimensional linguistic material, turns out to be a means of ordering, evolution and transformation of political reality into an ecological linguistic

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space, which can serve as a kind of verbal code that manifests the modern integrated reality, linguistic and cultural experience of the nation.

The discourse analysis has been chosen as the main methodological vector in the description of the political communicative field, mediated by various socio-cultural conditions, the most important feature of which is the goal of studying how ideologically marked ideas and objects that make up our world *are created*, and how they *are supported* and *updated* in the temporal aspect. Verification of the methodological concept of the study, enlarged by the methods of cognitive projection, linguistic and cultural interpretation and the pragmatic consideration of textual units, gave the opportunity for comparative linguistic and semiotic analysis of dominant legitimate/illegitimate political practices and ecolinguistic typology of the basic constituents of different degrees of legitimacy of acts of political communication, which allowed:
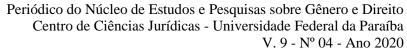
- to define and substantiate the principles of modeling of modern speech and social space;

- to describe synergetically organized mechanisms for creating institutional interactions;

- to qualify and taxonomize identifiers of legitimate/illegitimate political discursive interaction, to compare their semantic and pragmatic characteristics;

- to identify indicators of social asymmetry, fixed by ideologically marked discursive practices;

- to study the diffusion processes and language recontextualization and methods of speech influence;

- to identify new linguistic and cultural resources of institutional communication practices and define areas of possible communication risks.

The methodology of the comparative and typological study of verbal/nonverbal signs, manifesting the corpus of legitimate and illegitimate political communication can be extrapolated to other institutional interactions (both in synchronic and diachronic aspects) and become the basis for the creation of a model of ecolinguosemiotic space of various communicative spheres.

4. Discussion

As noted by Aristotle [4: 376], the politics and ethics affect the interests

of every citizen of the state: it is very difficult to live over politics, over the language of power, outside the ideological constructs of the state, culture, nationality, subjectivity, etc. Political interaction as a communicative sphere, the main theme and motive of which is the power struggle, got in the focus of Russian scientific interest mainly in the mid-1980's[14], when the coexistence of political elites ceased to be purely ritual and took the shape of one of the ways of functioning of society: political restructuring provoked a real "research boom" in the totalitarian language of the Soviet era and post-perestroika innovations in the Russian language of the late XX century [5-11]. To date, the relationship between language and power, language and ideology, the role of myth in the political communication and language manipulation attract the attention of an increasing number of domestic and foreign linguists[15]. This is largely due to the fact that politics (as opposed to other areas of human activity) is inherently discursive, and the vast majority of political actions are speech actions[16].
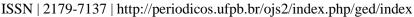
The attempts of scientists to give a correct definition of the concept of *political discourse*, as well as in the situation with the definition of discourse as a whole, led to the emergence of many definitions: "the discourse of politicians, implemented in the form of government documents, parliamentary debates, party programs, politicians' speeches" [14: 47]; "the combination of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as the rules of public policy, covered by tradition and proven experience" [15:8].]; "a sign system, in which the modification of semantics and functions of different types of language units and standard of speech acts" [16:3]; "due to

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[14] It should be noted that in western linguistics this problem has been actively developed for a long time – approximately since the postwar years. In Russian "pre-perestroika era" there was an unspoken "taboo" on the study of political discourse – only a critical analysis of the "bourgeois" press was allowed.

[15] See the works of A.G. Altunyan, A.N. Baranov, E.V. Budaev, V.Z. Demyankov, V.I. Karasik, N.N. Klochko, E. Lassan, A.V. Olyanich, P.B. Parshin, R.M. Proskuryakov, A.P. Chudinov, E.I. Sheigal, G. Lakoff, S.R. Anderson, W.L. Benoit, T.A. van Dijk, P. Drulak, Mussolt A., R. Wodak, and L. Wee.

[16] It is no coincidence that a number of scientists believe that political activity in general is reduced to the activity of the language [12, 13], and in modern political science there is a tendency to consider language not so much as a means of reflecting political reality, but as a component of the policy field.
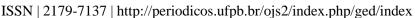
the situation of political communication, where the main thematic determinant is the "power struggle" [17:11]; and one of the areas of applied linguistics, the essence of which is expressed by the formula "discourse = sublanguage + text + context", where "text" is "a text under development and previously created texts" [17], and the context includes the situational and cultural components [18:15]; and "a specific, explicitly pragmatic kind of ideological discourse" [19:57]. Moreover, in modern linguistics, some researchers (A.P. Chudinov, M.M. Lazar, etc.) use the term *political discourse* as given a priori, others (A.N. Baranov, E.I. Sheigal, T.A. van Dijk, R. Wodak, etc.) use it as synonymous for *language of politics*, *political language*, *political communication*; others (M.B. Parshin, Yu.S. Stepanov, etc.) refuse to recognize its linguistic meaning[18]. The ambiguity of scientists' opinions is explained by the fact that political discourse is an

extremely complex object of research, since it "is at the intersection of different disciplines: political science, social psychology, linguistics – and is associated with the analysis of the form, objectives and content of discourse used in certain ("political") situations" [21:118]. The semantic structure of the lexeme "politics" consists of the following components: politics, art of management, style and principles of behavior; political life, activities, events, views, beliefs; political line, i.e. ideas and activities carried out in order to gain power in the country or abroad [22]. This unit also means the art or science how to influence the ideas and beliefs of individuals or society as a whole. Finally, polity refers to the form of government, social or political system, the device [23]. It is no coincidence that in modern Russian political linguistics there are several areas of research of political discourse: the study of totalitarian language; the study of verbal

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[17] This factor is extremely important for ecolinguistics approach, because it shows the consolidation of the "rule-making" act.

[18] V.N. Bazylev expresses the dissenting view, he believes that political discourse can be considered as a variant of phatic communication (its genre variety), because the particular goals of political discourse are subordinated to the initial contact impulse (which is associated with the desire of the author to be understood by

recipients), that is, the informative function of the text becomes secondary. If in ordinary communication (not political) the author addresses collective knowledge and ideas to achieve this goal, in the framework of political discourse the author obviously should address the cognitive base, since politicians and political observers are addressed to the population of the country, and not to some part of it [20].

facts with the component "politics" in the Russian language of the late XX century; the study of modern political communication, etc.

From the authors' points of view, *political discourse* is a speech activity of subjects in the spheres of political institutional communication, determined by a certain social and role hierarchy and objectified in the form of a set of text units of political orientation in all their genre and functional diversity [24]. Being a kind of institutional discourse, political discourse contains a number of constitutive features (consistency, functional completeness, communicative certainty, lack of strict structural restrictions) and it is endowed with discourse functions – informative, argumentative, persuasive, delimitative and group-separating. The agonal function is specific (from Greek *agon* – competitions, duels), the monitoring function (manipulation of public consciousness and influence on it), interpretation function (creation of "language reality" of the policy field) and function of social identification (differentiation and integration of group policy agents) [25]. The functions defined by D. Graber – "information dissemination"; "agenda setting";

"projection to future and past" should be added to the list [26:198]. These characteristics, expanding their action within the framework of political communication, determine the basic feature of political discourse – its use as an instrument of political power (power struggle, mastery of power, its preservation, implementation, stabilization or redistribution). Thus, the dissemination of information on the state of affairs in the political community is one of the most important functions of political discourse in relation to the masses. This is due to the fact that people in most cases do not come into direct contact with the world of politics; their knowledge in this area is formed not on the basis of their own experience of political participation, but mainly on the basis of the verbal "pictures" offered to them. Status reporting can take the form of descriptions, opinions, comparisons and conclusions; they can be implemented in a wide variety of speech actions and genres – informal conversation, interviews, press conferences, messages to congress, etc. In addition to evident, explicit information, these messages may include an implicit-connotative layer of information (emotive-colored keywords

expressing basic political orientations and values, patriotic symbols, euphemisms, etc.). Implicit information can also be obtained by generalization, "reading between the lines": the characteristics of the chronotope of the verbal act, its relationship with historical and cultural, axiological and other factors, paralinguistic components[19] are significant. Consequently, all constituents of the social field are realized in political discourse: they either constitute the object of communication (its referential aspect) or act as elements of the pragmatic context, including pragmatic presuppositions.

A specific picture of the political world is determined by differential characteristics of political discourse: semantic uncertainty, specific institutionality and ritual, the restoration of which is possible due to the inextricable connection of political texts with the communicative situation in which they have been created, with social, historical, cultural, psychological, ideological and other factors, with the system of cognitive and pragmatic attitudes of the sender, interacting with the addressee. This brings up the question about the specifics of the language techniques of political discursive practices and the presence of professionally oriented signs – verbal, nonverbal and "semasiologically hidden" (the authors' term). According to the concept of V.Z. Demyankov [21], the "individuality" of the language of politics is due to the following: there is a frequent use of peculiar speech techniques; there is an original sound or written presentation; the thesaurus of precedent texts and statements is expanded; political vocabulary is terminological, and common language signs are marked in relation to the usual language. However, a significant number of scientists deny political discourse uniqueness, emphasizing that there are few linguistic features of its originality and it is not so easy to identify them; lexical and grammatical features of political discourse, allowing us to consider it as a specific phenomenon, "do not go beyond the relevant idioethnic languages" [27:193].

External and extensive "despecialization" of political

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[19] The audience can consider the level of culture and intelligence of the speaker, his political preferences (although he will not speak directly about it), his honesty and sincerity, aggressiveness and propensity to compromise.
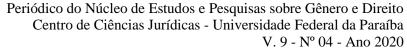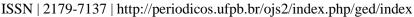
communication, from the authors' point of view, is explained by the fact that politics is the only professional sphere in which communication is focused on the mass addressee. Political communication is mediated not just by the media, the content is the main medium of its existence[20], whereby the language policy is deprived of corporatism properties inherent in any special language [18: 30]. For example, the media are the translators of the ideas of public authorities, the interests of social institutions, they express opinions and beliefs, represented by various social, professional, age and other groups, while the media often act not only as a means of covering issues of modern political life, but also as subjects of political activity [28:18]. Moreover, some publications and media channels are now gaining recognition and the right to an independent position on actual and social issues, which allows considering them as a political institution and at the same time as a factor of influence on mass consciousness and the formation of public opinion. Accordingly, modern

political discourse is becoming more diverse, includes members of a new group of native speakers, uses a wide range of discursive practices that allows maintaining, updating, broadcasting, promoting even such types of political activities that have not previously received legitimate forms of expression (without the possibility to observe the diversity of communicative interaction in the political sphere of life).

At the same time, the main feature of political discourse – its agonal character – remaining its semiotic constant along with the functions of orientation and interpretation, is the sign by which it can be separated from communicative phenomena [16:120]. Moreover, the open competition in interpersonal/institutional/cross-cultural political interaction and the immutability of this quality of the political discourse determines its ecolinguistic specificity: conflicts as a result of the expressed collision of interacting entities, disintegrative communicative strategies and tactics, the use of verbal and non-verbal, invectively gene signs, reduced

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[20] According to statistics, a modern Russianon devotes one third of awake to watching, reading or listening to the media, which cannot but affect the quality of the language of its native speaker.
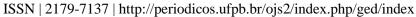
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communicative register, etc. However, the conflict of interests in politics, unlike a number of other spheres of human interaction, is informed; it is perceived by both parties to the conflict: "People, actors, participants of social movements begin to understand the content of the conflict; they join the goals that are put forward by conflicting parties, and perceive them as their own" [29:84]. That is why political conflicts do not exclude the cooperation of its participants, which determines the stage/degree of intensity of political communication and determines its form – discussion, debate, battle, conflict, information and psychological wars, etc. The major part of agonal tactics of political discourse is its communicative norm; it belongs to the field of political interaction, while the marginal forms of communication in the sphere of politics, perceived by participants as the mindset for destructiveness, confrontation, destruction of the achieved unity, agreement and cooperation [30], suggest, from the authors' point of view, the need to introduce ecolinguistic control.

New tools and technologies give rise to new genres and methods of information broadcasting: it leads to the emergence of new mono - and polysemiotic communication systems and makes adjustments to political communication – its thematic boundaries are expanding, discursive parameters and methods of language explication are changing (see forums, social networks, blog politics, etc.). The form of network media is a display text, which has special differential features: nonlinearity (branching, lack of beginning and end), polycode (multimedia), interactivity (direct communication with the reader, the impact of the reader on the structure of the text), which directly affects both the macrostructure of political discourse and its language components. Political communication in the context of the use of new means of generating and transmitting information is often characterized by entropy, unacceptable for understanding[21], which is facilitated by the following features: 1) the volume of discourse is increasing at a rate that does not allow a comprehensive understanding of information; 2) in the

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[21] Therefore, it is often ineffective, and this is another linguistic problem.

language of politics (and in other communicative areas) there is ambiguity[22] and hence the "disparity" of units; 3) the meaning of the word (and even terms!) is emasculated to an empty shell, which can be filled at will with any, often directly opposite content (the words-"amoeba" by S.G. Kara-Murza[23]).

As a result, the adequacy of the text perception is significantly reduced, thereby causing the activation of ecolinguistic problems, and toxic communication practices, supported by the global network (information wars, unfortunately, "pull in the funnel" even the most neutral and apolitical strata of society) have a significant impact on the cognitive and psychological organization and the individual, and the target audience as a whole.

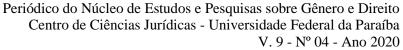The most interesting (and the most difficult in the aspect of ecolinguistics) is the modification of the functional load of political discursive practice: the fourth parameter is added to three main parameters (information, manipulation and control[24]) – audience entertainment. And this is no coincidence that the importance of "relieving the tension of the context" verbal/nonverbal means increases in the development of dialogical communication in a legitimate (and, by the way, illegitimate) political environment – a special institutionality often determines the impossibility of explicit ideologemes, as a result the thesaurus of precedent texts and statements expands, accompanied by speech techniques[25]. Consequently, the following features are the most important parameters of political discourse: metaphor, euphemistic nature, ideological content (with the demonstration of the dichotomy "good and bad", "friend or foe"), promotional and emotional slogans, the "absolute

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[22] For example, the use of onyms – geographical names (established by specific legislation!) in non-native forms for the grammatical system of the Russian language (*Republic of Belarus* with connective "a" instead of "o", Moldova with truncation of "ia", etc.)

[23] S.G. Kara-Murza notes that "these words destroy all the wealth of the family of synonyms and reduce the huge field of meanings to one common denominator" [22:209].

[24] All the previously listed functions are within this triad.

[25] A stylized folklore text, actively used in election campaigns is an illustration of this thesis: *My dear roars like a lion, / He is now in the Communist party. What's wrong with him? There are only old women there*. Here, in the form of folk ditties, at least two important functions of political discourse are realized – agonal and recreational.
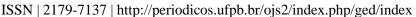
truth" and not the least significant feature – irrationality, which is based on rituals, traditions and "pulsing" uncertainty of denotations.

Thus, the political discourse as a form of social communication, undoubtedly, manifests the culture of an individual society with its ideological attitudes, mental symbols and other axiological signs. Moreover, language policy is now extrapolated in the existential and social interaction of the wide public masses; political features can be observed in the so-called "culture of everyday life", in the language of everyday communication, in the folk genre of anecdote, in the author's song, in the performances with a sharp social and political subtext, and, finally, in the controversial discursive practices of involvement in the illegitimate activities and illegal communities. In this regard, it seems correct to divide discursive practices in accordance with the antinomy "legitimacy/illegitimacy (including illegality)" and to characterize the "sore spots" of the communicative behavior of the subjects of the political field in the perspective of the ecolinguistic paradigm (in order to describe the field of environmental

problems in the language of Russian policy).

Legitimate political practices in the aspect of ecolinguistic problems

Legitimate political discursive practices, being the "arena" of expression of ideological postulates of certain social elites and at the same time a platform for the formation of public opinion on various positions, have numerous ways of explication, which are based on the task of preserving and reproducing the social institution of power. In the political sciences, legitimacy is considered as a qualitative characteristic of power relations associated with maintaining the conviction of citizens that the existing political institutions and relations correspond or should correspond to this society and the value and normative dynamics of the evolution of political communications and the public sphere [31:8]. It is noted that the study of power communications is inevitably limited to the analysis of symbolic structures of the

cultural environment of political power[26] and forms, methods, strategies of tactics of political communication. Therefore, the linguistic research allows fixing the current trends in the implementation of political communication, highlighting the speech features of the interaction "power – society", determining the degree of objectivity and prospects/infeasibility of their existence in the development of modern society, thereby ensuring the success of the legitimacy of political decisions.

In this regard, it seems correct to refer to legitimate political practices those discursive acts in which at least one of three components belongs to the sphere of politics: subjects, addressee or the content of speech products [16]. From this perspective, the primary genres are in the center of the field (program documents, official speeches, election debates, etc.), and secondary or convergent political statements, everyday conversations, letters to the editor, cartoons, parodies, etc.) are on the periphery. However, a more detailed analysis of constitutive features of this discourse and its three components is not

sufficient: the subject and the addressee, being political figures, can be engaged in a domestic dialogue.

Accordingly, it is necessary to add two important elements to these three parameters – the goal and the perlocutionary effect of speech, these components allow identifying communication as a legitimate political practice. In addition, it is impossible to talk about the interactional model of communication without taking into account the objectives and perlocutionary effect of the speech act.

In the conditions of legitimate political practice, goal-setting and perlocutionary effect should (ideally) coincide, because the achievement, "semiotic anchoring", the transmission of the value and pragmatic experience (goal) and the audience's meaningful retranslation of certain axiological dominants (perlocutionary effect) provide the most important component of the antinomy "power – society" – a normative approach to public relations and social coercion. At the same time, the dichotomy of the ratio of categories should be noted: on the one hand,

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[26] See the work of T. Parsons, J. Habermas, A. Giddens, P. Bourdieu, N. Luhmann, M.V. Ilyin, A.F. Filippov.
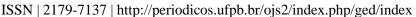
political discourse produces and explicates the standards of status-role behavior, fixes the binary relations of norm/abnormality, positive/negative, permissible/unacceptable, good/evil, etc., expressed in moral imperatives, traditions, rituals, codes of conduct, legal acts, etc., on the other – the social institute of politics "produces" and broadcasts new discourses (in the form of ideas, principles, images and other symbolic figures) that provide a framework, focal points (so-called "glasses") of our vision and understanding of reality [32:194].

The dictionary of political reality, a kind of conceptuary of socially significant meanings (codes), symbols, concepts and ways of their representation, acquires special relevance in this case [33]. Thus, scientific publications have repeatedly pointed to the obvious prevalence of the negative content in the space of political information, broadcasted by the media in the 1990s-2000s by means of lexemes, fixed phrase schemes, speech clichés and precedent units: *a person from the Caucasus area, bombing, gang, crime,* *hazing, criminal group, mayor-thief, the governor-bribe taker, contract killing, hot zone, organized crime, black Tuesday (Friday, Thursday, etc.), bureaucratic lawlessness, zone, "ferrets", banderlogs,* etc. [34]. Modern political life is also marked by negatively charged concepts that make up a significant part of everyday information: *sanctions, cyberattacks, corruption, exposure, provocation, avoidance of the contract, schismatic church, threats, isolation of Russia, "death" of Skripal, spire, Nazi slogans, terrorist attacks, interference in elections, conspiracy, impeachment*, etc.[27] In media texts, designed to form mass consciousness, the words and expressions, denoting the negative phenomena generated by our time, are dominant: *explosion, fire, plane crash, murder, shooting, crash, robbery, violence, suicide, orphaned children/parents, impoverishment, bankruptcy, terrorism, flood, natural disaster, natural disasters, epidemic*, etc., as a result, text units, forming a communicative and ideological environment of modern men, acquire a distinct invective coloring.

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[27] The week of good news, announced during the World Cup in Russia in 2018, is rather an exception to the rule.

The analysis of the frequency of Russian language units simultaneously demonstrates that a layer of words has shifted to the periphery of the lexicon of the Russian language, denoting the most important concepts of Russian culture, which have a long history, absorb its different layers and conceptualize the humanistic ideas of the world accumulated by all mankind: *compassion, pity, mercy, participation, sympathy, mutual understanding, conscience, justice, joy, honor, shame, modesty, kindness, virtue*[28]. Its former greatness and sublimity are lost, as well as the content of the words *homeland, patriotism, hero, pride, honor, human dignity, achievements, successes, feat*; they have been the basic values of Russian culture for centuries. Their form is familiar to native speakers, but the range of functioning is reduced, the use is automated, and the content is often clichéd, turning into a stamp, and subjected to the process of enantiosemization [35]. According to sociolinguistic studies, the activity curve of the key word of the Russian political discourse is *Homeland/homeland*, with a peak in the 30s-early 60s (the socialism development, the Great Patriotic war, the conquest of space), since the mid-60s of the XX century it is on the decline, and there is a slight increase only in 2014[29]. The word *patriotism*, understood as patriotism, the innermost feeling (which is judged not by words, but by actions), devotion to one's fatherland, is often filled with the opposite content, realized in the following synonymous uses: *pseudo-patriotism, our slogan, the old ideology, the last refuge of villains, the same as extremism, that puts the homeland in the place of God*. In this regard, the speech of the radio presenter K. Larina is significant: "*I am sick of the word "patriotism" by worms and cherry stones. I do not love the motherland (Motherland) for a long time and with conviction. And this does not prevent me from living in my homet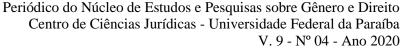own, reading and thinking in my native language, loving my work and dreaming about the future. I love my family, my dead parents, my*
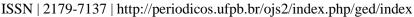
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[28] "Expulsion" of these words from our lexicon involuntarily makes us think that the content of images is no longer a value for Russian society; it is forced out of our lives together with the word.

[29] According to many scientists, *the Motherland* is not just a concept, an ideologem or a constant of Russian culture: the power of influence and rootedness (and therefore untranslatability) in the minds of Russian speakers of this word is so great that some researchers consider this language unit as "a rhetorical machine, the mechanics of which is set up to produce discursive practices" [36:3].
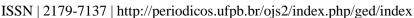
husband, my friends. And all what I want. I do not represent the Motherland with my mother, especially with a sick or drunk. The very idea of such a comparison seems to me blasphemous and wild. Today on "TV Rain" I try to say, that the most monstrous in man is beholden to patriotism. Patriotism is destructive, it creates nothing but chatter, lies, charlatanism, hypocrisy. Patriotism is not compatible with freedom; it kills freedom of thought, freedom of creativity, and freedom of self-realization. Patriotic art is loud, false, primitive. Patriotism protects mediocrity and emptiness, produces mediocrity and emptiness. Patriotism is obscurantist, as is ostentatious primitive religiosity, which has nothing to do with faith. Patriotism itself is the religion of yesterday, the religion of the dead" (K. Larina Blog "Echo of Moscow", 03 February 2014). The word there is followed by a picture of the world of speakers, so the rapid reduction of vocabulary and change in the semasiological field of political concepts indicates a significant narrowing of vision and understanding of reality by native speakers. D.S. Likhachev, speaking about the "extraordinary circumstances" leading to the reduction

and impoverishment of the conceptual world, raised the question of the vital importance of the word in his life. Citing examples of Bible texts, the scientist demonstrated the processes that led to the loss of the most important value component of consciousness in Soviet times, and with it a whole layer of historical knowledge and moral attitudes, specific to the Russian Orthodox culture: many Church Slavonic words, expressions and forms of words, remaining in the linguistic competence of the modern native speaker, being deprived of textual reinforcement and text associations, ceased to serve the purposes of forming the conceptual sphere of personality and they are often perceived as common clichés [37: 282-283]. It should be noted that today there is a gradual return of the traditional semantics of the word in the political discourse: "*Patriotism is in the character of our people. And we know to what heroic height it raises people when the homeland is in danger. The salvation of the Fatherland, readiness to close a comrade, to protect those you love, are always stronger than any most severe trials*" (speech of Vladimir Putin, 23 February 2018, https://www.business-gazeta.ru/news/373661). See also: "*We*
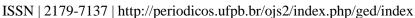
do not have and cannot have any other unifying idea, in addition to patriotism," (the speech of V.V. Putin, 03 February 2018, Novogireyevo district). Communicative activation of such ideologies, as *homeland, patriotism, national idea, heroism, rescue, protection, unification* is not only testifies to a new phenomenon in the legitimate discursive practices – "aestheticization of politics" but also demonstrates the value-oriented component of these concepts that determines their place in the official political information: "homeland represents the ideal of a beautiful and beloved community – in contrast to the transparent and rational community, which is a civil society" [36:3].

The second feature of legitimate political practices can be called the generation of new ways to reduce the positive field of consciousness, including: 1) the formation of verbal composites – oxymorons (*maliciously, the fiend of good, love-hate, killer love, the horror of delight, the achievement of failure*, etc.), introducing a negative component in the idea of positive phenomena; 2) the inclusion of language units having an internat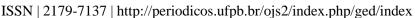ional character and characterized by "blurred universality" – minimum/zero content (*progress, public opinion, foundation, true justice*, etc.); 3) a specific euphemization that turns at the level of the addressee into a dysphemia (*constitutional pacification, polite people, the introduction of democratic principles, our Western partners*, etc.). The combination of these verbal signs, receiving, as a rule, metaphorical refraction in the social and communicative reality, creates both sustainable connotative negatives, and "information hierarchy", which broadcasts the proposed topics, the problems and opinions "top – down" and form public opinion in the parameters of one-way communication [38:5]. It is no coincidence that many researchers have dubbed the events in the media political field *"the war of formulations"*: the development of public policy depends on the name of active population – *civil society, protest electorate or the resource of the ruling regime*. In this regard, the role of socially typical evaluative nominations, phraseological units and phraseological journalistic standards, precedent phenomena involved in the field of interpretation and components of "knowledge of the world", common for the speaker and his

addressee significantly increases. For example, in the story of the Russian-Georgian spy scandal (radio "Echo of Moscow", the information program "Echo", 05 November 2010) in the message of the correspondent "from the scene", nomination *spies* and *conspiracy* form the evaluation field from the first lines and thematic expression *spy scandal* introduces the frame *"recruitment – introduction – secret information – encryption – connected – secret operation – exposure – evidence – disclosure – "exchange"*, implemented by subsequent messages of the block. *The documentary* is connected with *evidence*, however, the lexemes the *spy* and the *movie* activate representation about the *spy movie* in consciousness of the addressee, allowing it to consider the reference episode as part of a certain scenario and to ask a question: what is it – a staging or reality? In the line of A. Orekh, commenting on another plot of the program – on the political prospects of the party "Yabloko" ("Apple") in the case of a coalition *with some rating Pear* (*it will not be "Apple", and in the best case Apple Jam, but it is better to turn into jam than into peelings*) – the expansion of the reference plan is due to metaphorical nominations and precedent texts: a distinctive characteristic of *jam* in its gastronomic meaning – uniformity, lack of a clearly expressed structure, in the spontaneous actions, when professionals gather and play without a rehearsal and agreements, usually for pleasure and not for the public, which is not uncommon on the political stage; *peelings* are associated with the *waste* and *garbage* of the political process; the *apple* and *pear* are not only two types of political *figures* in the form of addition, but also certain mental signs, if you remember the beginning of the famous "Katyusha" (*Apple and pear trees were a-blooming, mist was creeping on the river...*), implicated in this context and the war metaphor, and the metaphor of the height of goals and ambitions, and a metaphor of the uncertain future. In the interview of I. Khakamada (radio "Svoboda", 28 September 2009) in the focus of contrast is the image of the *matrix*, which combines a system of relationships of a state of reality, and the designation of hardware and software simulation of the virtual world: *the real life is in disaster, and political PR hits rock bottom in the invention of new words, messages, technologies, < ... > and we begin to live <...> in the matrix <...> and Medvedev in this world or*

Russian matrix is trying to take a competitive position with Putin; there is such a wave <…> in the regions <…> I think this micromatrix will soon pour out <…> everywhere; the matrix gradually, through mass media absorbs the individual's outlook, etc. In the dialogue between S. Minaev and I. Ruzheynikov with A. Khinshtein (radio "Mayak", talk show "Dances with wolves", 19 October 2010), the content of which was "hot news" – the case of the worm in the plate of the Governor of the Tver region D. Zelenin, – the dominant center becomes grotesque representation of Russia's international prestige in *(nano)worms* and officials in the form of *worms, getting out of all holes*. Constant "predicates" of legitimate political practices, marking their variables "subjects", metaphorically broadcast ideological constants and stereotypes, which are consciously/unconsciously laid in the society and the mental field of the ethnic group.

It can be stated that the rhetoric of Russian political discourse of recent times is aimed at "reformatting" subjectivity, ideology and history as a whole: on the one hand, new (or updated old) symbolic attributes are created (cf. *Crimea is ours*! vs. *Party of crooks and*

thieves!), the range of precedent texts and names of historical figures (*St. George's ribbon, Alexander III*) is expanding, on the other – numerous linguistic and semiotic constituents (slogans, verbal slogans, emblems, awards) are discredited and even abolished as a result of the functioning in the political field of a significant number of editorial, cinematic and other texts with unilateral negative evaluation characteristics of these symbols. It should be noted that "the symbol never belongs to any one synchronous section of culture, it always pierces this cross-section vertically, coming from the past and moving into the future" [39:185], respectively, its removal from the consciousness of society modifies the dominant meanings, produced and fixed in the space of language, and generates a new image of the world.

The third specific feature of the legitimate political practices is the inherent manipulative orientation. Undoubtedly, in political discussion people tend to avoid answering some unpleasant questions, hide undesirable facts, at the same time influence the interlocutor, impose their opinion on him, even hurt, offend the interlocutor. However, the language itself, as noted by

T.M. Nikolaeva, "has limited means, interactive and composite, syntactic, grammatical. In other words, languages have the properties of self-manipulation"[40:225]. This property of language allows the speaker to interpret reality. One of the most effective mechanisms of manipulation in Russian is nominalization, i.e. replacing nouns by adjectives or verbs (cf. *The police brutally cracked down on demonstrators* is replaced by the phrase *the massacre with demonstrators*; *a vile act – a scoundrel*). Another effective method is the so-called "language demagogy" (the term was introduced by T.V. Bulygina and A.D. Shmelev) – a technique of the indirect impact on the recipient, when ideas are not expressed directly, they are imposed surreptitiously, by using opportunities provided by language mechanisms. The essence of this technique is to mask subjective assertions under the judgment, perceived as a well-known fact (presupposition); it
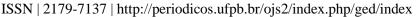
is usually labeled by the constructions *as you all know*, *as is known, a well-known fact* and others[30]. The third technique is *perseverance* – a tactic of repeated persistent repetition (an integral part of various suggestive and theatrical discourses[31]), which affects both the linguistic consciousness and the subconscious of the addressee of information messages.

To illustrate the last technique, the example of a political game with a cultural code is considered, it determines the struggle for the dominant patriotic values of Russia. On 10 June 2017 in Kiev, at the event on the introduction of the visa-free regime of Ukraine with the European Union, President of Ukraine P.A. Poroshenko quoted a fragment of M. Lermontov's poem "Farewell, unwashed Russia". This speech was broadcast in television and Internet media (including the TV channel "112 Ukraine"), got into social networks, "passed through a sieve" of numerous

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[30] Based on the correlation of the purpose and perlocutionary effect of the first and second methods, it is possible to talk about the synonymy of the terms "linguistic demagogy" and "linguistic manipulation", but the second term seems more successful, because the semantics of the word "manipulation" implies a directed and thoughtful action of the manipulator, while the concept of "demagogy" is primarily associated with interpersonal

communication, which does not always imply a certain effectiveness of the act.

[31] This tactic is actively used, in addition to politics, in rituals, rites, worship, as well as in neuro-linguistic programming and advertising.

journalistic comments. Thus, the text of Lermontov became not only an element of the politician's speech, but also entered the mass-cultural context. Following the "attack" against Russia by P.A. Poroshenko in the media space on 10-11 June 2017, the situation of the "cultural duel" of the two presidents was actively discussed. On the one hand, the Russian media was dominated by the emphasis on the "poetic duel" of the heads of state, as evidenced by the titles of publications: *Putin responded Proshenko with a continuation of the poem by Lermontov* (RBC, https://www.rbc.ru/politics/15/06/2017/594263a69a79472e9701ab1d); *Putin explained to Poroshenko the meaning of the poe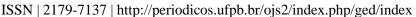m about "unwashed Russia"* (NTV, https://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1820544/); *Putin responded to Poroshenko's words about "unwashed Russia" with a quote from Shevchenko* (INTERFAX, https://www.interfax.ru/russia/566737). On the other hand, the Russian media resumed the retrospective context – the interpretation of M. Lermontov's poem by the President of the Russian Federation during the meeting with the winners of the all-Russian contest "Teacher of the Year 2016". Here is a

quote of V.V. Putin's speech: "*Or "Goodbye, unwashed Russia". It would seem that such a thing, rude to the country: "The land of slaves, the land of lords, / and you, blue uniforms of gendarmes, / and you, obedient to them folks. But those, who want to see these negative things, stop, and there is a second quatrain: Perhaps beyond Caucasian mountains / I'll hide myself from your pashas, / from their eyes that are all-seeing, / from their ever hearing ears.* When was it written? *In 1841, I think. What is the occasion? He was going to the Caucasus. He was an officer and fought for the interests of the Fatherland. On the one hand, he does not accept this officialdom, earphone and all sorts of surveillance and so on, on the other hand, he is ready to give his life for the interests of the country and the Motherland. He was an extremely brave man. And the second part often remains unnoticed*" (there is a second stanza: Putin explained Poroshenko how to understand the work of Lermontov/http://ren.tv/novosti/2017-06-11/est-i-vtoraya-strofa-putin-obyasnil-poroshenko-kak-ponimat-tvorchestvo-lermontova).

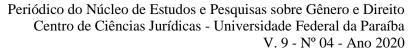On the wave of the poetry duel between two presidents in the Internet,

the program of E. Yakovleva "Farewell, unwashed Russia" – fake?" (the author's cycle "Digital stories") appeared, it was posted on YouTube 5 days after the speech of the President of Ukraine. The question of M.Yu. Lermontov' authorship was considered and the hypothesis that the poem was wr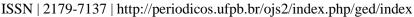itten by the Polish poet T.L. Zablotsky was put forward (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17nx_CQmqWc). Indeed, the autograph of the poem "Farewell, unwashed Russia" was not retained. In Lermontov studies there are two hypotheses about the time and the reasons for the appearance of this text. The first correlates the writing of the poem with the events of May 1840, when the poet was exiled to the Caucasus. The second – from the middle of April 1841, when M.Yu. Lermontov was ordered to leave St. Petersburg within 48 hours [41: 222]. During the life of Mikhail Lermontov, the poem was not published, it appeared in press only in the late XIX century ("Russian archive", 1890, vol. 3, No. 11). Together with the release of E. Yakovleva's program, political battles pass into the sphere of philological discussions: it is obvious that the literary text in a situation of political confrontation becomes both an argument of confrontation and a special kind of "political lightning rod".

Undoubtedly, the world art classic is a concentrate of universal values, an impeccable reference point for a person in a situation of choice. The work of M.Yu. Lermontov, which is a part of Russian romanticism and at the origins of the formation of realistic aesthetics, in the speech of the Ukrainian President serves as an authoritative reference. The initial verse, taken out of context, is an ideological symbol of the rupture of Ukraine's relations with Russia. V.V. Putin, in turn, gives the historical and biographical comment of the text taking into account its aesthetic integrity. It is obvious that legitimate political discourse becomes "multilayered", the discourse of artistic practices is "interwoven" into it, "provoking" to the interpretation of real facts in relation to literary works and thus becoming the basis of metaphorization of the political fact.

The fourth characteristic of legitimate political practices, which actualizes ecolinguistic problems in a special way, is a certain institutional reversion. Despite the diversity and expansion of opportunities for public participation (communication of
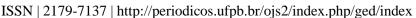
representatives of political power with citizens in blogs, social networks, discussion of draft laws on the Internet, the functioning of mobile waiting rooms of political leaders, expert Internet platforms to discuss strategic decisions (portal "Strategy 2020", the expansion of independent examination of draft political decisions, testing of alternatives to power initiatives through mass sociological surveys of the population) [42:6], forms of communicative interaction between society and government are created, as a rule, "top-down" in accordance with the strategy of "Government to Citizen". As a result, special speech clichés are developed and special language signs are fixed, which are perceived by the majority of the subjects of the political field as necessary prescriptions and corresponding to the discursive tasks of the formula for regulating the behavior of community members, while the categoricity of the imperative form of expression of will is leveled by the loyal attitude of civil society: manifestations of power communication are often considered justified, since in such cases positive values, norms and patterns of behavior are defined – *life, victory, order, legality, efficiency, tolerance*, etc.

Presupposition field of the participants, actualizing military slogans: "*Do not talk: be alert, these days even the walls may be listening. Not far from gossip and chatter is political change*", "*More metal – more weapons*", "*Light in the window – help for the enemy*", and constructions of the style of official documents: "*Work in special clothes*", "*Turn off before work*", "*Work in a safety shield*" (ensuring work safety), naturally turns speech formulas-prohibitions in patterns of discursive political practices – *require, must, it is impossible, impossible, forbidden, meet requirements, it is not accepted, allowed, blame*, etc., and a small "inclusion" of language units, marking the nomination of authorities – to perform the role of institutional "public servants" (to create conditions to facilitate, help, report, dear, please, let, thanks, etc.), is treated as a special personality characteristic that is due to upbringing or education. These units, from the authors' point of view, are both indicators of the developed dominant power in the language, and factors of the effective implementation of the impact function, sometimes violating the environmental space of political actors.

Both a cause and a consequence of institutional reversion is the shift of social roles, the substitution of the concepts of "rights" and "duties" in application to different participants of interaction: the people are endowed with only duties, the power – with only rights[32]. It is no coincidence that it is possible to notice the replacement of the sema "power" by the sema "domination" – *omnipotence, absolute power, sovereignty, authority, law, rule, dictatorship, helm, host, crown, throne, throne*, etc., whereas in the linguistic consciousness of the institutional "bottom" the assessment of the authorities' activities is expressed in the following way – *omnipotence, domination, yoke, superiors, power, unequal struggle, desk dependence, the blockade of information, netocracy, ochlocracy, plutocracy*, etc. It should be noted that the problem of "nomination and power" vs "power of nomination" does not demonstrate the capabilities of the language system, as it determines the proposition of the construction and the vector of further incorporation of the

sign into other discursive fields (remember that Confucius instructed the governors to start the board with the correction of names – in order to comprehend the essence of things).

The expansion of the process of institutional reversion in the political space (where social institutions are in direct contact with those for whom they were created), coupled with the accentuation of the negative/reduction of the positive field of linguocultural consciousness of communication subjects and the simultaneous expansion of the reference plan of statements (by metaphorization, euphemization, nominalization, various tactics of manipulation, including the substitution of symbolic constructs) leads to the formation of a new reality, mechanisms of organization which can not only limit the legitimacy of political decisions, but also to form other contextual concepts, norms of verbal behavior, stereotypes of assessments and communicative traditions of the universe as a whole, often bringing together the composition and structure of legitimate political

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[32] Unfortunately, it should be noted that agents of political activity, aimed at ensuring order in society and preserving the highest values in it, take a different position, developing their own rules an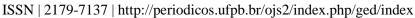d creating their institutional codes, often based on the importance of social status, material and other pragmatic opportunities, access to public goods, etc.

practices with practices illegitimate and even illegal.

Illegitimate political practices in the aspect of ecolinguistic problems

Illegitimate (especially illegal) political practices represent a separate area of ecolinguistic research, which gives the most complete picture of the use of symbolic possibilities of language as a "specific (for humanity) way of regulating ... interactivity" [43:18], "interbody coordination that enables us to achieve results that are unreachable for a single human body or person" [Ibid.]. At the same time, the goals of illegal political organizations lie outside the interests of individuals, since individuals, with appropriate psychological treatment, demonstrate a willingness to act in accordance with the plans of the group that includes them and against possible personal costs. By the nature of the consequences, caused by this influence, such political practices are also called socially "non-ecological" [44:7], causing harm to society and its members.

Leaving aside the topics of legal regulation, suppression and prevention of illegal political practices (i.e. special institutional mechanisms related to the functioning of the legislative and judicial authorities), the authors turn to the description of interactive formats of illegitimate political discourses and their organization (on the example of technologies of participation used in the activities of radical organizations). The use of these technologies makes the discourse a means of imposing the claim to power, the area through which the detabooing and legitimization of the forbidden themes are implemented, the disguise of illegal activities and actions, the abuse of rights to achieve indicated goals.

Taking into account the fact that the involvement in the activities of radical organizations is understood as "encouragement and inclusion of people (objects of involvement) to participate in any, including illegal, activities through transmission, excitation or formation in their creation of a specific motivational setting in the process of speech and other influence of the subject (involver), carried out in specific social conditions, real or virtual discourse" [45: 466-467], the organization of this process can be described from the point of view of unity and separation of three levels of non-ecological interaction: (I) socio-communicative context, (II) stages of
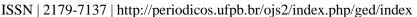
involving influence, (III) discursive system.

At the level of socio-communicative context, the consideration of involvement in the activities of a radical organization is associated with the answer to the question: "What constitutes the involver (corporate entity) as a carrier of a certain political ideology?" The experience of analysis of involvement discourses shows that the description of their socio-communicative context is closely related to the idea of:

• types of organization in terms of its relationship to group membership (usually such organizations are inclusive groups, i.e. communities that pursue the goal by expanding the group itself [46:34]);

• its ideology, which includes regulations on the proper promotion of the political ideas;

• its structure, the hierarchical characteristics of which determine the degree of conscious attitude to membership in the group (as a rule, beginners and ordinary members of the group are considered as such individuals who are less devoted to the objectives of the organization, and therefore they subject to guardianship and directed ideological processing, or "training");

• its legal status, the political program of the community depends on it and, accordingly, the choice of propaganda forms (the group's confession of radical ideology in the trend leads to the recognition of such organizations as illegal, and therefore affects the choice of hidden forms of propaganda work, up to the use of a coded language to hide identification attributes);

• manufacturability of involvement, demonstrating thoughtfulness and models of inducement and retention of adepts and stakeholders (external, inactive carriers of positive public opinion).

It is important to note that the process of involvement of radical organizations in the activities is stadial due to the fact that it requires monitoring the activity of the audience and it is characterized by a gradual introduction of the goals and objectives of the organization. The stages of involving influence are determined by the transition from the stage of inclusion in the community to the stage of self-attraction, involving personal initiative on the part of the adept. Thus,

involvement as a process of changing in the status of attitudes can be described either from the perspective of the organization's interaction with society as a real and potential source of like-minded people, new adherents and stakeholders, or from the point of view of appropriation and application of the organization's ideology by the objects of involvement.

In the first case, the process of engagement is a set of the following stages:

• the stage of community formation (the choice of the right primary audience, creating a circle, developing habits of the persons involved, awareness of values and principles of ideology, etc.);

• the stage of joint implementation of activities (regular realization of training activities, joint understanding of written sources, ideology concepts, joint thinking through recruitment strategies, the report of the cell members and its leader, support for the pace of involvement, etc.);

• the stage of joint creation of the image of the organization (initiation of "people's rumor", "viral" dissemination of information,
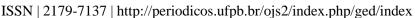
involvement of loyal persons in its dissemination);

• the stage of reaching a wider audience (motivation for a priority goal, interaction with regional cells, conferences, etc.) [47:142].

In the second case, the involvement is described as a sequence of states, characterizing the degree of incorporation of objects (subjects) in the activities of radical organizations, namely: 1) "anchoring"; 2) preparation for the adoption of the organization's goals and objectives; 3) entry into organizations (= membership, fixed by oath, persuasion, code, etc.); 4) immersion in the activities [45:463].

As noted in the works [45;47;48;49;50], at each stage of involvement, the following parameters are discovered:

• typical intentions of involvers (for example, the establishment of trust, regular relationships, "probing" of candidatures, asking their aptitudes, abilities, strengthening the influence of involvers and the organization, retaining the attention of the object, maintaining in the group structure, explanation of ideology, etc.);

• specific strategies and tactics of speech influence (cooperative – aimed at uniting with the object of influence and at the same time separating it from other large and small social groups: cf. "I"/"you"/"we – communication", the opposition "*we <good, "healthy", immaculate, full-fledged*"; "*they <bad, "sick", vicious, defective>*"; at the same time, the degree of imperative, explicit and categorical motivation increases with the entry of adepts into the structure of the extremist organization, in turn, the mitigation and veiling of conscription is detected at the early stages of involvement);
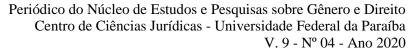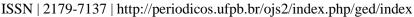
• specific types of communication reactions, indicating a different degree of involvement: expression of *interest, consent, self-assessment, request for additional information, making promises, report on the actions performed, exchange of experience, awareness of the content and methods of the group's activities, relationships, participation in the planning of joint actions*, etc. (cf. possible reactions of non-involvement – *misunderstanding of what this is about, "absence", boredom, irritation, rejection, desire to leave as soon as possible, the requirement of compliance*

with the rules, refusal to participate in meetings, etc.);

• specific genres of engagement (*complex verbal forms of the training activities, meetings, location of primary audience, leaflets, books, ideological orientation, prayer*, etc.).

The analysis [45;47;48;49;50] of the discursive system of illegal political organizations, using the technologies of involvement to replenish their ranks shows that the most important indicators of involvement in the activities of radical groups are the markers of: 1) communicative activity (including active and reflexive listening), the regularity of presence, visits and speech actions; 2) inclusiveness, cooperativeness, self-identification (verbs of inclusive action, pronouns "we", "our", expressions with semantics of community, association, entry (inclusion) into the group – *"together with (us)", "with those (who)", "collectively", "all (as one)", "the whole", "without exceptions", "no one will remain (aside, indifferent)", "help", "support", "promote", "interact", "join", "enter", "unity"*, etc.; self-names, including comic, ironic by the name of the organization, etc.); 3) meliorative assessment of "friends" and, on the contrary, pejorative of "foes"; 4)
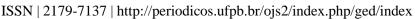
readiness to conceal the goals, to carry out actions with the understanding of their illegality.

The leading communicative role of the involver is that he organizes communication, conducts training and other classes, activates and directs activities of those involved, uses special appeals to strengthen the appellative and contact-setting function, produces lengthy monologues, dominates dialogues, places meaningful accents, persistently conducts key ideas, explains the necessary provisions, monitors and corrects the perception and understanding of the information received by participants, their speech and other actions, freely expresses his own "I" – expresses opinion, assessment, gives policy guidance, advice, recommendations, instructions, summarizes, draws conclusions, including convincing members of the group in the need to perform conscription, informs about upcoming cases, manages the planning of joint activities of the group, reports on the decisions of senior management, motivates involved, inspires them, allows himself to raise the tone of speech, interrupting, criticism, requires a report on the work done and, at the same time, he reports on the work done to higher management, monitors the activity of subordinates, etc.

The dependent role of the involved individuals can be traced in the fact that they observe subordination to the communicative leader, the volume and deployment of their replicas varies depending on the stage of involvement; they give answers to the questions posed by the leader, ask permission before changing the direction of the discussion, perform any actions, tend to agree with the subject of involvement, interpret what is happening from the perspective of the leader, ask him for additional information, advice, recommendations, report to him, demonstrate a positive attitude to the perception of information, express the level of their own understanding, strive to better understand the issues discussed, prepare homework and demonstrate their implementation, accept and observe the norms of interaction in the group, prepare a report on the work, the people of interest to the leader, etc. The process of recruitment to extremist organizations is most often of a conspiratorial nature, there are also specific speech actions of involvers (questions and surveys, discussions "behind the back", tests,

provocations, etc.), used to identify the success of interaction at a particular stage and the possibility of adept's transition to the next "level". The most experienced participants also use methods of deep psychological influence (manifested in speech acts), varying at each stage of "manipulation targets".
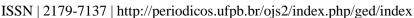
Consequently, the description of the discursive system of involving practices is carried out during the consideration and evaluation of the choice of their participants (1) communication textures (oral/written/digital, direct/indirect, real/virtual communication) > (2) genre forms > (3) means of their implementation. At the same time, the communicative and semiotic mechanisms of coding the intention of involvement demonstrate such a hierarchical organization of acts of communication, due to which the speech strategies of the involvement and the involved are provided with a set of constitutive elements: passages, text macro strategies, local speech acts, local meanings and lexical units that transmit them, grammatical forms and means of local syntax, etc.

Thus, according to the indicators of implementation of the mindset to the involvement and states of immersion in the desired ideological and wider social and communicative context, according to the compliance of these indicators with the stages of induced psychosemiotic influence, it is possible to talk about the depth of adaptation of the symbolic system to the conditions of certain non-ecological political practices, as well as the level of "intoxication" of consciousness caused by the impact on individuals of the social environment under consideration.
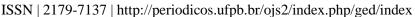
5. Conclusion

The word is a phenomenon that has been undergoing endless development, subjected to the same incessant research: a language as the basic attribute of man, which distinguishes him from the entire ecosystem, is the most striking marker of the relationship between the object and the environment and, accordingly, "must preserve all signs of humanity" [3:28]. However, the processes of the centuries-long existence of verbal signs demonstrate the expansion of the semantic capacity of the word and the formation in discourse as a global communicative event of new semasiological fields, as diverse

discursive practices are in a state of continuous development, involving mutual influence and interdependence, interpenetration and complementarity of different discursive types and genres, each of which is determined by the mental, behavioral, ethno-cultural components of social relations. In this regard, the political discourse, the main task of which is the conquest, exercise and preservation of power mediated in signs, turns out to be the most "sensitive" to various kinds of transformations, which causes the "toxicity" of the political space and thus the violation of the linguoecological system.

The reasons for this phenomenon can be called a variety of facts of modern social life: from intra-linguistic – quantitative and qualitative complexity of the spheres of speech communication (primarily, the Internet, the specificity of which determines the creation of new types of text and discourse); expanding the normative boundaries of the language of mass communication (due to the diversity of forms of speech behavior of individual social groups); democratization of journalistic style (due to the wide "migration" of language constituents and a certain tribute to the speech fashion) – to extra-linguistic –

instability of the world economic sphere; globalization and integration of linguistic and cultural components of each ethnic group, which have not only positive, but also an impressive number of negative aspects (from reducing the educational level of members of society to the activation of illegitimate communicative practices), etc. But the main factor, of course, is the significant influence of the subjects of political activity on the psychological (and even mental) organization of a particular person, carried out through the skillful use of various (often non-ecological) communicative techniques. Generated (as a result of the use of certain strategies, tactics, verbalized and "semasiologically hidden" ways of expressing/veiling the intentions of the participants) derived values on the basis of semantic-semiotic associations develop further, gradually move into adjacent discursive fields and, establishing new semantic connections, form the most complex structure of text/discursive unit, which has a "multi-layer" semantic "charge" and the highest expressive and emotional potential. Thus, the political logosphere as a part of the ecosystem is not so much a product of society's activity as its modifier: it

permeates all layers of the human logosphere and actively forms the speech practice of all subjects included in it, their socio-hierarchical structure and the linguo-ethnic universum as a whole.

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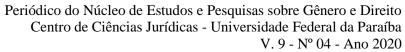
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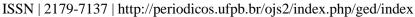
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