

SPEECH MANIPULATION AS ONE OF THE PROPERTIES OF MODERN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract: *The article deals with the study of the language persuasive basic means of contemporary Russian political discourse. In addition, the most active manipulative strategies of political discourse are considered. The research is based on the principles of discursive analysis, which involves analysis of speech resources in the context of a wide non-linguistic context. In addition, linguistic methods are used: contextual, component, syntax, word-building analysis. It is expedient to take as a basis the system-level characteristic of linguistic means while systematizing the language persuasive means of political discourse, according to which the following groups can be distinguished: lexico-phraseological means, grammatical means (morphological, syntactic). The description should be made by tying the units under study, on the one hand, to a broad non-linguistic context, on the other hand to language persuasive strategies, to which a unit is involved. The main strategies are implication, reduction, contact with the addressee, distancing from the expressed opinion. The novelty of the study is to determine the linguistic status of language persuasive means, to identify the principle of their research and to develop a mechanism for their description.*

Keywords: political discourse, loaded language, language persuasive strategies, language persuasive means.

One of the main characteristic of political discourse (along with ideology, evaluation, expressiveness) is manipulative capability.¹

The relevance of studying the manipulative capability of political discourse is currently explained by the following. The revealed facts of long-term total ideological manipulation by the consciousness of the Soviet citizen convince of the effectiveness of his methods, "inspire" modern political technologists to implement them, improve them. According to S.G. Kara-Murza,² manipulative capability as a means of power becomes fully possible only in a civil, democratic society, when the actions of a citizen can determine the fate of this power, and consequently, in the interests of power - to direct these actions in the right direction. However, the modern era is an era of information

¹ A. A. Karamova, *Modern political discourse (communicative and pragmatic aspect)*, Moscow, Golos-Press, 2017.

² S. G. Kara-Murza, *Manipulation of consciousness*, Moscow, Eksmo, 2000.

struggle,³ which is "clearly or implicitly between states in defense of their own interests in the confrontation over zones of political influence, markets, disputed territory, property, defense sphere, etc."⁴ The main weapon of this struggle (and the main danger) are methods and means of influence on the human psyche. Today manipulation is a common type of ideological influence in political discourse. It, unlike emotional and psychological persuasion by evaluative and expressive means, has a hidden effect on the subconscious sphere of the recipient, by building complex strategies. The manipulator sometimes achieves more effective results than the aggressor by suggesting beneficial ideas.

Manipulation should be understood as an implicit speech influence on the subconscious of the addressee in order to correct the existing picture of the world, the formation of motives beneficial to the addressee behavior.

Manipulation is a special kind of political communication, where the subjects themselves, their behavior, interaction, ways of achieving the goal are specific. Manipulant (politician or media) has a hidden effect on the subconscious sphere of the manipulated (people), correcting, forming a picture of the political world in a profitable way with the ultimate goal of achieving certain actions. The effectiveness of manipulation largely depends on individual characteristics, the formation of the target's outlook, capable / incapable of recognizing manipulations and resisting them. Taking into account the scale of the use of manipulative methods in political discourse, it is appropriate and relevant to talk about the development of psychological protection ways against manipulative influence, the essence of which can be reduced to the need for critical comprehension of the information received.

The aim of the article is to define the principle of investigating language persuasive means and to develop a mechanism for their description.

Also, we should pay attention to the fact that manipulation has a verbal nature. That is, the language system does not have special means, originally "conceived" as manipulative (as, for example, evaluation words intended for evaluation). There are means with a certain suggestive potential, which, when involved in the implementation of language persuasive strategies, become means of manipulation.

³ S. P. Rastorguev, *Philosophy of information war*, Moscow, Moscow Psychological and Social Institute, 2003.

⁴ V. F. Prokofiev, *The secret weapon of information warfare*, Moscow, SINTET, 1999.

Taking into account all of the above mentioned, analyzing language persuasive means, it is advisable to keep in mind only their suggestive potential, which is realized in the framework of language persuasive strategies.

Experience shows that the main manipulative strategies in the political discourse are: the implication strategy is the concealment of true meanings,⁵ the reduction strategy is the simplification of the current problems,⁶ the strategy of establishing contact with the addressee,⁷ the strategy of distancing from the expressed opinion and removing responsibility for words/actions.⁸

Literature review

Manipulation is a subject of interdisciplinary study. Manipulation is a phenomenon primarily psychological, associated with the management of consciousness (most often - mass) and, further, - the action. The psychological doctrine of manipulation goes back to the teachings of I.P. Pavlov on higher nervous activity (to the theory of conditioned reflexes) and is based on the psychoanalysis of Freud (in particular, on the teaching of the subconscious).

According to the psychological point of view, manipulation, according to E.L. Dotsenko,⁹ "a kind of psychological influence, the skillful execution of which leads to a hidden excitement of another person's intentions, which do not coincide with his actual desires". Therefore, today, researchers are actively studying the mental mechanisms of manipulative effects on consciousness.¹⁰

Many researchers are interested in the question of the signs of manipulation. The answer to this question is important for practical purposes, since there is a need to distinguish between manipulation and other types of influence on the addressee (rational and emotional-

⁵ O. L. Mikhaleva, "Discourse of the object vs discourse of the subject: system-forming characteristics", in *Systemic and systemic in language and speech*, Irkutsk, Publishing House of Irk-gos. University, 2007, pp. 17-33.

⁶ P. O. Mironova, *The strategy of reductionism in contemporary political discourse: the cognitive-pragmatic aspect*, The theses of the candidate of philology science, Omsk, 2003.

⁷ Yu. S. Rynkovich, "Conversational strategies in modern media", in RR, 6, 2007, pp. 72-74.

⁸ Yu. S. Stepanov, "Alternative World, Discourse, Fact and Principle of Causality", in *Language and Science of the End of the 20th Century*. Moscow, RGGU, 1995, pp. 35-73.

⁹ E. L. Dotsenko, *Psychology of manipulation: phenomena, mechanisms and protection*, Moscow, Moscow State University, 1997.

¹⁰ S. G. Kara-Murza, *Manipulation of consciousness*, Moscow, Eksmo. (2000).

psychological beliefs) that are also used in political discourse. Researchers identify different signs of manipulation, placing at the forefront of one of them. N.I. Klushina¹¹ considers the lack of access to independent sources of information as the main sign of manipulation; M.V. Chernyakova¹² - the hidden nature of manipulation; E.L. Dotsenko¹³ - "goal-setting for the addressee," etc. The most complete generalization and analysis of the features distinguished by different scientists was made by E.L. Dotsenko.¹⁴ Researchers, highlighting a number of signs peculiar to manipulation, in the majority converge in one - in its latent character.

Researchers distinguish loaded language as the main means of manipulation. According to S.G. Kara-Murza,¹⁵ language is rightly considered the main means of suggestion, since suggestibility through words is a deep sense of the psyche that arose earlier than the capacity for analytical thinking. That is why today, a lot of work on the study of language persuasive strategies, tactics, speech suggestive means are done.¹⁶

Researchers think that manipulation as a specific type of communication. "Any manipulation of consciousness is interaction",¹⁷ states SG. Kara-Murza, since "a man can become a victim of manipulation only if he acts as its author, accomplice".¹⁸ M.V. Chernyakova,¹⁹ summarizing the experience of studying the properties of the manipulator (subject of manipulation), states about its generally negative nature. The manipulator is guided by unseemly goals to achieve unilateral benefits; refers to the addressee "from top to bottom", only as to the object of influence, not recognizing in it the presence of its own persistent opinion, its position. As for the object of manipulation, its

¹¹ N. I. Klushina, "Persuasion and manipulation: delineation of concepts", in RR, 5, 2007, pp. 50-53.

¹² M. V. Chernyakova, *Realization of the manipulative potential of the conceptual metaphor in the Russian and American political narrative, dedicated to the war in Iraq in 2003-2004*, The theses of the candidate of philology science. Ekaterenburg, 2007.

¹³ E. L. Dotsenko, *Psychology of manipulation: phenomena, mechanisms and protection*, Moscow, Moscow State University, 1997.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

¹⁵ S. G. Kara-Murza, *Manipulation of consciousness*, Moscow, Eksmo, 2000.

¹⁶ O. S. Issers, *Communicative strategies and tactics of Russian speech*, Moscow, Editorial URSS, 2002.

¹⁷ S. G. Kara-Murza, *Manipulation of consciousness*, Moscow, Eksmo, 2000.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹⁹ M. V. Chernyakova, *Realization of the manipulative potential of the conceptual metaphor in the Russian and American political narrative, dedicated to the war in Iraq in 2003-2004*, The theses of the candidate of philology science, Ekaterenburg, 2007.

features are conditioned by the unconscious nature of manipulative influence. The object of manipulation is most often people who are susceptible to suggestion, allowing themselves to be manipulated, without noticing the very fact of introducing motives of behavior that are beneficial to the manipulator.²⁰ The nature of political communication predetermines the possibility of manipulation. Collective, mass addressee (or crowd, according to G. Lebon,²¹ where it means "not the accumulation of people in one place, but the human totality possessing a psychic community",²² is extremely suggestible. The consciousness is individual, and the unconscious is collective. Individuals dissolve in the mass under the influence of suggestion, as suggestion in the crowd is contagious.²³

According to researchers are interested in the current issue of psychological protection from manipulation, that is, according to E.L. Dotsenko,²⁴ "the use of the subject of psychological means to eliminate or mitigate the damage that threatens him from another subject". This is associated with the activity of research in the field of critical discourse analysis, during which, according to M.V. Gavrilova "implicitly expressed attitudes in the system of social relations"²⁵ are revealed and "hidden effects of discourse influence on this system"²⁶ are demonstrated.

Materials and methods

The selection of factual material was based on the principles of discursive analysis, which involves the study of speech media in the context of a broad non-linguistic context. Discourse analysis is understood as a set of methods and techniques for interpreting various kinds of texts or utterances as products of speech activity carried out in specific socio-political circumstances and cultural and historical

²⁰ A. A. Karamova, *Modern political discourse (communicative and pragmatic aspect)*, Moscow, Golos-Press, 2017.

²¹ G. Lebon, *Psychology of the peoples and the masses*, Moscow, Layout, 1995.

²² A. Brushlinsky, "Social psychology in Russia and the theory of Serge Moscovici", in *Century Crowd. Historical treatise of the psychology of the masses*, Moscow, Center for Psychology and Psychotherapy, 1996, pp. 8-10.

²³ G. Lebon, *Psychology of the peoples and the masses*, Moscow, Layout, 1995.

²⁴ E. L. Dotsenko, *Psychology of manipulation: phenomena, mechanisms and protection*, Moscow, Moscow State University, 1997.

²⁵ M. V. Gavrilova, *Critical discourse analysis in modern foreign linguistics*, St. Petersburg, Publishing house S.-Petersburg. University, 2003.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

conditions.²⁷ A distinctive feature of discourse analysis is the attraction, consideration of a broad social context that plays an exclusive role in discourse.²⁸ The identification of the suggestive potential of a language means in speech is impossible without resorting to the communicative event. The statement of the fact of the manipulative nature of the statement/text will be incorrect without such an appeal. That is why the texts of the pre-election political discourse, whose main purpose is to attract the addressee to their side, are often used as a source of factual material, often using mechanisms of hidden psychological influence. The contextual analysis method was actively used, which is explained by the specific nature of the subject of the study. In some cases, methods of component analysis of the lexical unit were involved (in order to identify the ideological component in the lexical meaning of ideological keywords); method of syntactic analysis (in order to determine the structural features of some syntactic constructions - indefinite- personal, passive); word-formative analysis (in particular, when working with constructions containing nominalization).²⁹

The main and ultimate goal of such studies and their practical importance is, in accordance with the principles of critical discourse analysis, in the development of mechanisms for psychological protection against manipulative influences.

Results

Lexical and phraseological means.

Metaphor.

Reduction strategy:

- creation of a light / dark temporal image: *the legacy weighed heavily on* (LDPR);

- creating an attractive / repulsive image:³⁰ ... *I felt like a part of our country and our great people* (V.V. Putin);

- creating a stereotypical, one-sidedly beneficial vision of political phenomena, for example, seeing the situation of elections through the

²⁷ V. Z. Demyankov, "Text and discourse as terms and words of everyday language", in *IV International Scientific Conference: Language, Culture, Society*. Moscow, 2007, pp. 86-95.

²⁸ K. Ya. Sigal, "Compose constructions and discourse", in *RAN news. A series of literature and language*, 5, 2001, pp. 42-45.

²⁹ G. R. Abdullina, Z. K. Ishkildina, M. I. Karabaev, L. K. Samsitova, L. R. Fayzullina, "Morphonological Phenomena in Derivation Process (as Exemplified by the Bashkir Language)", in *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, 9 (36), 2016.

³⁰ G. G. Pocheptsov, *Imageology*, Moscow, Refl-book; Kiev, Wackler, 2001.

prism of a military metaphor: *From **defense** to a nationwide **offense!*** (G.A. Zyuganov).

The strategy of implication:³¹ *administrative barriers instead of bureaucracy, red tape* (V.V. Putin).

Key words-ideologemes

The strategy of establishing contact.

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist ideology exploits the means of the key concept of "labor" -the worker, the man of labor, etc., endows them with a purely positive meaning, uses them as appeals (direct and indirect), and elevates the worker to the status of his addressee.

The strategy of establishing contact. It:

- an adverb together "we-party + people": *We lived **together** for centuries.* (V.V. Putin);

- words like "we-party + people": *We are one in the most important ...* (D.A. Medvedev);

- treatment of the connotation "I am mine":³² *Compatriots! Friends!* (D.A. Medvedev).

Grammatical means of manipulation

Pronouns.

Contacting strategy:

- a pronoun we are inclusive in the meaning of "we-party": ***We** are citizens of one country!* (RSP).

- pronoun our in the sense of "belonging to us-party + people": *History once again set the peoples of **our** country before the same choice ...* (Communist Party).

- the pronoun is all in the meaning of "we-party + people": *... **we** all, the people of Russia - have achieved a lot ...* (V.V. Putin).

The indefinite- personal constructions

The strategy of distancing from the expressed opinion.

With the help of Ø3mn "a phantom image of the enemy is created and its exclusion from the personal sphere of the speaker occurs".³³ In this case, the "Ø3mn referent is always" another"³⁴. Therefore, the verb-

³¹ Yu. S. Baskova, *Euphemisms as a means of manipulation in the language of the media*, The abstract theses of the candidate of philology science, Krasnodar, 2006.

³² O. L. Mikhaleva, "Discourse of the object vs discourse of the subject: system-forming characteristics", in *Systemic and systemic in language and speech*, Irkutsk, Publishing House of Irk-gos, University, 2007, pp. 17-33.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

predicate will express a negative, from the point of view of the speaker, action: *Threw our country into a pit* (Russia 1);

Reduction strategy.

The subject outlines not only the zones of alienation, but also shed all responsibility for actions and words, attributing them to "someone else's".³⁵ In addition, indefinite-personal constructions are involved in the creation of dark temporal images: *the Soviet era was issued a verdict* (V. Solovyov).

Passive constructions.

The strategy of implication.

The referent of the agent of passive constructions can turn out to be both "alien" and "his own" with the corresponding evaluation characteristics: *Mass illiteracy was eliminated ...* (CPRF) - the actions of "our own" and *And what was the army brought to?* (V.V. Zhirinovsky) - the actions of "strangers".

The manipulative essence of passive constructions lies in implicitly embedded information about the subject's belonging to the domain of his / other. The addressee is invited to speculate which subject is covered "behind the scenes", with which the addressee can easily cope, relying on the polarity of the assessment.

The strategy of distancing from the expressed opinion.

The semantics of the predicate of passive constructions "must be done by someone" involves them in the implementation of the strategy of distancing from the expressed opinion, the removal of responsibility for what has been said: *The conditions must be created in society ...* (United Russia).

Constructions with nominalization.³⁶

The strategy of the subject's implication.

Constructions with nominalization make possible to replace the position of the subject with both "one's own" and "another's" (with the corresponding assessments): *One of the undeniable achievements of the last decades ...* (D.A. Medvedev) is a subject from the "own" area; If as a result of economic growth the rich people are more rich and the poor are poor, then this is ... plundering the country! (S.M. Mironov) - a subject from the category of "alien".

Reduction strategy.

³⁵ M. H. Rakhimbergenova, *Linguocognitive strategies to reflect the image of an ethnically "alien" in the Russian press*, The theses of the candidate of philology science, Ekaterenburg, 2008.

³⁶ P. Serio, "Russian language and analysis of Soviet political discourse: an analysis of nominalization", in *A quadrature of meaning: The French school of discourse analysis*, Moscow, Progress, 1999, pp. 337-383.

Structures with nominalization can be used to create positive / negative images of one's own / others, including by shifting responsibility to "someone else's" for bad (see previous examples).

The strategy of distancing from the expressed opinion, removing the responsibility for what needs to be done: *Therefore, the tightening of migration legislation is inevitable* (V.V. Zhirinovsky).

Constructions with conventional and communicative implicatures.

The strategy of implication.

Constructions with conventional implicatures (presuppositions)³⁷ - a latent supply of suggested information as true, not requiring verification: *The state must regulate prices* (G.A. Zyuganov) - an estimated presupposition "the state does not regulate prices".

Communicative implicatures are based on the violation of the Principles of Cooperation (according to G.P. Grice).³⁸ For example, a deliberate violation of the principle of quantity: *But they made statements that NATO's doors are open to Georgia, so ...* (Rustavi 2).

Discussion

The base of language persuasive means should be limited to the possibility of implementing manipulative strategies, the main ones in the political discourse being the strategies of implication, reduction, contact with the addressee, distancing from the expressed opinion.

To implement the implication strategy, the following are involved:

- metaphors (as semantically biplane units),
- passive constructions, constructions with nominalization, in which information about the subject's belonging to the domain of his /other own is implied (since the position of the agent in such constructions may take an ideologically diverse subject), but which can be easily deciphered in the recipient's mind, proceeding from a positive / negative context,
- Constructions with conventional implicatures (presuppositions), in which the assertion (what needs to be proved, in our case - to inspire) is given under the guise of presupposition (what is obviously true does not require proof),

³⁷ O. L. Mikhaleva, *Political Discourse: The Specificity of Manipulative Impact*, Moscow, Librocom, 2009.

³⁸ G. P. Grice, "Logic of speech communication", in *New in foreign linguistics. Pragmatics*. Moscow, Progress, 1985, pp. 217-237.

- constructions with communicative implicatures, in which implicit information is submitted in the guise of violation of the Principles of Cooperation (according to G.P. Grice).³⁹

To implement the reduction strategy, we use:

- metaphor as a way of cognition and structuring of political reality, aimed at the formation of such a vision of the world, which is beneficial to the addressee;

- Indefinite-personal constructions with a common semantics of alienation (since Ø3Mn is always "alien"), reducing the "foreign" area, painting it in negative tones, waived responsibility for harmful actions and words to "someone else's"; creating dark temporal images;

- passive constructions, constructions with nominalization, which play a role in creating positive / negative images of one's own, including in waiving responsibility for everything bad to "someone else's".

To implement the strategy of establishing contact with the addressee, the following are used:

- Keywords-ideologems (semantic ideologems) as a kind of positively stained evaluative vocabulary, denoting concepts that initially arouse the trust of the addressee, and therefore actively exploited by representatives of ideologies as a definition of their value priorities;

- words with the general meaning of "we-party + people" (where "party" means any institution) designed to demonstrate to the addressee that the subject of political communication does not think of itself in isolation from the people, that it acts in the name of the people, that the people themselves are Active politician;

- appeals designed to impress upon the addressee the idea of his involvement in the solution of important political issues, his important mission in determining the future of Russia.

To implement the strategy of distance from the expressed opinion, the following are used:

- passive constructions with a predicate in the sense of duty "someone must done something";

- constructions with a nominalization with a general meaning of disclaiming responsibility for what needs to be done.

Conclusion

The language does not have specific manipulative linguistic units, but has in its arsenal only means with suggestive potential.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 222.

While systematizing the language persuasive means of political discourse, it is advisable to take as a basis the system-level characteristic of linguistic means, in accordance with which, first of all, to allocate lexical-phraseological and grammatical means. The description should be made by tying the units under study, on the one hand, according to the principles of discursive analysis, to a broad nonlinguistic context, on the other hand to speech manipulative strategies, to which the unit is involved (strategies for implication, reduction, contact with the addressee, distancing from the expressed opinion).

Thus, the article systematized and analyzed the language persuasive means of the contemporary political din the sphere of the manipulative capabilities of the language.