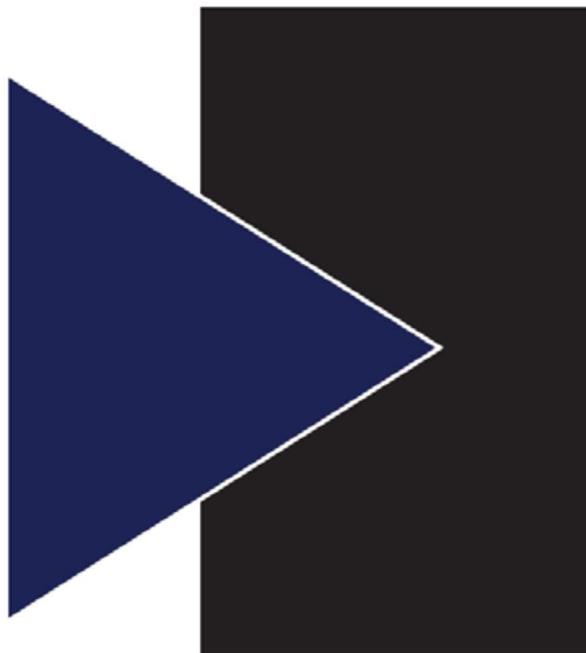


Language and power in discourses of conflict

24-26th JANUARY, 2019
DRESDEN



Conference Guide

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Final Conference of the Project
"Aggression and Argumentation:
Discourses of Conflict and Their Linguistic Negotiation"

Supported by



Information on the Conference

Contact

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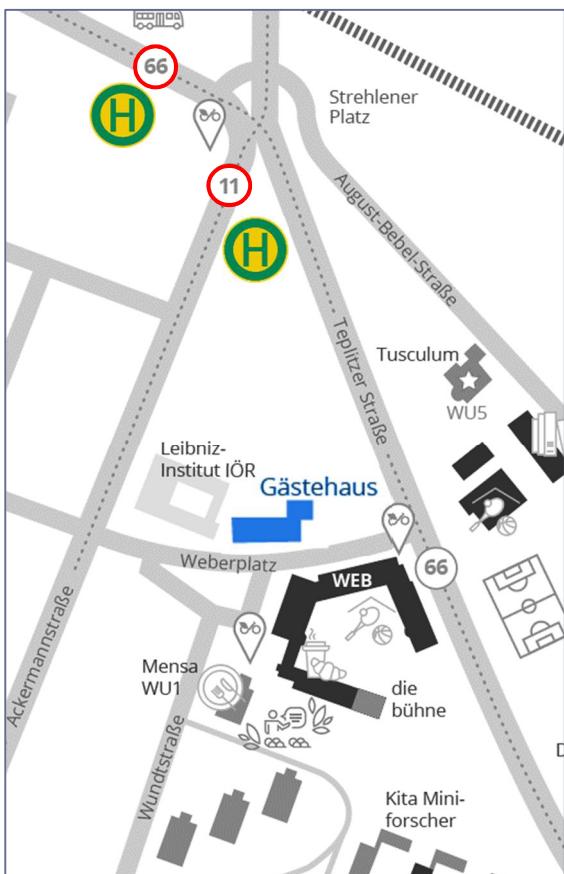
D-01219 Dresden

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Accommodation

The three-star guesthouse "Am Weberplatz" offers its guests a modern ambiance and a simple yet tasteful style. The hotel is located near the city center. You can easily reach the hotel by public transport.

The next stop near the guesthouse "Am Weberplatz" is "Strehlener Platz", which can be reached by tram line **11** or by bus line **66**.



Guesthouse "Am Weberplatz"

Weberplatz 3

01217 Dresden

-  info@gästehausweberplatz.de
-  +49 351 46793 00
-  +49 351 46793 94
-  <https://www.gästehausweberplatz.de>



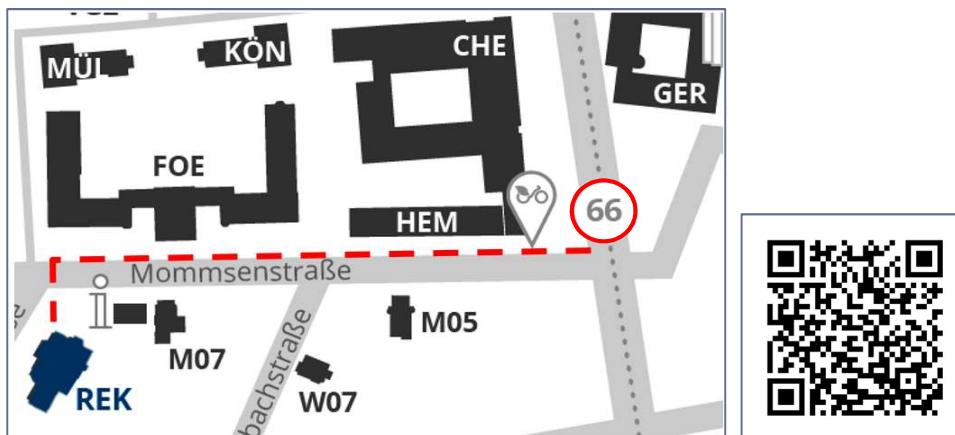
Venues



Rectorate Building

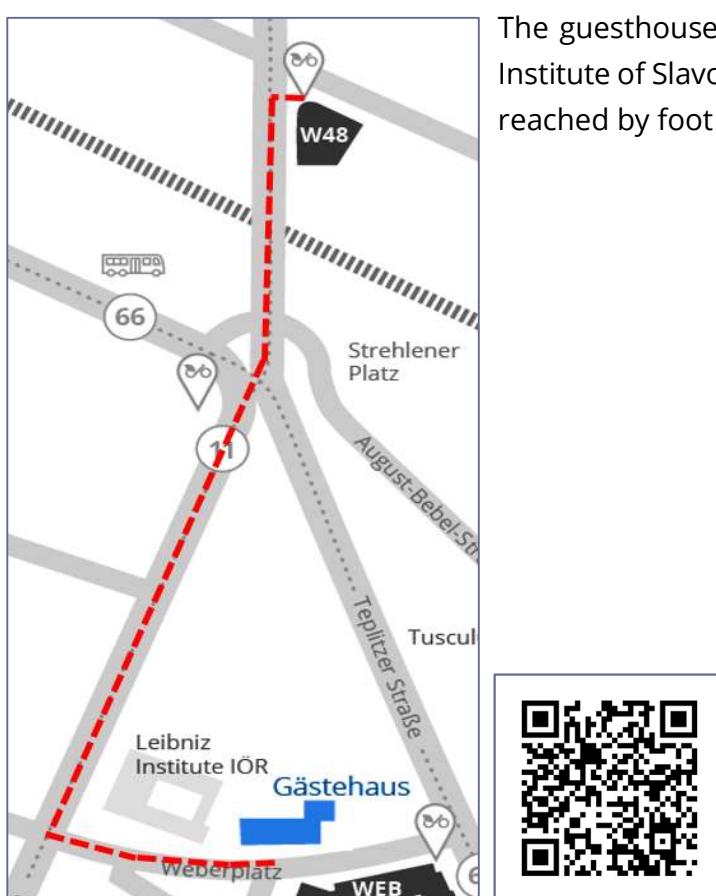
Mommsenstraße 11
01069 Dresden

The Office of the Rector can be reached by bus **66**. The next stop for the Rectorate Building is "Mommsenstraße".



Institute of Slavonic Studies

Wiener Straße 48
01219 Dresden



The guesthouse "Am Weberplatz" is located near the Institute of Slavonic Studies. The institute can be easily reached by foot (10 minutes' walk).

Conference Overview

THURSDAY	24.01.2019	VENUE: RECTORATE BUILDING
13:00 – 14:00	Registration	
14:00 – 14:15	Greeting	
14:15 – 15:00	Opening lecture	
15:00 – 16:00	Keynote speech	
16:00 – 16:15	<i>Coffee break</i>	
16:15 – 17:15	Keynote speech	
17:15 – 18:00	Project teaser I	
	<i>Dinner</i>	
FRIDAY	25.01.2019	VENUE: RECTORATE BUILDING
09:30 – 10:15	Project teaser II	
10:15 – 11:00	Identity and alterity	
11:00 – 11:15	<i>Coffee break</i>	
11:15 – 12:45	Identity and alterity	
12:45 – 14:45	<i>Lunch break</i>	
14:45 – 16:15	Discourse subversion and bottom-up participation	
16:15 – 16:30	<i>Coffee break</i>	
16:30 – 18:00	Invectivity in humoristic genres	
	<i>Dinner</i>	
SATURDAY	26.01.2019	VENUE: INSTITUTE OF SLAVONIC STUDIES, ROOM 016
09:30 – 11:00	Populism and political discourse	
11:00 – 11:15	<i>Coffee break</i>	
11:15 – 12:45	Language policies and nationalist discourses	
12:45 – 14:00	<i>Lunch break</i>	
14:00 – 15:30	Persuasion, skepticism and peace linguistics	
15:45 – 16:00	<i>Coffee break and discussion</i>	
	<i>Dinner</i>	

Conference Programme

THURSDAY 24.01.2019

VENUE: RECTORATE BUILDING

REGISTRATION

- 13:00 –** Registration of participants
14:00

GREETING

- 14:00 –** Dean and project leaders
14:15

OPENING LECTURE

- 14:15 –** Gasan Gusejnov, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
15:00 **Marginal Speech of the Political Mainstream**

KEYNOTE SPEECH

- 15:00 –** Daniel Weiss, University of Zurich
16:00 **The language of power: the case of parliamentary debates in the State Duma**

- 16:00 –** ☕ **Coffee break**
16:15

- 16:15 –** Ingunn Lunde, University of Bergen
17:15 **Contested Ideologies: Literary Fiction's Response to the Language Question**

PROJECT TEASER I

- 17:15 –** Holger Kuße, Marina Scharlaj, Marianna Novosolova, TU Dresden
18:00 **Aus dem Projekt „Aggression und Argumentation. Konfliktdiskurse und ihre sprachliche Verhandlung“**

- 19:00 –**  **Dinner**
open end

PROJECT TEASER II

09:30 – Anna Hluško, Alina Rudčenko, Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, Vinnytsia

10:15 Elena Petrenko, Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, Saint Petersburg

Язык вражды и этнические стереотипы в украинском и российском (медиа-)дискурсе

IDENTITY AND ALTERITY

10:15 – Elena Taranenko, Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, Vinnytsia

11:00 **Групповая идентичность Донбасса: от гипертрофированного регионального патриотизма к размыванию донбасской идентичности**

11:00 –  *Coffee break*
11:15

11:15 – Agnieszka Matusiak, University of Wrocław

12:00 **Neo-imperialism and neocolonialism in post-communist societies and cultures of the 21st century. The case of Ukraine**

12:00 – Helena Bettina Meyer, Justus Liebig University of Giessen

12:45 **Selbstdarstellung im Konflikt: Das russische Selbstbild in der Auslandsberichterstattung zur „Krimkrise“ 2014**

12:45 –  *Lunch break*
14:45

DISCOURSE SUBVERSION AND BOTTOM-UP PARTICIPATION

14:45 – Nadine Thielemann, Vienna University of Economics and Business

15:30 **#Россияжжет vs. #jedzjabłka - A comparative analysis of Twitter discourses on EU-sanctions in Russia and in Poland**

15:30 – Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić, University of Rijeka

16:15 **Signs of conflict in the post-war linguistic landscape in Croatia**

16:15 –  *Coffee break*
16:30

INVECTIVITY IN HUMORISTIC GENRES

16:30 – Valerij Efremov, Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia,

17:15 Saint Petersburg

**Агрессия и аргументация в рунете: случай ВУСЕТА ROSA |
ЧЕМПИОНАТ МИРА 2018**

17:15 – Ilona Kunkel, TU Dresden

18:00 Lachen zur Macht. Der Kaukasusdiskurs in der sowjetischen Satirezeitschrift Krokodil

19:00 – open end



Dinner

POPULISM AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE

- 09:30 – Vladimir I. Karasik, Pushkin State Russian Language Institute, Moscow
- 10:15 **Invectives in political TV shows**
- 10:15 – Martina Berrocal, University of Jena
- 11:00 **Language aggression as an inherent part of populist discourse**
- 11:00 – ☕ *Coffee break*
- 11:15

LANGUAGE POLICIES AND NATIONALIST DISCOURSES

- 11:15 – Aleksandra Salamurovic, University of Jena
- 12:00 **“Македонија ‘ласт минут’” – Language in time of the name-referendum**
- 12:00 – Dirk Uffelmann, University of Passau
- 12:45 **«Откровенный русофобский бандеровский бред»: творческое заимствование языка ненависти в социальных сетях**
- 12:45 – ⌂ *Lunch break*
- 14:00

PERSUASION, SKEPTICISM AND PEACE LINGUISTICS

- 14:00 – Aleksej Panič, Ukrainian Evangelical Theological Seminary, Kyiv
- 14:45 **Скептицизм как эпистемология примирения**
- 14:45 – Anna-Maria Meyer, University of Cologne
- 15:30 **The opposite perspective: On peace linguistics, peaceful discourse and peaceful speech acts**
- 15:30 – ☕ *Coffee break and discussion*
- 16:00

- 18:00 – ⌂ *Dinner*
- open end

Abstracts

Gasan Gusejnov

National Research University "Higher School of Economics", Moscow

Marginal Speech of the Political Mainstream

С конца 1980-х до середины 1990-х гг. в русском свободном политическом дискурсе конкурировали несколько стихийно сложившихся риторических школ – военно-хозяйственная (персонифицированная в таких ораторах, как А. Лебедь и В. Черномырдин), партийно-советская (Горбачев-Зюганов) и две или три школы новой откровенности – радикально-популистской (Жириновский) и либерально технократической (Собчак-Сахаров, в дальнейшем – Гайдар-Чубайс). Победу к середине 2010-х годов одержала школа новой откровенности, победившая своих конкурентов безоговорочной опорой на маргинальную речь. На какой запрос эта речь отвечала и почему она одержала победу в России?

Daniel Weiss

University of Zurich

The language of power: the case of parliamentary debates in the State Duma

During the first half of the legislative period 2012–2017, the lower chamber of the Russian parliament (Gosduma) was turning more and more into an instrument of direct exertion of governmental power, thus reflecting the heavily disordered checks and balances characteristic of Putin's "directed democracy". This new scenario is best illustrated by the adoption of a whole avalanche of repressive laws (partly also directed against the deputies themselves) (Gorham and Weiss 2016) and the sanctions against oppositional deputies, such as G. Gudkov's unprecedented exclusion and the speech ban on I. Ponomarev in autumn 2012. Not surprisingly, the new policy had a direct impact on parliamentary discourse: if during the previous legislative period a general frustration caused by the own lack of power and prestige prevailed, the language of the debates is now becoming not only more hostile and abusive, but sometimes also reminiscent of forensic discourse. Aggression even affected forms of address, to mention but Ponomarev's famous ironical quotation *Uvažaemye žuliki i vory* ('dear crooks and thieves'). The period of increased aggressiveness ended only in spring 2014, when the annexation of the Crimea and the outburst of the Ukraine conflict triggered a wave of patriotic feelings and united the ranks of the house; aggression could now be directed at the common exterior enemy.

The talk addresses not only the question as to what extent the Duma had *power to determine* the destiny of the country but also in what way it exerted *power over* individual deputies (Bousfield 2008b: 139). To this end, it adopts the distinction of power 'in language' (discursive power as a result of the ongoing dialogue) and power 'behind it' (pre-constituted social power) proposed by Culpeper (2008: 33–35). It also takes into account

the privileged status of the speaker and the house's entertainer (V. Žirinovskij). Moreover, it illustrates the impact of interventions from outside, in particular A. Naval'nyjs posts that led to the dismissal of V. Pextin as Chair of the Ethic Committee on 20.2.2013. The talk is based on the official transcripts of the Duma debates published on the Duma website and (as far as possible) the corresponding video archive. Its overall approach is informed by (im)politeness theory and a neo-Gricean framework (Levinson 2000) combined with relevance theory, thus aiming to cover the whole continuum between explicit and implicit speech acts. Special attention will be given to the use of implicit strategies such as irony, rhetorical questions and requests, fresh metaphors and various intertextual references and their interplay with polemical argumentation, the overall (im)politeness management, the speaker's self-staging and the entertainment of the audience.

Ingunn Lunde University of Bergen

Contested Ideologies: Literary Fiction's Response to the Language Question

Since the turn of the century, public debates on language in Russia have increasingly focused on the need to 'protect' the language. The background for this can be found in the processes of 'vernacularisation' that characterise late and post-Soviet sociolinguistic change, reflected in the tendency to use non-standard linguistic features, styles and genres in domains that have traditionally been reserved for the standard-language.

Language policy and linguistic legislation are discussed and negotiated not only in public debates. In this paper, I explore literary fiction as an arena of linguistic negotiation. Sociolinguistic change – linguistic change as well as changes in society's life with language, including linguistic reflexivity – may have an impact on how language is represented, used or thematised in a given literary text, thus allowing us to read the literary work as a reflection of, or even contribution to, the language debate itself.

Having outlined the major linguistic issues subject to contestation and debate in contemporary Russian society, I will present a case study on Valery Votrin's novel *The Speech Therapist* (*Logoped*, 2012), a linguistic dystopia which portrays an imagined society where different language ideologies are juxtaposed.

Dystopian fiction can be understood as a way of posing a question, testing a theory or mirroring a trend. Through the creation of an artistic 'what if'-scenario, the author invites his or her readers to reflect critically on certain tendencies in contemporary society. Language's prominence as a main concern of dystopia is probably due to its close ties to power structures, ideologies and identities. Totalitarian discourse, censorship, cultural policies, language legislation, norms and standards, but also linguistic resistance and revolt are among the topics that dystopian fiction can treat in playful, satirical, or philosophical ways.

As I will try to show, Votrin's novel responds to the language question on at least two levels: first, it plays with central concepts in the public language debates, stretching their

potential and experimenting with 'extreme versions' of notions such as *variants*, *norms* or *purity*. And, second, it treats the language issue on a philosophical level, questioning both the overt and hidden interrelationships between language and power, and language and identity.

Persuasive Macht und aggressive Argumentation

Der Begriff der *Persuasion* kann in zweifacher Weise verstanden werden, zum einen im Sinne von Überzeugen, zum anderen als Überreden. Es handelt sich in beiden Fällen um indirekte Interessensrealisierungen eines Proponenten gegenüber den Rezipienten sprachlicher Handlungen, denen direkte sprachliche oder außersprachliche Formen der Durchsetzung von Interessen, etwa durch Befehl oder physische Gewalt gegenüberstehen. Während jedoch Überzeugen auf die aktive Teilnahme des Rezipienten am persuasiven kommunikativen Prozess angewiesen ist, kann Überreden ohne den Willen des Rezipienten geschehen und sich sogar gegen dessen Interessen richten. Im zweiten Fall stellt die Persuasion einen aggressiven Akt gegen ihre Rezipienten dar.

Argumentieren ist der Standardfall der überzeugenden Persuasion, während die überredende aggressive Persuasion leicht als Gegenteil von Argumentieren aufgefasst werden kann. Diese klare Gegenüberstellung wird jedoch der faktisch sehr beweglichen Grenze zwischen Überzeugen und Überreden oder gar Manipulieren und auch dem offenen Übergang von nicht aggressivem zu aggressivem kommunikativen Handeln nicht gerecht. Persuasive Macht üben vielmehr Formen aggressiven Argumentierens aus, die auf die Bemächtigung (und in der Regel Schädigung) anderer zielen. Dazu gehören Formen der Abwertung (bis hin zur ‚Hassrede‘) ebenso wie die betrügerische Lobrede und die Rechtfertigung von aggressiven Handlungen (Gewalt) mit moralischen (*Wir sind es dem Volk schuldig, Volksverräter zu entsorgen*), metaphysischen (*Die Krim ist unser heiliges Land*) oder auch nur funktionalen Argumenten (*Um die Wirtschaft in Schwung zu bringen, geht es leider nicht anders*). Von besonderer Qualität sind totalitäre Sprechhandlungen, die dem Gegenüber keine Möglichkeit zum adäquaten Widerspruch lassen (*Sie wollen doch auch nur das Beste für ihr Kind*), und diffuse Argumentationen, die die Rezipienten über die Intentionen eines Proponenten im Unklaren lassen (*Wir werden alles tun, damit unsere Region stabil bleibt*), sie zumindest verwirren oder sogar bewusst in die Irre führen (*Uniformen kann man doch in jedem Geschäft kaufen*). Beispiele kommen vor allem aus dem russisch-ukrainischen Konflikt.

Perlokutionärer patriotischer Diskurs in Russland (Pädagogik und Popkultur)

Nationalstolz, militärische Potenz und der Drang nach der Wiederherstellung imperialer Größe dominieren derzeit die offizielle politische Rhetorik Russlands. Ihr fester Bestandteil ist die sog. Werte-Erziehung, die im Rahmen der politischen – oder vielmehr der patriotischen – Bildung stattfindet. In programmatischen Dokumenten, Lehrwerken, militärischen Früherziehungsprogrammen für Kleinkinder, Freizeitparks und Ferienlagern für Jugendliche sowie in zahlreichen popkulturellen kindergerechten Formaten manifestiert sich ein perlokutionärer patriotischer Diskurs. Der Beitrag untersucht (manipulative) Sprechhandlungen und symbolische Aktionen, die intentionale Effekte erzielen und den Diskurs um PATRIOTISMUS formen. In diesem Rahmen werden insb. Normformulierungen und Wertzuschreibungen fokussiert, die von der Politik initiiert und sowohl in „klassischen“ pädagogischen, als auch in den unterhaltsamen, der Vermarktung des Staates dienenden Formaten instantiiert werden.

(Non-)aggressive Manifestationen der ukrainischen nationalen Identität und unterschiedliche Taktiken ihrer Rechtfertigung im öffentlichen Diskurs

Die russische militärische Aggression gegen die Ukraine ist zu einem Katalysator für die äußerst aggressive Rhetorik des ukrainischen Nationalismus geworden. Der Einsatz von offener Aggression und einer nationalistischen Hassrede im ukrainischen nationalistischen Diskurs wird durch die militärische Intervention Russlands gerechtfertigt. Im Vortrag werden aktuelle Beispiele der neutralen und aggressiven Manifestationen der ukrainischen nationalen Identität diskutiert und ausgewählte Rechtfertigungstaktiken hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Aggression im öffentlichen Diskurs aufgezeigt.

Язык вражды в украинском медиадискурсе

Медиа транслируют в общество месседжи, которые разжигают вражду. При этом в актуальном российском и украинском медиапространстве нарушаются журналистские стандарты, используется эмоционально-окрашенная лексика, демонизируется противник, происходит тотальное обобщение образа жителей вражеской страны, слияние в один негативный образ. Также происходит противоположный процесс – создаются новые и используются старые мифы о конфликтующих народах как едином обобщенном гипертрофированно позитивном образе. Эти процессы исследуются в докладе.

Инструменты лингвистического корпус-анализа дают возможность исследовать природу речевой агрессии, получать и обрабатывать статистические данные об использовании эмоционально-окрашенной лексики, находить различные примеры использования лексики в процессах речевой агрессии и аргументации. В качестве эмпирической базы для анализа были использованы новостные материалы украинских интернет-ресурсов («Цензор.НЕТ», «Обозреватель», «Украинская правда»), сайтов телеканалов («ТСН»), онлайн-версий печатных изданий («День», «Сегодня», «Зеркало недели»), посвященные теме военной агрессии (начиная с 2014 года). Для поиска отобрано около 100 лексем, наиболее типичных для медиадискурса, связанного с российско-украинским конфликтом. Среди них – понятия, используемые для обозначения сторон конфликта («бандиты», «боевики», «диверсанты», «наемники» / «воины», «бойцы», «герои», «киборги»), прилагательные, связанные с описанием конфликта («оккупационный», «пророссийский», «террористический», «гибридный»), эмоционально-окрашенные прилагательные и причастия («шокирующий», «кровавый», «жестоко» и др.). В результате данного исследования определено, что инструменты корпус-менеджера могут эффективно использоваться для анализа частотности употребления лексем, для комплексного/парного сравнения частотности использования понятий (например, «пророссийский»/ «российско-террористический; «сепаратисты»/ «боевики»/ «террористы»), для определения моментов вхождения в медиадискурс тех или иных понятий или же прекращения их активного использования в СМИ («ОРДЛО», «ополченцы» и др.). Также проанализирована степень соответствия медиатекстов рекомендациям 2015–2016 года, разработанным МИД Украины, а также Институтом массовой информации (ИМИ) касательно норм освещения вооруженного конфликта.

Елена Петренко Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, Saint Petersburg

Этнические стереотипы украинца и русского в словарях и в речи: от XIX в. к XXI в.

Analysis of stereotypes is one of the ways to research a nationality's perception of other nationalities as well as its self-perception. Ethnic stereotypes allow explicating relationships of the nationality with other nationalities during its evolution. Formation of the opposition "us – them" within ethnic aspects can also be evaluated based on the stereotypes' analysis. This opposition becomes one of the most important in various types of hate speech research. On the one hand, the report presents the results of an analysis of ethnic stereotypes about Russians and Ukrainians using 19th century Russian dictionaries. On the other hand, it demonstrates verbalisation of these stereotypes in today's internet communication (based on commentaries in public groups of the social net "Vkontakte").

Such concepts as ethnophaulism and ethnic stereotypes are analyzed within the report. It is shown that ethnic stereotypes strictly divide society into "us" and "them", hence "them" is often endowed with negative characteristics. Distancing oneself from "them", each ethnic group strives to reflect on its distinction and to establish its own identity. The relevance of the study is due to the fact that hate speech (an important object of analysis in modern linguistics) and ethnophaulisms as its particular diachronic aspect rests on historical nationalities' perception of each other.

Dirk Uffelmann

University of Passau

«Откровенный русофобский бандеровский бред»: творческое заимствование языка ненависти в социальных сетях

Русскоязычный одесский поэт Борис Херсонский (род. в 1950 г.) является активным пользователем соцсетей (Facebook и LiveJournal). После Евромайдана постепенно изменилась языковая стратегия поэта в интернете; к русскому оригиналу его новых стихотворений, написанных на злобу дня, все чаще стали добавляться украинские переводы, сделанные самим автором. В докладе рассматриваются и дискурсы конфликта, и (мета-)языковая стратегия онлайн-поэзии Херсонского.

Начав с анализа российского дискурса вокруг конструкта «русофобии» как предполагаемого покушения на эссенциализированную и постулируемую как сингулярную «русскость», в докладе предлагается перформативный метаязык в качестве методического инструмента для исследования антирусских настроений, озвучиваемых в Украине по-русски. Материал для анализа почерпнут из постов Херсонского, публикуемых в украинском интернете.

Особое внимание при этом уделяется его демонтажу дискурса (российской) власти при помощи субверсивной стратегии аргументации, а также его трактовке упреков в «русофобии» и парадоксальному заимствованию «языка ненависти» (с англ. hate speech).

Елена Тараненко

Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, Vinnytsia

Групповая идентичность Донбасса: от гипертрофированного регионального патриотизма к размытию донбасской идентичности

В докладе будут проанализированы механизмы создания групповой идентичности на основе регионального мифа Донбасса: мифологизации самости, особенности и определенной избранности. В советское время сформировался миф Донбасса как особого региона трудовой славы. Постепенно на его фоне сформировался гипертрофированный региональный патриотизм, что в пределах Украины по принципу мифологической бинарности привело к противопоставлению постсоветского и украинского, с одной стороны, и не-украинского, донбасского или донецкого, с друг-

гой. Это противостояние под влиянием определенных манипулятивных катализаторов превратилось в настоящий раскол. Современные политический и медийный дискурсы в Украине продолжают манипулировать этими мифологическими представлениями, благодаря чему рождаются новые мифы: о представлении о Донбассе как безнадежно больной части тела Украины, о понимании региональной принадлежности «из Донбасса» как вечного клейма, о вине всех жителей Донбасса за войну в Украине, об их тотальном сепаратизме, антиукраинстве и т.п. В этом смысле, сегодняшнее негативное отношение к вынужденно перемещенным лицам с оккупированных территорий аргументируется и оправдывается именно при помощи этих мифов. В статье анализируются тенденции «размывания» донбасской идентичности у вынужденных переселенцев и гиперболизации региональной идентичности на оккупированных территориях Донбасса на примерах современных медиа.

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Neo-imperialism and neocolonialism in post-communist societies and cultures of the 21st century. The case of Ukraine

It might seem that when the empires fall all that remains is dust and void. As the old hegemonies wither away, however, new imperial entanglements contrive their neocolonial networks both globally and locally. Neocolonialism, or the colonialism of the 21st century, is typically understood as a neocolonial political strategy used by the old metropoles to control their emancipated territories. Besides political influence, effective neocolonial domination comprises military, economic, financial, technological, socio-cultural and academic involvement. Politological and economic studies in this research area are evolving and include vast literature resources on the subject both in English and in local languages. However, much research can be done within the scope of neocolonial studies on societies and cultures of the post-communist domain. Certain aspects of colonialism have received very little consideration; one might want to examine the status of decolonised countries after they have regained independence, approaching identity, both collective and personal, as a field of neoimperial domination. Neoimperialism, neocolonialism and the discourse of neocoloniality in the post-communist countries all have become particularly enticing research areas due to the current socio-political situation in the post-communist countries. This situation, as it startlingly and rapidly evolves, asks the ineluctably fundamental question that governs the development of human identity, and, which we believe can be worded as follows: a) what is the core and what are the distinctive features of the processes, phenomena and mechanisms of emancipation of the countries, societies and cultures of the former Eastern Bloc that freed themselves from Soviet domination and Soviet legacy; b) what freedom means for us, how we under-

stand it from the perspective of more than a quarter of a century of systemic transformation - the discourse of auto(neo)colonisation. The paper will try to present the answer to the above issues on the example of contemporary Ukrainian culture and literature.

Helena Bettina Meyer Justus Liebig University of Giessen

Selbstdarstellung im Konflikt: Das russische Selbstbild in der Auslandsberichterstattung zur „Krimkrise“ 2014

Bedingt durch historische Entwicklungen ist das heutige russische Selbstbild stark mit dem ukrainischen Fremdbild verknüpft. Deutlich wird diese Verbindung u. a. in der Berichterstattung der Russischen Föderation zum Russland-Ukraine-Konflikt 2013/2014. Vor allem während der Krimkrise 2014 finden eine starke Reflexion des russischen Selbst- und Geschichtsbildes sowie eine Abgrenzung dessen zum ukrainischen Fremdbild statt. Im Rahmen des Vortrags werden die Ergebnisse einer quantitativ ausgerichteten linguistischen Diskursanalyse zur Untersuchung der sprachlichen Konstruktion des russischen Selbstbildes in der russischen Presseberichterstattung während der Krimkrise 2014 vorgestellt. Als Untersuchungszeitraum werden die Monate Februar und März 2014 gewählt. Dafür spricht, dass vor allem im Vorfeld der Durchführung des Referendums über die Zukunft der Krim am 16. März 2014 ein sprachliches Aushandeln neuer Realien (Zugehörigkeit der Krim zur Russischen Föderation) sowie eine qualitative Veränderung im Verhältnis von ukrainischem Fremd- und russischem Selbstbild zu beobachten sind.

Bei der Analyse liegt der Fokus auf der diskursiven Verwendung der Pronomina мы, наш sowie свой und ihrer Funktion bei der sprachlichen Konstruktion des russischen Selbst- und ukrainischen Fremdbildes.

Grundlage der Untersuchung bildet ein Textkorpus aus Zeitungsartikeln führender Tageszeitungen der Russischen Föderation, welches mit Hilfe des korpuslinguistischen Programms AntConc ausgewertet wird. Anhand von Kollokations- und Konkordanzenanalysen werden die Funktionen und Bedeutungen der Pronomina im Diskurs herausgearbeitet.

Nadine Thielemann Vienna University of Economics and Business

#Россияжжет vs. #jedzjabłka - A comparative analysis of Twitter discourses on EU-sanctions in Russia and in Poland

In reaction to the conflict in the Eastern Ukraine the EU initiated inter alia economic sanctions against Russia, which further triggered Russian counter-sanctions. As part of the process, both the EU and Russia banned certain food imports. The paper deals with the social media discourse emerging on Twitter in reaction to the sanctions concerning agricultural products in Poland and in Russia. The food ban had different effects on the economy and the public opinion in both countries. Poland lost one of its key markets for agricultural products. Nevertheless, the sanctions are popular as they meet the overall cri-

tical disposition towards Russia. Users contributing to the hashtag #jedzjabłka predominantly support the sanctions and affiliate with Poland's official policy. In Russia, the ban on food imported from the EU only emerged as a topic on social media when the news reported about illegally imported products being destroyed. The contributions to the hashtag #РоссияЖжет are characterised by a greater variety of attitudes towards the official policy and its impact on Russian society as compared to the Polish hashtag.

The paper works on the assumption that social media such as Twitter, due to their participatory and interactive character, offer a discourse arena for a counter-public (cf. Choi/Cho 2017) whose positions (may) deviate from those promoted by publicly available mass media. Hashtags in this context serve as *folksonomic* (Halavais 2014) labels of the emergent counter-discourse and signal the participants' *ambient affiliation* with the emergent *semiotic network of meaning making* (Zappavigna 2011, 2017). In jointly construing such a network, users of social media rely on multimodal resources (Siever 2015). This turns social media communication into *spectacles* which combine multimodal content from diverse sources and which are performed and consumed mainly for entertainment (Androutsopoulos 2010a, b).

The paper analyzes the two discourses (#РоссияЖжет vs. #jedzjabłka) in order to compare their specific evaluative and emotive stance (cf. Evans 2016) and their discourse-specific conceptualisations (cf. Thielemann, under review). In order to cover all semiotic resources contributing to the conceptualisation, we argue in favor of a multimodal discourse analysis (cf. Fraas/Penzold 2015, Meier 2008, 2011). A computer-assisted (atlas.ti) coding procedure inspired by Grounded Theory (Strübing 2014) allows for the identification of the crucial conceptual units employed in each discourse in a bottom-up fashion.

Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić University of Rijeka

Signs of conflict in the post-war linguistic landscape in Croatia

Persisting bottom-up discourses of former open conflicts between the different national groups of former Yugoslavia can be perceived in the landscape of the former "Republic of Serbian Krajina" in today's Croatia. Next to legacies of the violent war in the physical landscape – ruins, danger signs of land mines, monuments – it is the linguistic landscape of this former war zone that portrays glaring social borders in this previously diverse and heterogeneous area. Instead of a 'corporate sense' of Yugoslavia, manifested in the maxim of "brotherhood and unity", there are still obvious trends of enduring (ethno)nationalist discourse-making.

This paper will provide central results of an ongoing research project on the linguistic landscape in two rural regions and former war sites in peripheral Croatia, which, next to the physical border (between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia), point to existing inner borders between ethnic groups in the areas researched. The examination of the wealth of signs of ethnic and nationalist tension in the public space – as shown by written messages on house walls, road signs and other public surface – will be at the

center of the presentation. The influence of the 1990s' war and the status of this area as a 'post-conflict site' is of particular analytic importance for the presented research. By means of an ethnographic perspective, the interrelation of bottom-up linguistic signs in public space, their political messages, the corresponding ideological origin and their temporality (i.e., both the historical context in which they were produced as well as the current time, which these linguistic signs are still influencing) will be discussed.

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Агрессия и аргументация в рунете: случай BUCETA ROSA | ЧЕМПИОНАТ МИРА 2018

Группа Buceta rosa: Чемпионат мира 2018 (https://vk.com/buceta_rosa), имевшая широкий информационный и юридический резонанс летом 2018 г., просуществовала с мая по июль 2018 г. и формально посвящена обсуждению поведения россиянок во время ЧМ 2018 г. в РФ, однако ее контент – это показательный и типичный случай функционирования речевой агрессии в рунете. Группа представляет особый исследовательский интерес, так как ее контент практически не пополняется, она фактически перестала существовать, а количество ее участников уже сократилось на 25% (с пиковых 6200 до 4800).

Несмотря на то что сами владельцы паблика утверждают, что «сообщество носит исключительно юмористический характер и не преследует цели оскорбить кого-либо», весь видео- и фотоконтент и связанные с ним комментарии участников посвящен кибербуллингу россиянок, которые якобы знакомятся с иностранными болельщиками исключительно для сексуальных развлечений, в большинстве случаев – за деньги.

Комментарии участников сообщества демонстрируют все наиболее распространенные агональные коммуникативные и речевые практики, используемые в интернете: кибербуллинг, аутинг, троллинг, разные формы хейтерства, прямое и косвенное оскорблечение, угрозы, разнообразные формы языка вражды (утверждения о превосходстве одних наций над другими, ранжирование наций по моральному принципу, деление людей по этническому признаку на низших и высших, аргументы о и мн. др.).

С точки зрения развертывания системы агрессивной аргументации наиболее интересным становится анализ слияния и взаимопроникновения в рассуждениях членов сообщества негативных этнических, гендерных и этических (моральных) стереотипов, а также сплав мизогинии, гомофобии, ксенофобии и даже эйджизма *per se*.

Хотя в «правилах паблика» есть упоминание о том, что «2. Запрещено использование ненормативной лексики, разжигание национальной, религиозной, оскорбление участников и Администрации», авторы комментариев не стесняются в выборе оскорбительной лексики для характеристики не только «русских женщин», но и

иностранных болельщиков и иностранцев вообще. Иными словами, участники паблика позиционируют себя как ревностные гетеросексуальные патриоты России, следящие за нравственностью соотечественниц. Практически любое появление на публике россиянки с иностранцем рассматривается как в высшей степени аморальный проступок, свидетельствующий о сексуальной распущенности, продажности и предательстве Родины. Система аргументации участников сообщества – показательный пример разнообразных форм и способов существования речевой агрессии как в рунете, так и в современном российском обществе вообще.

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Lachen zur Macht. Der Kaukasusdiskurs in der sowjetischen Satirezeitschrift *Krokodil*

Sowohl der zaristische, als auch der sowjetische russische Kaukasusdiskurs waren in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten beliebte slavistische wie auch politikwissenschaftliche und soziologische Forschungsobjekte. Das Weiterleben des inviktiven, imperialen russischen Kaukasusdiskurses unter veränderten Vorzeichen in der Sowjetunion wurde ebenso oft betont und diskutiert, wie auch die Nähe dieses Diskurses zum europäischen und nordamerikanischen Orientalismus. Ausgehend von solchen soziologischen, politologischen und historischen Untersuchungen werden im Vortrag jedoch die poetischen und ästhetischen Manifestationen des sowjetischen Kaukasusdiskurses in den Blick genommen. Vorgestellt wird eine Analyse von Karikaturen und satirischen Texten mit Kaukasusthematik aus dem *Krokodil*, einer parteinahen sowjetischen Satirezeitschrift. Mithilfe der methodischen Instrumentarien der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Linguistik und Bildsemiotik gelingt eine denaturalisierte Wahrnehmung der Karikaturen, die somit als Instrumente der Sowjetmacht zur Markierung und Ausgrenzung von ‚Anderen‘ beschrieben werden können. Im Vortrag wird des Weiteren das Konzept der Lachgemeinschaft herangezogen, um das ritualisierte, kollektive und performative Auslachen von Menschen aus dem Kaukasus als Praxis zu beschreiben, die der Stabilisierung des sowjetischen Machtgefüges diente. Nicht zuletzt fließen Erkenntnisse der Männlichkeitsforschung in die Analyse ein, denn Menschen aus dem Kaukasus sind in der sowjetischen Satire in der Regel Männer, und im spezifischen sowjetischen Bild vom Mann aus dem Kaukasus offenbaren sich allem voran Annahmen darüber, was einen russischen Mann ausmacht.

Invectives in political TV shows

Political discourse is organised around its main institutional objective – struggle for power. Such a struggle, biological in its essence, is variously realised in different communities and epochs. Democratic civilisation requires this struggle to be presented in certain conventional forms satisfying modern moral norms and using certain techniques of attracting public attention so as to convince the audience in validity of perspectives as presented by political contestants and their respect to the rules of society. However, there is a dialectical contradiction between the assertive behavioral norms of public harmony and the demands of public to be entertained which corresponds to the Roman motto “Panem et circenses”.

Political struggle in modern electronic civilisation remains as multi-layered as it used to be in ancient times containing elite under carpet fighting and staged performances of people who demonstrate their readiness to take the burden of responsibilities and serve the interests of their voters. Such performances have been successfully developed into a media genre of a political TV show. They are thoroughly devised so as to attract public attention, they are topically focused on a discussion of vital problems of society, they are operated by well-trained participants – fighters, referees and public and they always include the conflict agenda which makes the show attractive.

The conflict agenda in a public show is interesting if it is artfully balanced between a natural desire to win and the necessity to do it in an elegant way. Inevitably, certain deviations from expected norms of behaviour both in topics and in presentation occur. These deviations are often performed as invectives – intentional or spontaneous attempts to insult an opponent. In my paper, I analyze constitutive features of staged invectives performed in modern Russian political TV shows, their main ideological presuppositions, their speech-act structure, their typical verbal expression and their evaluation as given by a referee (an anchor) and the public which follows the performance and comments it in their internet reactions.

Language aggression as an inherent part of populist discourse

The Czech Republic has received some unwelcome attention in international politics and media due to the opinionated and often controversial statements by its current President, Miloš Zeman and last year also due to the election victory by the bluntly-speaking billionaire, Andrej Babiš. The latter has confirmed a shift towards populist sentiment which has been observable in numerous European countries for some time. Apart from them, the right-wing politician Tomio Okamura raises strong emotions when voicing his (extreme) views.

In general, the populist communication style is highly evaluative and emotional, exploiting negative emotions such as frustration, anger and fear. The voiced ideas and opinions are mainly presented in a simplistic way relying on the dichotomic thinking (us vs. them) and rhetorical means that underline differences and disturbing construction of reality (for example: hyperbole, disaster metaphors and apocalyptic predictions). The aim of this paper is to examine how the highly critical stance towards elites, the state television and the journalists is framed and realised linguistically and what role language aggression plays in the populist language in the Czech Republic.

The theoretical focus of this paper is based on Culpeper's approach (1996, 2005, 2011, 2016) to impoliteness which throughout the years has developed into a solid framework that considers not only the individual (quality) face but also integrates categories from Spencer-Oatey's model of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009), namely relational and social identity face, and the sociality rights and obligations, which are particularly relevant in the context of political discourse. Methodically, the analysis applies a combined qualitative and quantitative Multi-Level-Prominence-Analysis (Fidler and Cvrček 2017). The analysed corpus includes twenty weekly interview-programmes with Miloš Zeman, TV interviews with Andrej Babiš and his weblog entries, as well as the weblog entries of Tomio Okamura's. The data will be lemmatised and tagged.

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“Македонија ‘ласт минут’” – Language in time of the name-referendum

Since the declaration of independence from Yugoslavia, Macedonia as a state and its national and cultural identity have been highly contested. One of the central topics is the so-called „name-issue“, a dispute with Greece over the official state name which has been going on since 1995. This dispute was formally resolved in June 2018 through the agreement between the highest representatives of the Macedonian and Greek government and under auspices of “the UN “name” mediator, Matthew Nimetz” (BalkanInsight Online, 17.06.2018). Accordingly, the state should be renamed to “Republic of North Macedonia”. Variants of the lemma “makedonsk*” (in collocations with *identity, state, citizens, people, history, language*) are partly accepted in their existing form, some, however, will be subject to further changes, according to the new state name. On the 6th of August, the State Electoral Commission made the decision on the referendum to be held on the 30rd September. At the same time, several campaigns with two opposite positions were launched, mainly via social media, Twitter and Facebook. “Излези ЗА европска Македонија” (Go out (and vote) YES for European Macedonia), managed by the Prime Minister Zoran Zaev and the government coalition, “Зачекори напред - изборот е твој” (Step ahead – it is your choice), managed by several NGO's, and “Замисли иднина заедно”, run by the EU-Delegation in Macedonia, are the three main campaigns in favour of the agreement. “Македонија # бојкотира” is the decentral-run campaign which gathers both individuals

and various smaller parties, NGOs and other organisations, mostly conservative- and national-oriented, who are against the name change.

The goal of this talk is to identify relevant linguistic means of the two conflicting positions by analysing the mentioned campaigns. Special attention will be given to the role of the metonymy *Macedonia* which is proved to be a very important pragmatic tool within the Macedonian political discourse (Salamurović *forthcoming*). Not only that it reinforces the cohesion and coherence within the communication in an extremely efficient manner, but it increases polysemy, so that pragmatic inferencing can be challenged by metonymic indeterminacy (Brdar 2009: 65; Littlemore 2015: 7). The methodological framework is based both on quantitative (using corpus linguistics tools) and qualitative analysis.

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Topoi in language policy discourses in today's Russia

One of the main subjects of current language policy discourses in Russia is the question of language diversity and unity in the multinational state. These discourses disclose opposite argumentations: On the one hand the support of language and ethnic diversity is seen as a factor of conflict prevention and national security, on the other hand as a factor of conflict intensification and national destabilisation. As example of those opposite argumentations we analyse language policy debates between the federal centre and the republics (above all the Republic of Tatarstan). The subject of these controversial debates is mainly the education system and here, in particular, the question of the obligatory vs. voluntary teaching of the national languages. On the basis of a discourse-analytic approach to language policy we analyse a broad spectrum of texts (official documents, federal and republic conceptions concerning cultural and national politics, and the language debate in the mass media), in order to reveal the main topoi and argumentation structures in the language policy debate. The analysis discloses both discourse community specific topoi as well as topoi that are used by all discourse communities. The latter are in the centre of this investigation because they reveal most clearly the controversial argumentation regarding language unity and diversity.

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Письменный текст как пример манипуляций в условиях информационной войны

Ситуация в Украине последних четырех лет свидетельствует о том, что вооруженное противостояние – только одно из проявлений цивилизационного конфликта, войны смыслов по определению Георгия Почекцова. Не менее важной, а скорее более весомой для обеих сторон конфликта является победа в информационной

войне, которую кремлевская пропаганда вела давно, а Украинское государство или не замечало этого или пренебрегало этой опасностью.

Даже ситуация открытого вооруженного противостояния агрессору не сразу привела к осознанию острой необходимости объяснения основ медиа-грамотности не только простым гражданам, но и «пишущей братии», журналистам. Свидетельством этого являются письменные тексты, которые предлагаются «неподготовленному» читателю.

Волею случая в распоряжение автора попали письменные тексты, экспертная оценка которых, выявила продуманные, планомерные шаги информационного оппонента в ведении войны смыслов. Тексты написаны по-русски и на первый взгляд производят впечатление объективной позиции автора, констатации фактов.

Семантический анализ, ряд лингвокультурологических экспериментов позволил выявить скрытые смыслы, открыть глубинные имплицированные коды, с помощью которых проводится манипуляция сознанием, целью которой является убеждение читателя в правильности действий одной из сторон вооруженного конфликта. Причем, этой «другой» стороной являются вооруженные формирования оккупанта и колаборационистов.

Особенности графического оформления текста, особенности соблюдения правил орфографии, пунктуации, традиций письма выполняют персузивную функцию, в результате чего у читателя постепенно формируется «впечатление», что противоположная позиция «имеет право на жизнь». Манипулятивный характер таких текстов базируется на определенном культурном контексте носителей русского языка, воспитанных советской школой.

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Скептицизм как эпистемология примирения

1. Примирение считалось отличительной особенностью скептической философии с античных времен. Секст Эмпирик постоянно подчеркивает, что пирронизм – единственная философия, примиряющая человека с самим собой, поскольку без нее любой ищущий правды будет страдать от непрестанных сомнений.

2. В то же время, скептик (пирронист или «академик») может выступать примирителем непосредственно в споре других философских школ. Августин, ссылаясь на Цицерона, описывает эту по-видимому привлекательную сторону «академической философии» в Книге III своего труда «Против академиков».

3. Это не означает, что способность скептицизма примирять считалась бесспорной. К примеру, Августина скептическое примирение абсолютно не привлекает, поскольку Августин, в отличие от Секста, может примириться с собой только если он убедил себя, что знает «настоящую правду».

4. Точно так же, скептическая манера уравновешивать противостоящие взгляды широко использовалась на заре Нового времени, но далеко не всегда с целью примирения – или, как минимум, речь шла о весьма особом способе примирения (Гоббс, Монтень).

5. Тем не менее, сама идея, что «никто не знает настоящей правды», подтвердила свои примиряющие свойства в самых разных культурных обстоятельствах. Красноречивым примером может служить повесть Чехова «Дуэль», в которой эта самая фраза – «никто не знает настоящей правды» – выступает финальным лейтмотивом примирения двух protagonists, фон Корена и Лаевского.

6. По сути, эта повесть Чехова как раз и показывает, какой может быть позитивная и примиряющая роль скептических установок в сегодняшних конфликтах, включая нынешние социальные и политические столкновения между украинцами. Скептицизм вряд ли может помочь разрешить противостояние в политических дискуссиях (где каждая сторона естественно отстаивает свои политические взгляды и вряд ли подчинится общему решению в стиле Гоббса), и трудно сказать, насколько он может помочь в вопросах религии (например, следуя полемической логике Монтеня). Однако скептицизм безусловно может облегчить примирение в этическом плане. Идея, что «никто не знает настоящей правды», высказанная на личном уровне, может помочь наладить межличностный диалог, вопреки всем расхождениям теоретического и идеологического плана. Этот опыт вполне может пригодиться для налаживания практического взаимодействия между сторонниками радикально несовместимых взглядов и идеологий на ныне оккупированных территориях Донбасса после их возвращения под контроль украинской власти.

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The opposite perspective: On peace linguistics, peaceful discourse and peaceful speech acts

Whereas forms of aggressive language use such as hate speech, discourses of conflict or totalitarian language have received quite a lot of scientific attention (cf. the enumeration in Kuße 2018, 193), the opposite perspective seems to be often neglected. In a world full of conflicts and violence it is easily forgotten that de-escalation and peaceful resolutions to conflicts have existed and do exist, and better knowledge about peaceful forms of language use can help to prevent and resolve conflicts in the future.

One aim of the present paper is to find out what constitutes peaceful forms of language and how they can be delimited from their aggressive counterparts. Another aim is to present different interfaces between language, discourse and peace and work out their benefit for Slavic linguistics. The paper wants to give a critical survey of different concepts and studies in linguistics and adjacent disciplines that have been focusing on peaceful language usage. Among them are peace linguistics (cf. Friedrich 2012, Gomes de Matos 2014), research on peaceful speech acts and peaceful persuasion (cf. Gorsevski 2004) as

well as discourses of peace as a counterpart to discourses of conflict and power (cf. Fairclough 2015). An interesting case study of peaceful persuasion is Gorsevski's (2004) analysis of the Macedonian president's address to the UN General Assembly in 1993, which she calls an example for "nonviolent pragmatism" (p. 71). The existing approaches are critically examined to what extent they can be fruitful for future research in Slavic discourse linguistics and pragmatics.

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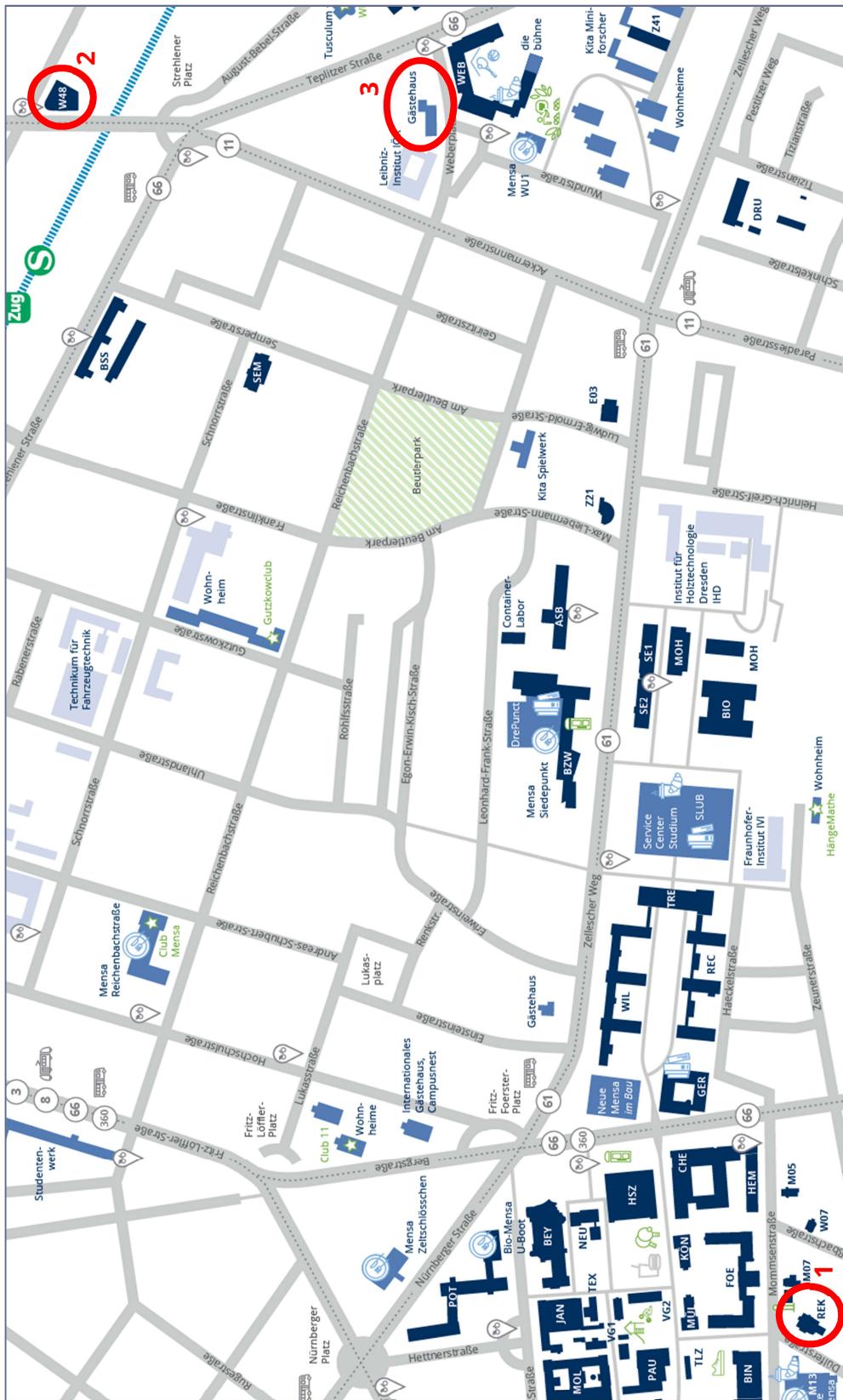
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