

период своего пребывания на острове Робинзон называет «земным», затем он приобщается к «воздуху», и, в конце концов, приходит к прославлению «солнца», культ которого характерен для всех первобытных людей. По воле автора, Робинзон возвращается к пантеизму древних, к истокам развития цивилизации, сознательно отказываясь идти вперед, эволюционировать и прогрессировать. Он воспаряет в «лимбы», вневременные, населенные безгрешными душами, лимбы Тихого океана. [13, с.38].

Робинзон страдает от одиночества на необитаемом острове, но человек не менее одинок и в обществе себе подобных. «Это все возрастающее чувство одиночества является самой злокачественной язвой человека современного запада» [12, с.104], – пишет Турнье. Следовательно, чувство одиночества возникает именно с развитием цивилизации. Появление Пятницы не избавляет Робинзона от одиночества – он по-прежнему одинок в своей душе, и только когда он становится «естественным человеком», то есть сливается с природой, то перестает быть одиноким: дикарям неведомо это ощущение, как писал еще Жан-Жак Руссо, что наглядно демонстрирует Пятница, а вслед за ним и Робинзон.

Как альтернативу жизни в современном цивилизованном обществе, автор предлагает «бегство» в живую природу, конечной целью которого станет рождение «естественного человека». Только таким путем, по мнению Турнье, люди могут освободиться от «комплексов» западной цивилизации, родиться заново, чтобы с новой силой ощутить все прелести жизни человека в естественной среде, найти гармонию с окружающим миром.

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CDA MARKERS OF THE US 2008 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

В данной статье прослеживаются принципы членения политического дискурса американской президентской кампании 2008 года на дискурс маркеры. Данная проблема является недостаточно изученной и представляет интерес в сфере политологии и социолнгвистики. Было выявлено, что для газетных статей, служащих практическим материалом в изучении поднятой проблемы, наиболее характерна так называемая оппозиция «мы» – «они», благодаря которой и происходит манипулятивное воздействие политического дискурса на читателя.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, which views "the language as a form of social practice" and focuses on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk. CDA developed within some disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, such as Critical Linguistics [1, 137]. According to Webster's dictionary, the concept **discourse** has two major meanings: (a) formal communication of thoughts about a serious subject through words (spoken or written) and (b) rationality or the ability to reason [2].

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis articulates a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, "where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice" [3]; [4, s. 25].

Fairclough notes "that language connects with the social through **being the primary domain of ideology**, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power"articulates ideology as the basis of the social representations of groups, and more generally advocates a sociocognitive interface between social structures and discourse structures. Ruth Wodak emphasizes the importance of a historical dimension in critical discourse studies, as she also has shown in her work on racism and antisemitism. There is a new way for discourse to evolve, the so called "neocourse" [3].

Discourse analysis may be defined in the three main dimensions. 1. Concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance; 2. Concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and; 3. Concerned with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication.

"The term discourse analysis refers to attempts of study the organisation of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to the study of larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. It

follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers" [5, s. 17].

Taking into consideration the fact that 2008 presidential campaign is regarded as an issue of the day, it is no doubt quite critical to carry out the discourse analysis of the lexical markers characteristic of the current political news covered in various sources. It is also important to mention that the problem is poorly studied in the course of contemporary Linguistics and Linguistic Culturology as a newly born branch.

The State National Educational Program of Ukraine in the XXI century proclaimed the knowledge of foreign languages as well as the culture of other countries an inherent part of the general educational strategy in Ukraine and as one of the main factors intensifying the cultural exchange and integration [6].

This article gives an outline of American presidential campaign of 2008 important for understanding the Political system of the United States on the material of the current events because it is next to impossible to underestimate the obvious influence of the United States' political, social, cultural, economic spheres of life on other countries. The country itself is so unique, that it has engrossed the attention of other cultures for having no competitive opponent. Moreover, the article involves the information of theoretical value: the concept of Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse and discourse markers of political texts.

This work is *aiming* at systematizing the theoretical material on Political Discourse characteristic of American presidential campaign, at giving a logical explanation to the opposition of "We" and "They" in the course of discourse analysis and at fulfilling the outcoming *tasks*:

- a) To define the stages of current presidential campaign and contestants involved in it
- b) To spot and highlight the opposition "We" – "They" during the 2008 presidential campaign as revealed through analyzing the documentation and making a sample of lexical markers with further semantic analysis.
- c) To single out lexical markers in a political discourse and describe them.

A lot of discourse research nowadays can no longer be situated neatly within the received academic disciplines (linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc.) and researcher affiliations are often determined rather by accidental conditions of employment in a particular academic unit than by a singular disciplinary orientation which characterizes their research output. A number of important elaborations of speech act theory lie in the work of John Searle. One is that he allocates a central place to *communicative intentions* (this is based on the assumption that a speaker has wants, beliefs and intentions which are indexed in the performance of utterances). At the same time, he develops a typology of speech acts, which for him, is rooted in the range of illocutionary verbs that occur in a given language. A third contribution of Searle is the development of a theory of indirect speech acts. This concept is based on the observation that by uttering, say, what appears to be a statement (e.g. "It's hot in here."), language users often indirectly perform another type of illocutionary act (in the case of the example: voice a request to open the window).

The undeniable merit of speech act theory lies in advancing a view of language use as action. In Searle's words "[A] theory of language is part of a theory of action, simply because speaking is a rule-governed form of behavior. Now, being rule-governed, it has formal features which admit independent study. But a study purely of those formal features, without a study of their role in speech acts, would be like a formal study of the currency and credit systems of economies without a study of the role of currency and credit in economic transactions. A great deal can be said in the study of language without studying speech acts, but any such purely formal theory is necessarily incomplete. It would be as if baseball were studied only as a formal system of rules and not as a game"[4, s. 39].

There is a new distinction between three different "aspects" of an utterance against the background of a generalized claim that all utterances are really performatives. This generalized claim is the key assumption of speech act theory (the theory of "how to do things with words"), viz. by making an utterance, language users perform one or more social acts. These are called 'speech acts'. The threefold distinction is that between different types of action. For instance, by speaking an utterance *locution*, you may perform the social act of making a promise *illocution* – what the speaker does by using the utterance) and, as a result, convince your audience of your commitment *perlocution* – what the speaker has done, having made the utterance [4, s. 30]. **Political discourse** is the formal exchange of reasoned views as to which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem. It is intended to involve all citizens in the making of the decision, persuade others (through valid information and logic), and clarify what course of action would be most effective in solving the societal problem.

The purposes of political discourse include

- (a) clarifying citizens' understanding of the issue,
- (b) helping citizens reach their best reasoned judgment as to which course of action will solve a problem,
- (c) increasing citizen participation in the political process, and
- (d) socializing the next generation into the procedures and attitudes they need to be active citizens.

A responsibility of psychology within a democratic society is to provide the theory, research, and normative procedures needed to make political discourse constructive. Constructive controversy provides a theory, validated by research, which has been operationalized into a normative procedure. Constructive controversy exists when one person's ideas, information, conclusions, theories, and opinions are incompatible with those of another, and the two seek to reach an agreement. A political decision is reached through the following procedure. Citizens form advocacy groups and present the best case possible for the alternative course of action they prefer. An open discussion is held in which each citizens continue to advocate their position while trying to refute opposing positions and rebutting attacks on their position. Citizens then step back, try to view the issue from the other points of view, and then come to a joint decision based on the best reasoned judgment of all citizens. The theorizing about and validating research provides an empirical base for political discourse and *guidelines for conducting political*

campaigns [5, s. 3].

A continuing issue with political campaigns is how to engage in political persuasion. The procedures used will affect both the outcome of the elections and the ongoing health of American democracy and democracies (both mature and developing) throughout the world. In addition, the procedures used will model for the next generation how to engage in the political process and will affect their attitudes about done so.

Thomas Jefferson, and the other founders of the American Republic, considered political discourse to be the heart of democracy. Jefferson believed that instead of the social rank within which a person was born, the basis of influence within society should be discourse in a free and open discussion characterized by conflict among ideas and opinions. He noted, "Differences of opinion lead to inquiry, and inquiry to truth" [7, s. 241].

While political discourse is essential to a democracy, and informed decisions may be impossible unless political discourse occurs, elections can be conducted and decisions made in democracies without it. There are dangers when political discussion becomes destructive rather than illuminating. **Destructive political persuasion** exists when misleading, superficial, or irrelevant information is presented in ways that decrease citizens' understanding of the issue, it results in an absence of thoughtful consideration of the issue, and decreases citizen participation in the political process. Discourse may be replaced by other means of persuasion, such as using deceit through misinformation, de-emphasizing and ignoring important issues, positioning, pandering to voters, and focusing on the candidates (not the issues) through commercials (imagery and slogans) or argumentum ad hominem. **Argumentum ad hominem** consists of directing arguments at the opponent rather than at his or her ideas and proposals. Ad hominem arguments can involve questioning the motives of the opponent, accusing the opponent of acting on personal interest, accusing the opponent of inconsistency, or accusing the opponent of past misconduct. In essence, ad-hominem arguments communicate that the opponent is "bad," and therefore must be wrong. By focusing attention on the candidates rather than the issues, such persuasive procedures may be markedly unhelpful in clarifying which course of action society should adopt. In addition, ad-hominem arguments weaken the moral bond underlying the democratic process, undermine tolerance (discouraging others from presenting opposing positions), undermine trust in the political system, and undermine the overall positive interdependence that holds society together. Negative persuasive procedures used under the guise of political discourse may discredit political discourse and disillusion citizens about the political process. Political discourse may then be ignored or rejected [5, s. 31].

The power of the personal attack rather than discourse in campaigning is illustrated by the negativity effect. The **negativity effect** exists when a negative trait affects an impression more than a positive trait, everything else being equal [8, s. 889]. There is evidence that individuals tend to pay special attention to negative information [9, 59] and weigh negative information more heavily than positive information [10, 49], especially in regard to moral traits. In a wide variety of studies, ranging from forming impressions about other people to evaluating positive and negative information to reach a decision or judgment, negative information figured more prominently than positive information. Capitalizing on the power of negativity, however, may be inherently dangerous to the health of a democracy. "Adlai Stevenson (1952), for example, noted that it is the American *"tradition of critical inquiry and discussion that informs our entire civilization"* but critical inquiry only advances the general welfare when its purpose is honest. He notes that *"criticism, not as an instrument of inquiry and reform, but as an instrument of power, quickly degenerates into the techniques of deceit and smear"* [11, s. 892].

What Stevenson and others point out is that when negative personal attacks are used as an instrument of power, they tend to (a) increase intolerance aimed at the other person and the views he or she represents (which is directly opposite to the values of democracy which emphasize tolerance of others even if they are promoting unpopular views), (b) undermine trust and other influences on political participation, and (c) undermine the overall positive interdependence and moral bonds that hold society together. The more widespread the use of negative personal attacks, the greater tends to be the disillusionment of citizens about the political process and a decrease in their participation [5, s. 49].

The United States presidential election of 2008, to be held on November 4, 2008, will be the 55th consecutive quadrennial election for president and vice president of the United States. The increasing interest in this political event can be determined in many ways and first of all by general attention to the country and the American political and cultural life being a quite explicable tendency for the United States of America are often in the "vanguard of the process of modernization and reforms that take place in the rest of the world after some time" [12, s. 15].

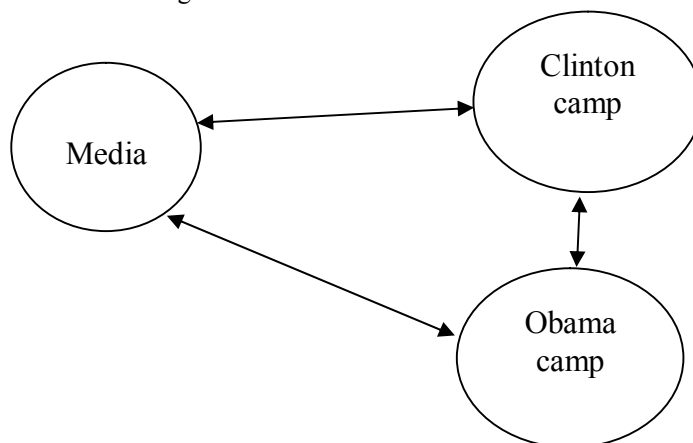
As the indisputable condition for the very existence of the U.S. remains preservation and protection of freedom, democracy and equal opportunities for further prosperity of the nation that moves to the other nations of the world. Secondly, as laid out by the United States Constitution, the individual who receives a majority of votes for president in the Electoral College – 270 are needed for a majority – will be the 44th president of the United States and the American society is not the only one interested in the outcome. This election is the first to be without incumbents in the primaries since 1928. Traditionally, when a United States President leaves office, his vice president is usually considered a leading candidate and likely nominee to succeed him. However, current Vice President Dick Cheney announced in 2001 that he would never run for president, a statement he reiterated in 2004.

Thirdly, this occasion is special and unique for the history of American presidential elections being the first election with *a lady* and *an Afro-American* front runners, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama respectively.

At the present stage of the presidential campaign we deal with the "front-runners". "Front runner" status is dependent on the news agency reporting, but by July 2007, the consensus listed about six candidates as leading the pack. For example, Ted Rall lists Clinton, Edwards, Giuliani, McCain, Obama and Romney as the front runners. But "The Washington Post" listed Clinton, Edwards and Obama as the Democratic front runners, "leading in the polls and fundraising and well ahead of the other major candidates". MSNBC's Chuck Todd christened Giuliani and McCain

the Republican front runners after the second Republican presidential campaign though another leader of this contest should be mentioned. This is Mitt Romney a former Governor of Massachusetts.

As the purpose of discourse analysis is to reveal the principles of the text construction the main characteristics of a political discourse is that the opposition “We” – “They” is apparent in the texts of newspapers. We deal not only with a contest on an interparty or inner-Party level but also the one conducted with the representatives of mass media and other non-political sides. The discourse analysis of the American press makes it possible to present the mentioned above notions with the help of a diagram presenting the opponents from two points of view: on the one hand, they appeal to public and on the other hand, they are alien to it. Arrows indicate contest between the sides conveyed from the recent news coverage.



The first pattern introduces the ‘*Fox News*’ network and the Obama camp as the sides of opposition, with the former being “We” and the latter being “They”. ‘*Fox News*’ reporters blame the Obama camp for “freezing out” the network after they published the “erroneous Obama–the jihadist story” reported by ‘*Insight*’ magazine. It is not difficult to imagine that the journalists make an attempt of sanitizing themselves, “suffering the most and doing nothing wrong” pointing out that it was the Hillary Clinton’s camp which found out that Obama, as a child, was educated at a Muslim madrassah in Indonesia. The mentioned above argumentum ad hominem carrying a negativity effect is well traced from this example. The conflict involves the other participants, placed in the same context and even within the same sentence boundaries, tracing the opposition more explicitly, highlighting the idea of contest and the aspiration for obtaining justice. “One source familiar with the dynamic between ‘*Fox*’ and *Obama*, who asked not to be named, said *Obama and his staff* are in for a rude awakening if they think they can write off ‘*Fox News*.’” The further on developed narration suggests that the “icy conditions” are not permanent as “a thawing of sorts may already have begun thanks to two telephone conversations ‘*Fox News*’ Channel CEO Roger Ailes (“We”) had with Obama (“They”). And by the end of the given discourse the most biased reader would treat the Obama campaign aide who stated that the senator “has not received any written apology”, as “They” [13].

The second pattern presents quite the reverse approach: the ‘*Fox News*’ Network being “They” and Barack Obama belonging to the notion “We”. It is pointed out that certainly the Fox News would be there after the election, and the Obama campaign might not, but it is highly essential to consider their good name and stop “bottom-fishing” as “*Obama* does have good reason to resent the way *some of the people at ‘Fox*’ tried to portray him as a terrorist.”

The third pattern concerns the contest between the candidates of the Democratic Party: Hillary Clinton depicted as “They” for “digging dirt on her opponent” and exposing Obama as a possible enemy not to be trusted” and Barack Obama (“We”) suffering from her negative campaigning.

Quite the opposite position is conveyed in the fourth pattern which is clearly meant to expose Obama as a weak and badly informed politician and Hillary Clinton the most likely candidate to head the nation: “I would be scared to death if President Obama had a summit with someone like Ahmadinejad. Naïve Obama would be eaten alive. Hillary wouldn’t” [13].

Thus it is quite apparent that a political discourse of the American presidential campaign aims at manipulating people’s attention and attitudes towards candidates, their platform, backers, the political parties, etc. This effect is carried out through the opposition of “We” and “They” based on the essential knowledge of cognitive and social psychology.

A lot of research works are devoted to the study of Discourse Analysis, although much more attention is paid to the problems of definition and function of discourse markers. Discourse markers are usually understood as lexical units, which signify a definite type of semantic relations in the contiguous segments of discourse. They also serve as the instruction to a correct interpretation of discourse. From the syntactic point of view they are not a homogenous class of lexical units and they are to be viewed as possible alternatives of paradigmatic choice [14].

The discourse markers coordinate the utterance in the course of speech, and therefore are defined as lexical indexes carrying out a metacommunicational function in the text. Like other deictic elements the discourse markers may be divided into two groups: proximal and distant depending on coordination of the deictic centre or the locus of coordinates of the listener, the speaker, the time, the place. It is necessary to point out that the deictic centre is determined by the discourse parameters and includes both the participants of communication and the text. The

discourse markers show that the utterance is centered on the speaker and this is the proxy group and on the listener who represents the distant group.

The speaker may aim at bringing the listener nearer, involve him in his anticipations like Tom Bevan from “The Daily Clinton” does. To shorten the distance he uses political slang as “memo” standing for “memorandum”, the phrase “her beating Obama 49% to 23%” and this ingratiating way of presentation can by all means gain the adherents. Though the deictic center changes and we trace the distant discourse markers of the quoted sources, these include: *The Daily News*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *The Times* of London, *USA Today*, *The Guardian*. The quotations play a significant role in manipulative discourse, seeming to be the most convincing devices. Though, when referring to the connection of the previous utterance with the further one, the former discourse markers become proximal and the latter – distant. Hence, the above mentioned distant markers become proximal followed by the utterances which supplement them: “... the ‘*Washington Post*’ writes that Clinton’s appearance yesterday gives a glimpse of how she’ll cast herself as a Presidential candidate (proxy group): “the mother of a daughter, as a serious student of policy and as a two-term senator from New York”(distant group). “USA Today revisits the issue of Clinton’s electability (proxy group) – or lack thereof – calling the former First Lady a “complicated package”(distant group). ‘*The Times*’ of London (proxy group): “Clinton aims to show she is tough and a bit tender” (distant group) [13], [14].

The discourse markers may occur on different language levels and may involve various language aspects.

The survey shows the stylistic devices like anaphora “Clinton will be a worthy winner with the potential to be the worthy president”, zeugma: “... candidates are either raising money or raising questions about why they aren’t raising money”, personification: “Iowa always tends to punish the front-runner right down at the end of the campaign”, etc., serve as discourse markers or “contextual coordinates for utterances” according to Schiffrin.

The syntactic markers as conditionals may highlight implicit criticism of the participants or their actions: “If a candidate is serious about running for president, he or she is going to need a network like ‘*Fox*’ to reach out to all those voters in the red and purple states”. The author of this article, Mary Ann Akers, aims at expressing her idea of Obama’s being inappropriate and unserious candidate, pointing out that his position is unstable and conventional.

Most discourse markers are traced on the lexical level. These are words with strong connotational components such as “feuds [between candidates]”, implying the highest level of animosity and in this way attracting the readers’ attention by its unusual application in the political discourse, where the word “contest” is commonly more frequently used. The negative emotive charge is apparent in the examples: “icy conditions”, “candidate is trailing by 20 points in the polls”, “zero knowledge of foreign policy” etc.

Phraseological units usually serve as discourse markers of the political discourse: “[aides] weren’t breaking their backs to go ask”, “white elephant”, “take boots on the ground”, “loose steam” etc. and these markers are inherent components of the political texts [13].

Hence, the objects of discourse analysis – discourse, writing, talk, conversation, communicative event, etc. – are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech acts or turns-at-talk. Contrary to much of traditional linguistics, discourse analysts not only study language use “beyond the sentence boundary”, but also prefer to analyze “naturally occurring” language use, and not invented examples. US 2008 Presidential campaign with so many front runners and such extraordinary Democratic front runners is a bountiful field for Critical Discourse Analysis.

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