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# EXPLORING CRIMINAL METAPHOR IN MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE: SEMANTICS, SEMIOTICS AND POLYCODE COMPETENCE

Linguistic studies of mass media discourse prove that it presents a complex blend of verbal and visual characteristics. To this end, the methodological procedures should also imbibe structural methods combined with cognitive modelling. These forms of text and its analysis tend to be unjustly given less attention in educational process although teaching media literacy has already become a popular trend. The present paper is aimed at investigating the level of students' awareness as far as certain semantic and semiotic elements are concerned, and to show the methodological steps, students can further rely on. As one of the sources, frequent in modern British mass media discourse, we have chosen criminal conceptual metaphor applied to Jeremy Corbyn. Thus, we show both the linguistic analysis procedure and the results of the pedagogical experiment. In our linguistic investigation we applied a combination of cognitive and structural linguistic methods. For teaching purposes, an experimental linguistic database of verbal and polycode texts was formed. The procedure described herein can be applied in various pedagogical cases: for teaching students of linguistics, journalism and mass media communication studies, pedagogics, politics, cross-cultural and linguocultural studies. The results of the analysis contribute to the investigations of political metaphors and broaden our understanding of polycode mass media texts.

*Keywords:* polycode competence, media literacy, polycode text, conceptual metaphor, political caricature, professional training

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### ИЗУЧЕНИЕ МЕТАФОРЫ КРИМИНАЛА В МАССМЕДИЙНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ: СЕМАНТИКА, СЕМИОТИКА, ПОЛИКОДОВАЯ КОМПЕТЕНЦИЯ

Лингвистические исследования по проблемам медиа дискурса свидетельствуют, что он представляет сложную комбинацию языковых и визуальных характеристик. Это обуславливает тезис о том, что при анализе таких типов дискурса следует применять комбинацию методологических решений, включая методы структурной и когнитивной лингвистики. Несмотря на то, что медиаграмотность в последние годы привлекает все больше внимания, этим типам текста, в том числе в силу их комплексного характера, незаслуженно уделяется гораздо меньше времени в образовательном процессе. Наше исследование посвящено выявлению сформированности отдельных аспектов поликодовой компетенции у студентов отделений профилирующей языковой подготовки. В частности, изучалась способность распознавать определенные семантические и семиотические элементы. В качестве одного из источников материала мы использовали концептуальную метафору криминала, достаточно частотную в современном британском медиа дискурсе. В нашем случае она применялась по отношению к Дж. Корбину. Это позволило нам одновременно показать процедуру лингвистического анализа и результаты педагогического эксперимента. Из лингвистических методик мы применяли комбинацию методологических шагов, характерных для методик когнитивной и структурной лингвистики. Для целей педагогического эксперимента мы также сформировали базу традиционных и поликодовых текстов. Результаты, представленные в данном исследовании, будут полезны в практике обучения студентов-филологов, журналистов, специалистов по проблемам межкультурной коммуникации. Отдельные аспекты могут использоваться при проведении исследований по педагогике, политологии, вопросам лингвокультурного знания. Выводы исследования также вносят вклад в изучение политических метафор и поликодовых медиа текстов.

*Ключевые слова:* поликодовая компетенция, монологическое выказывание, профессиональное образование

## Introduction

Due to digitalisation, changes in the consumption of social media content and the dominance of the visual means, there has been a growing interest in studying various types of texts. Qualitative interpretation of media messages requires media literacy as a key skill of a modern person. Therefore, teaching media literacy as a subject was included in the curricula of several educational institutions in Russia and abroad. It usually consists of studying methods of deconstructing news materials of modern media, mastering methods for evaluating news sources, improving technologies for analysing news materials of various media and developing critical thinking skills in relation to modern media products.

There are different approaches to teaching media literacy: a cognitive approach [Bennett, Mcdougall, & Potter, 2020; Feng & Espindola, 2013], a sociocultural approach [Gee, 2015; Fedorov & Levitskaya, 2019; Mcdoughall, 2019], teaching media literacy to young learners [Bearne, 2010; Hobbs & Frost, 2003; Piro, 2002; Burn & Durran, 2007] and others. Particular attention is given to teaching news media literacy [Maksl, Ashley, & Craft, 2015], which focuses primarily on information literacy, fact checking and recognising the author's bias. As for textual analysis, a pure text-centered approach was opposed to a contextual approach and linguistic research, which may include studying the semiotic structure of media texts, meanings at all semantic levels, authors' intentions, and manipulative potential. However, some researchers make attempts to include studying semiotics and visual competence into media literacy [Gaines, 2010; Griffin, 2008; Refaie, 2009; Ryzhih, 2007; Sahraee, 2018; Swain, 2012; Watt, 2012]. Few of them address the problem of interpreting political polycode media texts [Refaie, 2009; Swain, 2012; Watt, 2012], and little attention has been paid to the methodological aspect.

Polycode, multimodal or creolized texts, which present the hallmark of contemporary mass media, still remain a very problematic object of investigation due to the complexity of their nature. Our attempts to introduce and apply linguistic methods of study to this particular sphere are described elsewhere (Shustrova, 2014; Voroshilova, 2019). In this article we argue that linguocultural, social semantic and semasiological methods can be extremely useful for teaching media literacy and formation of polycode competence, especially in case of political discourse and polycode texts. We also demonstrate how these methods can be applied to caricatures and memes as a type of polycode texts. To this end, we offer an algorithm for recognising and exploring the conceptual metaphor of crime applied towards Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour Party leader (2015–2020), in British mass media both in verbal texts and polycode texts (caricature and Internet-memes).

# Methods and material

In the present paper we show the procedure of the linguistic analysis and the way it can be applied in teaching media literacy. Using the continuous sampling method, we studied 107,000 texts, both verbal (traditional) and polycode (Internet-memes and caricatures). It allowed us to form the final experimental linguistic database, which includes 2,660 modern British mass media texts. These texts focus on the personality of Jeremy Corbyn, who is the Labour ex-leader. His period of political activity and fame fell upon 2015–2020. The linguistic part of research was conducted on the material of such popular British editions as The Guardian, The Times, Telegraph, Daily Mail, Huffington Post (UK), The Independent, and other mass media sources. We used the following set of general scientific and particular methods: description, generalisation, comparison; cognitive discursive, contextual, definitional and component analysis; method of metaphorical modeling, decoding of different types of text.

The first stage of the study included collecting the contexts in verbal texts. Next the key lexemes were extracted and exposed to semantic component analysis. This included studying dictionary definitions, finding synonyms and etymological information. Then the key semes were listed and classified. We analysed all possible meanings, considered potential semantics, added contextual meanings, and finally drew the conclusions about the pragmatics of each context.

Secondly, the cartoons and memes were selected and classified. Each image was described, and its verbal and graphic components were analysed.

We distinguished the following most common metaphor models: "Corbyn is a precedent character", "Corbyn is an ill person", "Corbyn is a warrior", "Corbyn is an animal", "Corbyn is an artifact", "Corbyn is a professional", "Corbyn is a criminal" and other models. One of the typical conceptual metaphor models used for manipulating reader's perception is the criminal metaphor model. It finds its expression both by verbal and visual means. The resulting sample included 123 traditional (7%) and 234 polycode texts (12% — memes, 14% — caricatures).

As for learning technologies and classroom activities, we suggest they should follow the same pattern. Students should be exposed to verbal component first to be able to perceive and realise possible twists of meaning. To do this, we first teach semantics at the level of paradigmatics, then syntagmatics, i.e. introduce the students to a text. Political texts are very convenient for this purpose, because of their clarity, intertextuality, similar patterns (figures of speech, metaphors and language means). Fiction texts, on the contrary, can cause difficulties in analysis, due to the peculiarities of the author's style and the occasional nature of the use of metaphor.

It is on the next stage that students can face the graphic material. They are supposed to find parallels in semantics, establishing potential semes and their pragmatics in a new type of text. In case we want them not only to react to polycode texts but to realise pragmatic effects to the full extent, we should unfold the steps of linguistic analysis, teach certain procedures, and show them the way to arrive at their results of interpretation on both traditional and graphic levels. Therefore, before presenting a polycode text, we suggested teaching (step by step) semiotic components, which, when selecting material, should correlate with previously studied texts. In this process the ability to interpret semantics and semiotics separately and in a complex is of paramount importance.

To prove this, we conducted an experiment, which involved 53 students of the Russian State Vocational Pedagogical University (Ekaterinburg). All respondents study to be teachers of English or interpreters. Thus, both their practical language skills and their cultural awareness are rather well-formed. The experiment was set for the whole term in connection with the theory of translation studies. The group included 15 male students and 38 female students, all of them being in the third academic year and of the age group 21–22. They are academically divided into subgroups. One of them we treated as an experimental subgroup, while the second formed the control one.

At the beginning of the experiment, the students of the experimental subgroup were shown a caricature of Jeremy Corbyn. The initial assignment was to describe what they see and understand. As the result, the group, even though they were further provoked and assisted, demonstrated a very low level of the ability to read this polycode text, let alone recognise basic mental models and cognitive metaphors. As the caricature bore a blend of both verbal and visual semantic components, the next step was connected with the study of dictionary entries for eliciting the key lexemes. As this group has already been taught the principles of structural semantics and components' analysis, they successfully coped with the task. When they received results for semantic research both on paradigmatic and syntagmatic (collocations) level, they were further asked to find certain correlations and interdependencies, which lead them to singling out basic mental models and cognitive metaphors. The next step combined

introduction of linguocultural component on behalf of the tutor, blending of this new information with the students' results and comparison on semantic and semiotic levels. The respondents were repeatedly engaged in this type of activities, which allowed them to drastically enlarge their linguistic and cultural awareness as well as to learn the possible ways of interpretation.

In the course of our experiment, the students successfully applied their expertise while analysing and translating both fiction and polycode texts. At the end of the term the assessment results proved that 100% of students in the experimental group were able to read and analyse multimodal texts of various types, while in the control group the result was unsatisfactory, bordering on only 1–2% of information of the same texts being understood. To control the results, we used Statistic Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS Statistics) [https://www.ibm.com].

# **Results and discussion**

In order to demonstrate the procedure of the linguistic analysis, which we applied for the classroom activities in the experimental subgroup, we will turn to the analysis of the basic mental models and cognitive metaphors "Politics is Crime" and "Politician is Criminal". Here we offer the most representative contexts from our sample to show the course of the linguistic research.

The criminal metaphor is quite common for political discourse, since the appeal to the source sphere "criminal world" allows political opponents to discredit each other, and the use of the "friend or foe" opposition convinces the recipient to make a choice in favour of "their" political party. Thus, for example, Jeremy Corbyn and his closest supporters can be presented as a tight-knit criminal gang:

'I cannot dispel a suspicion that in the coming struggle Mr Corbyn, or more importantly **the tight-knit** group who help steer his leadership, have cloudy intentions. On Brexit they have a history of triangulating and this week, by steering the question away from no-deal and towards who should be prime minister, they're at it again. Here are two questions to which I fear we cannot be sure of the answer. Do the key little **Corbyn gang** really want a general election right away? And do they really want to stop Britain leaving the European Union?' [Parris, 2019].

The key lexeme, by means of which the metaphorical model "Corbyn is a criminal" is realised, is the word *gang*. If we analyse the whole set of dictionary definitions, this lexeme would show such meanings as the most

typical ones: a group or band; an organised group of criminals; a group of youngsters or adolescents who associate closely, often exclusively, for social reasons, especially such a group engaging in delinquent behavior; a group of people with compatible tastes or mutual interests who gather together for social reasons; a group of persons working together; an organised group of people doing manual work; squad; shift; a group of persons associated for some criminal or other antisocial purpose; arranged to work together or simultaneously; a group of identical or related items. The synonyms include the following lexical units: band, bunch, clan, clique, company, crew, organisation, party, ring, squad, syndicate, team, tribe, troop, assemblage, circle, club, cluster, combo, coterie, crowd, herd, horde, knot, lot, outfit, pack, posse, set, shift, troupe, workers, zoo. All these lexemes form the following associative links: alliance, amalgamation, banding together, cahoots, coalition, combination, confederation, conjunction, connection, crew, hookup, incorporation, joining, league, merging, mob, outfit, partnership, relationship, ring, tie-in, rat pack. Using component's analysis, we singled out such key semes: unit, subject, age, social characteristics, purpose, additional characteristics, way of uniting, actions, manner, the number of subjects.

So, the word gang is basically used to define a group of people united by common interests, for joint activities, criminal or professional, closely related to each other; gang, mob, crime syndicate; a team (of workers). Taking into consideration the contextual connections (tight-knit group, cloudy intentions) in this example, we would receive a metaphor for a criminal gang, close-knit, but with vague intentions, which should give the reader a feeling of something sinister, dangerous, illegal, anti-social. At the same time, it is worth paying attention to the fact that gangs often include, first of all, young people. This can be traced both at the level of the dictionary definition and at the contextual level. At the level of contexts, the seme "male" also dominates. This introduces the potential semantics of immaturity, the inability to be fully aware of what is happening, to control one's aggressive actions, adrenaline going off the scale, making it impossible to concentrate and look at things sensibly, from the point of view of experience. The gang consists primarily of people from disadvantaged or marginal social groups who have not seen anything good in their lives, have no education, do not strive for anything other than satisfying their criminal inclinations and addictions. In addition, the gang does not have a large size, which allows us to conclude that the number of Labour party members and their supporters tends to be limited.

It appears that this is an anti-social bunch of predominantly young men, embittered by their failure and lack of education, many of whom are doomed from the very beginning, pursuing criminal goals, often extremely short-sighted in their desires and actions, which diverge from the attitudes of the majority. In our context, the narrowness of this group is further emphasised by the definition of little (little Corbyn gang). The inability to reasonably assess the situation is defined through the phrase *cloudy intentions*, and the opposition to the majority is present both at the seme level of a single word *gang* and at the context level, namely in a rhetorical question with the adverb *really (do they really want ...?)*. Another example continues this theme as follows:

'Tragically, this is not just about one man: Labour is now controlled by this thuggish camarilla while frontbench "moderates" passively enable Corbyn' [Montefiore, 2019].

Jeremy Corbyn's inner circle is compared to a gangster group. The dictionary definition of the lexeme camarilla gives the following meanings: (derogatory) a small group of people, especially a group of advisers to a ruler or politician, with a shared purpose; a group of unofficial or private advisers to a person of authority, especially a group much given to intrigues and secret plots; cabal; clique. Synonyms include the following lexical units: camp, class, clique, club, company, crowd, fraternity, party, ring, school, society, Mafia, assembly, bunch, cabal, clan, companions, comrades, coterie, crew, cronies, crush, gang, insiders, intimates, mob, outfit, posse, set, sorority, in-group. These synonyms bring forth meanings associated with a criminal group, mafia, clique, gang, and other pariah groups. Thus, the phrase thuggish camarilla in the analysed context represents Jeremy Corbyn and his closest supporters in the form of a criminal family, which is in opposition to the values of a democratic society and the rule of law. At the same time, the small number, scantiness of the members of this group, the tendency to conspiracies, and the unofficial or marginal nature are emphasised. For a politician, the seme "dependence, puppet nature of actions" is additionally introduced. Unlike gang, camarilla does not have the semantics of ignorance, masculinity, and youth. Therefore, the pragmatics of thoughtfulness of their criminal plans, proximity to power, influence on political circles, the ability to subjugate quite influential people, of a mixed gender character is already being introduced.

Next, we would suggest the lexeme "thuggish", which has the following definition: "behaving in a violent way". The summary of dictionary definitions for the root morpheme "thug" gives the following meanings: *a violent person, especially a criminal (also Thug); historical: A member of an organisation of robbers and assassins in India. Devotees of the goddess Kali, the Thugs waylaid and strangled their victims, usually travelers, in a ritually prescribed manner.* Historically, the word originates from Sanskrit and refers to the worshipers of the goddess Kali, the thugs, members of the organisation of robbers and murderers in India, who stalked and strangled their victims, mostly travelers, in a special ritual way.

Here is the context where this lexeme is used in relation to the Labour Party:

*`...cultism has turned Labour into a childish, sycophantic, thuggish and unthinking party*' [Cohen, 2017].

As can be seen, the epithet "*thuggish*" means not only "criminal, cruel", but also causes the reader to associate with the organisation of robbers and stranglers, thus creating an extremely negative attitude towards the party and its leader.

Jeremy Corbyn can be also represented as a murderer:

'Jeremy Corbyn killed the Labour Party. Now we must fight to revive it' (Hazarika, 2019).

The definition of the verb to kill includes the following meanings: to deprive of life in any manner; deprive of existence, cause the death of (a person, animal, or other living thing); put an end to or cause the failure or de*feat of (something); slay; to destroy completely, especially in large numbers;* extinguish; do away with; to destroy or neutralise the active qualities of; to spoil the effect of; to cause (time) to be consumed with seeming rapidity or with a minimum of boredom, especially by engaging in some easy activity or amusement of passing interest; (informal) to overcome completely or with irresistible effect. Among the synonyms are the lexical units: assassinate, drown, execute, get, hit, massacre, murder, poison, slaughter, slay, wipe out, annihilate, asphyxiate, crucify, dispatch, dump, electrocute, eradicate, erase, exterminate, extirpate, finish, garrote, guillotine, hang, immolate, liquidate, lynch, neutralise, obliterate, off, sacrifice, smother, snuff, strangle, suffocate, waste, zap, do away with, do in, polish off, put away, put to death, rub out. The key semes include: impact, object, nature of impact, method, consequences.

Thus, the lexeme *kill* means to deprive of life or existence, to become the cause of death, to weaken the action, to destroy, to liquidate. Given the context, it can be concluded that Jeremy Corbyn, by his actions, led the Labour Party to death. This metaphor is reinforced by another lexeme used in the same article — *bloodbath* (carnage, massacre):

'I knew things were going to be bad, but nothing could have prepared me for the scale of the Tory victory and the scale of Labour's defeat. The result was a **bloodbath**' [Hazarika, 2019].

According to the author, the Labour Party suffered a crushing defeat in the elections as a result of the political statements and actions of Jeremy Corbyn in relation to Brexit and anti-Semitism. The leader of the party acts as a killer, because he took its life (the ability to be chosen), and now it needs to be reanimated. In parallel, the author of the article uses the metaphorical model "The Party is a living organism" (*revive, bloodbath*).

Thus, the metaphorical model "Corbyn is a criminal" is realised through the representation of a politician as a murderer, a leader of a gang and a criminal group, a person who violates all possible foundations. These images serve to instill in the reader a sense of fear, anxiety and distrust towards the leader of the opposition. This effect is produced with the help of historical parallels included.

These implications found in traditional texts on the verbal level should be closely investigated by students for them to see the shades of semantics and possible pragmatic effects. After that the group may be exposed to polycode texts of different nature. For that purpose, we suggest the use of such genres as memes and caricatures due to their quick effect, brevity, instant reference to cognitive mechanisms. Thus, both in traditional and polycode texts we observe frequency of criminal cognitive metaphor model. Whereas in traditional texts this model is more or less clear-cut, in polycode texts it tends to undergo the process of blending and as a result it may be transformed and narrowed into the meanings of a trickster, liar, thimblerigger, maniac, robber of drug dealers. Further on we will demonstrate the most typical examples and show the way of analysis which can be introduced in the teaching process.

The idea of inadequacy, insanity, the embodiment of a nightmare, in this case a socialist one, if J. Corbyn comes to power, is conveyed in a caricature (Fig. 1.1, 1.2). In 2019, the parliamentary elections in the UK fell on Thursday, December 12, and from Friday, December 13, a new "Nightmare on Elm Street" was supposed to begin if the Labour Party won.

The next model represented in various Internet memes is the "Corbyn is a trickster" model, which overlaps with the "Corbyn is a literary character" and "Corbyn is a clown" models. In Fig. 3 Labour leader is depicted with a long, Pinocchio-like nose that was known to grow back when he lied. At the same time, in the verbal part at the top, there is a quote from Corbyn himself about the inadmissibility of propaganda of anti-Semitism in the ranks of the party, introducing a reference to precedent scandals related to anti-Semitic statements made by members of the Labour Party. And at the bottom is the statement "Now all we have to do is redefine anti-Semitism" which is graphically positioned as if it was also of Corbyn's authorship.



"NEVER STOP DREAMING"

- Freddy Krueger

Fig. 1.1. Freddy Krueger Caricature

Fig. 1.2. Never Stop Dreaming Caricature



Fig. 3. Corbyn as Pinocchio meme

Fig. 4. The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing meme

Another Internet meme (Fig. 4) introduces a reference to a precedent text –the fable "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing" by Aesop, where Jeremy Corbyn, in the image of a wolf, is smoking a cigar and playing cards with a lamb (a voter), obviously cheating. Corbyn's hands are female, with predatory long nails hinting at a double deception on his part. The text at the bottom reinforces the visual component, and the word "danger" on a red background warns voters against being deceived.

In the upper right corner is another warning: "socialism is legalised theft". Thus, Jeremy Corbyn is not just a liar, but a dangerous criminal.

This figurative line is continued by an Internet meme depicting Corbyn in a luxury car (Fig. 5). At the same time, the politician is dressed in a women's fur coat, which again refers us to the image of a "wolf in sheep's clothing". The inscription at the top of the picture "You come at the king,



Fig.5. You come at the King meme

you best not miss" introduces a reference to the precedent film "The Wire", where this phrase is spoken by a criminal who robs drug dealers.

Here we showed one of the ways of teaching multiliteracy using linguistic analysis for polycode texts. It was demonstrated that conceptual metaphor as a complex cognitive phenomenon can be recognised and investigated by combining different methods and approaches for studying both verbal and graphic components. When teaching, a semantic-semiotic complex should be used, which will show certain attitudes, mental models and practices. Although the students, exposed to reading the political texts, have had some background linguistic experience, they might need some extra linguistic information and preliminary teaching. Moreover, to interpret polycode texts, they need to be shown and taught certain methodological procedures, which would enable them to perceive much more.

# Conclusion

The study shows that caricatures and memes demonstrate a set of characteristics, which allows them to be singled out as a separate subgenre of polycode texts. Caricatures and memes are based upon an intersemiotic game involving both visual and verbal components. In many cases the result of this game arrives as a cognitive conflict that is produced by the clashing of two semiotic systems. Depending on the culture, language, tradition, age and other factors, the elements with the power to produce this conflict would vary.

Our experience shows that students are often unaware and not prepared to understand this information. This results in multimodal illiteracy, which would further on lead to cultural and professional limitations. To overcome this difficulty students should be taught both traditional types of semantic and structural analysis and exposed to the graphic material, where caricature and meme are convenient sources of information. Thus, the educational process may achieve more stimulating results.

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