University of Alberta

Discursive Construction of Femininities in Contemporary Russian
Women's Magazines

by

Julia Babicheva

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in
Slavic Linguistics

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

ABSTRACT

Transformations of the post-Soviet period in Russia affected virtually every sphere of social life. The national mass media market underwent noticeable changes, particularly, the segment of women's magazines. Two major Soviet women's magazines *Rabotnica* 'woman worker' and *Krest'janka* 'peasant woman' were drawn into a competition with magazines based on Western formats. This situation involved a clash between local and global values. Two decades later, women's magazines established in Russia continue to be contested spaces where orientations toward collectivism and individualism are expressed.

This dissertation investigates the discourse of contemporary women's magazines established in the Soviet Union (*Krest'janka*) and in post-Soviet Russia (*Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*). In these magazines, verbal and visual discursive strategies used to construct femininities are analyzed. Multimodally articulated patterns of intersubjective positioning reveal underpinning value orientations that largely inform magazine discourses. The methodological framework is based on the Appraisal theory elaborated by Martin and White (2005) and the 'Grammar of Visual Design' developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). These approaches are respectively employed for the study of verbal and visual interpersonal communication. The utilized framework presents verbal and visual discursive features from the perspective of constructed power and solidarity. Power and solidarity are considered the guiding principles of interpersonal communication whose aim is to align the readership with expressed positions. Power and solidarity strategies participate in conveying value

orientations that are considered from the perspective of individualism and

collectivism (Shavitt et al. 2006). These cultural dimensions respectively

correspond to global and local values. Collectivistic and individualistic

orientations coexist in the discourse of women's magazines. They also constitute

a potent ideological tool to shape society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1. Introduction and review of literature

    1. 1. Introduction

        The fall of the "Iron Curtain" let alternatives to mainstream Soviet ideology arrive under the form of foreign mass media products, commodities and values. All spheres of social life were affected. In particular, the national mass media market underwent major changes: a growing segmentation due to the introduction of commercial media, and representations of global (Western) alongside traditional local values and cultural norms.

        Twenty years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, local and global values still tend to conflict with each other in Russian society. These tensions, of particular interest because of their far-reaching social implications, are reflected in the discourse of contemporary Russian women's magazines. Indeed, in their conceptualizations of femininities, women's magazines need to appeal to their audiences' social experiences to retain their readerships. They do so via texts and images, which convey certain value orientations. These value orientations, based on socio-cultural norms and beliefs on femininity, also constitute a potent ideological tool to shape society. Thus, it appears particularly relevant to investigate how local and global values interplay in the construction of femininities in women's magazines.

        Mass media act as a powerful tool for encoding and disseminating social representations. These representations reflect certain perspectives, which are culturally and historically motivated and value-laden. On the one hand, media are expected to reflect the norms, values and ideologies shared by their target audience; on the other hand, they may have the controlling power of reinforcing or changing public mind-set and attitudes. The way media operate is contingent on a particular historical context. This section discusses social transformations of the 1990s in Russia that followed the demise of the Soviet Union. This general context is used to consider the changes that affected the market of print media, including women's magazines (1.1.1). Other aspects of changing social reality that are pertinent to the current discussion involve the emergence of social

initiatives against gender polarization and the rising interest in gender studies (1.1.2).

1.1.1. Social context of the study: the demise of the Soviet Union and the changing market of print media

Democratic reforms administered by Gorbachev in the late 1980s allowed for the development of the private sector, foreign investments, and the relaxation of the State control over the country's economy. Transition from administrative-command system to market-based economy continued after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Rapid changes in many spheres of social life, including media production, started with the demise of the Communist State. The national market of print media was experiencing the influx of foreign print sources, which resulted in harsh competition and growing commercialization of the media. By and large, this situation stimulated a move from what is called serious press to media production oriented toward providing infotainment. For instance, periodicals about science and culture for mass audience virtually ceased to exist. Many Soviet periodicals were competing for their niches under the conditions of emerging market economy and changing their layouts, logos and even names. At the same time, a newly emerging commercial press was introducing novel standards of reporting and representation in the media.

The situation of the transition period in Russia naturally affected women's press. Two most popular Soviet women's magazines *Rabotnica* 'woman worker' and *Krest'janka* 'peasant woman' were drawn into a competition with glossy magazines coming from Western Europe and the United States, as well as with newly established Russian periodicals. By way of comparison, in 1995 there were already fifty-three women's magazines published in Russia (Černova 2003). The discourse of women's magazines of the new period operated a shift from the state of collectivism to that of individualism. In this respect, mass media, including women's magazines, have been important agents of social change (Bojkov 2004, 51). Representations of women in *Rabotnica* and *Krest'janka*, previously relatively

uniform and loaded with political ideology, started to be associated with diverse lifestyles as significant sources of female identity.

In sum, transition from collectivism to individualism is linked to the development of social structure and the rise of new discourses, including the fast-growing segment of women's magazines. At the same time, social initiatives emerged in response to gender polarization in society, the discussion of which follows.

1.1.2. Gender polarization in society and the rise of public awareness in post-communist Russia: social organizations and gender research

Soviet ideology officially proclaimed egalitarian relations between men and women, although in practice the situation was far more complex: "women were clustered in low-paying service and white-collar occupations. Men tended to hold the higher-paid positions in heavy industry and the higher-status, and better-paid, positions in the bureaucracy, professions, and industry" (Noonan 1996, 169). Gender polarization in society started to be even more obvious during post-communist period. Sociological accounts, for example the report *Russia's Regions: Goals, Challenges, Achievements* (2006/2007), published by the United Nations Development Program, speaks about gender polarization and ongoing marginalization of egalitarian relations between men and women. Various organizations work in Russia to resolve this social issue and raise public awareness by way of launching national projects, cooperating with other social and political institutions and international organizations. It should be noted, however, that rising women's organizations of the post-Soviet period focused not so much on the problems of inequality between men and women per se, but on many social issues largely overlooked by the government, including health care, social protection of children, and the prevention of violence (Noonan 2006).

The rise of social awareness in post-communist Russia has resulted in various public initiatives. Among the first was Regional Public Organization "East-West: Women's Innovation Projects" registered in 1993. This information

agency developed its website "Open Women Line" supported by the Heinrich-Boell Fund in Germany and the US embassy in Moscow. The agency also launched its socio-educational journal "Woman Plus…" available in print and online in Russian and English. This journal publishes analytical articles and voices women's perspective on social issues.

Another pioneering organization is the Consortium of Women's Non-government Unions, also founded in 1993. Currently, it unites one hundred and sixty organizations in fifty-two regions of Russia. The protection of women's rights and the development of a system of public control for the execution of international and national legal norms are the major goals of the consortium.

The growing awareness of gender-based social challenges resulted in the initiative entitled Institute for Social and Gender Policy. This organization was registered in 2002. It is a member of the Association of Independent Women's Organizations in Russia, International Gender Policy Network, CART Coalition (a network of women's organizations from Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union), and the Association for Women's Rights in Development. This latter organization does not focus exclusively on women's issues. It develops programs that allow to overcome institutional and cultural barriers faced by women as well as by men.

The changes of the transition period, which started in the beginning of the 1990s and included rising awareness of gender issues and pertinent social activities, were favourable for the launch of academic inquiry. The emerging interest in gender studies and developing professional contacts between scholars working in this area led to the rise of centres for gender studies and research. In 1990, the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies (MCGS) was founded by women scholars. The Centre aimed to support the independent women's movement, to investigate legislation and social policy of the government, and to promote gender education. In 1991, yet before the demise of the Soviet Union, it organized the First Independent Women's Forum under the slogan "Democracy minus woman is not democracy." Among the most significant projects of MCGS was "The

Gender Expert Analysis of the Legislation of the Russian Federation" (1996-1997) that covered issues of employment, mass media, reproductive rights, and migration. The proceedings were presented at research conferences in Russia and abroad, and published in over one hundred scientific articles. MCGS developed numerous educational and training programs for researchers working in the area of social sciences and humanities and interested in gender approach toward the analysis of social issues.

Another organization conducting gender research is the Laboratory of Gender Studies (LGS) at the Moscow State Linguistic University. The Laboratory was founded in 1998 and is headed by Professor Kirilina. Compared to MCGS, which uses gender approach mainly as a tool for the investigation of social problems, LGS focuses on gender aspects in theoretical and applied linguistics, in communication theory and in cultural studies. Both organizations participated in the project "Gender expert analysis of the textbooks and state standards in social sciences and humanities in higher education." Every two years, LGS organizes the international conference "Gender: Language, Culture, Communication."

Three years later, in 2001, the Ivanovo Centre for Gender Studies was founded. It facilitates the collaboration of linguists, historians, philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists interested in the field. The centre hosts national conferences, publishes a scientific journal "Woman in Russian Society," and conducts sociological research. There are also centres for gender studies in Saint Petersburg, Tver', Vladivostok, Tambov, Saratov, Tomsk, Petrozavodsk, Arkhangel'sk, and Yekaterinburg.

In sum, interest in gender studies among linguists in the beginning of the 1990s has promoted the field of Russian gender linguistics. The first studies in this domain significantly relied on research tools used in theoretical linguistics. In this perspective, language tended to be treated as an abstract system and the context of linguistic occurrences was seldom specified. In contrast, discursive approaches to the study of gender, which only recently started to be followed in

Slavic linguistics, situate linguistic findings in their context of occurrence and thus allow for links to be made between linguistic form and social structure. Major theoretical perspectives in gender linguistics and in discourse studies are discussed in the following section.

1.2. Review of literature

The review of literature presents the key concepts and theoretical approaches to the studies of gender, identity and mass media communication. First, major findings in Western and Slavic gender linguistics are presented (1.2.1). These are complemented by discourse approaches to the study of language, gender and identity (1.2.2). Identity is also considered from a social psychological and cultural perspective (1.2.3). Case studies of women's media illustrate some of these theoretical approaches (1.2.4). The discussion of theoretical approaches and findings of gender identity and mass media research sets the background of the present study and leads to the definition of the research question.

1.2.1. Gender studies in Western and in Slavic linguistics

It was during the feminist movement of the 1970s that the first publications on language and gender made their appearance. Robin Lakoff's (1975) *Language and Woman's Place* is considered the starting point in the field of gender linguistics (Kendall and Tannen 2003, 548). Scholars started to challenge the widely accepted rule that male norms typify human norms, as well as the belief that men's and women's behaviour is biologically determined (ibid.)

According to Tannen (1991), men use language to negotiate their status and maintain independence, whereas women seek to establish solidarity and reinforce intimacy. Men and women use different linguistic strategies in establishing their gender identities.

Language, being a human construct, is marked by the heterogeneity of its use due to the diversity of attributes of its speakers. Social factors, including age, gender, ethnic group and class impact significantly the choice of linguistic strategies (Cameron 1990; Coates 1993; Wodak and Benke 1996; Cheshire and

Trudgill 1998). Interaction and communication are viewed as a medium in which
we construct our gendered selves (Tannen 1991, 1993; Guenthner 1998; Romaine
1999; Bucholtz et al.1999; Thorne 2001). Therefore, gender-marked language
use has mainly been studied in relation to women's and men's conversational
speech and, to a lesser extent, with respect to written sources.

While gender studies have been pursued in the West for over three
decades, only recently have they been undertaken by Slavic linguists. "The
Soviet ideology took for granted the implementation of equal rights for women
and men, therefore the problem of their unequal treatment by the language
structure didn't arise" (Doleschal and Schmid 2001, 269–270). However,
political and social changes in post-communist Russia and modification of the
research paradigm in the humanities influenced by postmodern philosophy
yielded an increase in interest towards the subjective — as opposed to the
collective — ideological mindset and rejection of the existence of objective or
given truth. Development of the theory of social constructivism led to a revision
of methodological approaches to research on ethnicity, age and gender, which
were previously interpreted as biologically determined (Kirilina and Tomskaia
2005).

The Laboratory of Gender Studies headed by Professor Kirilina identified
the relativity of gender and its social and cultural specifics as the key principles of
gender inquiry. Gender is viewed as an institutionalized and ritualized
phenomenon, which leads to the acknowledgement of its conventionality,
manifested unequally in various societies at different stages of their development.
All of this leads to the approach of the phenomena of femininity and masculinity
as dynamic, changeable products of the development of human society that are
subject to social manipulation (Kirilina 1999).

Among research areas in contemporary Slavic gender linguistics are
methodological approaches to the study of gender (Kirilina 2003), cognitive
aspects of gender-based linguistic behaviour (Goroshko 2003; Yokoyama 2002),
gender roles (Dmitrieva 2002) and gender representations in mass media

(Gusejnova 2002; Kirilina 2002; Ažgixina 2000, Mills 1999). Initially, Slavic studies used to incorporate approaches and findings of western scholarship. Kirilina (2003) claims that Slavic gender linguistics has significantly expanded its methodological basis and developed its own resources thanks to ongoing research in the Slavic world and in post-Soviet countries.

1.2.2. Discourse approaches to the study of language, gender and identity

Early gender research displayed a tendency toward polarizing the concepts of femininity and masculinity, and presented women and men as two relatively homogeneous groups. Within this approach, language was often considered as an abstract system, which significantly understated the meaning of context (Wodak 1997; Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002). "A discourse approach to gender and language aims to accommodate ideas of individual agency, and of gender (identity) as multiple, fluctuating, and shaped in part by language" (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002, 6). Nowadays, it is more and more common to acknowledge "the multiplicity of gender identities: different femininities and masculinities, evident across populations and cultural contexts, but also within individuals" (ibid., 7). The authors make a step forward from discussing gender differences as given toward investigating the discursive means employed for the construction of gender identities.

In the vein of social constructivism, Butler (1990) famously claims that gender is performative in that it is manifested in repetitive social practices, which are culturally mediated and context-bound. Baron and Kotthoff (2001) align themselves with gender-as-performance approach and argue that gender is a communicative achievement that is intertwined with other social categories. Depending on a particular communicative situation, gender can be salient as well as muted (ibid.). "The concept of performance in current language and gender research highlights the fact that membership in particular communities and the identities they authorize is achieved rather than assigned" (Bucholtz et al. 1999, 8). Given that identity is performative, Bucholtz et al. (1999) understand the concept of identity with respect to social practice or social activity. Their focus is

on the interplay of individual agency and social structure. This approach is closely related to the community-of-practice model elaborated by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet. Community of Practice is defined as

> an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practice – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour. As a social construct, a Community of Practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 64; cited in Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002, 16).

Cameron (1997, 34) notes that employing the category of practice establishes mediated relations between gender and language. This is beneficial, Cameron notes, in that it helps avoid overgeneralizations and allows focusing on local meanings and contextually motivated differences. Social practice is the key concept in critical approaches toward analyzing discourse, since discursive practices of identity construction are motivated by social practices recurring in a particular social context (Fairclough 1992; van Leeuwen 1996). Changing social practices "lead to change in knowledge, social relations, and social identities" (Fairclough 1992, 8). Fairclough notes that representations of social identities in discourse have become significantly more diversified and distinct as they reflect "recent transformations in social life" (ibid., 40).

1.2.3. Approaches to the study of social identity

Identity has been studied in a variety of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, philosophy and cultural studies. Social identity approach developed within social psychological tradition continues to be highly influential in interdisciplinary research. This approach involves two major theories: social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al.1987).

Social identity theory (SIT) discusses the concepts of social categorization, identification and comparison. Individuals engage themselves in the process of self-categorization with respect to the attributes expected of a group

9

member. Social identification with a particular group results in the perception of ingroup membership, whereas non-identification with a group signifies outgroup status. Social comparisons takes place in relation to both ingroup and outgroup members. Dissatisfaction with one's ingroup status can be resolved by way of joining a different group (social mobility), competing to improve their ingroup status (social competition), and revising the bases of social comparison (social creativity). Social mobility is referred to as an individualistic strategy, and social competition and social mobility are considered group strategies (Simon 2004, 36).

Self-categorization theory (SCT) was developed on the basis of SIT. Self-categorizations are defined as "cognitive groupings of oneself and some class of stimuli as the same [...] in contrast to some other class of stimuli" (Turner et al. 1987, 44). Individuals categorize themselves with respect to the prototypical attributes of a social group. This process is referred to as depersonalisation. Depersonalization does not result in the loss of one's individuality. Rather, it is the key feature of group phenomena, such as stereotyping, compassion, collective accomplishments, shared norms and others (1987, 44).

These theories explain the nature of intergroup and intragroup processes. SCT, in comparison to SIT, is more focused on the self of social agents. However, the ideas that underlie both theories imply that "ingroup members act in a relatively homogenous manner" (Cinnirella 1998, 228). Furthermore, social cognitive dimension of SCT has been criticized for lack of sensitivity to social reality (ibid.).

Another potent theory that is relevant to the study of identity was elaborated by Triandis (1995). It focuses on cultural orientations from the perspective of individualism/collectivism. Individualism and collectivism may be horizontal (prioritizing equality) or vertical (prioritizing hierarchy). This allows to distinguish between four cultural dimensions that are productive in cross-cultural research and with respect to individual value orientations in a particular culture. These four dimensions include (1) horizontal individualism that emphasizes personal uniqueness and self-reliance; (2) vertical individualism that

emphasizes individual achievements and motivation to be the best; (3) horizontal collectivism that places value on solidarity and cooperation with other in-groups; and (4) vertical collectivism with an emphasis on self-sacrifice and priority of group interests.

This framework was refined by Shavitt et al. (2006) who proposed value orientations from the perspective of horizontal/vertical individualism/collectivism that guide consumers' behaviour. This research tool can be used to investigate the interplay of collectivism and individualism within a culture (for example, Lee and Choi 2005). This is especially relevant for the study of values in societies in transition where traditional collectivistic norms collide with global individualistic values.

In sum, social identity approach and individualism/collectivism dichotomy offer useful insights into group processes and individual behaviour. Socio-cultural context interplays with personal traits, which activates relevant goals and value orientations. In particular, the concepts of in-groups and out-groups are significant for the actualization of either individualistic or collectivistic values.

1.2.4. Linguistic studies of women's media

This section presents an overview of studies on gender representations in mass media, particularly in women's magazines. First, studies that focus on gender representations in Russian media are discussed. Then, this broad context is narrowed down to studies of women's magazines. Studies that represent Slavic and Western gender research are considered with respect to their methodology and content. Critical overview of case studies allows to specify further venues of research.

Women's representations have been studied in the context of different Russian media. Ažgixina (2000) focuses on gender stereotypes in print media that include newspapers, journals and magazines. The author points that significant changes in gender representations occurred in the early 1990s with the beginning of market reforms. Ideological stereotypes of women started to be gender stereotypes. This translated into marginalized and commodified media

11

portrayals of women. In the late 1990s, a relatively clear division of print media into quality and so-called yellow press and the rising social awareness of gender issues resulted in more diversified feminine representations. Among others, women started to be seen as active agents in mass culture and social life. Voronina (1999) in her study of contemporary Russian media acknowledges that despite the tendency in various spheres of social life towards more egalitarian relations between genders, women continue to be largely represented through the prism of patriarchal stereotypes. Skornjakova (2004) also discusses the role of mass media with respect to the reinforcement of gender beliefs in the Russian society. She analyzes Russian media from the perspective of gender construction and presents two sets of features that describe a stereotypical woman and man. Comparative analysis clearly points to gender polarization and the vitality of stereotypes in national mass media.

The above-discussed studies provide an overview of contemporary Russian mediascape with respect to stereotypical gender representations. They offer insightful journalistic descriptions that can be used as a background for studies on particular media.

The discourse of Russian-language women's magazines with respect to the mechanisms of identity construction was analyzed by Roginskaja (2004). In essence, identity is constructed with the help of intersubjective positioning between the author and the addressee. The authorial identity is voiced though a photograph on the front cover and through editorial materials. This identity is also actualized in stories featuring female protagonists. Ultimately, the reader is led to identify with these representations. The author's 'I' and the protagonist's 'she' metaphorically relate to the reader's 'you.' This general framework supports the claim that contemporary women's magazines present a new form of autobiography.

In Slavic gender linguistics, intersubjective positioning in the discourse of Ukrainian women's magazines, *Jeva* and *Žinka*, was studied by Nedashkivska (2002). Forms of address are considered important linguistic features that shape

identities and relationships between the author and the reader. These are investigated in conjunction with lexical and syntactic features with respect to editorial style and ideologies of femininity. The results of systematic linguistic analysis indicate that *Jeva* projects progressive dynamic femininity, and *Žinka* constructs static communal femininity.

Beyond Slavic gender studies, strategies of intersubjective positioning and the concept of a magazine community were studied by Nakamura (2004). Based on Japanese fashion magazines for young women and for young men, the author analyzes patterns of identity construction. In his study, Nakamura proposes a dynamic model of language and gender studies to analyze the way femininities and masculinities are constructed in fashion magazines. This model emphasizes a dialectic relationship between 1) gender identities that are negotiated at the level of discourse practices, 2) gender ideologies that have historical roots and involve relatively stable beliefs about genders, and 3) gender relations that are linked to social power structures (ibid., 135).

Dynamic model of language and gender studies (Nakamura 2004)

Gender Relations (Social Structures)

⇓   ⇑

Gender Ideologies (Discourse Orders)

⇓   ⇑

[restrict and provide resources to]   [produce, reproduce and subvert]

⇓   ⇑

Gender Identities (Discourse Practices)
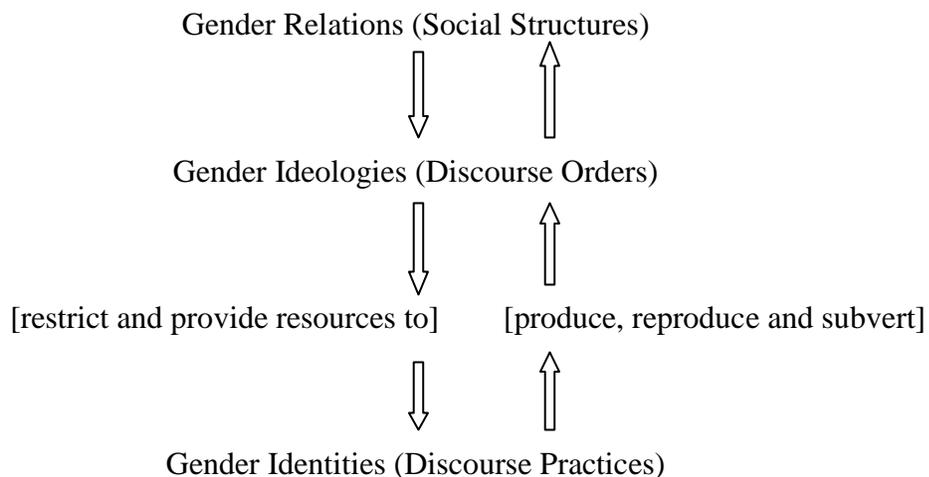
The discourse strategies that are used to create gender identities and shape magazine communities involve 1) constructing interaction between the writer and the reader (tag questions, imperatives, hortative and elliptical constructions), 2) constructing the reader's voice (personal pronouns and the conversational structure of adjacency pairs), and 3) constructing shared practices, knowledge and

values (presuppositions, membership identities with celebrities at the core). Thus, "a magazine community provides identity resources to the actual readers in the form of membership" (ibid., 141). The discourse analysis of stylistic features of women's and men's magazines reveals gender ideologies that underlie the construction of magazine communities. The framework 'fashion as task' and egalitarian relationships between the writer and the reader are emphasized in women's magazines, whereas the 'fashion as battle' framework and hierarchical interaction is favoured in men's magazines. The results of the study indicate that "magazine discourse contributes to both reproducing and altering gender ideologies" (ibid., 145). Indeed, gender ideologies significantly influence gender representations in fashion magazines, yet, these magazines project specific identities that are defined by particular patterns of consumption. The methodological framework proposed by Nakamura (2004) appears particularly relevant to the research of gender identities from the perspective of discourse analysis, including the present study.

Another productive approach to the study of identity in women's magazines centres on the concept of style. The linguistic style of the world versions of *Cosmopolitan* was investigated by Machin and van Leeuwen (2005). They analyze specific magazine styles that include 1) the style of advertising, 2) the style of the fashion caption, 3) the style of expert discourse, 4) street style, and 5) conversational style. The authors claim that the mosaic of styles used in *Cosmopolitan* serves to transmit the values and establish the identity of the magazine. Furthermore, style is the core manifestation of identity, which comprises individual, social and lifestyle. While providing distinct characteristics of each style, the authors argue that lifestyle encompasses the other two. Therefore, lifestyles are both internally and externally motivated. Lifestyle is described as a 'composite of connotations' that express identities and values shared by a group of people. In sum, Machin and van Leeuwen (2005) claim that global lifestyles advocated by *Cosmopolitan* are associated essentially with commodities and consumer behaviour that signifies these styles. Their study

14

focuses exclusively on lexicogrammatical features and semantic meanings of the magazine's styles. Evaluative meanings, which are essential to the communication of values and the construction of styles, are given only modest attention in the study.

The interplay of visual and textual discursive strategies in forty-four international versions of *Cosmopolitan* was studied by Machin and Thornborrow (2003). They focus on strategies that are used to represent women in the dimensions of work and sexuality. The visual content is considered with respect to modality and agency. The authors observe that the visual images in their corpus use low modality, and the agency is established through the depictions of motion. These devices help create an abstract fantasy world in which women are active agents. The analysis of the textual features confirms these findings and further elaborates on them. The study reveals a contradictory tendency to present women as active and powerful and, at the same time, as naïve, in need of guidance and seeking to please the other in order to succeed. The article summarizes that *Cosmopolitan* "blends these contradictions together seamlessly to produce the 'brand' woman who is the fun, fearless female" (2003, 465).

Similar contradictions were discovered in the discourse of Australian women's magazines, *New Woman* and *SHE* (Eggins and Iedema 1997). Multimodal discourse analysis focuses on the front covers, tables of contents, letters to the editor, expert columns, horoscopes, and feature articles. These elements are investigated along the lines of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings proposed by Halliday in his systemic functional theory. The findings are considered with respect to Bernstein's socio-semantic coding orientations that correlate with social differences and lifestyles of the readers. Thus, *New Woman* adheres to elaborated coding and *SHE* relies on restricted coding. These orientations in different ways perpetuate the illusion of multiplicity of choices that women can make. "Difference becomes a resource used to gloss over the basis of women's relation to the status quo" (ibid., 193).

The above-discussed studies of women's magazines follow a discourse analytic approach. In these studies, linguistic analysis is used to investigate discursive features that contribute to the construction of gender identities. Other type of research in the domain of women's media focuses on content analysis.

A typology of gender representations in Russian magazines was suggested by Guseva (1999). *Krest'janka* and local versions of *Liza* and *Cosmopolitan* are analyzed with respect to the dominant gender portrayals. This study demonstrates that *Liza* conceptualizes an idealistic image of a woman whose self-perception derives exclusively from her relation to a man. *Cosmopolitan* promotes the image of an active, ambitious and career-oriented woman. However, all her efforts are linked to perceived dependence on a man. *Krest'janka* offers a relatively balanced view on the idea of femininity with an emphasis on family values. The author suggests that this magazine does not idealize reality to the extent of *Liza* and *Cosmopolitan*. Despite conceptual differences, women's magazines enhance the status quo with inherent gender inequality.

Peirce (1997) examines a selection of women's magazines published in the United States. Gender stereotypes that are used in fiction stories in these periodicals shape the focus of analysis. The author compares gender portrayals in the magazines of the 1990s and in those a few decades earlier. Demographic characteristics and descriptions are used to determine the roles and traits of the female characters. Quantitative data analysis suggests that fiction stories tend to involve traditional gender representations. Typical characters live through romantic dilemmas; they are single educated white Americans employed in "gender-specific jobs."

Another diachronic study focuses on gender stereotypes in women-oriented advertisements published in *Vogue and Time* from 1955 to 2002 (Lindner 2004). The categories of stereotyping involve (1) objectifying women, (2) portraying women as subordinate to men, and (3) showing women as excluded from the bigger picture. The statistical results of this study

indicate that 78% of advertisements resort to stereotypical portrayals of femininity, where *Vogue* is more inclined to resorting to stereotypes than *Time*. It is concluded that female stereotypes have undergone very few changes over the period of forty-seven years.

The reviewed studies are insightful with respect to discursive strategies of identity construction and underpinning gender ideologies. Importantly, analyses of widely-known global magazines come to a unanimous conclusion that patriarchal gender ideologies are very much alive in contemporary women's magazines. However, magazines create an illusion of diversity of identities and plurality of choices by way of drawing "on a wide range of genres and discourses, addressing their readers in many different voices" (Talbot 1998, 177).

Another important yet largely overseen area of inquiry is presented by local country-specific magazines that face the challenges of social, cultural, political and economic transition. Transitional contexts are largely defined by the clash of local and global, traditional and modern, collectivistic and individualistic. While some attention has been paid to advertising discourse in light of local transitional processes (e.g. Martin 2006, Feng and Wu 2007), only one large-scale study, to my knowledge, has addressed women's magazines in a transitional context.

The complex interaction between the local and the global in Moroccan women's magazines was investigated by Skalli (2006). *Femmes du Maroc* (Moroccan Women) and *Citadine* (City Dweller) were established during the period of liberalization in the mid-1990s. These magazines were chosen as sites of negotiation of feminine identities, women's role, and knowledge construction from a global/local perspective. The author contends that the tension between the global and the local is particularly evident in the medium of women's magazines (ibid., 7). Indeed, "global trends and influences do not replace local specificities or realities; they interact with them in a ceaseless, dialectic and asymmetrical fashion" (ibid., 3). Skalli argues that theories of globalization and localisation simplify the complex issue of interaction between the global and the local.

Instead, the author suggests the concept of a "third space" or hybridity, which implies that culture "is a process of adjustment to internal and external changes (ibid., 183).

The study of Moroccan magazines provides a balanced analysis of identity construction on the basis of data coming from textual analysis, in-depth interviews with the readers and editors, and the study of the magazines' production. With respect to textual analysis, this study mainly focuses on the content of editorials, feature articles and advertisements. The author is interested in how broad trends expressed in the magazines' content relate to the editors' and readers' positions, and to the Moroccan socio-cultural context at large. One of the important conclusions of this exploratory study is that readers are receptive to both local and global influences as long as these influences offer resources for identification, self-representation and "cultural proximity" (ibid., 182).

Based on the overview of case studies, gender representations in women's magazines can be viewed as identities and as stereotypes. Identity approach is productive in that it captures both relatively stable aspects of group membership and individual attributes that are dynamic and context-sensitive. Stereotypes, in contrast, are relatively fixed forms of knowledge that offer valuable insights about social groups, however, they do not account for gender dynamics within a period of time.

The concept of lifestyle is viewed as an important aspect of identity. In the discussed studies, lifestyle is linked to patterns of consumption that are largely informed by a magazine's advertising content. Lifestyle consumption correlates with social aspects of identity. Since individual aspects that inform lifestyle choices are not discussed, constructed femininities are presented as fragmentary.

In the present study, gender representations, or constructed gender identities, are termed femininities. The concept of femininity is informed by the previous discussion of approaches to the study of language, gender and social identity. This term allows to adopt a reductionist perspective on identity

that is particularly suitable to the study of women's magazines whose audience is gender-specific. The term identity is occasionally used whereby the author or the reader is explicitly referred to. Femininities are variously constructed from magazine to magazine and in constituent discourses of a given periodical, including letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements. These media texts tend to simultaneously supplement and contradict each other by way of projecting diverse femininities.

The current study follows a discourse analytic approach and focuses on interpersonal meanings that participate in discursive construction of femininities. These are conveyed by way of evaluating certain phenomena and positioning the readership with respect to these evaluations. Femininities shaped by magazine discourses are informed by certain ideological positions. In sum, intersubjective positioning between the author and the reader and underpinning value orientations are of interest.

In contemporary women's magazines, the visual strategically interplays with the verbal. Yet, research to date has been mainly focusing on verbally-expressed meanings. The present study incorporates linguistic and textual analysis to account for multimodally articulated interpersonal meanings. It is also important to mention that the majority of studies of women's magazines has been focusing on global periodicals. However, contemporary country-specific magazines, particularly those that originated in transitional societies, continue to be understudied.

These considerations based on the review of literature justify the research question of the present study: *how do evaluative interpersonal meanings guided by global and local value orientations contribute to the process of construction of femininities in the discourse of contemporary Russian women's magazines?* Answering this question requires (1) analyzing inherently evaluative interpersonal meanings in media texts and (2) considering these meanings in the context of value orientations that are viewed from the perspective of individualism/collectivism. Individualism and

collectivism are respectively associated with global and local value orientations. These coexist in the discourse of women's magazines and operate as important carriers of ideologies. Chapter 2 presents the corpus of the current study, outlines the methodological framework and discusses how methodology is applied to the studied texts.

Chapter 2. Corpus and methodology

In this chapter, *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* are discussed with respect to their content, target readership and publishing houses (2.1). This discussion is followed by the presentation of the methodological framework and its application to the studied corpus (2.2). The analysis investigates linguistic (2.2.1) and visual (2.2.2) interpersonal meanings conveyed in the studied magazines.

2.1. Corpus of the study: Russian women's magazines *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* (2005-2008)

The corpus of this study consists of the March, June, September and December issues of three Russian monthly women's magazines *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* for the period of 2005-2008, starting with December 2005. A total of thirty-nine issues from these magazines are analyzed. Each issue opens a new season and thus symbolically stands for changes routinely happening in nature and in social life. December issues of the magazines are devoted to New Year celebrations and March publications mention the beginning of spring and Women's day celebrated on the 8th of March. June is usually the last month of the academic year. It also indexes the beginning of a vacation period for students and many working people. Active social life resumes in September, since a new academic and business year starts after a summer break.

The selection of current periodicals offers the clearest examples of up-to-date gender representations in the magazines under study. These three magazines, according to the results of the National Readership Survey conducted by TNS Gallup Media[1] for the period of December 2006-April 2007, are the most popular, originally Russian brands of women's monthly magazines. The average issue

---

[1]   Taylor Nelson Sofres (TNS) is a global market research company founded in 1946 in the United States and presently working in over 80 countries. In Russia, TNS Gallup Media, TNS Ad Fact and TNS MIC conduct target audience, mass media and marketing research. Web site address http://www.tns-global.ru (accessed April 12, 2008).

readership of *Krest'janka* for this period amounts to 559 800*,* the same index for *Karavan istorij* is 2 352 200, and *Samaja* has 456 500 readers per issue.[2]

      Krest'janka is a magazine with a long tradition dating back to 1922. It was founded by *Ženotdel*, the Women's Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "In the old days, going through their [sic] copy on daily work and Party policy, one could come across the occasional recipe, advice on skin care or a dress pattern" (Pietilainen et al. 2010, 47). During the Soviet Union, *Krest'janka* was published by "Pravda," the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, *Krest'janka* was privatized by the magazine's employees. It was acquired by Radionov Publishing House in 2005. Nowadays, the publisher's portfolio includes (1) business magazines *Profil'* 'Profile,' *Kar'era* 'Career,' *Kompania* 'Company,' and *Business Week*, (2) general interest publication *Domovoj* 'Brownie, or house spirit,' (3) men's periodicals *FHM*, *XXL*, and *Moulin Rouge/Max*, and (4) women's magazines *Krest'janka*, *Moj malen'kij* 'My little one,' *Ona* 'She,' and *Tol'ko ty* 'Only you.' *Krest'janka* is one of the few publications that is based on a Russian format. The tradition of this magazine is an important source of its identity. For instance, the September 2008 issue of *Krest'janka* and the following publications feature "the old logo of the Soviet state publishing house Pravda along with a small image of Lenin's head under the magazine's title with the slogan: 'In publication since 1922'" (Ratilainen 2010, 159). In November 2009, *Krest'janka* was further rebranded as a magazine about cozy life out of town. Its rubrics name interior and exterior house spaces and exploit their symbolic functions to organize editorial materials (*Krest'janka* media kit[3]). For example, the rubric title *Gostinaja* 'living room' calls for receiving guests and having family gatherings. Accordingly,

---

[2]   Average issue readership, i.e. an estimated number of readers who read or look over a publication, is considered a more reliable factor than a circulation number, since a single issue is likely to have multiple readers.

[3]   *Krest'janka* media kit is accessible from http://www.idr.ru/content/?idp=code_101 (accessed February 22, 2011). This media kit applies to issues published in 2009 and later. These issues are beyond the scope of the present study.

materials published in this rubric are devoted to interviews with public figures, practical advice and everyday life. The rubric *V sadu* 'in the garden' is devoted to gardening tips.

Krest'janka targets women aged 35-54 years. Its readership comprises 83% of women and 17% of men (Atlas SMI n.d.). The analyzed issues emphasize family values and cultural traditions. These also offer themes that go beyond typically 'feminine' issues and attempt at providing a larger social context. Thus, *Krest'janka* offers alternative perspectives on reality. On the one hand, it publishes materials that specifically target women (e.g. rubrics on fashion and beauty). These materials tend to emphasize femininity and to highlight positive aspects of life. On the other hand, *Krest'janka* addresses various social issues. This focus on the social implies the lack of redundant beautification of reality with stylized images and topics that are generally perceived as pleasurable and enjoyable.

Karavan istorij was established in Russia in 1998. It belongs to the publishing house *7 dnej* '7 days' that also publishes the magazine *Kollekcija. Karavan istorij* 'Collection. Caravan of stories,'[4] *Itogi* 'Outcomes' (politics and economics) and *7 dnej* '7 days' (TV program). The publishing house *7 dnej* used to be part of the media holding "Media-Most" that belonged to Vladimir Gusinskij and existed till 2001. *7 dnej* was later acquired by the media holding Gazprom-Media. This media holding controls leading Russian TV channels, radio stations, magazines and newspapers.

The audience of *Karavan istorij* comprises 75.5% of women and 24.5% of men.[5] The core readers are people aged from 35 to 44. Among other women's editions, this magazine has the biggest readership in Moscow and is the second best selling women-oriented periodical after *Cosmopolitan* in other Russian cities.

---

[4]   *Kollekcija "Karavan istorij"* is a smaller version of *Karavan istorij.* This bimonthly periodical publishes selected features from the archive of *Karavan istorij.*
[5]   Data published on the web site of the publishing house *7 dnej '7 days'* http://www.7days.ru/www.nsf/All/_Advert_Karavan_audit.html (accessed March 1, 2011).

Karavan istorij is known for its artistic photographs and stories of famous people, narrations about cultural traditions and historical events. Features about celebrities combine two tendencies: they tell success stories that emphasize the exceptionality of famous people and, at the same time, they aim to illustrate that celebrities do not differ significantly from ordinary people. These stories are relatively lengthy (about fifteen pages each excluding advertising content) and are richly illustrated by exclusive photographs that often belong in private archives of celebrities. An average issue of *Karavan istorij* is 300-400 pages long. The editor in chief Olga Orlova claims that the magazine follows the genre of belles-lettres rather than conventions of traditional journalism (Orlova 2003). Highlighting the stories of celebrities implies that readers are assigned the role of observers.

Samaja has been in publication since 2005. The magazine provides a rich source of practical information and advice for progressive young women aged 20–35 years, who take care of their families, children and themselves (*Samaja* media kit).[6] The publisher *Edipresse-Konliga* has been a member of *Edipresse Group* since 2003.[7] "*Edipresse-Konliga* is the second largest magazine publisher in Russia with over 20 titles with an annual print-run of over 22 million copies. It . . . [publishes in] consumer magazine segments including women's advisory, parenting, home and design, knitting/needlecraft and the arts" (Edipresse Group 2008). Nejaglova-Kolosova (2006), the Chief Executive Officer of *Edipresse-Konliga*, reports that they benefit from the experience of *Edipresse Group* to develop the layout and rubrication of Russian periodicals. *Edipresse-Konliga* also has access to the archive of photographs and images. The content of *Edipresse-Konliga* publications is authentic and developed for the Russian audience.

Women's magazines are commercial products that largely depend on advertising revenues. The amount and the content of advertisements are different

---

[6]　*Samaja* media kit is available at http://www.konliga.ru/download/mediakits/samaya.pdf (accessed April 28, 2011).
[7]　*Edipresse Group* was founded in Switzerland in 1988. It has branches in Spain, Poland, Ukraine, Russia, Romania, China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand. *Edipresse Group* entered the Russian market in 2003.

across the studied magazines. *Krest'janka* has only a few ads per issue. These promote beauty-enhancing products, medicine and food for children. Many of these goods, except for beauty-enhancing products, come from Russia. *Samaja* also tends to advertise both Russian and foreign commodities that are relatively inexpensive. Compared to *Krest'janka* and *Samaja*, *Karavan istorij* is abundant in advertisements, many of which are double-page spreads. These are ads for imported luxury products, including perfumes, beauty-enhancing products, alcohol, automobiles and real estate. Given the significance of advertising revenues, it appears plausible that commercial advertising impacts the discourse of women's magazines, including the communication of values.

In sum, *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* for the period of 2005-2008 constitute the corpus of the present study. These magazines established in Russia in 1922, 1998 and 2005 respectively construct distinct femininities through their discourses. Letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements are subject to analysis. These media texts are considered from the perspective of constructed interpersonal communication and underpinning value positions that serve as the basis of solidarity. The analysis of these texts in each magazine and across the studied data allows to situate these findings in a larger social context of the Russian society still in transition.

2.2. Methodology

This section presents the methodological framework of the current study and discusses relevant analytical categories. Textual (2.2.1) and visual (2.2.2) discursive features that use interpersonal meanings to construct reading positions shape the focus of analysis of *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*. The analyzed discursive features are summarized in (2.2.3). Particular evaluative meanings are informed by value orientations. Value orientations from the perspective of individualism and collectivism are considered in (2.2.4). The application of methodology to the analysis of letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements is discussed in (2.2.5).

2.2.1. Textual analysis

Textual analysis utilizes the Appraisal framework proposed by Martin and White (2005). This framework offers resources for intersubjective positioning between the sender and the receiver of a message, including evaluations (i.e. the system of attitude) (2.2.1.1). Evaluations under Appraisal framework are limited to words and phrases in a sentence. Presuppositions, or assumptions, occur at a discourse level and allow to account for inscribed (i.e. explicit) and invoked (i.e. implicit) evaluations (2.2.1.2).

2.2.1.1. Evaluative meanings: Appraisal framework

Interpersonal communication is essentially the process of negotiation of meaning. Writers or speakers, while expressing their attitudinal positions, aim to evoke a positive response in their readers or listeners (Martin and White 2005, 95). "Thus declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief" (ibid.).

The Interpersonal Semantics framework (also termed the Appraisal framwork) utilizes discourse resources that allow for the negotiation of power and solidarity (Table 2-1). These resources are divided into (1) negotiation, (2) appraisal and (3) involvement. Power relations are constructed through negotiation and appraisal. Negotiation depends on the type of exchange and utilized speech functions. Appraisal system involves the semantic domain of attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude is concerned with the expression of feelings and emotions (affect), evaluation of behaviour based on social norms (judgement), and aesthetic evaluation of objects and phenomena (appreciation). Graduation expresses the level of intensity (force) and precision (focus) of an evaluation.

Table 2-1. Interpersonal semantics in relation to lexicogrammar (Martin and White 2005, 35)

Register	Discourse semantics	Lexicogrammar
Tenor	**Negotiation** - speech function - exchange	- mood - tagging
power (status)	**Appraisal** - engagement - affect - judgement - appreciation - graduation	- 'evaluative' lexis - modal verbs - modal adjuncts - polarity - pre/numeration - intensification - repetition - manner; extent
solidarity (contact)	**Involvement** - naming - technicality - abstraction - anti-language - swearing	- proper names - technical lexis - specialized lexis - slang - taboo lexis - grammatical metaphor

Engagement is explicitly linked to the establishment of intersubjective positioning. It provides reference to the source of opinion and indicates the authorial stance with respect to this opinion. 'Dialogically expansive' and 'dialogically contractive' resources fulfill the heteroglossic function of propositions. Dialogic expansion acknowledges that alternative voices and opinions might exist, which translates into the authorial distancing from the truth value of a proposition, whereas dialogic contraction narrows the possibility of alternative positions and endorses a particular viewpoint (Martin and White 2005, 102). In comparison to heteroglossic resources, monoglossic resources, or bare assertions, present opinions as unproblematic and often imply that these are shared by the target audience. Presuppositions vividly exemplify such propositions. These are considered highly ideological for their potential to produce and reproduce meanings of 'taken-for-grantedness' (ibid., 100) that serve to solidify the status quo.

Solidarity relations are established through involvement strategies. These strategies are used to identify social actors, objects and phenomena with the help of referential expressions, technical and abstract terms, and by way of using slang and taboo language. The above-discussed framework (Table 2-1) is expanded for the present analysis and includes a modified system of involvement (operates both on a lexical and on a discourse level), presuppositions (discourse level) and identification resources (i.e. terms of address). The categories of textual analysis are discussed in detail below in section 3.1.[8]

Terms of address and referential expressions help establish imaginary two-way communication with the addressee. Depending on the communicative purpose, this relationship may be conveyed in different ways. A direct address and possibly perceived closeness is expressed with the help of imperative constructions and the personal pronoun 'you,' which has two forms in Russian: *ty* 'you - singular informal' and *vy* 'you - singular formal' or 'you – plural' used to address two and more people. Relations of distance are also codified where the addresser establishes herself as a separate individual ('I' versus 'you'). Closeness is constructed where the addresser is part of the readership ('we' or 'I' is equal to 'you'). Due to their interpersonal function, forms of address and referential expressions codify evaluative meanings. These meanings are personalising and display the potential to identify the putative addressee.

Evaluative meanings can be activated in discourse both directly and by implication. Direct means of activation are presented in the appraisal framework and are relatively unproblematic. "More problematic are activations which rely on implication, inference and association, which rely on the reader/listener to interpret the depicted happening or state of affairs as positive or negative according to the value system they bring to the text" (White 2002, 5). White notes that the analysis of implicit evaluative meanings is potentially subjective and hardly replicable. However, a significant part of evaluative work performed in discourse is implicit. Therefore, the analysis of indirect evaluations and of

---

[8] A completed list of codes used for textual analysis is presented in Appendix 1.

their interaction with explicit assessments appears to be a fruitful research path (ibid.).

The Appraisal framework (Martin and White 2005) utilizes the terms 'inscribed' and 'invoked' in reference to attitudinal resources (affect, judgement and appreciation). These correspond to direct and implied modes of activation discussed by White (2002). The appraisal framework was designed for the analysis of lexical resources, yet it is often problematic to single out particular lexical units when an evaluation is presupposed. For this research, it appears reasonable to single out the category of presuppositions, or assumptions. These occur at a discourse level and have evaluative underpinnings.

2.2.1.2. Presuppositions

Presupposition is defined as "any kind of background assumption against which an action, theory, expression or utterance makes sense or is rational" (Levinson 1983, 168). Early research on presuppositions focused on their semantic and truth-conditional aspects. Failure to account for the context of occurrence of presuppositions within the semantic approach led to understanding presuppositions as pragmatic phenomena (Delogu 1997).

Presuppositions, albeit lacking explicit verbal expressions in text, are identifiable with the help of discourse markers, also termed "presuppositional triggers" (Levinson 1983). This allows differentiating presuppositions from implicatures, which are even less obvious than presuppositions and their interpretation is potentially disputable (Degano 2007).

In general, there is no agreement between scholars as to whether consider implied meaning a type of presupposition or to view it as an independent phenomenon. The tendency to separate presuppositions and implied meanings is based on the idea that presuppositions are closely related to the propositional content and can be inferred from this content, whereas implicatures add supplementary information to what has been stated (Degano 2007, Sbisa 1999, Grundy 1995, Levinson 1983). From a reductionist perspective, the concept of

presupposition is interpreted in terms of implicatures and entailment that make presuppositions relevant for the comprehension of discourse (Atlas 2005).

Presuppositions are considered a covert form of evaluation and their decoding heavily relies on the reader's background knowledge and beliefs (Degano 2007, 363). "Because it is formulated in such a covert way, this form of evaluation is less likely to raise criticism on the part of the reader, and has therefore a high potential for influencing public opinion" (ibid.). Common-sense assumptions are particularly interesting in this respect. This type of presupposition is ideological in that it can do two things: (1) it "may in varying degrees contribute to sustaining unequal power relations," (2) also it may contribute to "establishing and consolidating solidarity relations among members of a particular social grouping" (Fairclough 1989, 84).

Since presuppositions operate at a discourse level, their interpretation significantly depends on the context of operation. Degano (2007) analyzes two types of presuppositions: (1) affective (what is good or bad) and (2) epistemic ("the degree of certainty attached by the speaker to the propositional content of his/her message" (ibid., 365)). Affective presuppositions can be explicit when signalled by "presuppositional triggers" and implicit when inferable from extended pieces of text. Epistemic presuppositions involve allegations and common knowledge.

For this research, presuppositions including common-sense assumptions and other types of implicated knowledge with evaluative undertones are of interest. Presuppositions are broadly viewed as based on implicated meanings, which makes the difference between presuppositions and implicatures insignificant. Rather, a hypothesis about degrees of implicitness can be made: the more obvious is presupposed information, the more certainty there is as to the meaning of a presupposition and, conversely, the more presupposed information is backgrounded, the vaguer is presupposed knowledge to the recipient. In sum, "there is a penumbra area between what is said and what is implicated, which involves that implicitness is a matter of degrees" (Papi 1997).

Albeit presuppositions can be more and less explicit in discourse, they target a particular audience, which implies that this audience has the knowledge needed to recover intended presuppositions. Wodak (2007, 219) claims that presuppositions, insinuations, implicatures, and wordplay are the properties of "coded discourses of silence and justification."

Furthermore, presuppositions shared by the sender and the receiver take less effort to process than presuppositions intended by the sender as shared knowledge, whether truly or manipulatively, and not being such from the perspective of the receiver (Bekalu 2006). This observation brings us to the distinction between given and new information. By definition, presuppositions are supposed to convey given information. In this case, presuppositions can be strategic (e.g. resorting to common-sense assumptions). However, presuppositions often convey new information, which makes them strategic in most cases. In this connection, a phenomenon of accommodation needs to be mentioned. Accommodation results from the dynamics of communication. In this process, "something becomes common ground in virtue of one party recognizing that the other takes it to be common ground" (Stalnaker 2002, 711). Thus, the point of interest are not presuppositions governed by the rule of economy that can be easily spelled out (conversational implicatures), but presuppositions that project attitudes and stances and thus shape subject positions.

2.2.2. Visual analysis

In the magazine medium, both verbal information and visual design are important for the construction of interpersonal meanings. Visual design involves visual representations (i.e. images), spatial organization of layouts elements, typefaces and colours. Interpersonal communication in images is constructed through the type of visual address and angle of representation (2.2.2.1). Spatial arrangement of visual elements communicates their information value (2.2.2.2) and signals the degree of relatedness among these elements (2.2.2.3). Fonts (2.2.2.4) and colours (2.2.2.5) tend to accord with visual representations.

31

2.2.2.1. Interpersonal meanings: 'offer' and 'demand' images and the angle of representation

A represented persona may communicate directly with the viewer by gazing at them ('demand' image) or indirectly by 'avoiding' eye contact with the viewer ('offer' image). 'Demand' images are powerful in that they take the privilege to directly communicate with the viewer. The gaze of a person looking outside the frame signifies communication with the off world or absorption in thoughts (Machin 2007, 112). Furthermore, such a person is presented as an individual. 'Offer' images construct the position of the viewer as of an observer who is presented with visual information. Images of this type often present two or more people involved in their own interaction and confined within the context of representation.

The angle at which a model was photographed suggests a manner of interaction with respect to dominance/solidarity. A horizontal angle implies the viewer's involvement. Equality and solidarity between the parties are constructed when the point of view of the onlooker is at the same level as the point of view of a depicted model. A vertical angle conveys power and inequality between the represented persona and the viewer. An oblique angle, or portraying at an angle rather than just vertically, may denote energy, movement and creativity (Machin 2007, 115). An oblique angle, as compared to the frontal angle, also signals detachment.

A perceived distance between the viewer and the portrayed persona signifies a social distance. "In pictures, distance translates as 'size of frame' (close shot, medium shot, long shot, etc.)" and points to degrees of engagement with the viewer (Machin 2007, 116). When the same interpersonal distance is established, frontal body angle signals the biggest degree of engagement in comparison to side and back angle that codify a weaker degree of engagement.

2.2.2.2. Information value of visual elements

Information value of layout elements is identified with the help of the structures of 'given-new', 'ideal-real', and 'centre-margins.' These were proposed to assign meanings to layout zones (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998). The 'given'

and the 'new' respectively correspond to the left and right parts of a layout. The 'given' suggests already known information that serves as an "agreed departure point for the message" (ibid., 189). The 'new' offers earlier unknown information, therefore, it is presented as problematic and contestable. Another analytical strategy involves a top – bottom line. Information presented at the top is the 'ideal'and elements placed at the bottom of a page are the 'real'. The 'ideal'is unspecified; the 'real' contains specific practical information, such as statistical data and contact information.

The relative size and position of layout elements allows establishing them as salient, equal to other elements or insignificant. One or few elements are visually salient if they occupy a significant part of a layout. Furthermore, distinctions in colour saturation and hues, shape and spatial proximity of elements also help differentiate between foregrounded and backgrounded visual information.

2.2.2.3. Connections between visual elements

Complex meanings encoded in a layout derive from the size, shape and position of visual elements in relation to each other. Recurrent visual elements, such as objects of the same colour, size or shape, point to so-called navigation paths and tend to guide the reader's information processing. These recurrent elements may also encode the hierarchy of visual information. For example, tables of contents usually use relatively large colour fonts to introduce titles of rubrics, whereas titles of feature articles use smaller black fonts.

Connections between visual elements are also implied where these elements are unframed or weakly framed. "The stronger the framing of an element, the more it is presented as a separate unit of information" (ibid., 203). Framed images represent phenomena that usually do not "interact" with other visual elements outside the frame. Unframed images, in contrast, are more interactive, since these are not limited by frame boundaries. Thus, framed representations create a sense of formality and orderliness, whereas unframed elements help shape a busy loosely structured interactive environment.

33

In sum, multimodal texts to a greater degree than monomodal texts imply that the reader is actively involved in the process of meaning construction by way of establishing connections between compositional elements. These connections derive from shared social norms and values or, at least, reflect the acknowledgement of those by the reader.

2.2.2.4. Fonts

Fonts perform important communicative functions that are consonant to language functions. These involve the representation of ideas, conveying attitudes and providing coherence (Machin and Niblock 2008). The order of salience points is often signified with the help of relatively big and bold fonts; contrast colours also help emphasize certain information and thus guide reading paths. Secondary information is given less prominence by way of using comparatively small and fine fonts in standard black colour. In the following, characteristics of fonts, including weight, expansion, curvature, orientation, connectivity, flourishes, and text alignment are summarized (Machin and Niblock 2008).

Weight points to the degree of boldness of fonts. "Bolder fonts imply stability and solidarity, whereas a slimmer font can appear more elegant" (ibid., 251).

Expansion stands for the amount of space taken up by letters. Narrow letters appear contained and reserved, while expanded letters confidently use the available space.

Curvature denotes the degree of roundness and abundance in curves or the degree of angularity. "Roundness can mean "smooth," "soft," "gentle," "organic," "emotional," "fluidity" and, in contrast, angularity tends to be associated with "harsh," "technical," "abrasive," "masculine," "rational," "certainty" (ibid., 252).

Orientation is concerned with the height of letters. "Up can mean "lofty," "high-status," "lightness," "aspiration," "elegant," although this can also mean

"pompous" or "instability." In contrast more squat letters could mean "heaviness," "stasis" or also "down-to-earth" or "stability" (ibid., 253).

Connectivity refers to spacing between letters. Joined letters might signal intimacy or collectiveness. Spaced out letters "become more self-contained, suggesting "individuality," "independence" or even "fragmentation" or "atomisation" (ibid.).

Flourishes represent various additional elements, including the serif. Its meaning is "associated with tradition and therefore authority" (ibid.).

Text alignment is concerned with the position of a written text and its margins, whether even or ragged. Even edges give a sense of formality and control over the content. "Even greater formality can be created through text alignment that is ragged on both sides but yet is symmetrical. This is the kind of alignment we might find on commemorative plaques, greeting or invitations. This gives a sense of history, formality and tradition" (ibid., 254). It appears less formal and more relaxed when the left edge is even and the right one is ragged.

The above-presented characteristics of fonts are mainly utilized for the analysis of tables of contents. The studied tables of contents are relatively balanced with respect to the space allotted to the visual and the verbal. As a result, fonts, which are visual features that serve to express verbal information, are generally prominent and value-laden. Furthermore, fonts are quite stable in tables of contents and their analysis yields important findings with respect to the identity of a magazine.

2.2.2.5. Colours

Colours are distinguished through the basic features of hue, value and saturation. Value is a scale from maximally light (low value) to maximally dark (high value). Saturation scale runs from full colour (high saturation) to its softest manifestations, and to black and white (low saturation).

The key affordance of saturation "lies in its ability to express emotive 'temperatures,' kinds of affect. It is the scale that runs from maximum intensity of feeling to maximally subdued, maximally toned-down, indeed neutralized

35

feeling." Furthermore, "high saturation may be positive, exuberant, adventurous, but also vulgar or garish. Low saturation may be subtle and tender, but also cold and repressed, or brooding and moody" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 233).

Symbolic associations of colour are culture-specific and largely depend on the context of use. For example, advertisements seem to have developed conventions of colour use in reference to particular products. The use of colours is considered in the analysis of ads, whereby these colours clearly expresses interpersonal meanings. Colours are considered in the analysis of fonts in tables of contents.

The above-presented textual (2.2.1) and visual (2.2.2) discursive features are summarized in (2.2.3). These features are considered from the perspective of power and solidarity – the defining aspects of interpersonal communication.

2.2.3. Methodological framework for textual and visual analysis

The analysis of evaluative meanings in texts is based on the Appraisal framework elaborated by Martin and White (2005); the analysis of visual communication utilizes the framework developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). Table 2.2 summarizes the discursive features in texts and images that are subject to analysis.

Table 2-2. Representation of power and solidarity through discourse semantics and visual design (based on Martin and White 2005 and Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

DISCOURSE SEMANTICS: resources expressing power and solidarity	POWER (status)	SOLIDARITY (contact)
Negotiation - positioning - interpersonal strategies - foregrounding	Negotiation is inherently powerful, since the author controls for the content, structure and expression plane of a message. Negotiation can be received as powerful if the position of the author is constructed as superior to that of the addressee: - positioning: seemingly objective and unquestionable statements that are intended to be accepted at their face value (e.g. assertions of institutional, social and cultural norms and values) - powerful interpersonal strategies (e.g. imperatives, interrogatives, formal expression, the authorial 'I'/'we' versus 'you') - foregrounding certain aspects of reality and silencing others is context-dependent. It specifies what is important for readers to think about and what is not	Negotiation can be received as a manifestation of solidarity if the target audience is acknowledged and its position is constructed as equal to the author's position: - positioning (alignment): specific positions are presented as negotiable, i.e. a discursive space for alternative thinking is secured - solidarity interpersonal strategies (e.g. shared common-sense assumptions and generalizations, elliptical constructions, conversational structures, the authorial 'I'/'we' is equal to the reader's 'you') - context-dependent foregrounding of those aspects of reality that are believed to be meaningful for readers

37

Appraisal (lexical and phrasal level)

- engagement
- affect
- judgement ⎫
- appreciation ⎬ attitude
- graduation ⎭

Attitudinal expressions are presented explicitly or implicitly as absolute and unquestionable. No discursive space for alternative positions is left:

- no engagement resources used to mitigate the truth value of assertions

- engagement signals dialogic contraction (proclaim or disclaim that something is true)

The truth value of attitudinal expressions is limited through mentions of sources of attitudes (quotations and attributions) or with the help of modality expressions. Discursive space for alternative positions is left:

- engagement signals dialogic expansion (entertainment or attributing attitudes to other sources)

Involvement (lexical and phrasal level) – *non-gradable resources used to negotiate mainly solidarity (Martin and White 2005, 33)*

- naming
- colloquialisms
- words and phrases potentially known only to the intended addressee

Social groups have status and thus can wield social power. Seen from outside, groups have membership criteria. Conforming to these criteria implies a degree of unification of group members:

- naming encodes unequal social status and thus involves power relations (e.g. naming celebrities and emphasizing their social status)

Involvement is a resource for negotiating group membership. Seen from inside, group members are different. Therefore, group boundaries are fuzzy and fluctuating:

- naming encodes the equality of subject positions
- colloquialisms
- words and phrases potentially known to the intended addressee

Presuppositions (sentence and text level)

-inscribed (explicit)
-invoked (implicit)

- inscribed (prescribe particular reading positions)
- invoked (indirectly impose certain reading positions).

- inscribed (e.g. common-sense knowledge and generalizations that are shared by group members)
- invoked (sophisticated resources that are activated in the course of reading and depend on individual reading positions).

38

VISUAL DESIGN: resources expressing power and solidarity	POWER (status)	SOLIDARITY (contact)

Spatial positioning
 	
-salience (size, shape, colour)
-information value (i.e. layout structure)
-framing
	One or a few elements stand out:
	
	- salience: one or few elements dominate others (i.e. bigger in size, of a different shape, of a contrast colour)
	
	- layout structure:
	
	    ▪ a salient element occupying the compositional centre or placed slightly above
	
	    ▪ equally salient elements occupying a left/right or top/bottom position
	
	    ▪ a triptych where the central element is the most visually salient (e.g. a close-up, the logical centre, etc.) or all three elements are equally salient (e.g. a logical sequence)
	
	- framed images represent autonomous phenomena that usually do not "interact" with other visual elements outside the frame. Frames give weight and significance to representations
		No element stands out (i.e. a group of elements of equal salience so that no outstanding elements can be singled out):
		
		- salience: elements are similar with respect to size, shape and colour
		
		- layout structure:
		
		    ▪ all elements are evenly spread in a layout
		
		    ▪ groups of similar elements occupy certain sections of a layout
		
		- unframed images help create a busy loosely structured interactive environment

Visual address (contact)

-Offer

- looking at other people
- looking at oneself (e.g. in the mirror)
- looking in the middle distance

-Demand (attention directed towards the viewer)

'Demand' images typically imply power, especially where a depicted model is 'gazing' at the viewer and the level of the model's eyes is the same or higher than that of the viewer

'Offer' images imply a degree of solidarity in that they do not overtly impose on the viewer

Angle of representation (attitude)

Subjective attitude:

- vertical high and low
- horizontal frontal and oblique

Objective attitude:

- perpendicular top-down angle (the angle of maximum power)
- directly frontal angle (the angle of maximum involvement)

Vertical angle codifies power and status:

- vertical high angle signals the viewer's power and subjugates the power of the representation (perpendicular top-down angle is the angle of maximum power)

- vertical low angle signals the representation power and subjugates the viewer's power

Horizontal angle implies solidarity and involvement:

- horizontal frontal angle of representation signals involvement (direct frontal angle is the angle of maximum involvement)

- horizontal oblique angle signals detachment

Encoded social distance *(2006, 125)*

-intimate/personal (face or head)

-close personal (the head and the shoulders)

A full-length shot symbolically represents social distance between the viewer and the depicted model

A close-up shot codifies closeness and contact between the viewer and the depicted model

40

-far personal (from the waist up)

-close social (the whole figure)

-far social (the whole figure with space around)

-public (the torso of at least four or five people)

Colours

Two types of affordance in colour:	- colours signify a group identity, and the viewer is not a member of this group (e.g. colours of a national flag) - colour images, compared to black-and-white images, signify modernity, individual values, emotionality - saturated high-value colours (e.g. deep blue, red, and green)	- colours signify a group identity, and the viewer is a member of this group - black-and-white images, compared to colour images, signify the value of history, the continuity of society to which a viewer belongs, and thus emphasize collective values - pastel, airy, energizing colours

- symbolic associations of colours (depend on a sociocultural context)
-distinctive features of colours:
    ▪ value (from maximally light (low value) to maximally dark (high value))
    ▪ saturation (from full colour saturation to its softest manifestations, and to black and white)		

Fonts

	Angular, upward, spaced out	Rounded, bold, irregular, joint

The analyzed discursive features in texts (i.e. discourse semantics) and images (i.e. visual design) are considered from the perspective of power and solidarity (Table 2-2). The proposed framework presents an averaged picture of power and solidarity allocation. In actual data, the relations of power and solidarity are context-bound and are negotiated in particular instances of communication. In general, power and solidarity co-occur in communication and generate complex meanings of solidarity as a form of power and power as the organizing force of solidarity.

Women's magazines, out of many media genres, are particularly predisposed to the negotiation of solidarity with the readership. This process requires shared knowledge, attitudes and value positions. These are variously expressed on the level of letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements. Furthermore, each magazine is different with respect to its core values and readership profile. At large, solidarity negotiation is a power strategy as it allows for retaining media audiences and controlling the information to be consumed.

Particular evaluative meanings encoded in verbal and visual elements in multimodal texts are informed by value orientations. Value orientations in women's magazines are ideological in that they help construct femininities that are based on certain beliefs, attitudes and social norms.

2.2.4. Value orientations

In current study, value orientations are considered from the perspective of individualism/collectivism (Triandis 1995). These two dimensions display horizontal and vertical orientations, which are associated with sets of values that guide individual behaviour (Shavitt et al. 2006). Table 2-3 presents the framework proposed by Shavitt et al. (ibid., 327).

Table 2-3. Motives characterizing horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism

	Horizontal *(self at the same level as others)*	*Vertical* *(self in a hierarchy relative to others)*
Individualism (independent self)	Being distinct and separate from others Being self-directed, self-reliant Modesty, not conspicuousness Expressing uniqueness	Improving individual status via competition Seeking achievement, power, prestige Standing out Display of success, status
Collectivism (interdependent self)	Maintaining benevolent relationships Common goals with others Social appropriateness Sociability Cooperation	Maintaining and protecting in-group status Deference to authorities and to in-groups Conformity Harmony

Table 2-3 presents four socio-cultural dimensions, including (1) horizontal individualism that emphasizes personal uniqueness and self-reliance; (2) vertical individualism that emphasizes individual achievements and social status; (3) horizontal collectivism that places value on solidarity and cooperation with other in-groups; and (4) vertical collectivism with an emphasis on self-sacrifice and the priority of group interests.

Value orientations with respect to individualism/collectivism are analyzed in the context of letters from the editor, tables of contents, and advertisements. In letters from the editor and tables of contents these orientations are studied qualitatively due to limited data sets. In the analysis of advertisements, results are quantified and qualitative interpretation is provided.

2.2.5. Application of methodology

The analysis focuses on the discursive construction of femininities in contemporary Russian women's magazines *Krest'janka, Karavan Istorij* and *Samaja.* The general analytical framework is presented in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1. General framework of analysis
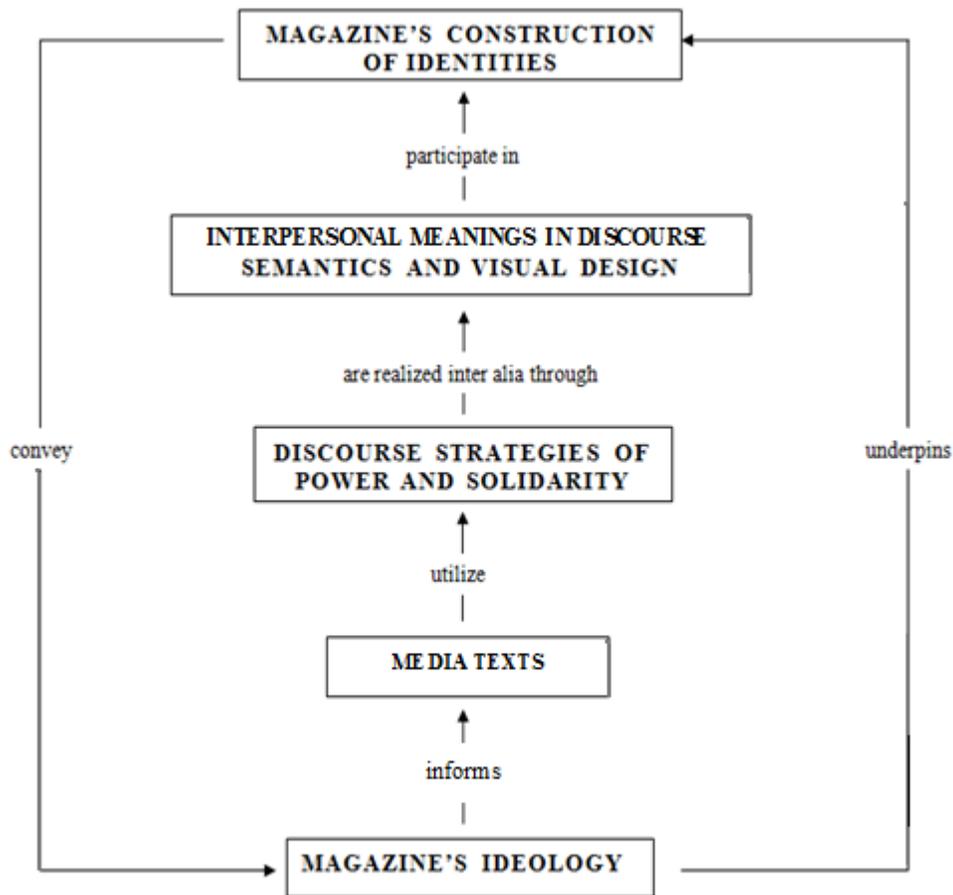
Letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements are subject to
analysis. These media texts are analyzed with respect to interpersonal meanings
in texts and images. These meanings are negotiated with the help of power and
solidarity strategies, the defining features of communication. Interpersonal
meanings codify value orientations. These are considered from the perspective of
individualism/collectivism. Value orientations participate in discursive
construction of femininities in the studied magazines.[9]

---

[9] The framework of analysis presented in Figure 2-1 suggests that selected media texts, i.e.
letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements, are subject to discourse analysis. The
role of the readership in shaping the discourse of women's magazines, albeit important, is beyond
the scope of this analysis. This limitation is addressed in 6.5.5.

The distribution of the verbal and the visual in studied media texts is unequal, which is linked to slightly different analytical procedures applied to letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements. Textual analysis is expected to be particularly informative in letters from the editor, since these texts are mostly verbally driven. The availability of coherent verbal texts written by the editor to the readership allows for the systematic analysis of constructed subject positions and underpinning value orientations. Subject positions are largely constructed by way of highlighting and evaluating certain aspects of reality with the help of power and solidarity strategies. Inscribed and invoked presuppositions, or assumptions, constitute important elements of the discourse of letters from the editor. Therefore, the Appraisal framework and the analysis of presuppositions are mostly applied to letters from the editor.

Tables of contents in the studied magazines use the verbal and the visual in a relatively balanced manner, which makes both dimensions of analysis equally important. Furthermore, verbal and visual elements in these tables of contents are closely associated (frequently through spatial proximity), which influences the process of meaning making. In accordance with the function of tables of contents, which is to showcase the content of an issue, the analysis opens with the investigation of the visually salient key points (i.e. rubric titles and subtitles). These set the agenda of a given issue. Thereafter, evaluative meanings in verbal and visual design are considered in the context of value orientations.

The distribution of the verbal and the visual is variable in advertisements. There exists a tendency that foreign ads, especially those for luxury products, mostly resort to images and to a lesser degree to words. National advertising tends to place more emphasis on the verbal channel as compared to foreign-produced ads. In general, advertisements convey complex meanings, which the addressee is expected to make with the help of so-called 'bridging assumptions.'

Advertisements that contain visual and verbal information are analyzed from the perspective of interpersonal communication, visual design, and value orientations. The visual analysis of interpersonal communication in ads focuses on the type of visual address, angle of representation, and established social distance; linguistic analysis considers the way subject positions are constructed (through terms of address, evaluations, and power and solidarity strategies). Visual design is studied with reference to the information value of layout elements, whereby the analysis of colours and fonts is complementary. Value orientations construct intended reading positions and thus reveal the ideological work of advertising. Particular advertising appeals and associated images are considered from the perspective of individualism/collectivism. Slogans and leads shape the focus of linguisitc analysis, since these elements are considered the most salient with respect to constructed interpersonal communication (Cheong 2004).

The analysis that follows is organized into three chapters: chapter 3 studies letters from the editor, chapter 4 presents results of the analysis of tables of contents, and chapter 5 focuses on advertisements. The analysis is followed by the discussion of the findings presented in chapter 6. The dissertation ends with conclusions and directions for further research.

Chapter 3. Textual analysis of letters from the editor in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

This chapter presents the results of textual analysis of letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja.* In particular, it discusses coding of the corpus (3.1) and introduces the categories of analysis, including IDENTIFICATION of discourse participants (3.1.1), attitudinal meanings (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION) (3.1.2), ENGAGEMENT (3.1.3), GRADUATION (3.1.4), INVOLVEMENT (3.1.5), and PRESUPPOSITIONS (3.1.6). These categories are utilized for the analysis of letters from the editor (3.2). Specifically, the linguistic analysis of letters from the editor focuses on attitudinal meanings (3 2.1), IDENTIFICATION of discourse participants (3.2.2) and constructed authorial POSITIONING as well as readers' ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor (3.2.3). Finally, an overview of the analysis is presented (3.3).

3.1. Coding procedures

Codes used for textual analysis largely draw on the Appraisal framework (Martin and White 2005) and include the subsystems of ATTITUDE (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION), ENGAGEMENT (voices that contract and expand the discursive space for alternative positions), GRADUATION (force and focus), and INVOLVEMENT (the negotiation of group membership through language use) (Table 2-1 on p.27).

The Appraisal framework is expanded with the help of relevant data-driven codes.[10] The identification of subject positions in letters from the editor is particularly relevant to the question of femininity construction. IDENTIFICATION resources include pronouns, nouns and imperative verb forms, or directives. These resources participate in constructing the target reader.

The system of INVOLVEMENT is expanded with the help of phrasal and syntactic level resources as opposed to lexical level categories developed by the authors of the Appraisal framework. These involve dialogic structures,

---

[10]   A complete list of codes used for textual analysis is presented in Appendix 1.

exclamatory constructions, interpersonal resources typical for informal communication and implications of shared knowledge. These resources acknowledge the reader and construct him/her as an active discourse participant.

Presuppositions operate at a sentence and discourse level and, similarly to INVOLVEMENT resources, negotiate group participation. Inscribed, or explicit, presuppositions attempt at presenting the speaker's position as objective. Invoked presuppositions are implicit and their activation is left to the reader. Other presuppositions are referred to as shared knowledge, or common ground. These are relatively unquestionable assertions that largely draw on shared cultural and social norms.

In the following, coding procedures of IDENTIFICATION and DIRECTIVES (3.1.1.1), ATTITUDE (3.1.1.2), ENGAGEMENT (3.1.1.3), GRADUATION (3.1.1.4), INVOLVEMENT (3.1.1.5), and PRESUPPOSITIONS (3.1.1.6), are discussed and exemplified.

3.1.1. IDENTIFICATION and DIRECTIVES

Person markers, including terms of address, personal and possessive pronouns, and directives are coded with respect to various readers' and authorial positions. In particular, person markers are divided into three groups: (1) personal/individual identification, (2) personal/collective identification, and (3) relational identification with respect to individual and group identification. The differentiation between personal and relational agency is linked to the question of underpinning value positions. Personal/individual identification is linked to self-driven values; personal/collective identification is still self-centred, while an individual's value positions relate to those of other group members, and relational identification is the most interdependent type of identification when group-driven values and other-centred motivations dominate individual agency. In the following, different types of identifying the reader and establishing authorial positions are discussed.

Second-person markers (personal and possessive pronouns, second-person verb forms) explicitly refer to the reader. Singular forms position each particular

addressee as an individual, whereas plural forms trigger the entire readership and establish it as a group. Relational identification of the target audience triggers commonalities between group members with respect to other people. The following examples illustrate personal identification of the reader (1), collective identification of the readership (2), and collective relational identification of the readership (3):

(1) *Vam samoj*[11] [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal]*, polovina iz étix ljudej soveršenno ne interesna i ne važna.* (36-ed-2-5)[12]

'A half of these people is not interesting and not important to you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal].'

(2) *Podarkov dlja vas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] *u nas zagotovleno nemalo...* (28-ed-3-6)

'We have quite a few presents prepared for you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective].'

(3) *Voz'mite* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective (imperative)] *na sebja trud prigljadet'sja, čego ne xvataet vašim druz'jam* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective (relational)]*, - i poželajte im étogo ot vsej duši.* (4-ed-2-1)

'Make [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective (imperative)] an effort to see what your friends [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective (relational)] need and wish it to them from the bottom of your heart.'

As examples 1-3 illustrate, the addressee is positioned as a self-guided individual (1), as a member of the readership (2), and as an individual capable of maintaining personal relations with other people (3).

First-person markers (personal and possessive pronouns, first-person verb forms) explicitly refer to the author or to the editorial board. The position of the

---

[11] In Russian, 'you' can be realized in three distinct ways: (1) *Vy*, which is capitalized and uses a second-person plural agreement, denotes a formal and respectful address to a particular person; *Vy* is typically used in official documents and in formal letters; (2) *vy* uses a second-person plural agreement and denotes a group of people; (3) *ty* uses a second-person singular agreement and denotes an informal address to a particular person.

[12] Please note that here and henceforth examples from the letters from the editor are identified by the magazine issue number (see Appendix 2), type of text (i.e. letter from the editor), paragraph number, and sentence within the paragraph.

author can be constructed as personal or professional, as illustrated in (4) and (5).

(4) *A u menja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *oščuščenie srednego vozrasta (v kotorom i ja imeju udovol'stvie prebyvat') ešče svjazano s xorošim filmom "Zimnjaja višnja."* (37-ed-2-4)

'And my [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] perception of the middle age (in which I am happy to be) is also associated with a good film "Winter cherry."'

(5) *Ved' my vmeste učimsja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive], *kak sdelat', čtoby udača vsegda byla na našej storone!* (27-ed-7-3)

'After all, we learn together [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] how to always have luck on our side!'

In example 4, the author establishes herself as an individual who shares her own experience and makes a personal claim. In such instances, the author often draws on her various social roles the reader is able to identify with. Personal 'we' marker is in place when the author identifies with the readership and thus explicitly establishes relations of solidarity (5).

Consider two more examples that display first-person markers:

(6) *Ja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] *dumaju, čto «Samaja» nesët v sebe to, čto nužno sovremennoj ženščine.* (28-ed-2-6)

'I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] think that *Samaja* brings what a contemporary woman needs.'

(7) *My* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *rabotaem nad étim vmeste s vami.* (3-ed-3-1)

'We [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] work on it together with you.'

The author asserts herself as an editor-in-chief when discussing her participation in editorial practices and in shaping the magazine's content (6). Professional 'we' is at play when the editor-in-chief identifies with the editorial board and establishes the board's institutional authority (7).

In sum, personal identification presents the speaker as an independent individual. Relational identification, on the other hand, positions a person in relation to other people. The types of constructed relations with other people allow for the definition of social roles and responsibilities of an individual. The balance between personal and relational identification is linked to the question of values and associated motivations. Indeed, a subject constructed mostly as an independent individual is invested with self-oriented individualistic values. In contrast, a subject whose position is primarily established in relation to other group(s) members is positioned as an interdependent individual with group-oriented values.

3.1.2. ATTITUDE

ATTITUDE resources involve the subsystems of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. Consider examples 8-10:

AFFECT

(8) _Strax_ [AFFECT: fear], _ožidanie_ [AFFECT: desire], _radost'_ [AFFECT: cheer] - _vsë s čistogo lista!_ (8-ed-2-6)

'Fear [AFFECT: fear], anticipation [AFFECT: desire], joy [AFFECT: cheer] – everything is from the very beginning!'

APPRECIATION

(9) _Prosto my otdaëm vam lučšee_ [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation]. (3-ed-2-8)

'We just give you what is the best [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation].'

JUDGEMENT

(10) _So vsej svoej neakkuratnost'ju, neposlušaniem i nevovremja sdelannymi urokami_ [JUDGEMENT: propriety]? (36-ed-2-9)

'With all [your] carelessness, disobedience and homework not completed on time [JUDGEMENT: propriety]?'

Within the APPRAISAL framework, AFFECT specifies human emotions internal to a discourse participant (8). APPRECIATION expresses external aesthetic evaluations

51

of objects and phenomena (9). JUDGEMENT identifies socio-cultural codes and largely refers to norms of social behaviour (10).

Despite the fact that the subsystems of ATTITUDE imply the object of evaluation (i.e. AFFECT – self, APPRECIATION – objects, situations, phenomena, and JUDGEMENT – social behaviour), the actual data coding reveals variations with respect to the object of evaluation. An attempt was made to classify ATTITUDE resources from the perspective of attitudinal targets, where AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT can be directed at the self of the subject, other people, and the context that involves situations, objects, and phenomena (Bednarek, 2009, 180-184). These three large categories appear relevant to the present study, since they allow to identify (a) the constructed self of the addressee and that of the author, (b) other people who are variously related to the addressee and to the author and help identify them through these relations, and (c) the context as relevant for the construction of discourse participants. Indeed, "identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 598).

3.1.3. ENGAGEMENT

Along with the system of ATTITUDE, Appraisal involves ENGAGEMENT resources. ENGAGEMENT reflects the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth value of a proposition. "Extensive array of engagement resources is typical of discourse that is negotiating solidarity with a complex readership" (Martin 2004, 332). Consider examples 11-14:

(11) *To, čto Inna sobiralas' sdelat',* <u>*ne bylo*</u> [ENGAGEMENT: counter] *simvoličnym žestom.* (31-ed-5-7)

'What Inna was going to do <u>was not</u> [ENGAGEMENT: counter] a symbolic gesture.'

(12) *Ved',* <u>*kak spravedlivo zametil ispanskij pisatel' Al'bert Sančes Pin'ol'*</u> [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]*, odni za sčast'em otpravljajutsja k samomu centru Zemli, drugie naxodjat ego v svoej že gostinoj.* (22-ed-7)

'After all, <u>as the Spanish writer Albert Sánchez Piñol justly noted</u> [ENGAGEMENT: attribute], some people go to the very centre of the Earth in search of happiness, others find it right in their living room.'

(13) *Polučilsja, <u>vozmožno</u>* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], *samyj uspešnyj izdatel'skij proekt goda*. (28-ed-2-1)
'It turned out to be, <u>perhaps</u> [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], the most successful publishing project of the year.'

(14) *Počemu stol'ko pesen složeno pro nesbyvšiesja ožidanija, svjazannye s letom?* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (29-ed-1-1)
'Why are there so many songs about unfulfilled expectations related to the summer? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain].'

Examples 11-14 illustrate how the degree of the speaker's commitment is discursively expressed. A strong degree of commitment is expressed in the statement that contracts the space for alternative positions (11). A weak degree of commitment, in contrast, expands the space for other positions. It is expressed via the inclusion of other voices (i.e. projection) (12), entertainment (13), and rhetorical questions (14), a special type of ENGAGEMENT.

In sum, ENGAGEMENT resources help calibrate the degree of commitment to the truth value of what is being said. A stronger degree of commitment excludes alternative positions (author's subjectivity), whereas a weaker degree of commitment allows for the acknowledgement of other voices and positions (intersubjectivity).

3.1.4. GRADUATION

The system of GRADUATION allows to grade evaluations with respect to the force (i.e. the degree of intensity) and focus (i.e. the degree of precision) of their expression. Consider example 15:

(15) *Pervoe sentjabrja, esli razobrat'sja, dejstvitel'no vsegda obeščaet čto-to <u>sovsem</u>* [GRADUATION: force] *novoe - <u>s samogo</u>* [GRADUATION: focus] *detstva, s pervogo klassa.* (8-ed-2-3)

53

'Indeed, the first of September, if [we] come to think about it, always

promises something <u>completely</u> [GRADUATION: force] new – since

childhood <u>itself</u> [GRADUATION: focus], since the first grade.'

In (15), both force and focus are respectively expressed to the highest degree of intensity and precision. The intensifier *sovsem* 'completely' and the precision marker *s samogo* 'itself' highlight the meaning of words they modify and make them stand out. When used to a high degree of intensity, whether positively or negatively marked, GRADUATION resources account for the expressiveness and persuasiveness of linguistic expressions.

3.1.5. INVOLVEMENT

INVOLVEMENT resources reflect the negotiation of solidarity relations between group members. A perceived degree of interpersonal closeness between the author and the readership manifests itself through the use of INVOLVEMENT strategies. These include, inter alia, instances of coded language (terms that are used by a narrow audience), slang, euphemisms and acronyms. In the APPRAISAL framework, naming (i.e. IDENTIFICATION) is also included into the INVOLVEMENT system. For the present study, it appears reasonable to single out a separate category of IDENTIFICATION given the availability and diversity of resources that construct discourse participants. An overview of this category is provided above in 3.1.1.

As solidarity relations are largely negotiated in letters from the editor at a sentential and discourse level, considering these levels of analysis with respect to the negotiation of INVOLVEMENT appears beneficial for this study. Thus, the system of INVOLVEMENT is supplemented with the following categories: dialogicality, exclamation, grammar of closeness, and shared knowledge. Indeed, dialogic and exclamatory constructions explicitly acknowledge the reader and imply collaborative discourse construction. Furthermore, "any interactional sequence (such as adjacency pairs, assessment sequences, and so on) is inherently intersubjective" (Englebretson 2007, 19). Grammatical structures that are typical for informal speech, such as inverted word order, elliptical and colloquial

constructions, and diminutives, are coded as 'grammar of closeness.'[13]
Furthermore, implications of shared cultural knowledge (culture-specific realia, word play based on idioms, set expressions, etc.) are included into the system of INVOLVEMENT. Consider example 16:

> (16) *Kogda-to u menja (kak, dumaju, i u mnogix iz vas) byla ljubimaja knižka – "<u>Mify   Drevnej Grecii</u>"* [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge] (32-ed-1) *Vsë otročestvo, možno skazat', ja prošla pod ručku <u>s Afinoj, Dianoj i Apollonom, o čëm soveršenno ne žaleju.</u>* (32-ed-2)
>
> 'A long time ago, I (and I think many of you) had a favourite book – "<u>Myths of Ancient Greece</u>" [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge]. I spent my entire adolescence hand in hand, so to say, <u>with Athena, Diana and Apollo</u>, which I do not regret at all.'

In (16), shared knowledge is presupposed about Greek mythology and the protagonists of the book by Nikolaj Kun *Legendy i mify drevnej Grecii* 'The legends and myths of Ancient Greece.' This example indicates that the reader is expected to be familiar with the book and its main characters. In particular, the author speculates that the discussed book might have been among the reader's favourites in the past and that the names of Athena, Diana and Apollo are familiar to the addressee.

As demonstrated above, the system of INVOLVEMENT includes an array of strategies that allow to acknowledge the reader (dialogic structures, exclamations and grammar of closeness) and to negotiate group membership (shared resources that include coded language, slang, euphemisms, acronyms, and culture-specific knowledge).

3.1.6. PRESUPPOSITIONS

Presupposition is defined as "any kind of background assumption against which an action, theory, expression or utterance makes sense or is rational" (Levinson 1983, 168). Presuppositions are considered a covert form of evaluation

---

[13] The term 'grammar of closeness' is used by Yokoyama (1994) to refer to certain attributes of speech behaviour that signal perceived closeness between interlocutors. Perceived closeness often facilitates communication and results in cooperative behaviour.

and their decoding heavily relies on the reader's background knowledge and beliefs (Degano 2007, 363). "Because it is formulated in such a covert way, this form of evaluation is less likely to raise criticism on the part of the reader, and has therefore a high potential for influencing public opinion" (ibid.). For the current analysis, presuppositions including common-sense assumptions and other types of implicated knowledge with evaluative undertones are of interest.

With respect to data coding, a distinction is made between inscribed and invoked presuppositions. Inscribed presuppositions are subdivided into shared common-sense assumptions, or shared knowledge, and author's assumptions that prescribe particular positions. In contrast, invoked presuppositions are far less obvious and depend on individual reading positions and background knowledge. Consider the examples of shared knowledge (17), author's inscribed assumption (18), and invoked assumption (19):

> (17) *V načale 90-x Ol'ga poterjala rabotu (točnee, v eë NII prosto perestali platit', no i xodit' tuda bol'še ne trebovali).* [PRESUPPOSITION: shared] (27-ed-1-1)
> 'In the beginning of the 90s, Olga lost her job (specifically, they stopped paying salaries in her research institute and did not ask people to come to work).'

> (18) *... xomo sapiens potrebljajut v osnovnom reklamu, postroennuju na čuvstvennyx obrazax, smotrjat serialy, uproščajuščie realnost' do sxem, govorjat celyj den' o nevažnom i pereživajut po nesuščestvennomu.* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed] (13-ed-1-4)
> '... Homo sapiens mostly consume advertisements based on sensual imagery, watch serials that simplify the reality to the level of schemes, discuss unimportant matters for an entire day, and worry about the insignificant.'

> (19) *Ved' daleko ne vsegda školnye gody okazyvajutsja čudesnymi, besproblemnymi i radostnymi.* [PRESUPPOSITION: invoked] (34-ed-2-5)

'After all, school years, not always, turn out to be wonderful, trouble-free and joyful.'

Example 17 activates shared knowledge that in the beginning of the 1990s many people in Russia lost their jobs due to major social and political changes that happened in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In (18), the author's assumption is presented as an unquestionable statement of fact. It is constructed as 'objective' through the lack of an explicitly acknowledged source of opinion and through the use of bare action verbs (i.e. verbs whose meanings are unmitigated). In example 19, a presupposed meaning is expressed in a more subtle way than in (17-18). A shared belief that school years are a joyful and trouble-free time is simultaneously invoked and negated.

In sum, coding procedures of IDENTIFICATION, ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, GRADUATION, INVOLVEMENT, and PRESUPPOSITIONS are discussed and exemplified above (section 3.1). These interpersonal resources variously participate in shaping authorial positions and aligning the reader. Thus, IDENTIFICATION resources name discourse participants and specify interpersonal relations. The system of ATTITUDE evaluates emotions, behaviours and aesthetic qualities. GRADUATION helps adjust the intensity of these evaluations with respect to the focus and force of linguistic expressions. The author may express various degrees of commitment to the truth value of expressions with the help of ENGAGEMENT strategies. INVOLVEMENT strategies, on the other hand, serve to align the reader with what is being said. PRESUPPOSITIONS, in contrast to other resources under discussion, mainly operate at a discourse level. While being essentially evaluative and ideological, presuppositional meanings tend to appear 'objective' and unquestionable.

3.2. Analysis of letters from the editor

In this section, letters from the editor published in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* for the period of 2005-2008 are analyzed. The analysis focuses on the distribution of evaluative meanings along the lines of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT

and APPRECIATION (3.2.1), the IDENTIFICATION of discourse participants (3.2.2), and the construction of authorial positioning and readers' alignment (3.2.3).

3.2.1. Evaluative meanings: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION

Evaluative meanings are analyzed with respect to the object (self, readership, author/editorial board, other people, and context) and type (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION) of evaluation. This allows to control for the following variables: constructed subject positions (who/what is represented in discourse), associated evaluative meanings (how they are represented), and foregrounding/backgrounding (what representations dominate and what representations are given modest attention).

The objects of evaluation are determined as follows: (1) self is largely unspecified and can potentially refer to the reader, author, and other people; it often focuses on the emotional state and self-perception of a person; (2) the category of readership is at play whereby the reader/readership is explicitly acknowledged, whether with the second-person or third-person terms of address; (3) the author and/or editorial board is referred to with the help of the first-person or third-person terms of address; (4) other people (i.e. not the reader or author) are refrred to as third parties; (5) the category of context involves objects, phenomena and situations that are presented as relevant or meaningful to discourse participants. In the following, the results of analysis of evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* (3.2.1.1), *Karavan istorij* (3.2.1.2) and *Samaja* (3.2.1.3) are presented.

3.2.1.1. Evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

The analysis of evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* focuses on the objects of evaluations and on the nature of associated appraisals. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1. AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

Attitude	Self			Readership			Author			Other people			Context			Total, n (%)
	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	
Affect	18	6	24 (15.0)	6	---	6 (3.8)	5	---	5 (3.1)	5	3	8 (5.0)	6	1	7 (4.4)	50 (31.2)
Judgement	13	1	14 (8.8)	1	---	1 (0.6)	5	2	7 (4.4)	11	4	15 (9.4)	17	2	19 (11.9)	56 (35.1)
Appreciation	10	2	12 (7.5)	---	---	---	3	---	3 (1.9)	2	2	4 (2.5)	26	9	35 (21.9)	54 (33.8)
Total, n (%)	50 (31.3)			7 (4.4)			15 (9.4)			27 (16.9)			61 (38.2)			160 (100)

As Table 3-1 indicates, Letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* use appraisals to evaluate the context (38.2%), self (31.3%), other people (16.9%), the author and/or editorial board (9.4%), and the readership (4.4%). While the distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION is relatively even in letters from the editor (31.2%, 35.1% and 33.8% respectively), the distribution of these resources according to the object of evaluation is diverse. Thus, AFFECT is most often used to assess the self of the addressee (24 out of 160; 15%), which is in line with the definition of AFFECT as a means to evaluate personal emotional states. JUDGEMENT is used primarily to evaluate the context (19 out of 160; 12%) and behaviours of people other than the reader and the author (15 out of 160; 9.4%). APPRECIATION, as well as JUDGEMENT, is most frequently utilized to evaluate the context (35 out of 160; 22%). In fact, APPRECIATION resources that evaluate the context are significantly more frequent than other appraisal resources in reference to their objects of evaluation (z-test: p<0.05), except AFFECT evaluations of the self.

Contextual phenomena mentioned in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* range from concrete to abstract and include mentions of the magazine itself and its agenda. Consider examples 20-22:

> (20) *Slučajno popavšaja v ruki* <u>*interesnaja*</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction] *kniga,* <u>*neožidannyj*</u> [AFFECT: surprise] *zvonok škol'noj podrugi (sto let ne videlis'!), melodija, kotoraja udivitel'nym obrazom* <u>*ložitsja na dušu*</u> [AFFECT: pleasure] *i potom dolgo ešče zvučit v nej - tože podarki.* (2-ed-1-6)
>
> 'An <u>interesting</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction] book that happens to fall into your hands, an <u>unexpected</u> [AFFECT: surprise] phone call from a school friend (fem.) (we have not seen each other for quite a while!), a tune that surprisingly <u>speaks to your soul</u> [AFFECT: pleasure] and plays in it for a long a time afterwards – are also presents.'

(21) *Koroče, my živëm v époxu kardinal'nyx peremen <u>mirovogo masštaba</u>*
[APPRECIATION: complexity] *i <u>neponjatnogo isxoda</u>* [APPRECIATION NEG: composition]. (12-ed-4-5)

'In short, we live in the epoch of cardinal changes <u>on a global scale</u> [APPRECIATION: complexity] <u>with unclear outcomes</u> [APPRECIATION NEG: composition].'

(22) *Vrjad li te problemy, kotorye obsuždajutsja na stranicax "Krest'janki," <u>interesny</u>* [APPRECIATION: reaction] *kakoj-to odnoj, strašno dalekoj ot naroda proslojke.* (3-ed-2-6)

'It is doubtful that issues discussed on the pages of *Krest'janka* are <u>of interest</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction] to a single social stratum that is extremely far from other people.'

Examples 20-22 illustrate how various contextual phenomena are evaluated. Thus, small gifts, including a book, a phone call from a friend and a tune, are positively evaluated. In contrast, social issues on a global scale and those discussed particularly in *Krest'janka* are presented as problematic and complex.

Among evaluative meanings that describe the self of a person[14], affective meanings dominate (AFFECT - 24 out of 160; 15.0%, JUDGEMENT - 14 out of 160; 8.75%, and APPRECIATION - 12 out of 160; 7.5%). In particular, the frequency of affective meanings significantly differs from that of appreciative appraisals (z-test: $p<0.05$).

Affective meanings that describe harmony, peace and happiness and those that specify aspirations to achieve these states are frequently used. Consider examples 23-25:

(23) *I netrudno zametit', čto porjadok v mysljax prinosit <u>pokoj</u>* [AFFECT: confidence], *a besporjadok - <u>trevogu</u>* [AFFECT NEG: disquiet] *i <u>unynie</u>* [AFFECT NEG: misery]. (13-ed-2-4)

---

[14] The self of a person involves possible and desirable psychological patterns that are not attributed to any particular individual, however, it is implied that the reader shares or is aware of these patterns.

'And it is not difficult to notice that order in thoughts brings <u>peace of mind</u> [AFFECT: confidence] and disorder brings <u>worries</u> [AFFECT NEG: disquiet] and <u>sadness</u> [AFFECT NEG: misery].'

(24) *Kak naučit'sja <u>ljubit' sebja</u>* [AFFECT: affection] *i <u>ponimat'</u>* [AFFECT: trust] *drugix?* (3-ed-2-10)

'How to learn to <u>love yourself</u> [AFFECT: affection] and to <u>understand</u> [AFFECT: trust] other people?'

(25) *Xorošo éto ili net, kogda stanovitsja real'nost'ju to, čego <u>tak xočeš'</u>* [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: desire]? (4-ed-1-3)

'Is it good or bad when what you <u>want so much</u> [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: desire] becomes reality?'

In examples 23-24, inner harmony and agreement with other people are constructed as desirable values. Indeed, (23) uses a presupposition that starts with the words *I netrudno zametit'* 'And it is not difficult to notice.' These words invite the reader to receive what follows at face value and identify with the expressed position. Example 24 uses a rhetorical question, a special case of ENGAGEMENT, which serves to involve and to align the addressee with the position that she should live in harmony with herself and with other people. Example 25 uses a rhetorical question to implicitly convey a message that the achievement of the desirable is not always beneficial. In general, questions "occur where writers seek to explicitly establish the presence of their readers in the text: inviting engagement and bringing the interlocutor into a discourse arena where they can be led to the writer's viewpoint" (Hyland 2002, 530). Thus, questions feature interpersonal discourse where the recipient is acknowledged and his/her active position is presupposed.

Judgemental meanings used in reference to the self of a person tend to be normalizing in that they emphasize standard ways to behave and to think about certain phenomena. Consider examples 26-27:

(26) *Kak <u>ne otčajat'sja</u>, <u>ne opustit' ruki</u>, <u>ne iskat' vinovatyx</u>, a <u>idti dal'še i najti v sebe sily</u>* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *byt' <u>sčastlivoj</u>* [AFFECT: cheer]? (3-ed-2-11)

'How <u>not to fall in despair</u>, <u>not to lose hope</u>, <u>not to look for the guilty</u> but <u>to go forward</u> and to <u>have the strength</u> [JUDGEMENT: capacity] <u>to be happy</u> [AFFECT: cheer].'

(27) *Oščuščenie prazdnika <u>začastuju</u>* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *prixodit liš' togda, kogda nam ego pokažut: vot ëlka, vot ukrašenija, vot podarki, kotorye ždut, čtoby ix vybrali.*

'The holiday spirit <u>typically</u> [JUDGEMENT: normality] comes when the holiday is shown to us: here is a New Year tree, here are decorations, here are presents that wait to be picked.'

In (26), *otčajat'sja* 'to despair,' *opustit' ruki* 'to lose hope,' *iskat' vinovatyx* 'to look for the guilty' encode helpless behaviour. The negation of these behaviour patterns activates a presupposition that helpless behaviour is undesirable and socially unwelcome. Furthermore, these negative constructions are set in contrast to *idti dal'še* 'go forward' *i najti v sebe sily byt' sčastlivoj* 'have the strength to be happy.' Example 27 uses 'we' collective inclusive address to emphasize that holiday spirit is generally associated with the presence of holiday symbols.

After the categories of context and self, "other people" is the third most frequently evaluated category. JUDGEMENT resources dominate these evaluations (n=27; 16.9%), which supports the definition of JUDGEMENT as external socially motivated appraisals of human behaviours. People mentioned in letters from the editor involve women, children, significant others, friends, and people in general. Consider examples 28-29:

(28) *Poétomu osmyslennym predstavljaetsja prosto rasskazyvat' o tom, kak <u>spravljalis'</u> ili <u>spravljajutsja</u>* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *s povsednevnost'ju sovsem drugie ljudi, živuščie ili živšie v drugix stranax, v drugoe vremja.* (13-ed-4-1)

'Therefore, it appears reasonable simply to tell stories of how completely different people who live or lived in other countries in different times <u>cope</u> or <u>coped</u> [JUDGEMENT: capacity] with everyday life.'

(29) *I te, kto delal žurnal dlja nix, <u>vsegda znali</u>* [JUDGEMENT: normality], *čto recepty i vykrojki ne menee važny, čem politika partii* [sic] *i pravitel'stva*. (7-ed-1-5)

'And those who worked on the magazine for them <u>always knew</u> [JUDGEMENT: normality] that recipes and patterns were no less important than the Party and government politics.'

Example 28 justifies the decision to tell stories of people from different countries and epochs based on their shared need to manage everyday life. Example (29) references people who published the magazine (i.e. *Krest'janka*). They are implicitly praised for their awareness of the readership's needs.

In *Krest'janka*, the editorial board and the readership are typically referenced at the beginning and at the end of a letter. When asserting the authority of the board or expressing a position, the editor-in-chief tends to acknowledge the readership and its role in the production of the magazine. Consider examples 30-31:

(30) *I materialov o tom, čem i kak živet Rossija, budet bol'še - a tut my <u>nadeemsja</u>* [AFFECT: desire] *na vas i vaši pis'ma*. (3-ed-2-4)

'And there will be more materials on how Russia lives – and here we <u>put our hopes</u> [AFFECT: desire] on you and on your letters.'

(31) *Prosto my otdaëm vam <u>lučšee</u>* [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: value]. (3-ed-2-8)

'We simply give you <u>the best</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: value].'

Examples 30-31demonstrate that the editorial board of *Krest'janka* values feedback from the readership and strives to meet the readers' expectations. The magazine is constructed as the result of collaboration between the editorial board and the readership.

The ten letters under study were written by two editors: Alla Vinogradova is the author of eight letters (March 2006 – December 2007) and Anna Stradzin' wrote two letters (September and December 2008). Three issues in the current corpus (December 2005, March 2008, and June 2008) were published without letters from the editor. Anna Stradzin' mentioned in her first letter (September 2008) that *Krest'janka* was renewed and stylized in the spirit of the 1950s. In that letter (32), the editor-in-chief attempted to define the target audience of the magazine:

> (32) *Ponjatno, čto on v osnovnom "čitatel'nica," no ved' davno uže net takoj professii, kak "krest'janka," i ljubaja sovremennaja ženščina v pervuju očered' imenno ženščina, pričem interesy u neë, esli verit' socoprosam, otnjud' ne ograničivajutsja bytovymi problemami.* (12-ed-1-8)

> 'It is clear that [the reader] is mainly a female reader, but there is no such an occupation as a peasant woman *krest'janka* nowadays, and any contemporary woman is first and foremost a woman, and her interests, if public opinion polls are right, are not limited to everyday problems.'

In the above statement (32), an attempt is made to change the general agenda of the magazine itself and of letters from the editor that used to reflect on women-centred everyday life. In particular, letters written by Anna Stradzin' tend to downplay the gender aspect and gender-specific issues and to focus more on the society at large. In her September 2008 letter, the editor mentioned that *Krest'janka* was originally established as a magazine for reading. Thanks to this, she claims, it is the women's magazine with the largest men's audience compared to other magazines for women.

3.2.1.2. Evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

The analysis of evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* focuses on the objects of evaluations and on the nature of associated appraisals. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3-2. Given

relatively small numeric values of the subcategories in this table, absolute

numbers are provided. The total displays both absolute numbers and percentages.

Table 3-2. AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

Attitude	Self			Readership			Author			Other people			Context			Total, n (%)
	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	
Affect	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2 (1.9)	13	6	19 (18.1)	7	---	7 (6.7)	28 (26.7)
Judgement	2	---	2 (1.9)	6	1	7 (6.7)	1	2	3 (2.9)	21	7	28 (26.7)	7	5	12 (11.4)	52 (49.5)
Appreciation	2	---	2 (1.9)	---	---	---	1	---	1 (0.9)	3	1	4 (3.8)	13	5	18 (17.1)	25 (23.8)
Total, n (%)	4 (3.8)			7 (6.7)			6 (5.7)			51 (48.6)			37 (35.2)			105 (100)

As Table 3-2 indicates, third parties shape the focus of evaluation (48.6%) in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*. The readership and the author/editorial board, in contrast, are given only modest attention (6.7% and 5.7% respectively) (z-test: p=0). This distribution attests to the fact that the representations of third parties, i.e. celebrities, dominate in the discourse of letters from the editor. Furthermore, the majority of these representations are positively evaluated, which implicates that celebrities set certain desirable standards for social agency.

In these evaluations of celebrities, JUDGEMENT and AFFECT are frequently used. Positive JUDGEMENT is a more frequent and stable variable than positive AFFECT (21 cases of JUDGEMENT POS versus 13 cases of AFFECT POS) as compared to their negative values (7 cases of JUDGEMENT POS versus 6 cases of AFFECT POS). The difference between positive and negative judgemental meanings is statistically significant (z-test: p<0.01).

JUDGEMENT evaluates established norms of social behaviour and implies external appraisal. AFFECT, in contrast, is an evaluation of emotional behaviour that is internally motivated. Consider examples 33-34:

> (33) *V 2005 godu žurnal "Pari-matč" nazval eë [Lena Lenina] "<u>samoj izvestnoj</u>* [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: normality] *russkoj vo Francii"* [JUDGEMENT: normality]. (16-ed-2)
>
> 'In 2005, the magazine *Paris Match* named her "<u>the most famous</u> [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: normality] Russian in France."'
>
> (34) *Xélli Bérri, mnogo let <u>stradavšaja</u>* [AFFECT NEG: misery] *ot prokljatija sobstvennogo otca...* (17-ed-2)
>
> 'The actress Halle Berry <u>has been suffering</u> [AFFECT NEG: misery] for years from the damnation of her own father.'

In example 33, the magazine *Paris Match* is presented as an external source of evaluation of Lena Lenina's achievement. In (34), in contrast, the actress Halle Berry is the source of evaluation of her own psychological condition, albeit this information is presented by a third party.

The wide use of JUDGEMENT evaluations of third parties is linked to the definition of JUDGEMENT itself and to the agenda of letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij.* Indeed, "JUDGEMENT deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn" (Martin and White 2005, 42). Furthermore, letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* are consistent with respect to their agenda—these letters introduce selected editorial materials that present stories of celebrities. Thus, the agency of celebrities is foregrounded and is largely evaluated.

Within the JUDGEMENT system, the meanings of normality ('how special') and capacity ('how capable') are most frequently expressed. Celebrities are positioned as exceptional agents who are capable to achieve their ambitious goals. Consider examples 35-36:

(35) *Lena Lenina — odna iz geroin' našego nomera — klassičeskij primer* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *self-made woman*. (16-ed-1)

'Lena Lenina—one of the characters of our issue—is a classical example [JUDGEMENT: normality] of a self-made woman.'

(36) *Kto-to vosxititsja eë žiznennym naporom, optimizmom i umeniem dobit'sja postavlennoj celi* [JUDGEMENT: capacity]. (16-ed-4)

'Somebody will admire her zest for life, optimism and the ability to achieve a set goal [JUDGEMENT: capacity].'

In (35), the English expression 'self-made woman' conveys the meaning of exceptionality and determination. It also has implications for the definition of the addressee. Indeed, the use of English in a Russian text is often associated with aspirations for progress and modernity. The target addressee is a person who knows English and supposedly identifies with the associated values. In (36), the author mentions and implicitly gives a positive evaluation of the character's ability to achieve her goals. The use of *kto-to* 'somebody' indicates that the editor leaves some space for alternative positions.

Along with celebrities, contextual phenomena are relatively frequently evaluated (35.2%), although their frequencies are significantly different (z-test:

p<0.05). By way of comparison, the evaluations of celebrities are more frequent than those of the self, the readership, and the author (z-test: p=0), and the evaluations of the context are more frequent than those of the self, the readership, and the author (z-test: p<0.01).

APPRECIATION resources are widely used to evaluate the context. By definition, "APPRECIATION involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field" (Martin and White 2005, 43). Specific contextual phenomena mentioned in letters from the editor involve the magazine itself and its content that are most frequently referred to as *izdanie, nomer, istorija*, and *material,* 'publication, issue, story, and material' (37). Other contextual phenomena relate to the stories of celebrities and thus highlight certain aspects of their world (38). Another group of contextual phenomena involves abstract concepts that do not directly relate to the reader or celebrities (39). Rather, these are certain observations that add a flavour of sophistication to the letters from the editor.

(37) *Togda tiraži "Karavana" byli značitel'no skromnee i mnogie iz vas ešče ne uspeli otkryt' dlja sebja mir ego udivitel'nyx* [APPRECIATION: reaction] *istorij*. (15-ed-4)

'At that time, the circulation of *Karavan* was significantly smaller, and many of you had not been able yet to discover the world of its fascinating [APPRECIATION: reaction] stories.'

The content of *Karavan istorij* is positively evaluated in (37). In contrast to *Krest'janka*, readers' participation in the production of the magazine is not invited. The reader is presented with the stories published in *Karavan istorij* and is expected to enjoy these materials. Consider (38):

(38) *Byl li sčastliv velikij* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *nemeckij režissër Fridrix Murnau, snimaja svoj poslednij fil'm v nastojaščem* [GRADUATION: focus] *tropičeskom raju* [APPRECIATION: reaction]? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (22-ed-1)

70

'Was Friedrich Murnau, the great [JUDGEMENT: normality] German film director, happy while shooting his last film in a true [GRADUATION: focus] tropical paradise [APPRECIATION: reaction]? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain]'

The rhetorical question in (38) calls in question the fact that Friedrich Murnau felt happy while working on his last film in 'a true tropical paradise.' The power of this appreciation is based on the contrast between the given (i.e. paradise – possible unhappiness) and the expected (i.e. paradise – happiness) logico-semantic association. Consider (39):

(39) *No put', kak izvestno* [ENGAGEMENT: endorse]*, — éto vremja, umnožennoe na skorost', a dannaja formula vpolne spravedliva* [GRADUATION: focus; JUDGEMENT: veracity] *i dlja čelovečeskoj sud'by* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. (23-ed-2)

'But distance, as is known [ENGAGEMENT: endorse], is time multiplied by speed, and this formula is quite true [GRADUATION: focus; JUDGEMENT: veracity] for human life as well [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

In example 39, a mathematical formula is mentioned and its validity is transferred onto human life. Thus, the evaluation *formula vpolne spravedliva* 'the formula is quite true' is justified and is expected to be aligned with.

In sum, celebrities are the most frequently mentioned objects of evaluation. They tend to be positively represented with respect to their achievements and exceptional personalities. The authorial and the reader's positions are constructed somewhat similarly—as of detached observers. The reader is acknowledged exclusively with respect to the content of the magazine (e.g. *smožete pročest', sudit' vam, smožet otvetit'* '[you] will be able to read, you are to judge, [you] will be able to answer'). Contextual phenomena constitute the second largest group of evaluated objects. References to the magazine and its content are quite prominent along with those aspects of reality that are relevant to the representations of celebrities. Thus, the distribution of appraisal resources with respect to various objects of evaluation is a clear statement of the general

agenda of letters from the editor. These letters, and the magazine itself, enhance the status of the celebrity culture and position celebrities as a powerful institution.

3.2.1.3. Evaluative meanings in *Samaja*

The analysis of evaluative meanings in letters from the editor in *Samaja* focuses on the objects of evaluations and on the types of associated appraisals. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3. AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in letters from the editor in *Samaja*

Attitude	Self			Readership			Author			Other people			Context			Total, n (%)
	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	POS n	NEG n	Total, n (%)	
Affect	12	14	26 (10.0)	1	---	1 (0.4)	25	2	27 (10.4)	11	13	24 (9.3)	16	5	21 (8.1)	99 (38.2)
Judgement	9	8	17 (6.6)	---	---	---	10	5	15 (5.8)	20	14	34 (13.1)	12	4	16 (6.2)	82 (31.7)
Appreciation	10	---	10 (3.9)	2	---	2 (0.8)	5	2	7 (2.7)	20	4	24 (9.3)	26	9	35 (13.5)	78 (30.1)
Total, n (%)	53 (20.5)			3 (1.2)			49 (18.9)			82 (31.7)			72 (27.8)			259 (100)

Table 3-3 indicates that letters from the editor in *Samaja* utilize evaluations of other people (31.7%), the context (27.8%), the self of a person (20.5%), the author and/or editorial board (18.9%), and the readership (1.2%). This distribution indicates that the readership is significantly less often evaluated than the self of a person, the author, other people and the context (z-test: p<0.01). The distribution of evaluative targets corresponds to the content of letters from the editor. Indeed, these texts tend to address some problematic aspects of the self, critically evaluate them and substantiate arguments with the help of stories of other people. Consider examples (40-42):

(40) *Menja nikto ne ljubit...”* [AFFECT NEG: antipathy] (36-ed- title)

'Nobody likes me... [AFFECT NEG: antipathy].'

Skažite, vas tože v detstve učili byt' poslušnoj, akkuratnoj, vežlivoj [JUDGEMENT: propriety] - *v obščem, “xorošej devočkoj”?* (36-ed-1-1)

'Tell me, were you also taught in your childhood to be obedient, accurate, polite [JUDGEMENT: propriety], in other words, "a good girl"?'

(41) *No v korne vsex étix dobryx sovetov počti vsegda* [GRADUATION: focus] *skryvaetsja odin i tot že podtekst, kotoryj ja nazyvaju* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; ENGAGEMENT: attribute] *“A to tebja nikto ne budet ljubit’.”* [AFFECT NEG: antipathy] (36-ed-1-3)

'But at the basis of these good pieces of advice there is almost always [GRADUATION: focus] the same underlying message that I call [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; ENGAGEMENT: attribute] "Otherwise, nobody will like you."'

(42) *Vot istorija Galiny* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] *s foruma “Samaja” (www.samaya.ru/forum)*. (30-ed-5-1)

'Here is a story of Galina [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] from the forum *Samaja*.'

In (40), the letter title *"Menja nikto ne ljubit..."* 'Nobody likes me...' is between quotation marks and a first-person address form is used. Since these words do not belong to anyone in particular, the addressee is expected to identify with these. In the opening sentence that follows (36-ed-1-1), the author directly addresses the reader by asking if she also used to be taught to conform to social expectations. In example 41, the author uses her authority to solve a psychological problem of being socially unacceptable due to the failure to meet other people's expectations. She limits her interpretation to the formula *"A to tebja nikto ne budet ljubit' "* 'Otherwise, nobody will like you.' Example 42 draws on a story of one of *Samaja* readers to support a position expressed in the letter.

Furthermore, the authors of these letters (Tat'jana Abdjuxanova (from December 2005 to December 2007) and Anastasija Korolëva (from March 2007 to December 2008)) often mention or tell stories from their personal lives and evaluate themselves in particular situations. Consider example 43:

(43) *Prišli <u>my so staršim synom Sanej</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal (relational)] *postupat' v pervyj klass – gimnazičeskij, gumanitarnyj.* (30-ed-1-2) *Teper' uže <u>ne pomnju</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *počemu, no prišli <u>my</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' personal] <u>*ne očen' gotovymi*</u> [GRADUATION: focus; JUDGEMENT NEG: propriety]. (30-ed-1-3)

'<u>My elder son Sanja and I</u> ('we' is used) [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal (relational)] came to school to enter the first grade – in gymnasium, with a specialization in Arts. Now <u>I</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] do not remember why, but <u>we</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' personal] came <u>not quite prepared</u> [GRADUATION: focus; JUDGEMENT NEG: propriety].

In example 43, Tat'jana Abdjuxanova recalls the story of her son's entering the first grade. The negative JUDGEMENT evaluation softened by the GRADUATION marker *ne očen' gotovymi* 'not quite prepared' is used to evaluate her son's performance at school. It is noteworthy, that the author uses the pronoun 'we' in both sentences to emphasize her responsibility and the strength of a mother-son

relationship. In Russian, it is quite common to use 'we' when speaking about one's child.[15]

Self-evaluations of the authors' professional 'I/we' are infrequent in *Samaja*. These mostly come from the letter entitled *Nam odin god* 'We are one year old' (March 2006), in which Tat'jana Abdjuxanova reflects on the achievements of *Samaja* editorial board (44):

> (44) *Ja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] *gluboko ubeždena* [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: confidence]: *ničego étogo moglo by ne byt', ne pojavis'* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain]*, na svet naša komanda* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional; APPRECIATION: composition] *(nikak ne mogu obojtis' bez étogo slova...)*. (28-ed-2-9)

> 'I am [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] deeply convinced [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: confidence] that nothing of it might have happened if [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] our team [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional; APPRECIATION: composition] had not appeared ([I] [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] cannot do without this word...)'

In example 44, the author asserts her professional identity on the individual and group level. As the editor-in-chief, she uses the personal pronoun *ja* 'I' and expresses her conviction. As a member of the editorial board, the author identifies with her colleagues by using the expression *naša komanda* 'our team.'

The distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION is relatively even in letters from the editor in *Samaja* (38.2%, 31.7% and 30.1% respectively), which is somewhat similar to the distribution in the texts in *Krest'janka*. Yet in *Samaja*, affective meanings are more frequent (38.2%), although this frequency is statistically insignificant. Thus, appeals to emotions are of a slightly higher value than appeal to socio-cultural reasoning (JUDGEMENT) and aesthetic evaluation of reality (APPRECIATION) in *Samaja* letters from the editor.

---

[15] 'We' is also used to mitigate a request when addressing a child in Russian (e.g. *pomoem ručki* 'let us wash our hands').

The distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION differs with respect to the object of evaluation. JUDGEMENT is used primarily to evaluate other people (43 out of 259; 16.6%) and the context (26 out of 259; 10%). APPRECIATION, similarly to *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij*, dominates the evaluations of the context (35 out of 259; 13.5%) and of other people (24 out of 259; 9.3%). Within the system of JUDGEMENT, context is most frequently evaluated with respect to norms, social rules and beliefs (9 out of 259; 3.5%). APPRECIATION is dominated by 'valuation' meanings (i.e. how worthwhile and significant) (13 out of 259; 5%). AFFECT is the only type of appraisal that is relatively equally distributed along the categories of self, author, other people, and context.

3.2.2. The IDENTIFICATION of discourse participants

IDENTIFICATION resources allow to specify the discourse participants involved in communication and the degree of their involvement. Furthermore, IDENTIFICATION accounts for the types of relations that link discourse participants with other people. Instances of relational IDENTIFICATION signal the types of relations and the degree of identification with other people. In this subsection, the analysis of IDENTIFICATION resources in *Krest'janka* (3.2.2.1), *Karavan istorij*(3.2.2.2) and in *Samaja* (3.2.2.3) is presented.

3.2.2.1. IDENTIFICATION in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

This subsection discusses IDENTIFICATION strategies in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*. The distribution of IDENTIFICATION resources is summarized in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4. IDENTIFICATION resources in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

Reader	n (%)	Author / editorial board	n (%)	Author & Reader 'my' inclusive	n (%)	Third parties	n (%)	*Krest'janka* n (%)	Total n (%)
'vy' collective	12 (7.5)	'my' professional	20 (12.6)	'my' inclusive	23 (14.5)	3rd parties (plural, gender unspecified)	10 (6.3)		
'vy' collective (directive)	3 (2.0)	'my' professional (relational)	2 (1.3)	'my' inclusive (directive)	1 (0.6)	3rd parties (feminine)	6 (3.8)		
'vy' collective (wish)	5 (3.1)	'ja' professional	1 (0.6)	'my' inclusive (relational)	6 (3.8)	3rd parties (masculine)	9 (5.7)		
'vy' formal	---	'ja' personal	6 (3.8)	impersonal (relational)	1 (0.6)	3rd parties (relational)	3 (2.0)		
relational	4 (2.5)	'ja' personal (relational)	7 (4.4)						
Readership (explicitly)	10 (6.3)								
'ty' generic	11 (7.0)								
45 (28.3)		36 (22.6)		31 (19.5)		28 (17.6)		19 (12.0)	159 (100)

Table 3-4 indicates that discourse participants identified in *Krest'janka* letters from the editor involve the readership (28.3%), author and/or editorial board (22.6%), the author and the readership (19.5%), third parties (17.6%), and the magazine itself, including its content (i.e. mentions of published materials, the magazine's structure, etc.) (12%). Among third parties mentioned in these letters, multiple participants (i.e. groups of people) (6.3%) and men (5.7%) are most frequently mentioned.

In *Krest'janka*, the editor-in-chief positions herself in a relatively balanced way as a member of the editorial board (22.6%) and as a member of the readership (19.5%). Consider examples 45-46:

(45) ...*my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *staraemsja* [JUDGEMENT: tenacity] *obratit'sja ko vsem* [GRADUATION: focus] *rossijskim ženščinam* [IDENTIFICATION: readership]*, gde by oni ni žili*. (4-ed-1-3)

'We [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] try [JUDGEMENT: tenacity] to address all [GRADUATION: focus] Russian women [IDENTIFICATION: readership], no matter where they live.'

(46) *Naši predki* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (relational)], *kak izvestno* [ENGAGEMENT: endorse], *otsčityvali god imenno* [GRADUATION: focus] *s načala sentjabrja, s Simeona Letoprovodca* [INVOLVEMENT: shared]. (8-ed-1-2)

'Our ancestors [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (relational)], as known [ENGAGEMENT: endorse], counted a new year right [GRADUATION: focus] since the beginning of September, since Saint Simeon Stylites day'[16] [INVOLVEMENT: shared].

In example 45, the editor asserts her professional authority. She positions herself as a member of the editorial board that strives to serve the interests of the readership. The editor identifies with the readers in (46), where she mentions

---

[16]   The day of Saint Simeon Stylites falls on September 1 (according to the Julian calendar), or September 14 (the Gregorian calendar). It celebrates the end of summer and the beginning of a new year cycle.

Saint Simeon Stylites day (i.e. the cultural common ground) and alludes to the continuity of society (*naši predki* 'our ancestors').

Within the readership category, readers are mostly addressed as a group rather than particular individuals (Table 3-4). The readership is most frequently addressed with the help of second-person plural forms of pronouns and verbs ('vy' collective). Consider example 47:

(47) *My rabotaem* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *nad étim vmeste s vami* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective]. (3-ed-3-1)

'We [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] work on it together with you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective].'

In (47), the readership is identified as a distinct group whose goal coincides with those of the editorial board. Based on the context of the letter, in which (47) occurs, the editorial board of *Krest'janka* is committed to its readers and welcomes any feedback to better serve their needs.

A different way to acknowledge the readers is with the help of nouns that name them as a group (6.3%) and through the use of 'ty' generic forms (7%). Consider examples 48-49:

(48) *Naverno, esli by my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *adresovali svoi zametki i stat'i derevenskoj Rossii* [IDENTIFICATION: readership], *to žiteli gorodov* [IDENTIFICATION: readership] *načali by sprašivat', počemu starejšij* [GRADUATION: force] *ženskij žurnal obošël ix svoim vnimaniem* [JUDGEMENT NEG: propriety]. [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (4-ed-2-2)

'Perhaps, if we [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] addressed our commentaries and articles to the Russian countryside [IDENTIFICATION: readership], city dwellers [IDENTIFICATION: readership] would start asking why the oldest [GRADUATION: force] women's magazine has disregarded [JUDGEMENT NEG: propriety] them. [ENGAGEMENT: entertain]'

(49) *Pozdravljaja druzej* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (relational)], *my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] *čašče vsego želaem im, čtoby*

ispolnilos' vsë to, čto oni sami sebe požzelajut. (4-ed-1-2) *Potomu kak <u>ne ugadaeš' ved'</u>* [ENGAGEMENT: counter; IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' generic] *vsego, o čëm čelovek mečtaet.* (4-ed-1-3)

'While saying our best wishes to [our] <u>friends</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (relational)], <u>we</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] usually wish that everything they want for themselves fulfils. <u>After all, you would not predict</u> [ENGAGEMENT: counter; IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' generic] everything one dreams about.'

Example 48 identifies the target reader as a readership member. It mentions countryside dwellers, who used to be the primary audience of *Krest'janka*, and city dwellers. This example suggests that the magazine addresses all women irrespectively of their place of residence. In (49), 'ty' generic form *ne ugadaeš'* 'you would not predicit' is used to express an opinion about saying best wishes. This form uses a second-person singular address, while its pragmatic meaning is that of a generalization. Generalizations with generic 'you subject' "are used by the speaker to strengthen her stance by appealing to the experiences and beliefs of other participants" (Scheibman 2007, 130). Furthermore, generalizations are likely to express solidarity because of their inclusiveness (ibid, 114).

3.2.2.2. IDENTIFICATION in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

Karavan istorij significantly differs from *Krest'janka* with respect to the identification of discourse participants. The distribution of IDENTIFICATION resources in *Karavan istorij* letters from the editor is summarized in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5. IDENTIFICATION resources in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

Reader	n (%)	Author / editorial board	n (%)	Author & Reader 'my' inclusive	n (%)	Third parties	n (%)	*Karavan istorij* n (%)	Total n (%)
'vy' collective	10 (8.9)	'my' professional	9 (8.0)	'my' inclusive	2 (1.8)	3rd parties (plural, gender unspecified)	6 (5.4)		
'vy' collective (directive)	---	'my' professional (relational)	6 (5.4)	'my' inclusive (directive)	---	3rd parties (feminine)	19 (17.0)		
'vy' collective (wish)	---	'ja' professional	1 (0.9)	'my' inclusive (relational)	---	3rd parties (masculine)	25 (22.3)		
'vy' formal	9 (8.0)	'ja' personal	---	impersonal (relational)		3rd parties (relational)	7 (6.25)		
relational	---	'ja' personal (relational)	---						
Readership (explicitly)	1 (0.9)								
'ty' generic	3 (2.7)								
23 (20.5)		16 (14.3)		2 (1.8)		57 (50.9)		14 (12.5)	112 (100)

Based on the results of the analysis (Table 3-5), the editor of *Karavan istorij* mostly avoids establishing her individual personal or professional authority, as well as self-identification with the readership. There is a single instance in the data, where the editor establishes her professional identity. Consider example 50:

> (50) *Nadejus'* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; AFFECT: desire]*,
> pročitav istoriju Very, každyj iz vas, dorogie čitateli* [IDENTIFICATION:
> readership]*, smožet* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *otvetit' na nego sam.* (21-ed-4)

> '[I] hope [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; AFFECT: desire], dear
> readers, that each of you [IDENTIFICATION: readership] would be able
> [JUDGEMENT: capacity] to answer it by yourself on having read Vera's
> story.'

In example 50, the editor uses the verb form *nadejus'* '[I] hope' that codifies the first person singular. The overt personal 'I' is not used by the editor of *Karavan istorij,* which signals that the author prefers to tone down her voice and make her presence less noticeable in letters from the editor. The first-person form *nadejus'* (expresses an affective meaning of hope/desire) and the personal name *Vera* unaccompanied by the last name (i.e. the protagonist is familiar and close to the author) signal that the author identifies with the character of one of the stories. In other instances and for the most part, story characters are referred to by their first and last names. The mentions of their occupations and professional achievements are also frequent.

Furthermore, there are two instances in the entire corpus where the author identifies with the readership. Consider examples 51-52:

> (51) *Skoro vsem nam* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive]*, dorogie čitateli*
> [IDENTIFICATION: readership]*, predstojat provody Starogo goda.* (14-ed-3)

> 'Soon, dear readers [IDENTIFICATION: readership], all of us
> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] will see off the Old year.'

(52) *Navernoe* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain]*, ono znakomo mnogim iz nas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive]. (24-ed-2)

'Probably [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], it is familiar to many of us [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive].'

The author's identification with the readership in (51-52) is based on the assumed commonality of experiences. In (51), a Russian tradition to see off the Old year is mentioned. It is linked to the custom to reflect on what has happened during the year which is about to end. Example 52 is an assumption that the feeling described as a point of no return (earlier in the letter) is familiar to many of the readers.

For the most part, however, the editor addresses the readership as a group by using 'you-collective' forms and addresses each reader as an individual by way of using 'vy' formal address. The author identifies with the editorial board and with the interviewees whose stories are told on the pages of *Karavan istorij*. Consider examples 53-55:

(53) *Pod sentjabr'skoj obložkoj «Karavana» vas* [IDENTIFICATION: vy' collective] *ždёt nemalo* [GRADUATION: force] *uvlekatel'nyx* [AFFECT: interest] *istorij i izvestnyx* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *imën.* (17-ed-1)

'In the September issue ['under the September cover'], quite a few [GRADUATION: force] captivating [AFFECT: interest] stories and famous [JUDGEMENT: normality] names are waiting for you [IDENTIFICATION: vy' collective].'

(54) *Nadeemsja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional; AFFECT: desire], *vam* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] *pridutsja po duše* [AFFECT: pleasure] *i soderžanie novogo izdanija, i ego udobnyj* [APPRECIATION: composition] *format.* (15-ed-5)

'[We] hope [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional; AFFECT: desire] that you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] will like [AFFECT: pleasure] both the

content of the new edition and its <u>convenient</u> [APPRECIATION: composition] format.'

(55) <u>*My*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *ne stali zadavat' <u>našej</u> <u>geroine</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional (relational)] *<u>glavnyj</u>* [GRADUATION: focus] *vopros — <u>gotova li</u>* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *ona prostit'?* (21-ed-3)

'<u>We</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] decided not to ask <u>our heroine</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional (relational)] <u>the main</u> [GRADUATION: focus] question – if she were <u>ready</u> [JUDGEMENT: capacity] to forgive.'

Examples (53-55) demonstrate that constructed subject positions of the author and the reader are not given considerable prominence. Indeed, the author identifies with the editorial board and readers are addressed as a distinct group. Furthermore, the editor establishes her identity in relation to her colleagues, interviewees and to the magazine. Subject positioning of the reader, in contrast, is limited to group identification—that of the readership.

Most of the discursive space is allotted to the construction of third parties, that is, celebrities whose stories are told on the pages of *Karavan istorij*. Celebrities are mentioned significantly more frequently than the readership and the author (z-test: $p < 0.01$). It is noteworthy, that in many cases celebrities are mentioned with reference to their occupations and achievements. These relatively long introductions correlate with the constructed degree of formality. Indeed, "increasing the length of referential expressions correlates with an increased level of formality or politeness of the discourse situation, and, ultimately, with the distance the speaker feels towards the interlocutor" (Yokoyama 1994, 92). Furthermore, "the addition of titles serves to increase both the formality and the interlocutor distance" (ibid.). Consider the use of IDENTIFICATION resources in example 56:

(56) <u>*Muž Madonny režissër Gaj Rici*</u> *ni razu ne snimal v svoix fil'max <u>aktrisu Déril Xannu</u>, a <u>russkij živopisec Kuz'ma Petrov-Vodkin</u> edva li*

slyšal o sozdatele legendarnogo King-Konga Meriane Kupere

[IDENTIFICATION: 3rd parties]. (18-ed-1)

'Madonna's husband and a film director, Guy Ritchie, has never starred the actress Daryl Hannah in his films, and the Russian painter Kuz'ma Petrov-Vodkin barely heard of Merian Cooper, the creator of the legendary King Kong [IDENTIFICATION: 3rd parties].'

Public figures in (56) are introduced with respect to their occupations (i.e. *režissër* 'film director,' *aktrisa* 'actress,' *živopisec* 'painter,' and *sozdatel'* 'creator'). Relatively long descriptions that provide some contextual information accompany the names of Petrov-Vodkin (1878-1939) and Merian Cooper (1893-1973). In contrast, the contemporaries Guy Ritchie and Daryl Hannah are respectively identified as *režissër* 'film director' and *aktrisa* 'actress.' The American entertainer Madonna is introduced as the spouse of Guy Ritchie whose professional status is foregrounded.

In sum, letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* focus on celebrities and discuss their personal stories through the prism of their professional achievements. Focus on particular people and their stories is a potent tool to shape relations of empathy and solidarity. At the same time, mentioning the names of celebrities in reference to their allegedly remarkable careers makes these people exceptional and unique and implicates that their social status is relatively high, which presupposes power relations. The presence of the editor-in-chief in these letters from the editor is far less noticeable. The author constructs her position in relation to the editorial board, celebrities, whose stories are told, and to the magazine. Similarly, the reader is addressed as a group member —that of the readership. Thus, communication between the magazine and the readership is limited to the fundamental relation 'magazine – target audience.'

Table 3-6. IDENTIFICATION resources in letters from the editor in *Samaja*

Reader	n (%)	Author / editorial board	n (%)	Author & Reader 'my' inclusive	n (%)	Third parties	n (%)	*Samaja* n (%)	Total n (%)
'vy' collective	14 (5.1)	'my' professional	14 (5.1)	'my' inclusive	27 (10.0)	3rd parties (general)	13 (4.8)		
'vy' collective (directive)	3 (1.1)	'my' professional (relational)	3 (1.1)	'my' inclusive (directive)	2 (0.7)	3rd parties (feminine)	34 (12.5)		
'vy' collective (wish)	3 (1.1)	'ja' professional	19 (7.0)	'my' inclusive (relational)	4 (1.5)	3rd parties (masculine)	11 (4.0)		
'vy' formal	11(4.0)	'ja' personal	38 (14.0)	Impersonal (directive)	4 (1.5)	3rd parties (relational)	25 (9.2)		
'vy' formal (directive)	3 (1.1)	'ja' personal (relational)	26 (9.6)	impersonal (relational)					
relational	5 (1.8)								
Readership	1 (0.4)								
'ty' generic	2 (0.7)								
42 (15.4)		100 (36.8)		37 (13.6)		83 (30.5)		10 (3.7)	272 (100)

3.2.2.3. IDENTIFICATION in letters from the editor in *Samaja*

Letters from the editor in *Samaja* significantly differ from *Karavan istorij* and *Krest'janka* with respect to the identification of discourse participants. The results of analysis are summarized in Table 3-6.

As Table 3.6 indicates, the largest group of IDENTIFICATION resources involves mentions of the author and the editorial board (36.8%). Within this group, mentions of the author (30.6%) are significantly more frequent than those of the editorial board (6.2%) (z-test: p=0). Furthermore, the author's personal identity dominates her professional identification (z-test: p=0.01). This is due to the fact that the editors-in-chief, particularly, Anastasija Korolëva, extensively resort to their own stories. The author's professional identity is emphasized mostly in relation to the agenda of a letter. Consider examples (57-58):

(57) *Znaete* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective]*, kakoj u menja*
[IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *byl samyj vesëlyj Novyj god?* (39-ed-1-1)
Sejčas rasskažu [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal]. [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (39-ed-1-2)

'Do you know [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] what was the jolliest New Year celebration that I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] have had? I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] will tell [you] now. [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality].'

(58) *God nazad my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *vybrali mart točkoj starta, čtoby žurnal vosprinimalsja našimi ženščinami* [IDENTIFICATION: readership] *kak neožidannyj* [AFFECT: surprise] *podarok.* (28-ed-3-2)

'A year ago we [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] selected March as the starting point so that the magazine is perceived by our women [IDENTIFICATION: readership] as an unexpected [AFFECT: surprise] gift.'

In (57), the author promises to tell her story of a New Year celebration and thus asserts her personal identity. By way of telling stories and expressing personal

opinions, the author constructs her position as subjective. In example 58, the author positions herself as a member of the editorial board and provides the rationale behind the foundation of the magazine.

In sum, the editor and third parties make the biggest representations in the discourse of letters from the editor and thus appear to be actively involved in communication. The presence of the readership, in contrast, is somewhat downplayed.

3.2.3. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor

The author uses power strategies to position herself when expressing certain attitudes and asserting value positions. Simultaneously, it is the writer's intention that the reader becomes aligned with the expressed positions (Martin 2004). In this case, solidarity strategies come into play.

Power strategies involve non-reciprocal terms of address, inscribed PRESUPPOSITIONS and ENGAGEMENT resources that proclaim and deny, or limit the space for alternative positions. Solidarity strategies involve reciprocal terms of address, IDENTIFICATION with the readership, INVOLVEMENT strategies (engaging the reader through dialogic and colloquial structures and by way of resorting to shared knowledge), ENGAGEMENT resources (acknowledging different voices and alternative positions), and PRESUPPOSITIONS (establishing common ground). These resources serve to align the reader. In the following, positioning and alignment in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* (3.2.3.1) *Karavan istorij* (3.2.3.2) and *Samaja* (3.2.3.3) are analysed.

3.2.3.1. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

This subsection presents the analysis of power and solidarity strategies in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*. Results of the analysis are summarizes in Table 3-7.

Table 3-7. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*

POSITIONING (power), n (%)	ALIGNMENT (solidarity), n (%)	POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT, n (%)	Total, n (%)
41 (26.5)	69 (44.5)	45 (29)	155 (100)

In the following, the discursive construction of positioning (3.2.3.1.1), alignment (3.2.3.1.2) and the interplay of both (3.2.3.1.3) are discussed.

3.2.3.1.1. POSITIONING

As Table 3-7 indicates, POSITIONING alone is the least frequently used strategy (26.5%) in comparison to ALIGNMENT (44.5%) (z-test: p<0.01) and the combination of the two (29%). POSITIONING is used to announce the content of a letter, to share personal views and beliefs and to present facts. Consider examples 59-61:

(59) *V nej* [v teme nomera] *my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *obyčno rassuždaem o tom, čto nositsja v vozduxe, o čëm vse govorjat*. (7-ed-2-2)

'In it [the issue theme], we [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] usually discuss what is in the air, what everybody talks about.'

(60) *Čto takoe lično dlja menja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *žurnal "Krest'janka"?* (7-ed-4-1) *Vo-pervyx, pamjat': v moej sem'e* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal (relational)] *on byl vsegda, i starye nomera nikogda ne vybrasyvali, a berežno xranili*. (7-ed-4-6)

'What is *Krest'janka* for me personally [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal]? First of all, memory: it has always been in my family [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal (relational)] and old issues were never discarded but carefully kept.'

(61) *Politika (vo vnešnej eë časti) stala obščestvennym dostojaniem* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. (12-ed-4-3)

'Politics (externally) has become a public matter [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

While examples 59-61illustrate positioning (power), their rhetoric power of position establishment varies. Examples 59 and 60 explicitly mention the subject: the editorial board in (59) and the author as an individual in (60). Example 59 asserts the institutional position and explains what makes the agenda of the letter from the editor. Example 60 is quite subjective, since the editor-in-chief discusses the meaning of *Krest'janka* from her personal perspective. Personal experience (power) in this case is likely to be a ground for identification (solidarity) to those readers who have been reading the magazine for years and remember it from their childhood. Example 61 significantly differs from 59 and 60 in that it is constructed as an objective statement about contemporary politics. Accordingly, the author of this statement is not specified explicitly and the truth value of this assertion is unmitigated.

3.2.3.1.2. ALIGNMENT

The use of ALIGNMENT is particularly important in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* (44.5%), which reflects the author's intention to cooperate with the audience and to elicit a response. ALIGNMENT serves to acknowledge the readership and to give it a voice. Consider example 62:

(62) *"Počemu žurnal "Krest'janka" ničego ne pišet pro krest'jan?"* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (3-ed-1-1) *Étot vopros* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] *často vstrečaetsja v redakcionnoj počte*. (3-ed-2-1)

'"Why does not *Krest'janka* write anything about peasants?" [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] This question [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] is frequent in the editorial mail.'

In (62), ALIGNMENT with the readership is constructed with the help of a quotation excerpted from readers' letters. Acknowledging the readership and addressing a question that comes from readers indicates that *Krest'janka* is sensitive to the needs of its audience.

Furthermore, letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* relatively frequently use 'ty' generic forms to stress common experiences and situations and thus to establish solidarity with the readership (7% in *Krest'janka* (Table 3-4) compared to 2.7% in *Karavan istorij* (Table 3-5) and 0.7% in *Samaja* (Table 3-6). Consider example 63:

(63) ...*Idëš'* ['ty'generic] *večerom po ulice, padaet sneg, tëmno-sinee nebo postepenno stanovitsja počti čërnym, i vse spešat domoj k ëlke* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. (9-ed-1)

'…You are walking ['ty'generic] along a street in the evening, it is snowing, dark blue sky is turning almost black, and everybody is in a hurry to get home to the New Year tree [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

The use of a 'ty generic' address and the statement *vse spešat* 'everybody is in a hurry' in example 63 help describe a common scenario of a New Year eve and invite readers' identification with this presentation. This example also invokes a widely shared belief that New Year is a family holiday and thus attempts at building solidarity relations with the reader.

Among other markers of solidarity (i.e. dialogic and colloquial structures, the use of shared knowledge, the acknowledgement of different voices, and the establishment of a common ground through presuppositions), *Krest'janka* widely uses terms of address in combination with words meaning togetherness and dedication to the readership (i.e. *dlja vas* 'for you, *vmeste s vami* 'together with you'). These cases are further discussed in (3.2.3.1.3).

3.2.3.1.3. The interplay of POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT

Along with the construction of POSITIONING and that of ALIGNMENT, the interplay of the two is another widely used strategy in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* (29%). When asserting the authority of the editorial board or expressing a position, the author tends to acknowledge the reader and direct their intentions to the benefit of the readership. Consider example 64:

(64) *My rabotaem* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *nad étim vmeste s vami* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective]. (3-ed-3-1) *Pišite*

92

[IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective (imperative)] *nam* [IDENTIFICATION:
'my' professional] *čašče* [GRADUATION: force]. (3-ed-3-2)

'<u>We</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] work on it together <u>with you</u>
[IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective]. <u>Write</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective
(imperative)] <u>us</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] <u>more often</u>
[GRADUATION: force].'

In example 64, the author positions herself as a member of the editorial board and
the addressee is constructed as a member of the readership. The author asks the
readership to write to *Krest'janka* more often. Collaborative efforts of those who
publish the magazine and those who read it are important for the production of
Krest'janka.

Presuppositions, which assert certain norms, on the one hand, and provide
a ground for solidarity among those who share these norms, on the other hand, are
used to align the reader with the expressed positions. Consider example 65:

(65) *A tak – <u>živëš' sebe, xlopočeš' i ne ždëš' osobogo volšebstva</u>*
[PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed; 'ty' generic]. (5-ed-3) *<u>Ono i ponjatno</u>*
[ENGAGEMENT: concur; INVOLVEMENT: closeness (colloquial)] - *<u>my</u>*
[IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] *vse ljudi vzroslye...* (5-ed-4)

'Otherwise, <u>you live from day to day, care about things and do not expect
miracles</u> [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed; 'ty' generic]. <u>It is clear</u>
[ENGAGEMENT: concur; INVOLVEMENT: closeness (colloquial)], <u>we are</u>
[IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] all adults.'

Example 65 uses 'ty' generic forms to stress common experiences and to establish
solidarity with the readership. The phrase *ono i ponjatno* 'it is clear' aims to
endorse the truth value of the presupposition and to signal that it should be
accepted at its face value (i.e. adult people are too busy in their everyday life to
expect miracles to happen). Consider another example of a mitigated assertion
that seeks to align the reader (66):

(66) *Podarki <u>ved'</u>* [ENGAGEMENT: counter] *byvajut vsjakie, i <u>samye</u>*

<u>*radostnye*</u> [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: cheer] *iz nix <u>ne vsegda</u>*

[GRADUATION: force] *stojat deneg*. (2-ed-1-5)

'<u>However</u> [ENGAGEMENT: counter], gifts can be different, and <u>the most</u>

<u>enjoyable</u> [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: cheer] of them do <u>not always</u>

[GRADUATION: force] cost money.'

In example 66, the author implicitly acknowledges the general assumption that gifts have a monetary value (solidarity) and counters it by expressing the position that valuable gifts do not always cost money (power). This assertion is somewhat mitigated with the help of *ne vsegda* 'not always' that calibrates the degree of expression and signals a concession. In sum, bare assertions are infrequent in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*. When expressing a position and narrowing the space for alternative voices, the author still tends to acknowledge these voices.

3.2.3.2. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

This subsection presents the analysis of positioning (3.2.3.2.1), alignment (3.2.3.2.2) and discusses the interplay of both (3.2.3.2.3) in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*. A summary of frequencies of positioning, alignment and the interplay of both is presented in Table 3-8.

Table 3-8. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*

POSITIONING (power), n (%)	ALIGNMENT (solidarity), n (%)	POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT, n (%)	Total, n (%)
14 (20.6)	37 (54.4)	17 (25)	68 (100)

The discussion of results presented in Table 3-8 follows.

3.2.3.2.1. POSITIONING

In letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij,* POSITIONING alone is relatively infrequent (14 out of 68; 20.6%). POSITIONING alone occurs in

statements about the magazine's content and about stories it publishes. Consider example 67:

> (67) *My* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *postaralis'* [JUDGEMENT: tenacity] *sdelat' étot nomer interesnym i neskučnym* [AFFECT: interest; pleasure]. (17-ed-5)

> 'We [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] tried [JUDGEMENT: tenacity] to make this issue interesting and enjoyable [AFFECT: interest; pleasure].'

In example 67 presented above, the editor identifies with the editorial board and diminishes the importance of her own professional agency. The verb *postaralis'* 'tried' points to the intention of the editorial board to make the issue interesting and enjoyable. This linguistic choice leaves room for the reader's judgement as to whether the editorial board has managed to accomplish this task.

Positioning is also constructed where the author is committed to the truth value of a proposition and wishes to express a high degree of involvement and, in some cases, to identify with the evaluation. Consider example 68:

> (68) *Ona možet preodolet'* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *ljubuju* [GRADUATION: force] *pregradu i očarovat'* [AFFECT: affection] *ljubogo* [GRADUATION: force] *mužčinu.* (16-ed-3)

> 'She can overcome [JUDGEMENT: capacity] any [GRADUATION: force] obstacle and charm [AFFECT: affection] any [GRADUATION: force] man.'

In example 68, the authorial commitment to the truth value of a proposition is expressed with the help of the verb *možet* 'can' that positively evaluates one's ability to do something. Its meaning is reinforced with the help of GRADUATION intensifiers *ljubuju*, *ljubogo* 'any' used in parallel constructions.

3.2.3.2.2. ALIGNMENT

Alignment resources are used to explicitly establish a contact with the readership and to negotiate solidarity. As Table 3-8 indicates, these resources are most frequently used in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* (54.4%) in comparison to POSITIONING alone and POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT (z-test:

p<0.01). The author's identification with the readership implies a high degree of ALIGNMENT. Consider example 69:

(69) *Est' takoe ponjatie — točka nevozvraščenija* [INVOLVEMENT: shared]. (24-ed-1) <u>*Navernoe*</u> [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], *ono znakomo mnogim iz nas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive/exclusive] (24-ed-2)

'There is such a concept – a point of no return [INVOLVEMENT: shared]. <u>Probably</u> [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], it is familiar to <u>many of us</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive/exclusive].'

In example 69, the author identifies with that part of the readership that is familiar with the introduced concept. The word *navernoe* 'probably' tones down the intensity of this identification.

In most cases, however, the author avoids identifying with the audience ('my' inclusive coding constitutes 1.8% of all IDENTIFICATION resources in *Karavan istorij*, see Table 3-5). Rather, the audience is addressed directly with expressed deference. The receiver is constructed as an independent and thoughtful reader (70-71).

(70) *V ljubom slučae sudit' <u>Vam</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal], *dorogoj čitatel'...* (16-ed-6)

'In any case, it is <u>for you</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] to judge, dear reader.'

(71) <u>*Tak éto ili net*</u> [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] — *sudit' <u>Vam, dorogoj čitatel'</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: reader] (23-ed-4)

'<u>Whether it is this way or not</u> [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], is <u>for you</u> to judge, <u>dear reader</u> [IDENTIFICATION: reader].'

Examples 70-71 illustrate a common way to address the reader in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*. These excerpts use the words *dorogoj čitatel'* 'dear reader' and leave discursive space for readers' interpretations. The term of address *dorogoj čitatel'* uses masculine grammatical gender. However, in the context of *Karavan istorij*, whose readership is predominantly female, the address

form is gender-inclusive (i.e. both women and men are expected to be at the receiving end). Examples 70 and 71 also indicate that readers' ALIGNMENT is constructed through acknowledging the possibility of different reading positions.

The acknowledgement of various reading positions is also achieved with the help of rhetorical questions, a special type of ENGAGEMENT. Consider example 72:

(72) *Soglasilsja li by s nim Karl Lagerfel'd* [IDENTIFICATION: 3rd party]*, kotoryj v konce koncov vsego étogo* [GRADUATION: force] *dostig* [JUDGEMENT: capacity]*?* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (22-ed-4)

'Would Karl Lagerfeld [IDENTIFICATION: 3rd party], who eventually achieved [JUDGEMENT: capacity] all of this [GRADUATION: force], agree with him? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain].'

The rhetorical question in (72) implicitly guides the receiver to reading a corresponding editorial material and to finding an answer to the posed question. This is due to the fact that the format of letters from the editor allows only to highlight some of the magazine's content. Furthermore, letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*, in general, prompt the reader to draw own conclusions on having read relevant features.

Explicit presuppositions, or assumptions, are yet another way of establishing a common ground between the writer and the reader. Consider example 73:

(73) *Voprosov, kak vsegda* [ENGAGEMENT: concur]*, bol'še, čem otvetov.* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed] (22-ed-5)

'As always [ENGAGEMENT: concur], there are more questions than answers. [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

In (73), the truth value of the presupposition that there are more questions than answers is concurred with the help of the expression *kak vsegda* 'as always.' The presupposition constructed as commonsensical is used to negotiate solidarity with the readership and to invite identification with the expressed meaning.

Certain expressions in letters from the editor serve to negotiate group membership and to align the reader who has access to group resources. For instance, the expression 'self-made woman' in (35) is expected to be understood and, arguably, positively evaluated, by the reader who knows some English. Other examples of INVOLVEMENT resources include *pesnja "Otel' Kalifornija"* 'the song "Hotel California"' and *studija "Paramaunt"* '"Paramount" studios.' The target reader is expected to have some knowledge and interest in these phenomena.

3.2.3.2.3. The interplay of POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT

According to Table 3-8, the interplay of POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* is the second most frequently used strategy after alignment (17 out of 68; 25%). POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT together allow to establish certain positions (power) and to mitigate their expressions by way of acknowledging other voices (solidarity). Consider example 74:

(74) *I éto glavnoe* [ENGAGEMENT: pronounce; APPRECIATION: value] — *ne tak li* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality], *dorogoj čitatel'* [IDENTIFICATION: reader]? (18-ed-7)

'And this is important [ENGAGEMENT: pronounce; APPRECIATION: value] — is not it [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality], dear reader [IDENTIFICATION: reader]?'

In example 74, the explicitness of the expressed position *éto glavnoe* 'this is important' is mitigated with the help of a dialogic structure *ne tak li* 'is not it?' that invites the reader's participation. Furthermore, the reader is explicitly acknowledged in a formal way.

In certain cases, the interplay of positioning and alignment involves resorting to culture-specific knowledge, which participates in the negotiation of group membership. Consider example 75:

(75) *"Ja končilsja, a ty živa..."* [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge] — *v étoj pasternakovskoj situacii* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute], *banal'noj i*

98

tragičnoj [APPRECIATION NEG: reaction] *odnovremenno, okazalas'*
geroinja *našego* [IDENTIFICATION: editorial board (relational)]
central'nogo [GRADUATION: focus] *materiala aktrisa Vera Novikova, ne*
tak davno pereživšaja *dolgij* [GRADUATION: force] *i mučitel'nyj* [AFFECT
NEG: misery] *razvod s Sergeem Žigunovym.* (21-ed-1)

'"I am dead and you are alive*...*" [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge] —
the actress Vera Novikova, the character of our [IDENTIFICATION: editorial
board (relational)] central [GRADUATION: focus] material who has recently
survived a long [GRADUATION: force] and painful [AFFECT NEG: misery]
divorce with Sergej Žigunov, found herself in this Pasternakian situation
[ENGAGEMENT: attribute], banal and tragic [APPRECIATION NEG: reaction]
at the same time.'

Example 75 aligns the reader by using the opening line (*"Ja končilsja, a ty
živa..."*) of a poem by Boris Pasternak *Veter* 'Wind' (1953) and further attributing
these words to Boris Pasternak (*v étoj pasternakovskoj situacii*). At the same
time, the author establishes her authority in relation to the editorial board and to
the content of the discussed issue.

In sum, letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* use POSITIONING and
ALIGNMENT to assert certain positions, to establish the institutional authority and
to align the reader with what is being said. POSITIONING uses power strategies
that involve bare assertions and other linguistic expressions that limit possibilities
for alternative voices and positions. ALIGNMENT, conversely, uses solidarity
strategies that serve to negotiate group membership, acknowledge readers'
participation and to involve readers into communication. The focus on
ALIGNMENT strategies helps accommodate the multitude of reading positions. In
particular, *Karavan istorij* explicitly acknowledges various positions with the help
of ENGAGEMENT resources, poses rhetorical questions, which implies the validity
of different view points, and calls for the reader's active participation in the
process of meaning-making.

3.2.3.3. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Samaja*

This subsection presents the analysis of POSITIONING (3.2.3.3.1),

ALIGNMENT (3.2.3.3.2) and discusses the interplay of both (3.2.3.3.3) in letters

from the editor in *Samaja*. A summary of frequencies of POSITIONING,

ALIGNMENT and the interplay of both is presented in Table 3-9.

Table 3-9. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Samaja*

POSITIONING (power), n (%)	ALIGNMENT (solidarity), n (%) (%)	POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT, n	Total, n (%)
82 (32.7)	82 (32.7)	87 (34.7)	251 (100)

Results of the analysis summarized in Table 3-9 are discussed below.

3.2.3.3.1. POSITIONING

According to Table 3-9, the distribution between POSITIONING (32.7%),

ALIGNMENT (32.7%), and POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT (34.7%) is almost

identical in *Samaja* letters from the editor. POSITIONING alone in *Samaja* is more

frequent than in *Karavan istorij* (20.6%) and in *Krest'janka* (26.5%). This is

partially due to the fact that the editors of *Samaja*, in contrast to the editors of

Krest'janka and *Karavan istorij,* extensively position themselves as individuals

(personal IDENTIFICATION - 14%, personal relational – 9.6%, and professional

IDENTIFICATION - 7%, see Table 3-6) and express their subjectivities.

POSITIONING is also used when facts are presented. Consider example 76:

(76) *Ja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] *pišu éto pis'mo v razgar*

[GRADUATION: focus] *leta, kogda bum* [APPRECIATION: reaction] *na*

Garri Pottera dostig svoego apogeja [GRADUATION: force] – *počti*

odnovremenno vyšli zaključitel'naja čast' épopei pro malen'kogo

volšebnika i pjatyj fil'm po knige. (34-ed-1-1)

'I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional] write this letter at the height of

[GRADUATION: focus] the summer, when the Harry Potter sensation

[APPRECIATION: reaction] has reached its peak [GRADUATION: force] –the

final book of the epic about the little wizard and the fifth film based on the book were released almost simultaneously.'

Example 76 is the opening sentence in the letter from the editor. The author positions herself in relation to the events that were happening at the moment of writing her letter. The Harry Potter sensation at its peak at that time is presented as an accomplished fact. The mention of this book and film series in the September issue of *Samaja* further relates to the topic of relations between children of school age.

In general, as the distribution of IDENTIFICATION resources signals (Table 3-6), POSITIONING in *Samaja* letters from the editor is used where the author asserts her personal and professional identity. Personal identity is extended as relational when the author's family members and friends are mentioned.

3.2.3.3.2. ALIGNMENT

Along with POSITIONING, accounts of personal stories are also rich in ALIGNMENT strategies in *Samaja* letters from the editor. In particular, INVOLVEMENT resources are widely used when stories are told (i.e. colloquialisms, emotionally coloured lexis, and elliptical constructions). Apparently, their pragmatic function is to imitate the way stories are told orally. Consider example 77:

(77) *Éto byla katastrofa* [AFFECT NEG: surprise]. (27-ed-2-6)

'That was a disaster [AFFECT NEG: surprise].'

In (77), the words *katastrofa* in the meaning of disaster is typically used in colloquial speech. In a written text, such an expression serves to negotiate solidarity relations by way of shortening the interpersonal distance. Additionally, the word *katastrofa* 'disaster' has a strong emotional component and denotes an extremely unfavourable situation. Consider example 78:

(78) *A znaete, kakoj god my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' personal] *tak* [GRADUATION: force] *besšabašno* [INVOLVEMENT: colloquial; JUDGEMENT NEG: tenacity] *vstrečali?* (39-ed-1-9) *1991-j.* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (39-ed-1-10)

101

'And do you know what New Year we [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' personal] were so [GRADUATION: force] recklessly [INVOLVEMENT: colloquial; JUDGEMENT NEG: tenacity] celebrating? 1991. [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality].'

In example 78, the author uses a conversational tone (i.e. the expression *a znaete* 'and do you know?' as the attention-getter) and the question-answer structure to address the reader and to introduce a personal story of her 1991 New Year celebration. The word *besšabašno* 'recklessly' is typically used in informal speech in Russian. Carelessness and joyful attitude are implicitly set in contrast to the seriousness of political changes of 1991 in Russia (i.e. the disintegration of the Soviet Union).

ALIGNMENT strategies are also used to mitigate the power of propositions and to acknowledge alternative positions. Consider example 79:

(79) *Polučilsja, vozmožno* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain]*, samyj uspešnyj* [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation] *izdatel'skij proekt goda.* (28-ed-2-1)

'It turned out to be, probably [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], the most successful [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation] publishing project of the year.'

In example 79, the author expresses a position that *Samaja* has turned out to be the most successful publishing project of the year. The adverb *vozmožno* 'probably' serves to soften this expression and to leave some space for alternative positions.

3.2.3.3.3. POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT

The interplay of POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT is used in *Samaja* to negotiate solidarity with the readership, to accommodate other positions while taking a stance, and to make accounts of personal stories more proximate to the reader (i.e. through conversational structures). Consider examples 80-82:

102

(80) *Ot duši* [AFFECT: affection] *želaet vam* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] *vsego samogo* [GRADUATION: force] *dobrogo* [APPRECIATION: reaction] *i svetlogo* [AFFECT: cheer] *vsja naša družnaja komanda* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional; APPRECIATION: composition]! (28-ed-3-5)

'Our entire team [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] wholeheartedly [AFFECT: affection] wishes you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] all the best [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] and the most joyous [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: cheer]!'

(81) *Točno* [GRADUATION: focus] *tut skazat' složno* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain], *ob"ektivnoj ocenki byt' ne možet* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. (28-ed-2-2)

'It is difficult to say [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] for sure [GRADUATION: focus], there cannot be an objective evaluation [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

(82) *Ax da, vspomnila* [INVOLVEMENT: closeness; IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal], *on ne xodil v sadik.* (30-ed-1-4)

'Oh, yes, I remember [INVOLVEMENT: closeness; IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal], he did not go to the kindergarten.'

In (80), the author acts on behalf of the editorial board and extends their best wishes to the readership (POSITIONING). The identification of discourse participants and the use of positive meanings of AFFECT and APPRECIATION to emphasize the important role of the readership serve the purpose of ALIGNMENT. In (81), the author refrains from making a definitive claim and admits that it is difficult to be objective with respect to the discussed situation. The reader is expected to consider it and to possibly arrive at some conclusion. In order to negotiate solidarity in (82), the author imitates a conversational style by using the expression *Ax da, vspomnila* 'Oh, yes, I remember.' Such an expression

contributes to the perception of the letter as if it were a story told by a friend.

POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT are also intertwined in (83):

> (83) *Raskroju* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; AFFECT: trust] *odnu*
> *malen'kuju* [GRADUATION: force] *tajnu*. (28-ed-3-1)

> '[I] will share [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' professional; AFFECT: trust] a small
> [GRADUATION: force] secret [with you].'

In example 83, the reader is not acknowledged explicitly, yet the expression *raskryt' tajnu* 'to share a secret' implies the addressee. Furthermore, the concept of sharing calls for the idea of solidarity negotiation. In sum, the use of ALIGNMENT and POSITIONING strategies in *Samaja* allows to negotiate solidarity with the reader, while telling stories and asserting certain positions.

3.3. Summary of analysis

In this chapter, results of the analysis of ATTITUDE, IDENTIFICATION, POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT of discourse participants are discussed. A brief summary of this analysis is presented in Table 3-10.

Table 3-10. ATTITUDE, IDENTIFICATION, POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT in letters from the editor in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

Interpersonal resources	*Krest'janka*, n (%)	*Karavan istorij*, n (%)	*Samaja*, n (%)
ATTITUDE:			
AFFECT	50 (31.2)	28 (26.7)	99 (38.2)
JUDGEMENT	56 (35.0)	52 (49.5)	82 (31.7)
APPRECIATION	54 (33.8)	25 (23.8)	78 (30.1)
IDENTIFICATION:			
READER	45 (28.3)	23 (20.5)	42 (15.4)
AUTHOR / ED. BOARD	36 (22.6)	16 (14.3)	100 (36.8)
AUTHOR & READER	31 (19.5)	2 (1.8)	37 (13.6)
THIRD PARTIES	28 (17.6)	57 (50.9)	83 (30.5)
MAGAZINE	19 (12.0)	14 (12.5)	10 (3.7)
POSITIONING	41 (26.5)	14 (20.6)	82 (32.7)
ALIGNMENT	69 (44.5)	37 (54.4)	82 (32.7)
POSITIONING & ALIGNMENT	45 (29.0)	17 (25.0)	87 (34.7)
Words in letters from the editor, n	2, 537	1, 044	3, 386

As Table 3-10 indicates, the editors of *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* utilize interpersonal strategies in distinctive ways. Each magazine constructs discourse participants in distinct ways and variously evaluates them along the lines of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. In *Krest'janka*, attitudinal expressions are relatively evenly distributed with a slight prevalence of JUDGEMENT meanings (35%). In *Karavan istorij*, expressions of JUDGEMENT dominate (49.5%), which is apparently linked to the content of these letters. Indeed, *Karavan istorij* focuses on stories of celebrities that are briefly announced in letters from the editor. JUDGEMENT resources inherently serve to evaluate people's social behaviour and are largely informed by socio-cultural norms. In *Samaja*, expressions of AFFECT are prominent (38.2%), which is linked to the mode of interpersonal communication the magazine uses to connect to the readership. *Samaja* abundantly uses INVOLVEMENT resources that include dialogic structures, exclamations, grammar of closeness, and shared knowledge. This type of discourse is emotionally charged and aims at shortening the interpersonal distance with the reader. Along with general distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in the studied letters from the editor (Table 3-10), these resources are considered with respect to the objects of evaluation.

Krest'janka focuses on contextual phenomena and on the self of a person in relation to the world (Table 3-1). Context is mostly evaluated from the position of APPRECIATION, foregrounding the aesthetic evaluation of reality. Self-evaluations tend to utilize AFFECT resources, which makes them appear personal and internally-motivated. Evaluations of other people are expressed mostly through JUDGEMENT resources that imply externally motivated meanings.

Letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* and in *Samaja*, in contrast to those in *Krest'janka*, primarily focus on other people and favour JUDGEMENT resources, or external evaluations (Tables 3-2 and 3-3). These evaluations follow socio-cultural codes and reflect established social norms. Context in all three magazines is evaluated from the position of APPRECIATION.

Evaluated contextual phenomena are variously linked to discourse participants in each magazine. In this respect, letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* display some similarity, since these focus on the everyday life. In particular, the editors of *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* follow the calendar and make reference to routinely happening events, such as the beginning of a school year and national holidays. Since these references are linked to established social discourses and cultural values, generalizations, or "common-sense" assumptions, are frequent. "Because [generalizations] are often statements of norms, they contribute to the construction and reproduction of cultural belief systems" (Scheibman 2007, 134). In particular, letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* tend to emphasize so-called normalizing behaviours and provide positive evaluations of peaceful and harmonious states of the self. The general context of calendar-related events serves as a background against which personal stories of the editors and other 'common' people are told. Third parties mentioned in these stories involve women, children, significant others, friends, and people in general. Subjective experiences shared with the readership are used as a basis for identification on the reader's part.

In letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*, celebrities, or third parties, are first and foremost in the focus of evaluation, whereas the readership and the author are given only modest attention (Table 3-10). The majority of these celebrities are positively evaluated with respect to their achievements and personal uniqueness, which positions them as setting desirable standards of social agency. The author and the reader, in their turn, are constructed as detached observers.

Krest'janka, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* reveal magazine-specific patterns with respect to the most frequently identified discourse participants. In *Krest'janka,* these are the readership, the author, and the inclusive 'we' that unites the readership and the author (Table 3-10). In *Karavan istorij*, discourse participants are predominantly third parties (i.e. celebrities). In *Samaja*, the author's voice and the mentions of third parties dominate.

The discussed patterns contributed to constructed POSITIONING (power) and ALIGNMENT (solidarity) in letters from the editor. *Krest'janka* uses a highly cooperative and supportive style (solidarity). Specifically, the readership is often acknowledged and the reader's voice is represented. A relatively frequent use of 'ty' generic forms helps stress common experiences of the author and the readership. In general, ALIGNMENT strategies are favoured in *Krest'janka*. POSITIONING mostly translates into the identification of the readership and the editorial board as distinct social groups. This discursive strategy is used when the author discusses the magazine's values.

The editor-in-chief of *Karavan istorij,* similarly to *Krest'janka,* predominantly uses ALIGNMENT strategies, yet the pool of these strategies is different from those used in *Krest'janka*. The editor of *Karavan istorij* aligns the reader by way of presenting the multiplicity of positions of mentioned discourse participants (ENGAGEMENT: attribute). Frequently posed or implied rhetorical questions also open the space for various interpretations. Non-imposition and open-mindedness about the diversity of views shape the basis of ALIGNMENT in *Karavan istorij.* In sum, *Krest'janka* constructs close relations with the addressee by way of identifying with the readership, emphasizing common values and through the use of INVOLVEMENT strategies. *Karavan istorij,* in contrast, establishes a distance between the author and the reader. In general, it avoids identification with the readership. Moreover, it downplays the role of the reader and emphasizes the agency of third parties. With respect to the level of formality/informality, *Karavan istorij* only moderately uses 'grammar of closeness.'

Samaja, in general, uses POSITIONING alone more often than *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij,* albeit this strategy is used with the identical frequency as ALIGNMENT in *Samaja.* A relatively high use of POSITIONING in the letters from the editor in *Samaja* is linked to frequent identification of the author and third parties whose stories are presented. In this case, personal experiences (power) are apparently meant as a ground for identification (solidarity) on the reader's part.

Based on the analysis, POSITIONING and ALIGNMENT are discourse strategies that serve to assert certain positions, to establish the institutional authority and to align the reader with what is being said. The interplay of the two allows to mitigate the intensity of expressions and to serve the needs of diverse audiences. The relatively regular distribution of power and solidarity in the discourse of letters from the editor appears to be linked to genre constraints of women's magazines. These publications, in general, aim at building some common ground with the audience based on shared values and practices, while asserting positions and maintaining their institutional power.

Chapter 4. Multimodal analysis of tables of contents in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

The composition of a table of contents is relatively fixed across issues of a magazine in that it consists of similar rubrics in the same order and follows a recognizable visual design. A table of contents presents the structure of an issue. The order of rubrics points to their place in the hierarchy of a magazine's content. Visual images associated with particular features help highlight these features and make them salient in the hierarchy of a table of contents. This chapter presents results of the analysis of tables of contents in *Krest'janka* (4.1) *Karavan istorij* (4.2) and *Samaja* (4.3). Textual analysis considers the order and content of rubrics, issue themes and interpersonal communication. Visual analysis focuses on layouts of tables of contents and on the interplay of visual and verbal meanings. Finally, value positions conveyed in tables of contents in each magazine are discussed.

4.1. Tables of contents in *Krest'janka*

In different issues throughout the entire corpus, *Krest'janka* publishes a one-page or a two-page table of contents. This distinction is linked to the presentation of the content of an issue. A one-page spread outlines the structure of an issue in a 'condensed' manner, whereas a two-page spread fully introduces editorial materials.

Another distinction is linked to the overall design of *Krest'janka* (i.e. front cover, table of contents, letter from the editor, rubrication and the content of editorial materials). In particular, tables of contents published from December 2005 to June 2008 differ from the issues of September and December 2008. The later issues are rebranded with respect to their overall design and content. The two periods of *Krest'janka* are referred to below as pre-June 2008 and post-June 2008.

In the following, tables of contents in *Krest'janka* are analyzed. The analysis focuses on the order and content of rubrics (4.1.1), recurring themes in March, June, September and December issues (4.1.2) and interpersonal communication in verbal text (4.1.3). Furthermore, features of visual design

(4.1.4), connections between the visual and the verbal (4.1.5), and the use fonts and colours (4.1.6) are discussed.

4.1.1. Order and content of rubrics

This subsection discusses the way editorial materials are presented in pre-June 2008 and post-June 2008 tables of contents in *Krest'janka*. In the following, a complete table of contents, that is, a list of all rubrics that appear in pre-June 2008 issues is outlined and commented on:

(1) *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart': interviews with famous Russian actors, writers, singers, artists, politicians, and sportsmen about 'the art of living.'

(2) *Mir i my* 'The world and us': feature articles about foreign celebrities and travels to different countries.

(3) U ljudej 'Amont the people': this rubric is devoted to the life of Russian provinces and tells stories about good deeds of ordinary people. *U ljudej* is part of an idiomatic expression *vsë kak u ljudej* that means 'everything is the way it is supposed to be.' In Russian, this expression presupposes comparison with other people. Likewise, the title *U ljudej* emphasizes group values and implies the importance of adhering to social norms.

(4) *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper' (feminine, diminutive): this rubric announces *Krest'janka's* supplement on housekeeping.

(5) *Stil'* 'Style': reports fashion industry news and gives practical advice on how to create one's personal style.

(6) *Krasota* 'Beauty': features advice on how to take care of oneself. Each issue offers sets of physical exercises from fitness instructors.

(7) *Samočuvstvie* 'Personal wellbeing': features materials about a healthy way of life.

(8) *Škola dlja devoček* 'School for girls': this rubric for young readers uses advice of psychologists, cosmetologists and designers.

(9) *Otnošenija* 'Relationships': discussions of psychological problems and advice on how to repair and maintain relationships.

(10) *Moda v dome* 'Fashion at home': home decorating ideas.

(11) *Čtenie* 'Reading': biographical accounts of famous women of the past and short stories written by contemporary writers.

(12) *Moj malen'kij* 'My little one' (masculine)[17]: this rubric targets young mothers and advises them on child-related issues.

The title of each rubric involves subtitles that introduce particular feature articles. The rubric *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart' includes *Semejnye istorii* 'Family stories,' *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme,' *O večnom* 'About the eternal,' *Muzei* 'Museums,' *Ličnyj uspex* 'Personal success' and *Reportaž* 'Report.' The titles *O večnom* and *Muzei*, albeit not featured in each table of contents, deserve special attention for these are unique to *Krest'janka*. *O večnom* presents an interview with a clergyman who educates the readership on customs and traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church and advises on how Christian morality is embedded in our everyday life. *Muzei* brings to the fore Russian cultural legacy as preserved in renowned national museums. Furthermore, *Krest'janka* includes a supplement on coated paper with high-definition reproductions of paintings, gravures and sculptures found in these museums.

The following rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us' is devoted to famous people from other countries and offers glimpses of life elsewhere. For example, *Krest'janka* publishes stories about Chinese New Year, vacation in Florida, and the Carnival in Spanish Valencia.

The rubric *U ljudej* 'Among the people' is devoted to generally unknown aspects of provincial life. There are articles that report about so-called golden deeds of ordinary people, who unselfishly try to improve social life. Within this

---

[17] Apart from denoting a male person or an object that has a masculine gender, the use of masculine gender in Russian may have two meanings: (1) inclusiveness ("unmarkedness") and thus the lack of specification as to the gender of the referent and (2) affection or merely positive connotations when used in relation to a female person. The latter meaning is value-laden and is termed "crossing gender lines" (Yokoyama 1999, 423).

section, there is also an expert's column that provides answers to the readers' questions on legal and civil issues.

All consecutive rubrics are explicitly women-oriented. These are devoted to cooking, fashion, beauty, health, family relations, small children, and interior design. Two of these rubrics announce materials for and about children of different age groups. The rubric *Škola dlja devoček* 'School for girls' targets teenage girls and provides them with advice on fashion and beauty. Another rubric is entitled *Moj malen'kij* 'My little one,' which provides practical advice and recommendations for young mothers.

Tables of contents published in post-June 2008 issues significantly differ from preceding issues with respect to their layout and rubrics. The one-page table of contents published in the September 2008 issue announces the following titles and subtitles:

(1) *VIP: Zvezda* 'Star' (celebrity name); *Žena* 'Wife' (celebrity name); *Persona*[18] 'Person' (celebrity name).

(2) *Čtenie* 'Reading': *Tipaž*[19] 'Character'; *On* 'He'; *Ona* 'She'; *Arxiv* 'Archive'; *Ob"jektiv* 'Lens.'

(3) *Pisatel'*[20] 'Writer': *Rasskaz* 'Story'; *Ésse* 'Essay.'

(4) *Žizn'* 'Life': *Den'gi* 'Money'; *Zdorov'e* 'Health'; *Krasota* 'Beauty'; *Putešestvie* 'Travel.'

(5) *Specproekt* 'Special project*: "Xozjajuška"* 'Housekeeper' (feminine, diminutive); *Životnye* 'Animals'; *Goroskop, skanvord* 'Horoscope, scanword.'

In addition to these rubrics, the two-page table of contents in the December 2008 issue has the opening rubric entitled *Vzgljad* 'Opinion, sight': *Novosti* 'News,'

---

[18]   *Persona* is an elevated way to refer to a person in Russian. The word *persona* conveys the connotation of respect and prestige. In colloquial speech, the word may be used derogatorily.

[19]   *Tipaž* is defined (1) as a set of personality traits and (2) as a person who is defined by a certain set of traits (Ožegov dictionary, 1949-1992). The notion *tipaž* is frequently associated with the performativity of a person, including outstanding impressive appearance (e.g. about actors). In colloquial speech, the word may be used derogatorily.

[20]   The use of words of masculine gender that typically denote men in Russian signals that the target audience of renewed *Krest'janka* comprises both genders (e.g. *tipaž* 'character,' *on* 'he,' and *pisatel'* 'writer').

Interv'ju 'Interview.' Furthermore, the rubric *Čtenie* 'Reading' is followed by *Fol'klor* 'Folklore': *Prački* 'Laundresses,' *Koški* 'Cats' (feminine).

When compared, tables of contents in pre-June 2008 and post-June 2008 issues have the following rubric titles in common: *Čtenie* 'Reading,' *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper' and *Goroskop, skanvord* 'Horoscope, scanword.' The latter rubric concludes all studied tables of contents. Yet, the position of the two former rubrics in the hierarchy of tables of contents is different before and after the rebranding of *Krest'janka.* In pre-June 2008 issues, the rubric *Čtenie* 'Reading' is placed towards the end of a table of contents and announced mostly stories of Russian writers, poets and artists. In a few issues (December 2005, June 2007, and March 2008), this rubric is not announced. In post-June 2008 issues, however, the rubric *Čtenie* 'Reading' is published at the beginning of a table of contents and announces both stories of Russian and foreign public figures. Another rubric *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper' used to be announced mostly in the first half or in the middle of a table of contents. In the post-June 2008 issues, this rubric is introduced towards the end of tables of contents. In these issues, the rubric *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper' is preceded by the rubric *Žizn'*: *Den'gi* , *Zdorov'e*, *Krasota*, *Putešestvie* 'Life: Money, Health, Beauty, Travel.' The subtitles *Zdorov'e* 'Health,' *Krasota* 'Beauty,' *Putešestvie* 'Travel' correspond to the independent rubric titles in the pre-June 2008 issues (i.e. *Samočuvstvie* 'Personal wellbeing,' *Krasota* 'Beauty' and *Mir i my* 'The world and us' respectively).

Changes in the composition and hierarchical organization of tables of contents published in the pre- and post-June 2008 issues reveal significant differences with respect to the agenda and value orientations of *Krest'janka.* Indeed, tables of contents in the pre-June 2008 address various aspects of the world and appeal to diverse interests and values of the readership. In particular, the magazine addresses social issues that are often suggested by readers in their letters. Furthermore, *Krest'janka* values Russian cultural legacy and inserts supplements with reproductions of artworks. As a women-oriented magazine,

Krest'janka extensively publishes materials that specifically address a female readership and articles targeted towards teenagers. The latter aim at building a future readership.

In contrast to the pre-June 2008 issues, the post-June 2008 publications indicate that *Krest'janka* has become essentially a magazine for reading about public figures from Russia and abroad. Materials that address specifically the women's audience have become infrequent. Moreover, the lessened amount of reader-centred publications, as follows from the analysis of the post-2008 tables of contents, implicates a certain distance between the readership and the magazine.

The analysis of tables of contents in *Krest'janka* in the pre- and post-June 2008 issues indicates that the magazine has redefined its identity and, possibly, the target audience. Indeed, the magazine has shifted its focus from multifaceted social and cultural issues and practical information oriented to the readership to stories of celebrities.

4.1.2. Issue themes

Among the issues under study, issue themes are announced only in the pre-2008 publications. The opening rubric *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart' features the subtitle *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme 'along with other announcements. In a few issues, however, the rubric *Sovremenniki* 'Contemporaries' is announced in the place of *Ot serdca k serdcu.* When this is the case, the subtitle *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme' is missing. Some issue themes explicitly or implicitly refer to recurring seasonal events, e.g. *Tridcat' pervoe dekabrja* 'The thirty-first of December' reminds about the advent of a new year (December 2007) and the title *Uskol'zajuščaja krasota* 'Escaping beauty' with an image of Marilyn Monroe next to it is apparently linked to the theme of International Women's Day (March 2007). The issue theme *Putëvka v žizn'* 'A start in life' reminds of the end of a school year and school itself (June 2006). Apparently, the article is about school graduates and their future prospects. Other issue themes, e.g. *Kuda uxodit poézija?* 'Where does poetry go?' (September

2006) and *Xirurgija krasoty* 'The surgery of beauty' (September 2007), do not reference any particular seasonal events.

Although not all issue themes highlight recurring seasonal events, these events are addressed in some other rubrics of tables of contents. The beginning of a new business and school year in September is implied in the title *Biznes po-russki* 'Business in a Russian way' in the rubric *U ljudej* 'Among the people' and in the title *Deti: Sindrom 7 sentjabrja* 'Children: The syndrome of the seventh of September' in the rubric *Samočuvstvie* 'Personal wellbeing' (September 2006). Likewise, the December 2005 issue of *Krest'janka*, while devoting the issue theme to some demographic problem, mentions the advent of Christmas and a new year in the following announcements: *Prazdnik na poroge* 'Holiday on the threshold' in the rubric *Moda i stil'* 'Fashion and style,' *Roždestvo po-švejcarski* 'Christmas in a Swiss way'[21] in the rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us,' and *Podnimem bokaly!* 'Let us raise [our] glasses' in the supplement *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper.'

In contrast, tables of contents published in the September and December 2008 introduce editorial materials that focus mostly on third parties (e.g. celebrities). These two issues neither address routinely happening events nor announce issue themes. Thus, tables of contents in the pre- and post-2008 issues of *Krest'janka* establish two different presentation modes – circular and linear respectively. A circular organization of editorial materials allows to focus on the reader and to address relevant topics and routinely happening events. In this case, the definition of the target audience is particularly important. A linear organization of the post-2008 issues of *Krest'janka* suggests a loose connection to the readers' everyday reality. These issues are mostly devoted to the stories of celebrities and other prominent figures of the present and past.

4.1.3. Interpersonal communication in verbal text

Interpersonal communication is discussed in tables of contents published in the pre- and post-2008 issues. In the pre-2008 publications, some rubric titles

---

[21]   Please note that Christmas time in *Krest'janka* tables of contents (December issues) is associated with vacations in European countries that celebrate Christmas.

in tables of contents in *Krest'janka* explicitly establish interpersonal meanings and communicate collectivistic values. Indeed, the opening rubric title *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart' codifies the value of close interpersonal relations. The title *Mir i my* 'The world and us' accentuates the value of an individual's belonging to a group. The rubric title *U ljudej* 'Among the people' triggers the importance of being aware of how other people in the community live. Furthermore, some rubric subtitles, including *On i ona* 'He and she,' *Deti* 'Children' and *Moj malen'kij* 'My little one' attempt at establishing a direct contact with the reader and construct the reader in relation to other people.

With respect to linguistic expression, headlines in *Krest'janka* tables of contents mostly utilize nominal phrases (e.g. *stil'* 'style,' *krasota* 'beauty,' *samočuvstvie* 'well-being'). However, there is a slight difference between titles of feature articles that address general aspects of life and those that explicitly target a female readership. Some women-oriented titles use interpersonal strategies, including imperatives, rhetorical questions and exclamatory constructions. In particular, these are relatively frequent in titles that announce articles for and about children (4.1-4.3):

(4.1) *Škola dlja devoček* (rubric title): *Kosmetička: Ostorožno, leto!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (article title) (*Krest'janka*, June 2006)

'School for girls (rubric title): Cosmetic bag: look out for summer! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (article title).'

(4.2) *Otnošenija* (rubric title): *Detskaja ploščadka: Pervyj učitel': vrag ili sojuznik?* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (article title) (*Krest'janka*, September 2006).

'Relationships (rubric title): Children's playground: The first teacher: enemy or ally? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] (article title).'

(4.3) *Samočuvstvie* (rubric title)*: Deti:"Skol'ko raz govorit' – sidi prjamo?"* [INVOLVEMENT: closeness] (article title) (*Krest'janka*, September 2007).

'Well-being (rubric title): Children: "How many times do [I] need to tell [you] to sit straight?" [INVOLVEMENT: closeness] (article title).'

Examples 4.1-4.3 use various interpersonal strategies that invite the reader's response. In (4.1), an exclamatory construction is used to alert the reader. A question is used in (4.2) to engage the reader and elicit an opinion about the role of the first teacher in a child's life. Example 4.3 uses a direct quotation as the article title. This quotation combines a question and an imperative and is addressed to a child. This phrase, especially the beginning *Skol'ko raz govorit'* 'how many times do I need to tell you,' probably sounds familiar to many readers of *Krest'janka* who raise children. It it is an INVOLVEMENT strategy that conveys closeness, or solidarity.

In addition, it is noteworthy that tables of contents in *Krest'janka* often use idiomatic expressions and allusions that refer the reader to films and songs from the Soviet and contemporary period, literary works and folklore. Consider examples 4.4 and 4.5:

(4.4) *Ot serdca k serdcu* (rubric title): *Ljudmila Ljadova: "Staromu maršu netu otstavki"* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] (article title) (*Krest'janka*, March 2007).

'From heart to heart (rubric title): Ljudmila Ljadova "There is no dismissal to the old marsh" (article title) [ENGAGEMENT: attribute].'

(4.5) *Xozjajuška* (rubric title): *Kulinarija: "Ne vsë kotu maslenica…"* [INVOLVEMENT: shared] (rubric title) (ibid.).

'Housekeeper (fem. diminutive): Cookery: Not everything is a Pancake week to a cat (literally); every day is not Sunday (figuratively) [INVOLVEMENT: shared].'

Example 4.4 uses the words *"Staromu maršu netu otstavki"* from the song *Staryj marš* 'Old march' that was composed by Ljudmila Ljadova in 1971. Example 4.5 uses the word *maslenica* which means 'Pancake week' in Russian. This is a week of celebration before Lent when pancakes as symbols of the sun and the coming

117

spring are traditionally cooked. The word *maslenica* comes from *maslo* 'butter.' During Lent, a strict fast used to be observed in all Christian cultures. The purpose of *maslenica* was to allow people to get enough food (physically and psychologically) and enjoy themselves before the hard weeks of Lent. Thus, the title *"Ne vsë kotu maslenica…"* introduced in a March issue under the subtitle *Kulinarija* 'Cookery' is devoted to cooking pancakes.

Interpersonal communication in tables of contents published in the post-June 2008 issues is more limited than in the preceding issues. The rubric titles and subtitles are quite brief and the titles of features are mostly limited to the names of public figures or to nominal phrases.

In sum, interpersonal communication is differently constructed in tables of contents in *Krest'janka* published in the pre- and post-June 2008 issues. The pre-June 2008 tables of contents are rich in interpersonal strategies. In particular, these use terms of address and so-called membership resources. In order to infer meanings from expressions that rely on membership resources (i.e. allusions, proverbs, wordplay, etc.), the reader needs to be familiar with the cultural context. Thus, messages conveyed in the discussed tables of contents are largely context-dependent. The post-June 2008 tables of contents contrast the earlier ones. These communicate relatively clear meanings by simply naming people and phenomena. The reader is expected to be familiar with the names of celebrities mentioned in these tables of contents. In essence, however, meanings conveyed in the post-June 2008 tables of contents are not as grounded in the local context as in the previous issues.

4.1.4. Visual design

A template of a table of contents in *Krest'janka*, presented in Figure 4-1, outlines established visual patterns.[22] This template presents a two-page table of contents. A one-page table of contents is visually organized as the first page of a two-page table of contents. Since the textual structure (i.e. the order and content

---

[22]   The template in Figure 4-1 is based on the pre-June 2008 issues, since these publications constitute the core of the studied *Krest'janka* corpus.

of rubrics) and to some extent the visual design of tables of contents are slightly variable, the template presents an averaged table of contents.

page 1

KREST`JANKA  XX` XXXX
[month and year]

IN THIS ISSUE:

Founder and publisher — Publishing House
Editor-in-chief (of the glossy magazines group) & publishing director
Assistant of the editor-in-chief (of the glossy magazines group)
Editor-in-chief (of Krest'janka)
Responsible secretary
Editors of departments
Editors of supplements
Reviewer
Publishing editor
Supervisory editor
Photo editor
Scanning, colour-separation, repros
Director general, Financial director, Publishing director of the group of business periodicals
Administrative director
Chief accountant
Production services director
Information technologies director
Distribution director
Subscription department
Advertising director
Advertising department
Marketing director
PR&event department
General director
PR director
Editorial office address
Typography
Circulation
On the front cover

close-up of a celebrity (refers to one of the articles in the rubric "From heart to heart")

picture of object(s)

picture of object(s)

some women's accessory (matches the attire of the model to the right)

XX FROM HEART TO HEART
[page number] xx. Issue theme
xx. Family stories
xx. Close-up
xx. Report
xx. Expert

XX STYLE
[page number] xx. Guidlines
xx. Big fashion
xx. Private fashion

XX BEAUTY
[page number] xx. In essence
xx. Home work

XX PERSONAL WELL-BEING
[page number] xx. Family doctor
xx. Women's health
xx. Children

SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
xx. The faculty of fashionable clothes
xx. Cosmetics bag

Image 1
Unframed full-length shot of a female model

page 2

[page number]
XX   Signature line

Image 2
Close-up of a celebrity with or without family member(s)

[page number]
XX   Signature line

Image 3
Landscape

[page number]
XX

Image 4
Celebrity, object or landscape

Signature line

IN THIS ISSUE:

XX RELATIONSHIPS
[page number] xx. He and she
xx. Psychology
xx. Children's playground

XX FOR SOUL
[page number] xx. About the eternal
xx. Museums

XX THE WORLD AND WE
[page number] xxx. Under impression
xxx. Star shower

XX READING
[page number] xxx. The past and ladies
xxx. Story

XX HOUSEKEEPER
[page number] xxx. Tasty news
xxx. Culinary
xxx. Our home

XX STYLE AT HOME
[page number] xxx. Class-design
xxx. Stilissimo
xxx. The gallery of colour

XX
[page number] xxx. Crossword for the whole family
xxx. Horoscope

Unframed image of an object

Picture of object(s)

Picture of object(s)

Picture of a person or object(s)

Picture of food

Unframed image of an object

Figure 4-1. Template of *Krest'janka* table of contents (based on issues from December 2005 to March 2008)

A one-page table of contents contains verbal announcements of rubrics and features accompanied by visual images. The visual structure consists of three parallel vertically oriented parts with the verbal text in the middle and visual images on both sides. Visual images to the left reference corresponding editorial materials and facilitate reading through headlines. These images are similarly framed and sized, which gives an impression of a structured and balanced layout. Conversely, a relatively big unframed image to the right of the verbal text tends to dominate the layout and transcend the limits of corresponding rubrics (Figure 4-1: image 1).

The layout of the first page of a two-page table of contents resembles that of a one-page table of contents. The second page features a text column that is similar to a text column on the preceding page. Small images, mostly framed, are placed in a parallel column to the right of the text. These images and those placed to the left of the text column on the preceding page shape the margins of the layout. On the second page, to the left of the text column, three framed images shape a parallel column (Figure 4-1: images 2, 3, and 4). Two of these images (2 and 3) are visually salient with respect to their relative size. Image (4) is comparable to images that are lined up along the margins. The two visually salient images (2 and 3) and an unframed image of a female model (1) constitute the visual centre of the layout.

In general, various layouts can be interpreted with reference to the categories of 'given-new,' 'centre-margins' and 'framed-unframed' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). In case of a one-page table of contents (Figure 4-1: page 1), images in the left column occupy the 'given' area and represent what is known and well established. An image to the right of a table of contents (Figure 4-1: image 1) occupies the 'new' area and conveys the concept of newness and alternative to what is established. Indeed, images to the left represent public figures, pieces of art, historical sites and, occasionally, unframed images of accessories for women, whereas the image to the right portrays an unknown female model. Furthermore, the image to the right is made salient through its

relative size and centred position. An image of a full-height female model appears in three one-page tables of contents and in five two-page spreads.

In case of a table of contents occupying a double-page spread (Figure 4-1: pages 1 and 2), the 'centre-margins' type of a layout is at play. Indeed, relatively small similarly framed visual images along the page edges shape the margins of the layout. In contrast, visually salient and identified images (i.e. with the help of a signature line and a corresponding page number) are placed in the visual centre.

The tables of contents under study are rich in visual elements. The layout organization points to the hierarchy of visual elements with respect to their information value (i.e. spatial positioning), salience and framing. Accordingly, the salience of instances of verbal text can be interpreted in connection to the images they are associated with. In the following subsection, images and associated verbal messages are analyzed with respect to the layout hierarchy and interpersonal (i.e. evaluative) meanings that arise from image-text collaboration.

4.1.5. Connections between images and texts

This subsection presents results of the analysis of the hierarchy of layout elements and visual-verbal collaboration. Both single- and double-paged tables of contents are published in *Krest'janka.* Among the eleven tables of contents published in the pre-June 2008 issues, seven are double-paged spreads. First, the pre-June 2008 tables of contents are analyzed. Further, the post-June 2008 issues are considered.

The layout of a one-page table of contents consists of the verbal text in the middle and visual images on both sides. Visual images to the left roughly fit in the rubric limits outlined to the right. Yet, the lack of corresponding page numbers and signature lines next to the visual images makes it problematic to establish connections between the verbal and the visual in each particular instance.

Similarly, the images lined up along the margins of a double-paged table of contents do not always display obvious connections to corresponding editorial materials. However, visually salient elements are quite well-defined in general.

The visual centre of a double-paged spread involves the following salient elements: an unframed image of a female model (Figure 4-1: image 1) and two framed images vertically organized (Figure 4-1: images 2 and 3).

The image of a female model (Figure 4-1: image 1) is neither anchored in any particular setting nor is it assigned a page number where relevant editorial materials can be found. Links between this image and announcements of editorial materials can be traced on the basis of their spatial proximity. The image transcends the borders of three or four rubrics that variably include *Stil'* 'Style,' *Krasota* 'Beauty,' *Samočuvstvie* 'Personal well-being,' *Otnošenija* 'Relations,' *Xozjajuška* 'Housekeeper,' *Mir i my* 'The world and us,' *U ljudej* 'Among the people.' It appears as if the titles of rubrics suggest the spheres of woman's interest. However, a closer look at each particular image and announcements of editorial materials allows to see a connection between the image and the rubric *Stil'*: *Orientiry* 'Style: Guidelines.' Consider examples 4.6-4.7:

(4.6) *Stil'* (rubric title): *Orientiry: Polevye raboty* (article title) (*Krest'janka*, June 2008).

'Style (rubric title): Guidelines: Field work (article title).'

(4.7) *Stil'* (rubric title): *Orientiry: Perexodnyj period* (article title) (*Krest'janka*, March 2008).

'Style: Guidelines (rubric title): Transition period (article title).'

The expression *polevye raboty* 'field works' in (4.6) plays together with the corresponding visual image that represents a model wearing clothes with khaki patterns. The reader is expected to see a link between the meaning of khaki (i.e. field uniform worn by military men) and the article title. The title *Perexodnyj period* 'transition period' in (4.7) is associated with the image of a model wearing a waterproof coat. When interpreted in connection to this visual representation, this title stands for low season, i.e. transition from one time of the year to another. Since example (4.7) appears in a March issue, the low season between winter and spring is implied. Example 4.8 uses a wordlpay to encode its meaning:

(4.8) *Stil'* (rubric title): *Orientiry: Mexopanorama* (article title)

(*Krest'janka*, December 2006).

'Style (rubric title): Guidelines: Fur panorama (article title).'

Mexopanorama in (4.8) is a made-up word that alludes to another made-up word *smexopanorama* 'laughter panorama.' This word is used as the title of a Russian TV program hosted by the comedian Evgenij Petrosjan and broadcast since 1994. This program presents an overview of the state of the art of national stage comedy *éstradnaja jumoristika* and illustrates it with comic performances of entertainers of the past and present. The article title *Mexopanorama* 'fur panorama' is associated with the image of a model wearing fur-edged luxurious garments. In this title, the element *-panorama* 'panorama' (i.e. spectacular, grandiose) is exploited to construct a link between the image and the article announcement. The visual-verbal relation positively evaluates the subject for its aesthetic properties.

Based on the above-discussed examples 4.6-4.8, semantic relations between images of female models and corresponding article announcements in the rubric *Stil'*: *Orientiry* 'Style: Guidelines' involve culture-specific knowledge and general knowledge of the world. The subtitle *Orientiry* 'Guidelines' implies that being in style means following some preset rules. The prescriptiveness of this message is mitigated by an unframed image of a female model that is not overtly linked to any particular publication and helps create an informal loosely structured environment.

Concurrently to the unframed image of a female model, two framed images in the upper and in the central part of the visual centre of a double-paged spread shape salient visual representations (Figure 4-1: images 2 and 3). These images are accompanied by corresponding page numbers and signature lines. Provided page numbers allow to find the announcements of relevant features in the table of contents. Thus, announcements, signature lines and images generate complex meanings.

The top image in the left corner of the second page (image 2) illustrates a feature article announced in the opening rubric *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart.' The image and the corresponding announcement occupy a centre-top position. The top position is associated with the 'ideal' and thus it "tends to contain the big ideas, the promise of what is to follow" (Martinec and Salway 2005, 365). Table 4-1 summarizes the types of visual representations that appear in a centre-top position in double-paged tables of contents in *Krest'janka.* Accompanying signature lines and associated feature article announcements are also presented and annotated where applicable.

Table 4-1. Salient visual representations in *Krest'janka* table of contents (based on issues from December 2005 to March 2008)

Issue	Figure 4-1: image 2	Signature line	Rubric subdivision, name of the feature
Dec.2005	A man and a woman sitting back to back.	*Sovet družiny: Egor i Veronika* 'Council of the squad: Egor and Veronika.'	*Semejnye istorii: V gostjax u Egora Družinina* 'Family stories: On a visit at Egor Družinin's.
Mar.2006	Family: mother, father and two daughters. The father is Vadim Tekmenev, the Russian journalist, the author of the TV program *Professija - reporter* 'Occupation – reporter.'	*Sem'ja reportera* 'The family of the reporter.'	*Semejnye istorii: Kul't ličnosti: Vadim i Elena Tekmenëvy* 'Family stories: Personality cult: Vadim and Elena Tekmenevy.
June 2006	Family: mother father and their daughter. Parents are in spacesuits with their heads uncovered, and their daughter is holding a space helmet in her hands. The mother is Elena Kondakova, the first woman cosmonaut who participated in a long-term spaceflight. Since 1999, she has been elected as a deputy to the State Duma.	*Na orbitu vsej sem'ëj!* 'To the orbit with the entire family!'	*Ličnyj uspex: Duma o kosmose Eleny Kondakovoj* 'Personal success: Elena Kondakova's thought about space' (the word-play based on homonymy, i.e. duma in the meaning of 'thought' and 'the State Duma').

Sept.2006	Jurij Kuklačëv, the Russian clown, in a circus show suit with a cat on his shoulder.	*Kuklačëv & partnery* 'Kuklačev and his partners.'	*Semejnye istorii: Jurij i Elena Kuklačëvy: dobrota spasët mir* 'Family stories: Jurij and Elena Kuklačevy: kindness will save the world.
Sept.2007	Svetlana Družinina, the Russian film director and scriptwriter.	*Dvorcovye tajny Družinininoj* 'Palace mysteries of Družinina.'[23]	*Semejnye istorii: Kino na dvoix* 'Family stories: Film for two.'
Dec. 2006	Mixail Pugovkin, the Russian actor, in the film "Ivan Vasil'jevič menjaet professiju" ('Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession').	*"Žitie moë..."* (in old Russian) 'My life…' Words from the film "Ivan Vasil'jevič menjaet professiju" ('Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession').	*Ličnoe delo: Artist iz naroda Mixail Pugovkin* 'Personal file: The actor of humble origins Mixail Pugovkin.'
Mar.2007	Vaxtang Kikabidze, the Soviet and Georgian singer, actor and film director.	*"Ja svoë sam poju, nikomu ne daju"* 'I sing my [songs] myself and do not give [them] to anybody.'	*Krupnym planom: Malen'kie novelly Vaxtanga Kikabidze* 'Close-up: Little short stories of Vaxtang Kikabidze.'

Three images out of seven represent families and highlight interpersonal relations between family members. Other images represent professional people by themselves, including photographs published in the September 2006 and September 2007 issues. These pictures are linked to the rubric *Semejnye istorii* 'Family stories.' Only the December 2006 and March 2007 tables of contents portray professional men in this rubric and announce their stories without making reference to their significant others. In general, however, relations between images and relevant pieces of text suggest that *Krest'janka* values family-based interpersonal communication and implies that personal and professional life are of comparable importance to the people whose stories are told in the opening rubric.

An image placed below the above-discussed representations (Figure 4-1: image 3, above) occupies a centre-left part of the layout of the second page

---

[23] The title *Dvorcovye tajny Družinininoj* 'Palace mysteries of Družinina' alludes to a cycle of seven feature films on Russian history *Tajny dvorcovyx perevorotov* 'The mysteries of coups d'état' directed by Svetlana Družinina.

(Figure 4-1). At the bottom, there is a third framed image that is associated with a particular page number and has a signature line (image 4). Although it is less salient than the other two with respect to its relative size, this image is still given some prominence (i.e. position close to the visual centre, a page number and a signature line). This representation illustrates a feature article announced in the rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us.' An adjacent larger image at the top variably refers to the rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us,' *Otnošenija* 'Relationships,' *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart' and *U ljudej* 'Among the people.' These visual representations and associated verbal messages are summarized in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2. Visual representations and associated verbal messages in *Krest'janka* tables of contents (based on issues from December 2005 to March 2008)

Issue	Figure 4-1: images 3 and 4 accordingly)	Signature line at each image	Rubric subdivision, name of the feature
Dec.2005	A town in the mountains: resorts, houses, people walking along the street	*Švejcarija pod Roždestvo* 'Switzerland on Christmas'	*Mir i my: Putešestvija: pod vpečatleniem: Roždestvo po-švejcarski* 'The world and us: Travels: under impression: Christmas in a Swiss way'
	Rings on a black background	*"Darju tebe volšebnoe kol'co..."* 'I give you a magic ring...'	*Mir i my: Pjatyj element: Kolečko na pamjat'* 'The world and us: The fifth element: A ring as a keepsake'
Mar.2006	A close-up of a peacock with the open beak	*S ruž'ëm po bušu* 'With a gun in the bush'	*Mir i my: Pod vpečatleniem: Oxotničij rasskaz o JuAR* 'The world and us: Under impression: Hunter's story about South Africa'
	A close-up of the actress Kate Winslet (smiling)	*Kejt Uinslet: sčast'je vopreki uspexu* 'Kate Winslet: happiness despite success'	*Mir i my: Zvezdopad: Zemnaja devuška Kejt Uinslet* 'The world and us: Starfall: An ordinary girl Kate Winslet'
June2006	A close-up of a woman and a child who are sitting together at the table and drawing	*Čto risujut eë deti* 'What are her children drawing'	*U ljudej: Postupok: Raduga w podvale* 'Among the people: Deed: Rainbow in the basement'
	A rounded building made of iron and glass on the bank of a river by night	*Dva berega reki: Valensija staraja i novaja* 'Two banks of the river: old and new Valencia'	*Mir i my: Pod vpečatleniem: Ljudi i kukly v Valensii* 'The world and us: Under impression: The people and dolls of Valencia'

Sept.2006	A woman is sitting on a couch looking upward	*Uklad drugoj sem'ji: ponjat' i prinjat'* 'The setup of a different family: to understand and to accept'	*Otnošenija: On i ona: Čužoj monastyr'* 'Relationships: He and she: Somebody else's cloister'[24]
	A cliff and a grotto washed by the sea	*Sčastlivyj ostrov Mal'ta* 'The happy island of Malta'	*Mir i my: Putešestvija: pod vpečatleniem: Ostrov vezenija*[25] 'The world and us: Travels: under impression: The island of good luck'
Sept.2007	A panorama of the countryside: the church and nearby houses in a forest-clad landscape	*Nestercovo: komu nužna russkaja derevnja?* 'Nestercovo: who needs Russian countryside?'	*Ot serdca k serdcu: Reportaž: Derevnja mečty* 'From heart to hear: Report: The dream village'
	A close-up of the actress Greta Garbo looking from top to bottom away from the viewer	*Čto tail eë volšebnyj vzgljad? Ljubov' k sebe odnoj* What was her magic look hiding? Love towards herself alone	*Mir i my: Zvezdopad: Sladkij jad Grety Garbo* 'The world and us: Starfall: The sweet poison of Greta Garbo'
Dec.2006	A young female holding an umbrella is standing in a room filled with balloons	*Plany na vzrosluju žizn'* 'Plans for adult life'	*Otnošenija* – no feature article title 'Relationships'
	A close-up of a clock tower	*Časy staroj Pragi* 'The chimes of old Prague'	*Mir i my: Pod vpečatleniem: Praga pod Roždestvo* The world and us: Under impression: Prague on Christmas eve'
Mar.2007	A panorama of an old-style administrative building with a clock on it and large flowerbeds in front of the building; flowers and grass shape the form of flowers	*Cvety Lotaringii* 'The flowers of Lorraine' Lorraine is one of the 26 regions of France in the North-East of the country.	*Mir i my: Pod vpečatleniem: Zolote serdce Lorréna* 'The world and us: Under impression: The golden heart of Lorraine'
	A close-up of the Russian actress Ljubov' Poliščuk who is smelling a flower and looking intently into the distance	*Ljubov' Poliščuk: byt' sil'noj – neobxodimost'* 'Ljubov' Poliščuk: to be strong is a necessity'	*Mir i my: Zvezdopad: Ljubov' Poliščuk: "Budem žit' s radost'ju!"* 'The world and us: Starfall: Ljubov' Poliščuk: "We will live in joy!"'

---

[24] The feature title *Čužoj monastyr'* alludes to a Russian proverb *V čužoj monastyr' so svoim ustavom ne xodjat* 'When in Rome do as the Romans do.'
[25] The feature title *Ostrov vezenija* alludes to a song *Ostrov nevezenija* 'The Iisland of Misfortune' from the famous Soviet comedy *Brilliantovaja ruka* 'The diamond arm' (1968).

Most commonly, these two images (Figure 4-1: images 3 and 4 above) illustrate the rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us' and present landscapes from different places in the world and offer close-ups of celebrities. These representations are set in a certain contrast to images at the top of the visual centre (image 2 in Table 4-1). Specifically, the top image 2 relates to the local culture. Its interpretation relies on the reader's background knowledge, or membership resources (annotations are provided in Table 4-1). The two other images 3 and 4, however, appear to be somewhat more self-explanatory (Table 4-2). This is particularly the case whereby a signature and/or announcement names the visual representation, e.g. *ostrov Mal'ta* 'The island of Malta,' *Časy staroj Pragi* 'The chimes of old Prague,' etc.

Furthermore, the interplay of a signature line and the corresponding announcement yield various types of meanings. The announcement may specify the meaning of the signature line. Consider example 4.9:

(4.9) *"Žitie moe..."* (signature line) - *Ličnoe delo: Artist iz naroda Mixail Pugovkin* (article title) (*Krest'janka,* December 2006).

'"My life…" (in old Russian) (signature line) - Personal file: The actor of humble origins Mikhail Pugovkin (article title).'

In (4.9), the article title elaborates on the meaning of the signature line and provides some details about the content of the article. The words *"Žitie moe..."* 'my life' were pronounced by the actor Mixail Pugovkin in the famous Soviet comedy film *Ivan Vasil'jevič menjaet professiju* 'Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession (1973). This film is based on the play by Mixail Bulgakov *Ivan Vasil'jevič* 'Ivan Vasilievich' (published in 1965).

Corresponding signature lines and announcements may stand in complementary relations to each other. Consider examples 4.10-4.11:

(4.10) *Časy staroj Pragi* (signature line) - *Praga pod Roždestvo* (article title) (*Krest'janka,* December 2006).

'The chimes of old Prague (signature line) - Prague on Christmas eve (article title).'

(4.11) *Dva berega reki: Valensija staraja i novaja* (signature line) - *Ljudi i kukly v Valensii* (article title) (*Krest'janka,* June 2006).

'Two banks of the river: Old and new Valencia (signature line) - The people and dolls of Valencia (article title).'

In 4.10 and 4.11, the signature line and the article title complement each other. However, the article titles still tend to be slightly more precise and context-oriented.

In sum, the above-mentioned images (i.e. an unframed image of a female model and three framed images with assigned page numbers) (Figure 4-1: images 1, 2, 3, and 4) shape the visual centre of a double-paged spread of a table of contents in *Krest'janka* (among issues published from December 2006 to June 2008). The top framed image 2 is linked to the opening rubric *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart,' specifically, to a feature article announced most often under the title *Semejnye istorii* 'Family stories.' These two layout elements in a centre-top position communicate a message that *Krest'janka* supports family values. Moreover, individual stories of professional success are often told in the context of family relationships.

In Figure 4-1, two other framed images that are placed lower (3 and 4) are most often associated with the rubric *Mir i my* 'The world and us.' These typically represent landscapes of world tourist destinations and less often so portray celebrities, both national and foreign. The photographs of these celebrities are significantly smaller than other images in the visual centre. In fact, these pictures are of almost the same size as pictures placed along the margins. In signature lines and in announcements, these celebrities are referred to as individuals without reference to their significant others.

An unframed image of a female model (Figure 4-1: image 1) illustrates the rubric *Stil': Orientiry* 'Style: Guidelines,' although no explicit reference (i.e. page number or signature line) is made to a corresponding feature article. Thus, a reader is indirectly advised about trends of the season and is expected to conform to these trends. In sum, framed representations create a sense of formality and

orderliness, whereas unframed elements help shape a busy loosely structured interactive environment.

Other visual representations in tables of contents in *Krest'janka* are given less prominence. These are lined up along the left and the right margin lines and are placed to correspond to particular rubrics. Connections between these images and editorial materials are not always apparent. Particularly, unframed images along the margins seem to function as illustrations to the entire rubric or even issue rather than to certain editorial materials. For example, the right margin of the December 2006 table of contents features solely unframed images that transcend the borders of rubrics announced to the left. These images display presents under a New Year tree, a snowman, women's accessories and cosmetics. These images are clearly linked to New Year holidays that start in December.

The issues of September and December 2008 feature a renewed layout of the table of contents. Despite stylistic similarities, including fonts and rubric composition, these two tables of contents are not quite similar. This is probably linked to the fact that *Krest'janka* was in the process of rebranding at that time. The September 2008 one-page table of contents features a smaller version of the front cover in the upper left part of the layout. The rest of the layout space, which is organized into two columns, is devoted to the announcements of rubrics and feature articles. The December 2008 two-page table of contents is differently structured: each page is divided into three columns, where the middle column involves verbal announcements of rubrics and features, whereby relatively thick horizontal lines separate one rubric from the other; the columns to the left and to the right are made of thick-framed visual images. Images on the left page are mainly close-ups of Russian and foreign celebrities. The represented people are looking at the viewer at a frontal angle without smiling. Images on the right page are slightly less formal. These represent drawings of a cartoon-like quality, images of animals and pets, and landscapes.

4.1.6. Fonts, colours and text alignment

The analysis of layout organization would be incomplete without considering meanings of fonts and colours used in *Krest'janka* tables of contents. The masthead of the magazine appears in red and is displayed in the top left part of the table of contents (Figure 4-1). It uses a bold narrow rounded typeface with minimal spacing between the letters. In fact, almost all the letters are joined. The combination of these characteristics indicates stability, solidarity and collectiveness (Machin and Niblock 2008). The use of serifs points to the value of tradition. Moreover, underneath the masthead there is a line saying that the magazine was founded in June of 1922. In essence, the masthead is a significant element that codifies the magazine's identity.

The names of rubrics are underlined and emphasized with the help of a bold black font that is noticeably larger than the fonts used to specify the content of rubrics. The letters are slightly expanded, squat and somewhat curved. These features give salience to the rubric titles and make them appear stable, solid and reliable. The use of a bold black font and the orderliness of these lines imply a certain degree of formality.

Each rubric involves subtitles that are followed by the names of feature articles. These subtitles utilize red bold slightly angular letters that stand close to each other. These form another reading path that is also salient in the structure of the tables of contents. The titles of feature articles use clear fine black characters that are relatively spaced out. In sum, the visual structure of the written text appears well-balanced and clear, which signals a certain rigor and orderliness. Furthermore, the text is even to the left and ragged to the right so that the letters "comfortably" take the space needed.

Tables of contents in the September and December 2008 issues of *Krest'janka* feature a renewed layout and use different fonts as compared to previous issues. The visually salient typeface that is used in the masthead, rubric

titles and page numbers is entitled ITC Rodchenko Cyrillic.[26] This typeface is marked by angular sans-serif bold letters that remind of Soviet typography used in propaganda posters and in the mastheads of journals and newspapers. The use of the Rodchenko typeface and the statement *vyxodit s 1922 goda* 'in print since 1922' on the front cover of rebranded *Krest'janka* highlight the fact that its identity is rooted in the Soviet past.

4.1.7. Summary of analysis of *Krest'janka* tables of contents

The studied tables of contents are far from being uniform due to changes in the editorial board and because of a renewed concept of *Krest'janka*. The analysis of tables of contents in the pre-June 2008 issues indicates that the magazine is largely directed towards the readership. Its issue themes are devoted to various social phenomena and often link these to relevant seasonal events. Practical advice on how to maintain physical and psychological well-being, raise children, and build relationships with other people is given a significant weight in the tables of contents under discussion. Furthermore, the magazine announces materials about world tourist destinations. Stories about celebrities of the past and short stories for reading are also announced. These materials are introduced towards the end of a table of contents. In contrast, the post-June 2008 tables of contents foreground materials about national and foreign celebrities, including both contemporaries and those who lived in the past, and give only modest attention to publications that used to be the core of *Krest'janka*. Thus, the magazine appears to have altered its identity.

With respect to interpersonal communication conveyed in the verbal and in the visual, *Krest'janka* has shifted to a more neutral and formal tone that almost excludes the negotiation of readers' participation (i.e. rigid layout, thick frames

---

[26]   ITC Rodchenko Cyrillic is named after the Soviet painter, illustrator and photographer Alexander Rodchenko. Among his many creative works, Rodchenko designed outstanding propaganda posters, where he experimented with fonts, colours and spatial organization of text (Škljaruk 2004). Alexander Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova, Vladimir and Georgij Stenberg, and Gustav Klucis were among the founders of constructivism in Soviet art. The typeface named after Rodchenko was inspired by the works of the named Soviet constructivists. It was developed in the late 1990s to imitate Soviet-like typography.

and dividing lines, mainly portrait-like photographs of individuals, brief feature article titles). Connections between the visual and the verbal are rather straightforward in that images represent people whose names are mentioned in feature article announcements. In the pre-June 2008 tables of contents, however, relations between images and texts convey interpersonal meanings more clearly. These are essentially evaluative and invite readers' identification.

4.2. Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij*

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* mainly announce stories of celebrities, both Russian and from abroad. These editorial materials are not linked to particular events or themes. As a result, issue themes are not included in these tables of contents. This section discusses the order and content of rubrics (4.2.1) and interpersonal communication in verbal text (4.2.2). Furthermore, features of visual design (4.2.3), patterns of interaction between the verbal and the visual (4.2.4), and fonts, colours and text alignment (4.2.5) are analyzed in tables of contents in *Karavan istorij*.

4.2.1. Order and content of rubrics

In this subsection, the structure and the content of tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are discussed. A table of contents takes left pages of three or four double-page spreads. The right pages next to the table of contents are single-page advertisements. *Karavan istorij* publishes stories of national and foreign celebrities, both contemporary and from the past years. The table of contents involves the following rubrics:

(1) *Iskusstvo žit'* 'The art of living'

(2) *Love Story*

(3) *Štrix* 'Stroke' (means 'a single movement of a pencil or brush'; when used figuratively, the word stands for 'detail,' or 'feature')

(4) *Imena* 'Names'

(5) *Fantazii* 'Fantasies'

(6) *Imperija* 'Empire'

(7) *Fakt* 'Fact'

(8) *Zvëzdnyj sled'* 'Star trail'

(9) *Goroskop* 'Horoscope.'

These headlines are followed by titles of feature articles, many of which are expanded with excerpts from related sources. Rubric titles thematically organize a table of contents.

Each rubric, except *Fantazii* and *Goroskop*, features the names of people whose stories are told. The titles of feature articles are mostly followed by leads that use italicized letters and read as excerpts from interviews. The content of these leads is personalized with the help of first-person quotations or through third-person descriptions. Italicized letters used in relatively lengthy leads also make these leads stand out as personalized accounts.

The rubric *Fantazii* is entirely devoted to projects of the photographer Ekaterina Roždestvenskaja and features differently stylized photographs of contemporary celebrities. These projects are published in each issue of *Karavan istorij*. For instance, *Častnaja kollekcija* 'Private collection,' a subsection within the rubric *Fantazii*, features world-famous paintings that represent people. Next to each painting, there is a photograph that replicates it. In these photographs, contemporary celebrities are made up and dressed to imitate the models represented in the corresponding paintings. Another subsection within the rubric *Fantazii* is entitled *Associacii* 'Associations.' One of the photographs in this subsection is used for the front cover of a given issues of *Karavan istorij*.

The order of contents does not coincide with the order of page numbers. This is probably due to the fact that feature articles in *Karavan istorij* are relatively long (the length of an issue amounts to 200-400 pages) and the editorial content needs to be presented as diversified. This is achieved with the help of intermingling articles from various rubrics on the pages of an issue. Thus, *Karavan istorij* favours a circular, as opposed to hierarchical, organization of its content.

The titles of rubrics, the selection of personalities and particular ways of their representation are suggestive of the magazine's identity and of the intended

readership. The title *Iskusstvo žit'* 'The art of living' indicates that there exists a standard of 'perfect' life followed by the people whose stories are told under this heading. Gravitation toward Western models is presupposed in the title in English *Love Story*. Furthermore, this title suggests that there exists a so-called genre of love story that also implies somewhat idealized representations of reality. Similarly, the title *Fantazii* 'Fantasies' connotes an idealized non-existent world represented in photographic projects. *Iskusstvo zhit'* 'The art of living,' *Fantazii* 'Fantasies,' *Štrix* 'Stroke,' and *Zvëzdnyj sled* 'Star trail' convey associations with the artistic world full of elegance, style and ambiguity. The titles *Imena* 'Names,' *Imperija* 'Empire' and *Fakt* 'Fact' express aspirations for a high social status and credibility.

4.2.2. Verbal interpersonal communication

This subsection presents results of the analysis of interpersonal communication in tables of contents in *Karavan istorij*. It examines how the positions of celebrities and reading positions of the audience are constructed. Furthermore, value positions that underpin constructed interpersonal communication are discussed.

Interpersonal meanings are quite prominent in linguistic expressions in the analyzed tables of contents. The titles of articles in the opening rubrics (i.e. *Iskusstvo žit'* 'The art of living,' *Love Story, Štrix* 'Stroke,' and *Imena* 'Names') tend to express evaluative meanings and to foreground personalities. Consider examples 4.12-4.13:

(4.12) *Iskusstvo žit'* (rubric title): *Kejt Xadson* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]: <u>*V poiskax ljubvi*</u> [AFFECT: desire; affection] (article title) (*Karavan istorij*, December 2007).

'The art of living (rubric title): Kate Hudson [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]: <u>In search of love</u> [AFFECT: desire; affection] (article title).'

(4.13) *Iskusstvo žit'* (rubric title): *Larisa Černikova* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]: *"Svoë prošloe <u>ja</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *ne taščila s soboj"* (article title) (*Karavan istorij*, June 2008).

136

'The art of living (rubric title): Larisa Černikova [ENGAGEMENT:
attribute] : "I̲ [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] did not drag my past
with me" (article title).'

In (4.12), affective meaning of desire and affection are expressed. These are
attributed to the actress Kate Hudson. Example 4.13 is more personalized than
(4.12), since it conveys interpersonal communication with the help of a direct
quotation. This subjective statement uses a first-person address form and is
attributed to the singer Larisa Černikova.

Titles in the second half of *Karavan istorij* tables of contents also carry
attitudinal meanings and use direct quotations, however, these titles, in general,
tend to be more neutral. These articles are often devoted to people who lived in
different historical periods, e.g. *Jurij Oleša: Zamknutyj krug* 'Yury Olesha:
Vicious circle' and *Čarl'z Dikkens: Tjažëlye vremena* 'Charles Dickens: Hard
times' (September 2007 issue). Olesha is a Russian (Soviet) novelist (1899-
1960).

In sum, interpersonal communication in *Karavan istorij* tables of contents
focuses on celebrities and their personal lives. The reader's position is not
explicitly constructed. The reader's role is to follow the stories and to empathize
with the protagonists when identifying with their positions.

KARAVAN
историй

IN THIS ISSUE:
THE ART OF LIVING

page xx
Portrayal of a person or two people

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xx
Name of a celebrity

Excerpt from the story of the above-named person

page xx
Name of a celebrity

Excerpt from the story of the above-named person

page xx
Portrayal of a person

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

Page xx

page xx
Portrayal of a person (refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xx
Portrayal of two or more people

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

Portrayal of a person

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xx
Name of a celebrity:

page xxx
Name of a celebrity:

«First-person statement»

LOVE STORY

page xx
Name of a celebrity:

«Quotation from a story or

page xxx
Name of a celebrity:

Excerpt from the story of / about the above-named person

page xxx

Portrayal of two or more people

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xxx
Portrayal of a person or two people

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xx
Portrayal of a person

(refers to a feature article announced on the same or a different page)

page xxx

Figure 4-2. Template of *Karavan istorij* table of contents

4.2.3. Visual design and interpersonal communication

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are highly visualized and images take the most of the space on their pages. Figure 4-2 schematically represents the visual structure of a table of contents in *Karavan istorij*.

All images in the analyzed tables of contents are framed. In case of a framed space, "the character of an object can be defined only in relation to the context in which it is considered" (Arnheim 1988, 56). However, the spatial arrangement of images in *Karavan istorij* prompts the viewer to see some connections between various representations. These can be established based on spatial proximity and similarities in visual address, constructed interpersonal distance, postures of represented personae, colour hues and saturation. Apparently, some similarities in visual representations, almost all of which are people, are important to the identity of *Karavan istorij*. Similarly, front cover images are never exactly the same, yet they share certain conventions that make the magazine stand out among others. Connections between texts and images are implied based on the correspondence of accompanying page numbers. Some knowledge of celebrities is also needed to see a connection between a person's name and his/her photograph. In general, however, the verbal/visual interplay appears to be secondary to the visual mode.

In what follows, visual images in the studied tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are analyzed with respect to the following criteria: the gender and number of people represented, the type of visual address, the angle of representation, the constructed interpersonal distance with the viewer, and the context of representation.

4.2.3.1. Visual address, angle of representation, and interpersonal distance

This subsection presents results of the analysis of visual images in *Karavan istorij* tables of contents. These images are relatively homogeneous in that they portray gendered personae. Relative sizes and shapes of image frames

are comparable to each other. Furthermore, these images are quite prominent, since they occupy most of the visual space (Figure 4-2).[27]

Visual images construct interpersonal communication with the viewer through visual address ('offer' and 'demand'), the angle of representation (horizontal frontal, horizontal oblique, vertical low, and vertical high), and interpersonal distance (intimate, close personal, far personal, close social, far social or public). Results of the analysis of these features are summarized in Table 4-3.

---

[27] Please note that this type of analysis, including the classification of gender representations and quantification of results, does not occur for *Krest'janka* and *Samaja*. This is due to the fact that images in their tables of contents are quite heterogeneous with respect to types of representations and degrees of salience, while the corpus is limited.

Representation, % (n)		Visual address, % (n)		Angle of representation, % (n)				Interpersonal distance, % (n)					
		Demand, % (n)	Offer, % (n)	Horizontal frontal	Horizontal oblique	Vertical low	Vertical high	Intimate	Close personal	Far personal	Close social	Far social	Public
Single female[28]	39.5 (66)	71 (47)	29 (19)	35 (23)	59 (39)	3 (2)	3 (2)	--	19.7 (13)	15.1 (10)	51.5 (34)	13.6 (9)	--
Single male[29]	32.9 (55)	63.6 (35)	36.4 (20)	41.8 (23)	50.9 (28)	5.5 (3)	1.8 (1)	--	16.4 (9)	38.2 (21)	40 (22)	5.5 (3)	--
Female (f.) and male (m.)	11.4 (19)	Both - (8) f. - (2) m. - (1)	Both - (8) f. - (1) m.- (2)	Both (1) f. - (1) m. - (3)	Both (13) f. - (2) m. - (1)	Both (1) f. - (1)	--	--	Both (2) f. - (1) m. - (1)	(6)	Both (8) f. - (1) m. - (1)	(1)	--
Females (2 and more)	2.4 (4)	75 (3)	25 (1)	25 (1)	75 (3)	--	--	--	50 (2)	25 (1)	25 (1)	--	--
Males (2 and more)	4.2 (7)	42.9 (3)	57.1 (4)	42.9 (3)	57.1 (4)	--	--	--	--	28.6 (2)	57.1 (4)	--	14.3 (1)
Heterosexual group	7.2 (12)	66.7 (8)	33.3 (4)	33.3 (4)	58.3 (7)	8.3 (1)	--	--	--	16.7 (2)	58.3 (7)	8.3 (1)	16.7 (2)
Landscapes, objects	2.4 (4)	--	--	--	50 (2)	50 (2)	--						
Total	100 (167)												

Table 4-3. Interpersonal communication in visuals in *Karavan istorij* tables of contents

---

[28] Please note that the coding 'single female' as well as subsequent mentions of 'single female' representations refer to visual portrayals that feature one woman only.

[29] Please note that the coding 'single male' as well as subsequent mentions of 'single male' representations refer to visual portrayals that feature one man only.

As Table 4-3 indicates, women only (39.5%) and men only (32.9%) constitute the majority of visual representations in tables of contents in *Karavan istorij*. Groups of people are considerably less frequent, a woman and a man being the most frequent representation (11.4%).

Represented personae variously communicate with the viewer by way of 'offer' and 'demand' visual address. 'Offer' images avoid direct communication with the viewer in that depicted personae entirely belong to their own context of representation. 'Demand' pictures communicate with the viewer through direct eye contact. The analyzed tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* use both types of images, yet the 'demand' type of visual address prevails. In particular, images of single women most frequently use the 'demand' address (71%). Single men address the viewer using eye contact slightly less frequently (63.6%). In groups of people, 'demand' images also tend to outbalance 'offer' images. Interestingly, images of men's groups almost exclusively represent them with reference to their professional activities. In 'offer' images (57.1%), men are portrayed as engaged in particular activities and thus interacting with each other. The depictions of men's groups set the contrast to the majority of visual representations in the tables of contents in *Karavan istorij*, where depicted personae tend to pose to the camera to yield photographic portraits.

The angle of representation, as well as the type of visual address, participates in the construction of symbolic communication between the viewer and a depicted person. The angle suggests a manner of interaction with respect to dominance/solidarity. A horizontal angle (i.e. the point of view of the onlooker is at the same level as the point of view of a depicted model) implies the viewer's involvement. This angle symbolizes equality and solidarity between the parties. A vertical angle conveys power and inequality between the represented persona and the viewer. A low vertical angle elevates the represented person over the viewer and thus symbolizes power. A high vertical angle, conversely, constructs the viewer's power.

Horizontal angle absolutely dominates in all categories of gender representations in tables of contents in *Karavan istorij,* whereby horizontal oblique angle is used more often than horizontal frontal angle (Table 4-3). Interestingly, single female images use horizontal oblique angle slightly more often than single male representations in relation to horizontal frontal images (single female: horizontal oblique 59%, horizontal frontal 35%; single male: horizontal oblique 50.9%, horizontal frontal 41.8%). Although horizontal frontal angle is considered the angle of maximal involvement, it tends to make represented personae appear still and unemotional whereby these avoid using body language and have a neutral facial expression. This is the case with a number of single male representations. Single female images, to a greater degree than single male portrayals, favour a horizontal oblique angle, which is associated with energy, movement and creativity (Machin 2007, 115). It also allows to represent individuals as human beings with their subjectivities. A frontal oblique angle is a sign of detachment only in a few artistic shots where a model is sitting with her back to the viewer. These images belong in photographic projects by Ekaterina Roždestvenskaja.

Vertical angles are relatively rarely used in the analyzed shots. A vertical low angle is used to empower the represented person and to diminish the role of the viewer. A vertical low angle co-occurs with constructed social or public distance from the viewer. This yields space for contextual details within the frame that work to build the status of a person portrayed. For instance, the top left image on the first page of the December 2006 table of contents represent Enzo Ferrari, the famous Italian car manufacturer, standing by the side of a Ferrari car against the backdrop of a Ferrari plant. Thus, the low vertical angle and contextual details represent Enzo Ferrari as a powerful person beyond the viewer's reach. Another example is a photograph of the English actress Kate Beckinsale. Similarly to the previous example, it represents the actress at a low vertical angle. This image occupies the top left position in the beginning of the September 2007 table of contents. The actress is looking at the viewer slightly

143

from top to bottom at a far social distance, while standing on a vessel. The view of the statue of Liberty in New York harbour and the panorama of New York City set the background of the image. This type of visual representation and the context construct the person as confident, independent and aware of her capabilities. Both examples portray people and vehicles in some open spaces. These representations seem to convey the connotations of independence, freedom and mobility.

Along with the type of visual address and the angle of representation, constructed interpersonal distance is an important aspect of visual representation. A perceived distance between the viewer and the portrayed persona signifies a social distance. "In pictures, distance translates as 'size of frame' (close shot, medium shot, long shot, etc.)" (Machin 2007, 116) and points to degrees of engagement with the viewer. In the studied tables of contents in *Karavan istorij,* close social distance is preferred in all types of gender representations. At a close social distance, the figure of a person is seen. This type of interpersonal distance is particularly frequent in images of groups of people (58.3%) and in images that represent groups of men (57.1%). Close social distance allows for a relative proximity to the viewer and, simultaneously, yields space for contextual details. Details are important to identify represented personae with respect to their activities and to each other.

For example, a black and white image on the second page of the June 2007 table of contents represents two profesionally-looking men in some office space. One of them is sitting at the desk and the other man is sitting on the desk. The desk is covered with brochures and booklets in a disordered manner. There are abstract paintings on the wall behind the men. This image suggests that the two men are engaged in some professional activity that is related to some sphere of art. This black and white image conveys some historical connotations and documents a stage in the development of some enterprise. Indeed, this image illustrates a feature article about two brothers Charles and Maurice Saatchi, the

144

co-finders of the global advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi. Charles Saatchi is also a well-know art collector and the founder of the Saatchi Gallery in London.

In contrast, images of groups of women favour a personal distance (close personal 50%, far personal 25%). These construct a high degree of involvement with the viewer and avoid contextual details. By way of comparison, images of single females favour a close social distance (51.5%). However, these images, in general, avoid specifying contextual details and thus construct a represented person as relatively proximate to the viewer.

In sum, visual images in the studied tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* convey various interpersonal meanings through the direction of gaze, the angle of representation and constructed interpersonal distance. Direct eye contact ('demand'), horizontal oblique angle of representation and close social interpersonal distance are used in the majority of images, particularly, in the representations of single women and men. Interestingly, this type of visual representation is preferred in the photographs of the editor of *Karavan istorij* that is featured on top of her letter in each issue. Direct eye contact and a horizontal angle allow for the viewer's involvement and a sense of solidarity with a depicted person. Close social distance is comfortable between people in formal relations and between acquaintances.

4.2.3.2. The context of visual representations

The degree of implied closeness or distance between a person in a picture and the viewer generally correlates with the amount of context available. Pictures that signal a personal distance feature the upper part of the body. More distant images feature three-quarters or full length bodies and typically offer identifiable contextual details. Table 4-4 summarizes the analysis of gender representations and contextual information in the visuals in *Karavan istorij* tables of contents.

Table 4-4. Context of visual representations in *Karavan istorij* tables of contents

Representation, % (n)		Context, % (n)			
		home	Public space	Open air	No/ not clear
Single female	39.5 (66)	9.6 (16)	6.6 (11)	6.0 (10)	17.4 (29)
Single male	32.9 (55)	4.2 (7)	7.2 (12)	9.0 (15)	12.6 (21)
Female and male	11.4 (19)	1.8 (3)	3.6 (6)	3.6 (6)	2.4 (4)
Females (2 and more)	2.4 (4)	--	--	--	2.4 (4)
Males (2 and more)	4.2 (7)	--	3.0 (5)	1.2 (2)	--
Heterosexual group	7.2 (12)	2.4 (4)	0.6 (1)	3.0 (5)	1.2 (2)
Landscapes, objects	2.4 (4)	--	1.2 (2)	1.2 (2)	--
Total	100 (167)	18.0 (30)	22.1 (37)	23.9 (40)	36.0 (60)

Table 4-4 correlates the categories of gender representations and the context. Representations of single women and men are frequently devoid of any particular context (17.4% and 12.6% respectively). In these images, the backdrop is often blurred (i.e. appears unidentifiable) or made up of some artistic work or fabric, which is insufficient to identify the context of representation. Specifically, most of the images of women that belong to photographic projects by Ekaterina Roždestvenskaja feature delicate pastel backgrounds (7.8 %; 13 out of 167). These images emphasize elegance and femininity as the features of model representations that are not linked to any specific context.

Home space is used more frequently than social contexts to situate single women's representations (9.6% and 6.6% respectively). In contrast, single men are represented most frequently in open spaces and in some social contexts (9.0 % and 7.2% respectively). Images of couples equally favour public and open spaces (3.6 % and 3.6 %). Heterosexual groups, which are almost exclusively family representations, are featured in home contexts (2.4%) and in the open air (3.0%).

The results of the analysis indicate that the context of home space is mostly associated with single female representations. Along with the connotation

146

of enclosed space associated with the lack of mobility, the context of home is probably meaningful for the construction of interpersonal communication between the represented person and the viewer. Indeed, representations of home spaces have a symbolic meaning of inviting the reader to the private space of a different person. Single men, in contrast, are most frequently associated with open and social spaces. Interestingly, women's representations mostly avoid identifying them as professionals or as individuals involved in some activities, exception made for the image of an actress holding a statuette (December 2005) and a woman painting a picture in the open air (December 2008). The majority of all representations in the studied tables of contents, however, is devoid of any particular context. Deemphasizing the meaning of contextual details makes these images appear generic, or potentially usable in multiple discourses.

4.2.4. Connections between texts and images

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are dominated by visual images. Proximate pictures establish patterns of connectivity with respect to hues, colour saturation, types of visual address, postures of portrayed models, and size and shape of picture frames. Connections between images and texts are considerably weaker as images often refer to feature articles announced on different pages of the table of contents. Connections between the two modes of communication are indicated through the same page numbers both on visual images and in feature article announcements. Thus, visual images appear to be quite self-sufficient and the onlooker is given considerable freedom to interpret the meaning of these images. In general, the visuals under discussion present a version of staged reality that is marked for aestheticism, artistry and high social status.

4.2.5. Fonts, colours and text alignment

This subsection considers the use of colours, fonts and text alignment in the tables of contents in *Karavan istorij.* These features of visual design are permanent across the studied issues and thus play a significant role in the articulation of the identity of the magazine and in the construction of readers' position.

The masthead of *Karavan istorij* consists of two lines: the first line contains the word *Karavan* and, the next line is a word *istorij* (Figure 4-2). The word *Karavan* is relatively sizeable and expanded in the upper central part of the page layout. These letters use minimal serifs, are relatively narrow and display an upward orientation, which signifies authority, style and creativity. The word *istorij* is quite small and occupies the space below the first letter *K* in the above line. This word uses a more common bold rounded squat font that is also used in the contents. The masthead is immediately visible and effective due to its size, font and red colour. The colour of red symbolically stands for power, status and emotionality. According to Burgoon and Saine (1978), red colour in the environment suggests the following moods: "hot," "affectionate," "angry," "defiant," "contrary," "hostile," "full of vitality," "excitement," "love." Red is repeated in the titles of rubrics, whereas the other fonts in the tables of contents are black. Since *Karavan istorij* is concerned with stories of celebrities, most of its titles contain names of different people that are followed by quotations or excerpts from related texts. These excerpts tend to read as pieces from autobiographies. Accordingly, these utilize italics and, to a certain extent, imitate handwriting.

The basic properties of colour, that is, hue, value and saturation, are differently used in images in *Karavan istorij* table of contents. The first half of the table of contents typically uses highly saturated vibrant colours, whereas images in the second half tend to display low saturation. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 233) note that the key affordance of saturation "lies in its ability to express emotive 'temperatures,' kinds of affect. It is the scale that runs from maximum intensity of feeling to maximally subdued, maximally toned-down, indeed neutralized feeling." Furthermore, "high saturation may be positive, exuberant, adventurous, but also vulgar or garish. Low saturation may be subtle and tender, but also cold and repressed, or brooding and moody." In *Karavan istorij,* highly saturated images convey affective meanings and elicit an emotional response. These images are linked to the present moment. Images that are low in saturation,

in contrast, tend to make references to personalities and events of the past and incline the viewer to contemplation and reflection.

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* take the middle vertical position and are surrounded by images on both sides or also on top or at the bottom. The text is symmetrically centered so that both its edges are ragged. According to Machin and Niblock (2008, 254), this type of alignment suggests a high degree of formality. Furthermore, the excerpts in italics are fully devoted to various famous people and do not imply a reader's active participation. Rather, the constructed role of the reader is that of an inquisitive observer.

4.2.6. Summary of analysis of *Karavan istorij* tables of contents

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are highly visualized, so that images take the most of the space in each page layout. The correspondence of images and texts appears to be secondary to the visual design. Indeed, photographs are arranged in a way that reveals patterns of connectivity between them and not necessarily between instances of text and images. All of these images are framed and relatively equally sized, which makes the portrayed personae appear in the centre of the viewer's attention.

A prevalent pattern of constructed interpersonal communication, particularly in the representations of single women and men (i.e. the majority of representations), involves direct eye contact, horizontal oblique angle and social distance. Direct eye contact and a horizontal angle invite the viewer's involvement and solidarity with a depicted person. Close social distance is comfortable between people in formal relations and between acquaintances.

The abundance of stories of foreign celebrities suggests gravitation toward Western models that are often associated with individualism and personal freedom. Accordingly, the visual space is dominated by images of single women and men that are often devoid of any particular setting.

Photographic projects shape an important part of the content of *Karavan istorij.* These projects tend to represent an idealized and stylized world. The

magazine presents a version of symbolic reality that is defined by aestheticism, artistry and high social status.

4.3. Tables of contents in *Samaja*

The overall structure of tables of contents in *Samaja* is somewhat similar to that in *Krest'janka* in that its tables of contents announce issue themes and make references to recurring events. This section discusses the order and content of rubrics (4.3.1), issue themes (4.3.2), interpersonal communication in verbal text (4.3.3), considers features of visual design (4.3.4), connections between texts and images (4.3.5) and discusses the use of fonts and colours (4.3.6) in tables of contents in *Samaja*.

4.3.1. Order and content of rubrics

Samaja is a magazine of a women's advisory type that covers such topics as beauty, career, psychology, raising children, home and cooking. Due to changes in the editorial board, tables of contents published after March 2007 slightly differ from previous issues of *Samaja*. In particular, tables of contents published since March 2007 are two-page spreads that feature new rubrics in addition to already existing ones: *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme,' *Kar'era i den'gi* 'Career and money,' *Deti i roditeli* 'Children and parents.' A complete table of contents, including pre-and post-March 2007 issues, consists of the following rubrics:

(1) *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme'

(2) *Krasota i moda* 'Beauty and fashion'

(3) *Psixologija i žizn'* 'Psychology and life'

(4) *Kar'era i den'gi* 'Career and money'

(5) *Zdorov'e i otdyx* 'Health and rest'

(6) *Deti i roditeli* 'Children and parents'

(7) *Dom i kuxnja* 'Home and cooking.'

Changes in the structure of tables of contents reflect a shift in the focus of the magazine. Thus, the opening rubric in the pre-March 2007 issues of *Samaja* used to be *Psixologija* 'Psychology' or *Psixologija i žizn'* 'Psychology and life' and

involved materials on various aspects of interpersonal relations. Among these publications, the rubric 'issue theme' was introduced only in the table of contents of September 2006. Since March 2007, *Tema nomera* 'issue theme' is the opening rubric in each table of contents. It has a specific title and introduces feature articles devoted to this theme. Although this rubric also announces numerous materials on interpersonal relations, it is more focused and interactive than its former counterpart *Psixologija* 'Psychology' or *Psixologija i žizn'* 'Psychology and life.' The former rubric, in its turn, announces materials about psychological, cultural and social aspects of life. Furthermore, this rubric features stories about Russian and foreign celebrities. As a women's advisory magazine, *Samaja* offers practical advice in different areas of life as reflected in rubric titles.

       Samaja values a two-way communication with its readership. Towards the end of each table of contents, a rubric *V každom nomere* 'In each issue' is featured. It announces various materials that are not included in the body of a table of contents. The top two lines read *Pis'mo redaktora* 'Letter from the editor' and *Pis'ma čitatelej* 'Letters from readers.' This column also highlights *Tol'ko dlja čitatelej žurnala: Klub "Samaja"* 'Only for the readers of the magazine: Club "Samaja."' These titles emphasize the importance of communication between the magazine and its readership.

4.3.2. Issue themes

       An issue theme structures a table of contents and highlights selected editorial materials. In *Samaja*, this rubric is also salient thanks to a prominent visual image that illustrates one of the features in this rubric. The September 2006 issue is the only one among the studied issues published before March 2007 that announces the issue theme. It involves two feature articles under the heading of issue theme (4.14-4.15):

       (4.14) *Čužix detej ne byvaet* [ENGAGEMENT: deny] (issue theme):

       Usynovlenie: problemy i rešenija (article title) (*Samaja*, September 2006).

       'There are no somebody else's children [ENGAGEMENT: deny] (issue theme): Adoption: problems and solutions (article title).'

(4.15) *Svoj sredi čužix?* [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] *Adaptacija usynovlënnogo rebenka* (article title)

'Insider among strangers? [ENGAGEMENT: entertain] Adaptation of an adopted child' (ibid.).

Examples 4.14 and 4.15 introduce editorial materials devoted to the social issue of child adoption in Russia. These excerpts, to a certain extent, give voice to adopted children and problematize the question of adoption itself.

The post-March 2007 publications of *Samaja* regularly feature issue themes. March issue themes tend to focus on relations between women and men. Consider example 4.16:

(4.16) *100 mifov, kotorye <u>my</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *oprovergli* (issue theme): *Legendy o džentl'menax* (article title). *Sdelano za granicej. Brak: Počemu inostrancy ne lučšie muž'ja*[30] (article title) (*Samaja*, March 2007).

'100 myths that <u>we</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] have disproved (issue theme): Legends about gentlemen (article title). Made abroad. Wedlock: Why are foreigners not the best husbands (article title).'

The issue theme in (4.16) announces shattering myths, including those about gentlemen and international marriages. The personal pronoun *my* 'we' is used to signal the authority of the editorial board.

September issues of *Samaja* typically announce some articles related to the beginning of a new school year (4.17):

(4.17) *<u>Xoču</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *učit'sja!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (issue theme): *Special'nye stranicy: Šest' učebnyx centrov rasskazyvajut o svoix programmax. Skidki na obučenie* (article title) (*Samaja*, September 2007).

---

[30] The word *brak* 'wedlock' is also a homonym of 'flaw, defect' in Russian.

'I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] want to study! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (issue theme): Special pages: Six learning centres talk about their programs. Tuition discounts (article title).

The issue theme in (4.17) uses a first-person address and invites the reader's identification with the aspiration to study. The article title in (4.17) announces practical information for readers interested in continuing education. This title is associated with a relatively large unframed image of a woman in the centre of the layout who is holding a stack of books.

December publications of *Samaja* routinely publish articles that relate to New Year holidays. Consider example 4.18:

(4.18) *51 sekret udačnyx podarkov* (issue theme): *Ustroj sebe* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *prazdnik* (article title) (*Samaja*, December 2007).
'Fifty-one secrets of good presents (issue theme): Pamper yourself [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] (article title).'

The issue theme title in (4.18) relates to the custom of exchanging gifts on a New Year eve. The article title reminds the reader that she should reward herself as well.

Issue themes in *Samaja*, similarly to those in *Krest'janka*, do not regularly focus on seasonal events. However, these events are typically mentioned in some other rubrics. Consider example (4.19):

(4.19) *Krasota i moda* (rubric title): *Edem* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (imperative)] *otdyxat'!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] *5 variantov odeždy dlja otpuska* (article title) (*Samaja*, June 2008).
'Beauty and fashion (rubric title): We are going (also 'let us go') [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive (imperative)] on vacation! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] Five clothing options for vacation (article title).'

The article title in (4.19) reminds about the beginning of vacation season. The use of *edem* 'we are going' in the exclamatory sentence implies a call for collective action. The announced editorial material appears in the rubric on beauty and fashion. Tables of contents in *Samaja*, as well as in *Krest'janka*, follow the calendar and remind the readership about the highlights of each season.

4.3.3. Interpersonal communication and subject positioning in verbal text

Headlines in tables of contents in *Samaja*, especially in those published since March 2007, are considerably more interactive than those in *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij.* Indeed, a table of contents in *Samaja* uses numerous exclamatory, interrogative, imperative and dialogic structures that serve to engage the reader and to construct subject positions. Furthermore, evaluative lexis and various involvement strategies are abundant in these tables of contents.

Exclamatory constructions emphasize the meaning of propositions and are often associated with evaluations. Consider example 4.20-4.21:

(4.20) *Zdorov'e i otdyx* (rubric title): <u>*Lučšij*</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] *gorod na zemle!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] *Rasskaz pro Uglič* (article title) (*Samaja,* June 2008)

'Health and leisure (rubric title): <u>The best</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] town on earth! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] A tale of Uglich' (article title).

(4.21) *Tri vozrasta ženščiny* (issue theme): <u>*Budu*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] <u>*večno molodoj*</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (article title) (ibid.).

'Three ages of a woman (issue theme): <u>I will be</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] <u>young forever</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (article title).

Example 4.20 uses the superlative *lučšij* 'the best' as an attribute of the town of Uglich. The exclamatory structure expresses an emotional engagement with the truth value of the proposition. In (4.21), the evaluation *večno molodoj* 'forever

young' and the implied reader's position expressed with the help of the first-person address are conveyed in the form of an exclamation. In general, exclamations are used to voice the reader's perspective, to alert and to motivate the reader to commit certain acts.

Imperative constructions use exclamatory marks particularly frequently. Consider example 4.22:

(4.22) *Deti i roditeli* (rubric title): <u>*Deržim*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] <u>*spinku*</u> [INVOLVEMENT: diminutive] *prjamo! Gramotnyj podxod k pravil'noj osanke* (article title) (*Samaja,* March 2008).

'Children and parents (rubric title): <u>[We] keep</u> (also 'let us keep') [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] our <u>back</u> [INVOLVEMENT: diminutive] straight! Competent approach to the right posture (article title).'

The words *Deržim spinku priamo!* '[We] keep our back (diminutive) straight!' in (4.22) imitate a conversation with a small child, which is often marked by the use of diminutives and 'we-inclusive' imperative forms. This type of address allows to mitigate a request and to convey solidarity.

Interrogative constructions occur in dialogic structures that imitate a dialogue between the magazine and the reader. Consider example 4.23:

(4.23) *51 sekret udačnyx podarkov* (issue theme): *Al'ternativnye dary:* <u>*Xotite*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal] *prezentovat' den'gi?* <u>*Bud'te*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal (imperative)] *original'ny!* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality; exclamation] (article title) (*Samaja*, December 2007).

''Fifty-one secrets of good presents (issue theme): Alternative gifts: <u>Do you want</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal] to give money as a gift? <u>Be</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal (imperative)] creative! [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality; exclamation] (article title).'

In (4.23), a question-answer structure is used. An imaginary question about the appropriateness of giving money as a gift is posed. This idea is negatively

evaluated as lacking creativity. Example 4.23 uses an imaginary dialogue to constructs a two-way communication with the reader.

Evaluative expressions participate in the construction of interpersonal communication. These expressions are potentially subjective and aim to evoke solidarity on the reader's part. Consider example (4.24):

(4.24) *Iskusstvo* [APPRECIATION: valuation] *byt' mamoj* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (issue theme): *Glavnaja* [GRADUATION: force] *rol'* (rubric title) (*Samaja,* September 2008).

'The art of [APPRECIATION: valuation] being a mother [IDENTIFICATION: personal (relational)] (issue theme): The main [GRADUATION: force] role' (rubric title).

In (4.24), the concept of motherhood is positively evaluated and is seen as the most important woman's role. Both words *iskusstvo* 'art' and *glavnaja* 'main' imply the highest degree or quality and thus connote the meaning of exceptionality.

In *Samaja* tables of contents, evaluations that imply prescriptiveness are relatively frequent. Consider examples 4.25-4.26:

(4.25) *Deti i roditeli* (rubric title): *Rebënok* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *v strane čudes: Pravil'noe* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *otnošenie k detskoj vere v čudo* (*Samaja,* December 2007).

'Children and parents (rubric title): A child [IDENTIFICATION: relational] in wonderland: The right [JUDGEMENT: normality] attitude towards a child's belief in miracles (article title).'

(4.26) *Ustroj sebe* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *prazdnik* (issue theme): *Iskusstvo* [APPRECIATION: valuation] *gostepriimstva: Kak pravil'no prinimat' gostej* [JUDGEMENT: normality] (article title) (*Samaja,* December 2008).

'Pamper yourself [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] (issue theme): The art of [APPRECIATION: valuation] hospitality: How to be a good hostess [JUDGEMENT: normality] (article title).'

The evaluative expression *pravil'noe otnošenie* 'the right attitude' in (4.25) and *kak pravil'no prinimat' gostej* 'how to be a good hostess' in (4.26) suggest that there exist certain norms that should guide an individual's behaviour. These expressions contract the discursive space for alternative positions and invite the reader to accept the implied norms at their face value.

As a women's advisory magazine, *Samaja* frequently uses introductions starting with a question word. Consider example 4.27:

(4.27) *Kar'era i den'gi* (rubric title): *Ispytanie vremenem: Kak <u>gramotno</u>* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *projti ispytatel'nyj srok?* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title) (*Samaja*, March 2008).

'Career and money (rubric title): The test of time: How to pass [your] probation period <u>in a competent manner</u> [JUDGEMENT: normality]? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title).'

Example 4.27 uses the question word *kak* 'how to' in the article titles to establish communication with the reader and to suggest that there is a solution to the presented issue. This example is similar to (4.25) and (4.26) in that it tackles a real life issue and promises a feasible way to manage it.

Personalized mode of communication (i.e. 'I/we' and 'you' address forms) allows to mitigate the prescriptiveness of some entries. Consider examples 4.28-4.29:

(4.28) <u>*Xoču*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *učit'sja!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (issue theme): <u>*Gotovim*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] *k škole <u>malyša</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (article title) (*Samaja,* September 2007).

'<u>I</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] want to study! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (issue theme): '[<u>We</u>] prepare [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] a <u>child</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] for school (article title).'

(4.29) *Kar'era i den'gi* (rubric title): *Kar'era posle tridcati: Tri varianta <u>vašego</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal] *razvitija* (article title) (*Samaja,* June 2008).

157

'Career and money (rubric title): Career after thirty: Three variants of your [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/formal] development (article title).'

Example 4.28 uses a first-person address form *gotovim* 'we prepare' which codifies solidarity among those readers whose children are preparing to enter school. It is also an alternative way to offer advice (i.e. how to prepare a child for school). The reader is addressed directly with the help of *vašego* 'your' (respectful/formal) in (4.29). This example foregrounds the reader's agency while offering possible ways of career development after thirty.

In contrast to *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij*, *Samaja* occasionally uses informal address forms. Consider examples 4.30-4.31:

(4.30) *Krasota i moda* (rubric title): *Vernym kursom: Čto nadet,' esli ty* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] *prepodavatel'?* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title) (*Samaja,* September 2007).
'Beauty and fashion (rubric title): On the right track: What to wear if you are [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] a teacher? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality]' (article title).

(4.31) *Psixologija i žizn'* (rubric title): *Mužskoj vzgljad: moja vtoraja mama* [IDENTIFICATION: relational]: *Kak oni otnosjatsja k tvoim* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] *roditeljam?* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title) (*Samaja,* September 2007).
'Psychology and life (rubric title): Men's perspective: my second mother [IDENTIFICATION: relational]: How do they treat your [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] parents? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title).'

Examples 4.30 and 4.31 establish informal communication with the reader with the help of second-person singular address forms. These terms of address suggest closeness between the reader and the author. Presumably, this mode of communication points to a relatively young age of the addressee. However, the intended addressee is identified as a professional woman (i.e. *prepodavatel'* 'teacher' in (4.30)) and as a family person whose significant other is expected to

develop relations with her parents (4.31). *Moja vtoraja mama* 'my second mother' in (4.31) stands for mother-in-law; *mama* 'mother' is frequently used in Russia to address the wife's or husband's mother.

The target addressee is largely constructed as relational in *Samaja* tables of contents. Titles of particular editorial materials allow to infer various types of relationships the target reader is supposedly committed to. Consider examples 4.32:

> (4.32) *Psixologija* (rubric title): <u>*Moja vtoraja mama*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational]: *Kak užit'sja so <u>svekrov'ju</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: relational]*?* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title). *Postarajtes' ponjat' <u>svekrov'</u> – u vas mnogo občšego, ved' vy <u>ljubite</u>* [AFFECT: affection] *odnogo i togo že mužčinu* (signature line) (*Samaja,* March 2006).
>
> '<u>My second mother</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (rubric title): How to get along with your <u>mother-in-law </u>(i.e. husband's mother) [IDENTIFICATION: relational]? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (article title). Try to understand your <u>mother-in-law</u> – you have a lot in common, after all, you <u>love</u> [AFFECT: affection] the same man (signature line).'

Example 4.32 constructs the addressee in relation to her mother-in-law. The need to get along with the husband's mother is emphasized in the article title. The image that is associated with the title in (4.32) features a close-up of two women, an elderly and a young woman, looking closely at each other. They are positioned in profile to the viewer. The signature line that accompanies this image (4.32) calls for the reader's understanding and acceptance of her mother-in-law. It implies that a young woman should make a step forward. This implied behaviour reflects socially accepted age distance and the need to respect it.

Samaja uses the tone of an intimate friend to introduce some of its editorial materials. The words *sekrety* 'secrets, tricks,' *tajny* 'secrets, mysteries' and the like mark this register. Words that come from English signal that the intended addressee is familiar with this code. Consider example 4.33-4.34:

(4.33) *Tri vozrasta ženščiny* (issue theme): *Taktika makijaža: <u>sekrety</u> <u>mejkapa</u>* [INVOLVEMENT: closeness] *v raznom vozraste* (article title) (*Samaja,* June 2008).

 'Three ages of a woman (issue theme): Make-up tactics: <u>make-up</u> [INVOLVEMENT: closeness] <u>secrets</u> at different ages (article title).'

(4.34) *Ustroj sebe prazdnik* (issue theme): *Novogodnee revju: V čëm pojti na <u>party</u>* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality; closeness]*? Šest' idej* (article title) (*Samaja,* December 2008).

'Pamper yourself (issue theme): New Year revue: What to put on for a party? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality; closeness] Six ideas (article title).'

Example 4.33 uses the word *sekrety* 'secrets' which conveys the concept of confidence and sharing. The English words *mejkap* 'make-up' in (4.33) and *party* (uses English spelling) in (4.34) are INVOLVEMENT resources that help shape the target addressee as young and educated.[31] These examples illustrate that the target reader is expected to have some knowledge of English.

At the end of a table of contents, there is a postscript that directly addresses readers and invites them to participate in *Samaja's* discussions available online. A sense of *Samaja* community is reinforced with the readers' letters published at the beginning of each issue and a comparatively long letter from the editor. In sum, the reader's position is largely constructed as relational: the intended reader is committed to relationships with her husband, children, extended family, and *Samaja* community.

4.3.4. Visual design

Tables of contents in *Samaja* are mainly two-page spreads that are both verbally and visually driven. Visual images illustrate some of the headlines that announce editorial materials. A layout template is presented in (Figure 4-3). Since the textual structure (i.e. the order and content of rubrics) and the spatial

---

[31] *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij* also use words from English, however, those instances occur less frequently than in *Samaja*.

organization of visual images are slightly variable, the template presents an averaged table of contents.
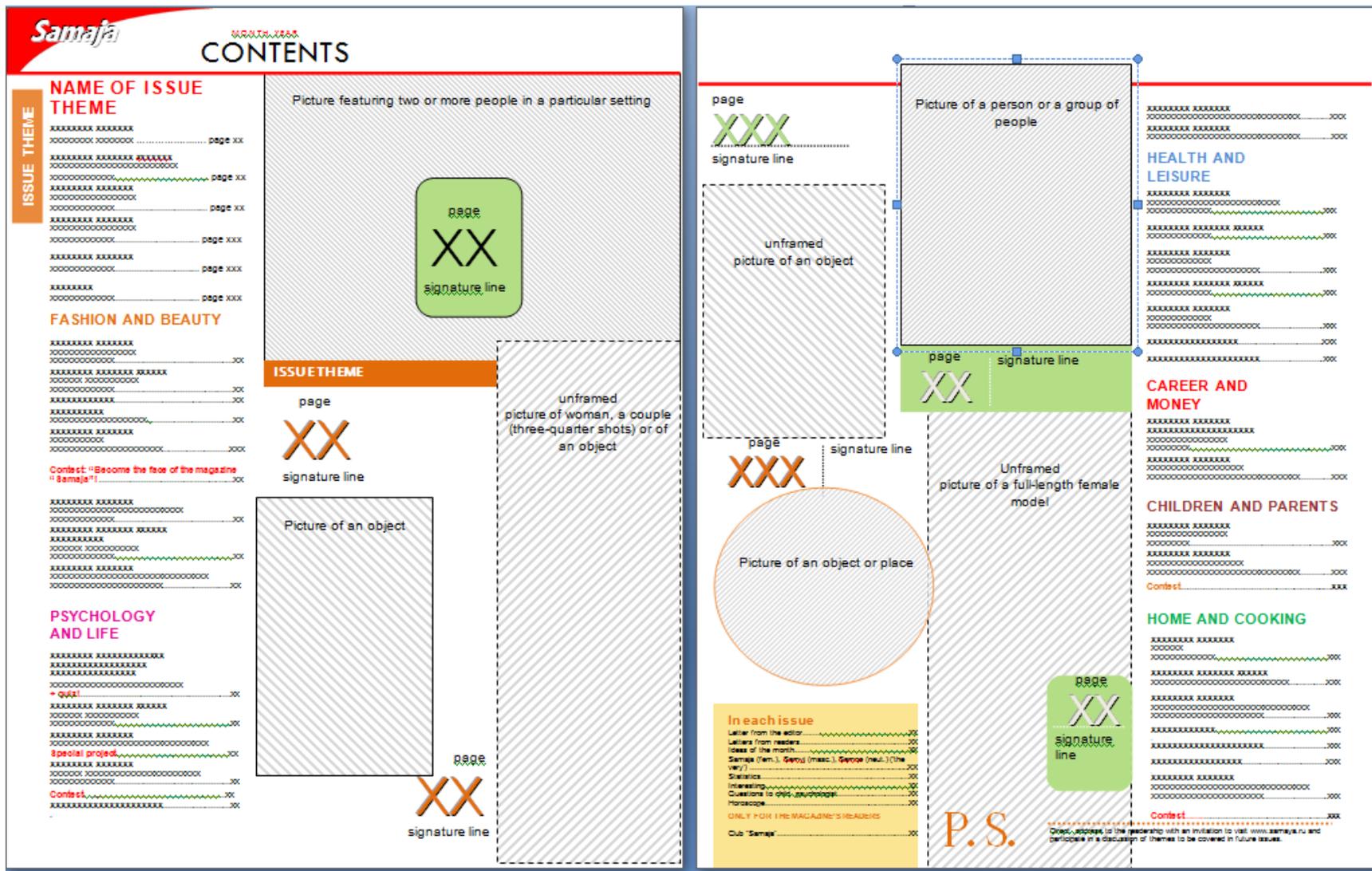
Figure 4-3. Template of *Samaja* tables of contents

The visual structure of a table of contents in *Samaja* consists of two columns of written text along the left and the right margins of a two-page spread and of visual images between them. These images duplicate and highlight particular features presented in the table of contents. Connections between them can be established based on coinciding page numbers and similarities between the announcements of editorial materials and signature lines that accompany visual images.

The spatial organization of visual images in tables of contents in *Samaja* appears less structured and balanced than in *Krest'janka* and in *Karavan istorij.* Indeed, these images vary with respect to their shape, relative size and framing. Furthermore, visual images in *Samaja* are placed close to each other so that the space between them is quite limited. This visual mosaic produces a busy and dynamic environment and mitigates hierarchical relations.

Some of the visual images are framed and display or imply a particular setting, whereas others are unframed and appear to transcend the space of the layout. Images that are linked to a specific story tend to use some context, whereas images that represent a concept or idea are often unframed and context-free.

In *Samaja*, similarly to *Krest'janka,* some tables of contents feature an unframed full-height image of a female model (7 out of 13). These images typically illustrate titles of feature articles on style and fashion. These are explicitly linked to particular editorial materials through coinciding page numbers and similar signature lines. In *Samaja*, representations of female models tend not to dominate the layout with respect to their relative size and spatial positioning.

Visually salient images in *Samaja* tables of contents consistently occupy the top left position (Figure 4-3). These images are salient with respect to their relative size, framing, the top position and spatial proximity to the opening rubric *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme.' In fact, these images illustrate editorial materials announced within the issue theme rubric. Table 4-5 summarizes the types of visual representations that appear in the top left position in *Samaja* tables of contents. Accompanying signature lines and associated feature article

163

announcements are also presented. This table considers the issues of *Samaja* that feature the rubric *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme' (i.e. September 2006 and March 2007 – December 2008).

Table 4-5. Visual representations in the top left position in *Samaja* tables of contents (Figure 4-3)

Issue	Visual representation	Signature line	Issue theme title and/or article title
Sep.2006	A man and a woman are smiling and looking at a small child. The woman holds the child gently; the man is holding a small girl who is also looking at the infant.	*Rebënok obretaet novuju sem'ju... Kak stat' dlja nego nastojačšimi roditeljami?* 'A child is finding a new family... How to become his/her true parents?'	*Tema nomera. Čužix detej ne byvaet. Usynovlenie: problemy i rešenija.* 'Issue theme. There are no somebody else's children. Adoption: problems and solutions.'
Mar.2007	The close-up of a smiling young woman with blond hair.	*Tema nomera. Oni ljubjat blondinok! I ešče 10 glavnyx zabluždenij o mužčinax.* 'Issue theme. They like blonds! And 10 more myths about men.'	*100 mifov, kotorye my oprovergli. Legendy o džentl'menax.* '100 myths that we have disproved. Legends about gentlemen.'
June2007	A small child is playing at the seaside.	*Detej v oxapku i na more! Izučite naš kratkij putevoditel'dlja putešestvujuščix roditelej – i otpusk s malyšom projdët <u>na ura</u>!* (colloquial) 'Grab your kids and [go] to the seaside! Learn our brief guide for travelling parents – and your vacation with a baby will be a success!'	*Zdorov'je i otdyx.* *Detskij raj: Ili kuda poexat' s malyšom.* 'Health and leisure [rubric title]. Child's paradise: Or where to go with a baby.'
Sep.2007	The panorama of a sunny seaside with people enjoying themselves under straw-roofed umbrellas; a chef is standing in the foreground with food in his hands and food placed in front of him.	*Na suše i na more. Čto nužno uspet' sdelat' v Tunise.* 'On dry land and on the sea. What one should manage to do in Tunisia.'	*Zdorov'e i otdyx.* *8 veščej, kotorye nado sdelat' v Tunise.* 'Health and leasure [rubric title]. 8 things that one should do in Tunisia.'

Dec.2007	A woman and a man are performing on ice; spectators are in the background.	*Na paru! Dvojnoe interv'ju geroev šou "Lednikovyj period"!* 'In pair! The double interview of the participants of the show "The Ice Age."'	*Psixologija i žizn.'* *Alisa Grebenščikova: "Ja rešila, čto dolžna poljubit' Lëšu." Eksključzivnoe interv'ju.* 'Psychology and life [rubric title]. Alisa Grebenščikova: "I decided that I needed to fall in love with Lëša." Exclusive interview.'
Mar.2008	The close-up of a young woman looking at a man at a close distance and the back of the head of the man.	*Tema nomera. Kak ponravit'sja ljubimomu?Tože ešče binom N'jutona! Izučajte naš kratkij kurs obajanija i dejstvujte!* 'How to make you beloved enamored of you? What Newton's binom! [ironically: charming a man is not as complicated as Newton's binominal formula]. Learn our brief charm course and act!'	*Kak ponravit'sja ljubimomu? Kratkij kurs obajanija.* 'How to make you beloved enamored of you? A brief charm course.'
June2008	The close-up of a suntanned woman with blond hair against the blue sky.	*Tema nomera. Tri vozrasta ženščiny! Kak delat' mejkap, kakoj stil' odeždy vybrat' i, glavnoe, kak ostavat'sja energičnoj v ljubom vozraste!* 'Issue theme: Three ages of a woman! How to do a make-up, what style to choose and, importantly, how to stay active at any age!'	*Tri vozrasta ženščiny. Taktika makijaža: sekrety mejkapa v raznom vozraste.* 'Three ages of a woman. Make-up tactics: make-up secrets at different ages.'
Sep.2008	A young woman is leaning over a small child; they both smile to each other.	*Tema nomera: Iskusstvo byt' mamoj. Vmeste s ekspertami my poprobovali otvetit' na složnejšij vopros: kak byt' xorošej mamoj?* 'Issue theme: The art of being a mother. Together with experts we tried to answer the hardest question: how to be a good mother?'	*Iskusstvo byt' mamoj.* 'The art of being a mother.'
Dec.2008	A three-quarter shot of a young woman in casual clothes serving drinks to her guests; other people's figures are seen.	*Tema nomera:Ustroj sebe prazdnik!* *Pora gotovit'sja k Novomu godu! Golova idët krugom? Čitajte naši sovety, i vaš prazdnik udastsja!* 'Issue theme: Pamper yourself! It is time to prepare for New Year celebration! Is your head spinning around? Read our advice, and your celebration will be a success!'	*Iskusstvo gostepriimstva: Kak pravil'no prinimat' gostej.* 'The art of hospitality. How to be a good hostess.'

Although images that occupy a top left position in *Samaja* tables of contents tend to illustrate issue theme editorial materials, the issues of June, September and December 2007 feature images belonging to other rubrics (i.e. *Zdorov'je i otdyx* 'Health and leisure' and *Psixologija i žizn'* 'Psychology and life'). In fact, the rubric *Psixologija i žizn'* used to open tables of contents published before March 2007, except the September 2006 issue.

The outlined visual images and associated verbal messages in Table 4-5 supposedly introduce particularly meaningful and valuable editorial materials. Topics reviving around relations between women and men (March 2007, December 2007, and March 2008) and themes linked to parenthood (September 2006, June 2007, September 2008) are most frequently addressed. Social life (December 2008), entertainment (December 2007), vacation (September 2007) and personal care (June 2008) also form points of interest.

Signature lines and announcements of articles specify visually expressed meanings. It is noteworthy that signature lines are considerably more interactive and personalized than announcements of editorial materials. Consider example 4.35:

> (4.35) *Pora gotovit'sja k Novomu godu!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation]
> *Golova idët krugom? <u>Čitajte</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective
> (imperative)] <u>*naši*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *sovety, i <u>vaš</u>*
> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] *prazdnik udastsja!* [INVOLVEMENT:
> dialogicality] (signature line) (*Samaja*, December 2008).

> It is time to prepare for New Year celebration! [INVOLVEMENT:
> exclamation] Is [your] head spinning around? <u>Read</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy'
> collective (imperative)] <u>our</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] advice,
> and <u>your</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' collective] celebration will be a success!
> [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (signature line).'

Signature line in (4.35) accompanies the image that features a young woman who is busy serving her guests. The signature line negotiates solidarity with readers by way of constructing an imaginary mini dialogue that extensively uses

166

IDENTIFICATION and INVOLVEMENT resources. The exclamation *Čitajte naši sovety, i vaš prazdnik udastsja!* 'Read our advice, and your celebration will be a success!' uses a plural address form and targets the entire readership. The signature line (4.35) and the described visual image illustrate the article title discussed earlier in (4.26). This title *Iskusstvo gostepriimstva: Kak pravil'no prinimat' gostej* 'The art of hospitality: How to be a good hostess' avoids addressing the reader directly and conveys the meaning of prescriptiveness and obligation to conform to social expectations.

Another example of the verbal-visual interplay relates to the topic of summer vacation (4.36):

(4.36) *Detej v oxapku i na more!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation; closeness] *Izučite naš* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *kratkij putevoditel' dlja putešestvujuščix roditelej* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *– i otpusk s malyšom projdët na ura!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation; closeness] (signature line);

Zdorov'je i otdyx (rubric title): *Detskij raj: Ili kuda poexat' s malyšom* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (article title) (*Samaja,* June 2007).

'Grab your kids and [go] to the seaside! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation; closeness] Learn our [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] brief guide for travelling parents [IDENTIFICATION: relational] – and your vacation with a baby will be a great success! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation; closeness] (signature line);

Health and leisure (rubric title): Children's paradise: Or where to go with a baby [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (article title).'

This signature line in (4.36) negotiates solidarity with the readership by way of using an elliptical exclamatory construction *Detej v oxapku i na more!* 'Grab your kids and [go] to the seaside!' and the colloquial expressions *v oxapku* 'grab' and *na ura* 'with a great success' (*ura* means 'hurray' in Russian). This line identifies the editorial board with the help of *naš kratkij putevoditel'* 'our brief guide' and

the readership as *putešestvujuščix roditelej* 'travelling parents.' It accompanies the image of a small child playing at the seaside. The corresponding article title (4.36) uses relational identification of the reader and suggests advice as to vacation destinations for families with small children.

The analysis of visual representations and verbal messages in *Samaja* tables of contents demonstrates that the magazine tends to project a joyful and optimistic attitude onto its readership. The motto of *Samaja* on the front cover above the masthead reads *Vdoxnovljaet, pomagaet, sovetuet* 'Inspires, helps, advises.' In line with this motto, *Samaja* tables of contents offer a wealth of practical advice that aims to inspire and help by way of focusing on solutions.

4.3.5. Connections between texts and images

The visual design of *Samaja* tables of contents appears less orderly than that of *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij*. Images occupy the centre of a double-page spread. These are differently shaped, framed and contextualized, which creates an irregular and busy environment (Figure 4-3).

Visual images are related to corresponding verbal announcements with the help of identical page numbers and similar verbal announcements that accompany visual images. Connections between images and corresponding feature article announcements can be also established based on spatial proximity and associated elements in texts and images. For instance, the December 2007 table of contents features the heading *Gde vstretit' Roždestvo? Idei dlja otdyxa po vsemu miru* 'Where to celebrate Christmas? Vacation ideas all over the world.' The associated visual image depicts Prague, which suggests an answer to the posed question. Dialogic and associative connections are common between pieces of texts and between texts and images. In sum, corresponding visual images and verbal announcements are unambiguously linked to each other in *Samaja* tables of contents. Navigation paths of different orders signal these links.

4.3.6. Fonts, colours and text alignment

In tables of contents, the masthead of *Samaja*, similarly to that of *Krest'janka,* is placed in the left upper corner (Figure 4-3 above). The title uses

168

bold, italicized, rounded letters without serifs and other flourishes. These letters stand close to each other and display a slight upward orientation. The interpersonal meaning encoded by this masthead is that of closeness, solidarity and modernity.

The text of the table of contents has even left margins and ragged right ones. The title of each rubric uses a different colour, which makes each of them stand out. The letters in these titles are bold, expanded and moderately spaced out. This font type, similarly to that in *Krest'janka* table of contents, helps foreground the rubrics and make them appear stable, solid and reliable. The titles within the rubrics use clear plain, relatively small fonts. The spacing between these titles is quite small, which makes the text appear dense and concentrated. This type of text alignment and the spatial organization of visual images (i.e. irregular with respect to their size, framing and occupied space) produce a busy and lively environment.

Some rubrics in *Samaja* feature blurbs *Konkurs* 'Contest,' which also contributes to creating an entertaining environment. These are highlighted in red and shape an alternative reading path. The abundance of these blurbs and widely used exclamatory, interrogative and imperative constructions signal the magazine's interactive mode and signal close informal relations with the addressee.

Machin and Niblock (2008, 250) formulate a rule originating from marketing research that "lower socio-economic groups would prefer newspaper or magazine cover that were busy and lively, whereas higher socio-economic groups would prefer newspaper or magazine covers that were more spacious and conceptual." In comparison to *Samaja*, tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* and in *Krest'janka* are considerably more spacious and regular, which also coveys formality versus orientation toward entertainment. Space also implies luxury (2008, 257).

4.3.7. Summary of analysis of tables of contents in *Samaja*

The studied tables of contents in *Samaja* utilize various multimodal discursive strategies that help produce an interactive reader-centred environment. Active interpersonal communication helps engage the reader and elicit a response. Solidarity strategies are incorporated particularly frequently in *Samaja*. Thus, the connotations of collective actions, inclusion and intimate friendly communication are used to introduce some editorial materials. Readers' participation is also invited through the use of imperative, interrogative and exclamatory structures. Involvement strategies, including elliptical constructions, colloquialisms and foreign words, are also frequent in the discourse of *Samaja* tables of contents.

The language of evaluation personalizes verbal messages and specifies the intended meanings of visual representations. In general, announcements of editorial materials and signature lines that accompany images are largely value-laden. Thus, the use of English words is an involvement strategy that helps shape the target addressee as educated, young and receptive to novelty. Furthermore, the identity of the target addressee is largely constructed as relational in *Samaja* tables of contents. This is achieved through the mentions of the reader's family members, loved ones, and friends. These particular mentions construct the reader's position from the perspective of alignment, solidarity, and compassion. On a par with constructed commitment to interpersonal relationships, the reader is expected to be a devoted member of *Samaja* community. A sense of *Samaja* community is reinforced with the help of readers' letters to the editorial board and letters from the editor to the readership. The named strategies used in *Samaja* tables of contents help shape the identity of the target readership.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented results of the analysis of tables of contents in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja.* The tables of contents are analyzed with respect to the order and content of their rubrics, interpersonal communication,

visual design, and visual-verbal collaboration. Table 4-6 summarizes general

features of the studied tables of contents.[32]

Table 4-6. General features of tables of contents in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

Aspects of analysis	*Krest'janka*	*Karavan istorij*	*Samaja*
The order and content of rubrics	The order of rubrics coincides with the order of page numbers; rubrics cover general and women-oriented topics.	The order of rubrics does not coincide with the order of page numbers; rubrics announce stories of national and foreign celebrities.	The order of rubrics does not coincide with the order of page numbers; rubrics cover mainly women-oriented topics and focus on practical advice; titles of the 'how to...' type are common.
Issue themes	Loosely connected to seasonal events.	No issue themes announced.	Loosely connected to seasonal events.
Temporal orientation of editorial materials	Present and past	Present and past	Present and future
Subject positioning in verbal text	Negotiation of solidarity relations with the reader through involvement strategies, including metaphors and allusions to shared cultural resources; occasional use of interrogative and exclamatory structures.	Detached relations with the reader whose position is that of an observer; predominant use of the pronominals 'she,' 'he' and 'I.'	Negotiation of solidarity relations with the reader through involvement strategies, including conversational structures and terms of address; verbs encoding first person plural (*my* 'we') are common.
Interpersonal communication in images: o contact o social distance o attitude	Mostly framed images are used; these represent people and objects; bigger frames featuring people are usually 'demand' images; these tend to	Only framed images are used; almost exclusively these represent people; in the first half of a TOC: frequent use of 'demand' images that establish equality relations with the viewer (the same eye	Framed and unframed images mainly representing people are equally used; framed images usually feature two or more interacting people in some setting; personal

---

[32]   Please note that *Krest'janka* issues published from December 2005 to June 2008 are considered in Table 4-6.

	use personal distance; representations in smaller frames tend to be 'offer' images (people and objects); a big unframed image in the centre of a two-page layout is a full-height female model looking directly at the viewer; smaller unframed images are typically women's accessories and decor elements placed along the margins of the layout.	level) and signal affective meanings (e.g. through a smile); mostly personal and social distance constructed; the use of highly saturated colours; in the second half of a TOC: frequent use of 'demand' images that resemble studio photographic portraits; low in affective meanings; far personal and close social distance mainly used; moderately saturated and black and white colours; occasional images of interiors and landscapes without people.	and close social distance is used; unframed images are mainly full-height female models looking directly at the viewer ('demand' address); these images tend to be placed in the centre and at the bottom of a layout.
Visual/verbal interplay	Visually structured content where smaller images (the majority) are placed next to the corresponding titles; bigger images are placed in the centre of a layout and feature page numbers that coincide with the page numbers of corresponding titles.	Images dominate the layout and establish patterns of connectivity; verbal information is centred and surrounded by relatively big images; in general, there is no spatial proximity between images and corresponding titles. These often occupy different pages; images feature page numbers that coincide with the page numbers of corresponding titles.	Busy and unstructured layout that features framed and unframed images in the centre and verbal text on both sides of it; images feature page numbers that coincide with the page numbers of corresponding titles.

As Table 4-6 demonstrates, the structure and content of a table of contents present the essence of an issue and highlight selected editorial materials. This foregrounding is realized through a hierarchical positioning of rubrics and features in a table of contents and through the visual support of particular headlines.

The opening rubrics in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* announce issue themes. In *Krest'janka,* an issue theme is announced within the opening rubric *Ot serdca k serdcu* 'From heart to heart.' This feature is often concerned with some social phenomenon or issue. Other headlines in the rubric tend to announce in a personalized manner materials about famous public figures. In *Samaja*, *Tema nomera* 'Issue theme' is the title of the opening rubric. This involves headlines related to a proposed issue theme. In general, announced features are concerned both with some social issues and with advice on how to take care of oneself. *Karavan istorij*, conversely, opens with the rubric *Iskusstvo žit'* 'The art of living' that is no different from other rubrics in the magazine in that it announces stories of celebrities. Thus, *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* organize their discourses in a circular manner (i.e. address recurring social issues and seasonal events), whereas *Karavan istorij* follows a linear organization. Clearly, opening rubrics with leading feature articles foreground particular aspects of the world and help articulate the position of a magazine.

Spatial positioning of visual and textual elements influences how connectivity between them is perceived. Stronger connectivity between elements predicts their mutual influence in the process of meaning-making, whereas weaker connectivity suggests their relative autonomy. Accordingly, the reader's position is controlled for whereby image and text are closely associated. The reader's freedom to interpret is implied when connections between images and texts are deemphasized. The strongest visual-verbal connectivity features the discourse of *Samaja.* Indeed, images, signature lines and feature announcements complement each other and relate to real-life phenomena. In *Krest'janka,* the visual-verbal connectivity is weaker than in *Samaja.* The images along the margins of the layout feature no page numbers and signature lines. The salient visual images that are accompanied by these features may still require some background knowledge to decode their meaning. *Karavan istorij* avoids signature lines in tables of contents and thus gives the viewer considerable autonomy.

The temporal orientation of the magazines under study is also worth mentioning. Tables of contents in *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij* make reference to the past by way of telling stories of famous people who lived in the past. These materials are typically published at the end of an issue. *Samaja*, however, adheres to materials that are linked to the present and future.

With respect to visual design, a table of contents in *Karavan istorij* and that in *Krest'janka* are considerably more spacious and regular than in *Samaja*, which conveys formality versus orientation toward entertainment. Types of visual images used in these tables of contents also point to the orientation of a magazine. Both *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* feature unframed full-height images of female models. These decontextualized representations suggest that some editorial materials are concerned with beauty and fashion topics. *Karavan istorij,* conversely, publishes only framed images that represent identifiable public figures whose stories are told on the pages of an issue.

Chapter 5. Multimodal analysis of advertisements in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*[33]

Along with tables of contents and letters from the editor, advertisements shape a distinct type of discourse in women's magazines. Advertisements are elements that come from the outside in that it is advertisers who offer commercial materials for publication. Periodicals in turn significantly depend on advertising revenues. Contemporary women's magazines, in general, are virtually unthinkable of without advertising content. Along with editorial materials, ads shape the content of a periodical and participate in the construction of femininities.

This chapter presents results of the multimodal analysis of advertisements in *Krest'janka* (5.1), *Karavan istorij* (5.2), and *Samaja* (5.3). The analysis focuses on the construction of femininities. In what follows, sampling and coding procedures are discussed.

Sampling and coding

Advertisements published in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij*, and *Samaja* in the March, June, September and December issues for the period of December 2005-2008 are selected for analysis. In particular, women-oriented and gender-neutral messages that use visual and verbal address are subject to analysis. Advertising messages are classified as intended for a female audience if they portray (1) women and products intended for women, (2) products that can be used only by women, and (3) products intended for children[34]. Ads are classified as gender-neutral (1) if the key characters are a man and a woman or a group of people including women positioned in the foreground and (2) if the advertised product could potentially be used by both women and men. When the picture does not portray a gendered persona, the nature of a product and the referential gender are considered reliable factors.

---

[33] A version of this chapter has been provisionally accepted for publication in *Canadian Slavonic Papers* vol. 53, no. 2-3-4 (2011).
[34] Advertisements for products for children are assumed to be targeting women, since women are typically considered the primary caregivers and nurturers.

Analytical procedures

Advertisements are analyzed with respect to the criteria identified by Fairclough (1989):

1. Building relations: *synthetic personalization* (Fairclough 1989, 203) is used to bypass the unidirectional way of mass media communication, where the addressee is virtually unknown, yet each member of a target audience needs to be addressed as an individual to bridge the gap between an institution and an individual.

2. Building images: text and image are supposed to create a single unit of an advertisement. To be perceived as one whole, text and image need to be perceived as coherent entities. This is solely the task of the receiver to establish links between these two modes of communication to interpret the meaning of an ad.

3. Building the consumer: "constructing subject positions for consumers as members of consumption communities" is "the major ideological work of advertising" (1989, 206).

The analysis of imaginary interpersonal communication between the addresser and the recipient focuses on visual and verbal strategies. Visual analysis focuses on visual address, angle of representation, and constructed interpersonal distance. On a textual level, power and solidarity strategies are considered. Since advertising messages, in general, follow the principle of information hierarchy, power and solidarity strategies are analyzed in the most visually salient elements (i.e. leads, slogans and attention-getters).

Visual elements are analyzed with respect to their information value (i.e. spatial positioning), types of representations that are associated with certain products, and contextual cues. Visual-verbal interplay is considered from the perspective of connectivity patterns that make an advertisement a coherent entity.

Subject positions are largely constructed through value appeals. Value appeals, in their turn, instantiate the ideological work of advertising. These are identified following the guidelines for coding ads as proposed by Pollay (1983,

85). In particular, visuals, headings and major captions are coded for dominant themes. "Dominant themes are key elements of the ads' 'gestalt'" (ibid.). Key words and phrases in the body copy allow to identify subsidiary themes. Thus, dominant themes are inferred from the salient visual-verbal combined meanings.

Advertising appeals are subdivided into value-expressive and utilitarian messages. A value-expressive appeal seeks "to create an image of the generalized user of the advertised product" (Johar and Sirgy 1991, 23). Alternatively, value-expressive appeals are termed social identity appeals to account for group norms as the basis of an individual's relations with others (Gregory et al. 2002, 934). Utilitarian appeals focus on functional attributes of a product. Advertising appeals, particularly value-expressive ones, are classifiable with respect to collectivistic and individualistic orientations. Both of these orientations involve horizontal and vertical dimensions, in which horizontal value orientations emphasize equality and vertical ones focus on power distance.

5.1. Multimodal analysis of advertisements in *Krest'janka*

Krest'janka publishes relatively few advertisements per issue, where personal care products constitute the dominant group. Among these, *Vichy*[35] and *L'Oréal*[36] personal care products are most frequently promoted. Table 5-1 outlines the distribution of product categories in *Krest'janka* advertisements.

---

[35]   Vichy (full name "Vichy Laboratoires") is a cosmetics and beauty brand owned by L'Oréal. Vichy was founded in France in 1931.
[36]   L'Oréal (full name" The L'Oréal Group") is the world's largest cosmetics and beauty company founded in France in 1909. In 2007, L'Oréal was the leading advertiser in the segment of Russian print media (Bešenceva 2007).

Table 5-1. Product categories in *Krest'janka* advertisements

Product category	% (total n=89)
Personal care products[37]	64.0 (57)
Fragrances	1.1 (1)
Food	2.2 (2)
Clothes/textiles	1.1 (1)
Vitamins/medicine	11.2 (10)
Appliances	3.4 (3)
For children[38]	9.0 (8)
Services	7.9 (7)

Although the majority of advertisemetns published in *Krest'janka* use the Roman script in their brand names, the categories of vitamins/medicine and food, excluding food for small children, are associated exclusively with national brand names. Similarly, Ustinova reports that medicine and national food are the only product categories in her study of Russian TV commercials that are restricted to Russian (2006, 274). It is noteworthy that a single ad in *Krest'janka* corpus promotes perfume (i.e. Whisky for Women), a luxury product, in contrast to other commodities that gravitate towards the utilitarian end.

In the following, ads published in *Krest'janka* are analyzed from the perspective of constructed interpersonal communication (5.1.1), visual organization (5.1.2), and value appeals (5.1.3).

5.1.1. Building relations

Print advertisements utilize various strategies to connect to their readers and to attract their attention. Visual and verbal meanings interplay and generate complex multimodal meanings. This subsection analyzes the use of visual and verbal interpersonal strategies in ads published in *Krest'janka.* Specifically, the

---

[37]   *Vichy* and *L'Oréal* advertisemets for personal care products constitute 41.5% of the entire *Krest'janka* corpus.
[38]   Advertisements for children's food are considered under the category 'for children.'

largest categories of personal care products, vitamins/medicine, and goods for children are selected for analysis. This allows to control for the use of interpersonal strategies in the outlined advertising contexts. Table 5-2 summarizes the use of visual interpersonal strategies in advertisements published in *Krest'janka*.[39]

---

[39]   Please note that each advertisement is assigned four codes of visual interpersonal communication; each of these codes belongs to the four categories: representation, visual address, angle, and distance.

Visual interpersonal strategies (total =89)			
Representation, % (n)	Visual address, % (n)	Angle, % (n)	Distance, % (n)
Fem. single 46.1 (41)	Demand 30.3 (27)	Horiz. oblique 52.8 (47)	Intimate 14.6 (13)
Fem. multiple 11.2 (10)	Offer (people) 25.8 (23)	Horiz. frontal 34.8 (31)	Intimate (metonymy) 7.9 (7)
Fem. & male 3.4 (3)	Offer (objects) 30.3 (27)	Vertical high 1.1 (1)	Close personal 28.1 (25)
Fem. & child 3.4 (3)	Dem. & offer 13.5 (12)	Vertical low 11.2 (10)	Far personal 4.5 (4)
Child/children 3.4 (3)			Close social 9.0 (8)
Family 1.1 (1)			Far social 5.6 (5)
Male & child[40] 1.1 (1)			Object(s) close 12.4 (11)
Group – fem. -			Object(s) middle 18.0 (16)
Group – mixed -			Object(s) long -
Object (s) 30.3 (27)			

Table 5-2. Visual interpersonal strategies in *Krest'janka* advertisements

---

[40] In the analyzed data set, a representation of a man and a child is found only in *Krest'janka*.

The majority of advertisements utilize images of single females (46.1 %). The portrayed personae tend to address the viewer with direct gaze (30.3%) at a close personal distance (28.1%). Horizontal oblique angle is preferred in these representations (52.8%). Yet, horizontal frontal angle is also widely used to signify maximal involvement with the viewer (34.8%). Horizontal angle constructs the relations of equality between the portrayed persona and the viewer, whereas oblique positioning in relation to the camera signifies personal subjectivity.

Intimate interpersonal distance (14.6%) and, particularly, 'metonymic' positioning (i.e. the representation of a part of the body) (7.9%) are utilized, to a certain extent, for the purpose of magnification. These images typically position models as objects of external actions rather than self-sufficient individuals (Figures 5-1 and 5-2).

Figure 5-1[41]

Figure 5-2

Figure 5-1 and 5-2 are advertisements for anti-aging products. In (5-1), the *L'Oréal* message draws arrows on the model's face to demonstrate the work of the product (i.e. the desired effect). The model is presented as an object of

---

[41]   Visual images in Figures 5-1 and 5-2, as well as subsequent Figures 5-3 – 5-49, have been reproduced and included in this thesis for the purpose of discourse analysis under the s.29 Fair Dealing provision in the Canadian *Copyright Act*.

attention ('offer' image). In (5-2), the *Vichy* ad represents a model that is looking at the viewer ('demand' image).   Her neck skin lacks firmness (i.e. the undesirable state), and the advertised product is suggested as a solution. Figure 5-1 captures the model at an intimate distance (i.e. face and neck), and Figure 5-2 uses a close personal distance (face, neck and shoulders). In general, spatial proximity between the viewer and the model in personal care ads is constructed for the purpose of magnification to attract attention to the area the product is intended for.

Verbal messages in these ads complement visual representations and focus on the advertised products and their qualities.[42] Figure 5-1 uses the following verbal address in the upper part of the right page:

(5.1) *S odnoj storony on podtjagivaet*, *s drugoj – sokraščaet morščiny. Dva effektivnyx* [JUDGEMENT: capacity][43] *dejstvija*, *odna revoljucija* [JUDGEMENT: normality]. *Revitalift* [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim] (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 0-1).

'On the one hand, it lifts, on the other, it diminishes wrinkles. Two efficient [JUDGEMENT: capacity] actions, one revolution [JUDGEMENT: normality]. Revitalift [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim].'

The message in (5.1) is constructed from the position of power. Indeed, the statement contracts the discursive space for alternative positions by making a reference only to the product and by using impersonal address. Similarly, Figure 5-2 draws on power strategies. The highlighted message in the centre-right area of the layout reads:

---

[42]   Please note that the most visually salient (i.e. the use of large fonts, bold type, highlights, etc.) and illustrative fragments of texts are provided as examples of verbal analysis.

[43]   In this example and henceforth underlined structures are coded following the Appraisal framework (Martin and White 2005). The categories of Appraisal analysis allow to analyze the way interpersonal communication at a verbal level is constructed from the perspective of negotiation, evaluation and involvement. This framework is summarized in Table 2.2. A list of codes used for textual analysis is presented in Appendix 1.

(5.2) *Novadiol. <u>Pervoe sredstvo</u>* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *s fitokompleksom*, *kotoroe povyšaet plotnost' koži* [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim] (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 5).

'Novadiol. The <u>first product</u> [JUDGEMENT: normality] with phytocomplex that increases skin firmness [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim].'

The advertised commodity is the subject of this sentence. It is followed by results of the product test. Thus, the addressee is constructed as an individual who needs to be provided with proven claims. In this message, relations between the parties are constructed as formal and distant.

The group of ads that utilize images of single females can be combined with ads that depict multiple females (11.2%). Images are coded for multiple females whereby two or more women are depicted as autonomous individuals displaying the effects of the use of an advertised product or signifying the temporal relations 'before – after.'

Figure 5-3

Figure 5-4

Figure 5-3 is an ad for Maybelline foundation. It advertises eight different hues of the product, and the two models represented at an intimate distance demonstrate two of these foundation hues. The 'demand' visual address and an intimate distance are quite powerful in that they imply a direct contact with the

viewer. In the context of this commercial, an intimate interpersonal distance does not necessarily construct intimacy between the reader and the depicted models. The use of this distance is apparently linked to the advertised product (i.e. foundation), and a close-up is an effective way to demonstrate the work of the product. Furthermore, close-ups allow to capture emotional states that are "used as essential ingredients in the creation of dramatic narratives" (Kroon and Ekstrom 2008, 899).

Contextual details also play a role in the analysis of Figure 5-3. Thus, the skyline of a city (New York City) that constitutes the background of representation is placed significantly lower than the models. This implies that the look of these models is powerful and that it can 'win' the city. Consider the lead that occupies a central position below the image of the models in Figure 5-3:

(5.3.1) *Estestvennost'* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *nikogda ne byla stol' soveršennoj* [GRADUATION: focus; APPRECIATION: composition] [ENGAGEMENT: counter] (*Krest'janka*, March 2008, 11).

'Naturalness [JUDGEMENT: normality] has never been so perfect [GRADUATION: focus; APPRECIATION: composition] [ENGAGEMENT: counter].'

The lead specifies the meaning of this image and emphasizes the desirable state of flawlessness (5.3.1). It contracts the space for alternative opinions and expresses the position of the advertiser in an unconditional manner.

(5.3.2) *Vse v vostorge* [AFFECT: pleasure] *ot tebja, a ty* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] *ot Méjbellin* (ibid.).

'Everybody is proud (also 'impressed') [AFFECT: pleasure] of you, and you are [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal] of Maybelline.'

The slogan placed at the bottom of the layout is considerably less prominent, yet this line appeals directly to the reader (5.3.2). This message presupposes that the addressee is an object of contemplation and is expected to evoke positive reactions. It also conveys a backgrounded assumption that beauty is a

184

technological construct rather than something natural and unique. Furthermore, beauty standards are determined by renowned producers of cosmetic products. This presupposition entails a further conclusion that renowned producers of cosmetic products form a powerful institution. In fact, the brand name Maybelline New York is the most visually dominant verbal element that spreads as a banner at the bottom of a double-page spread.

Figure 5-4 above visually represents temporal relations, where the model to the left signifies a given state of affairs the target addressee could identify with. This model is 'looking' at the viewer at the same eye level as if seeking understanding and compassion. The model to the right demonstrates the rejuvenating power of the advertised product and thus symbolically represents the new that is the desired state. The new is salient through its relative size, central position and a slight vertical low angle, whereby the model is looking upward. The visual message interplays with the verbal message presented below:

(5.4) *Glubokie morščiny. Teper' ix možno razgladit' iznutri*

[ENGAGEMENT: proclaim] (*Krest'janka*, March 2007, 33).

'Deep wrinkles. Now they can be smoothed out from inside

[ENGAGEMENT: proclaim].'

This line is written across the model's face (Figure 5-4). The first sentence in the verbal appeal names the problem and signifies the 'given,' the second one announces the fact that a solution exists (5.4). Interpersonal communication is reduced to the 'problem-solution' model, whereby the addressee is barely acknowledged.

Ads for vitamins/medicine to a lesser degree than ads for personal care products aim at constructing intimate communication. These ads are mostly text-driven messages that inform the reader about the product. Due to their relative size, these messages are not as visually prominent on the pages of *Krest'janka* as ads for personal care products. However, vitamins/medicine ads tend to be contextualized within certain editorial materials.

Figure 5-5   Figure 5-6

For instance, Figures 5-5 and 5-6 are advertisements for *Alfavit* 'Alphabet' vitamins. Both texts are inserted into editorial materials devoted to physical health and well-being.

> (5.5) <u>*Alfavit znajut vse*</u> [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. *I ne tol'ko tot*, <u>*kotoryj pridumali Kirill i Mefodij*</u> [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge], *no i otečestvennyj vitaminno-mineral'nyj kompleks* [ENGAGEMENT: counter] (*Krest'janka*, December 2005, 171).

> 'Everybody knows the alphabet [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed]. And not only the one <u>invented by Cyril and Methodius</u> [INVOLVEMENT: shared knowledge], but also the domestic vitamin and mineral supplement. [ENGAGEMENT: counter]'

The lead of the ad in Figure 5-5 (5.5) makes a reference to the reader's background knowledge about the Greek enlighteners who invented the Cyrillic alphabet and were the missionaries of the Christian faith. The body copy mentions that the product is intended for both adults and children. It provides a scientific rationale for the use of this product and draws on the data from *Russkij medicinskij žurnal* 'Russian medical journal.'

Another ad for *Alfavit* vitamins is presented in Figure 5-6. The advertiser directly addresses the readership as follows:

(5.6) *Pejte* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' imperative] *vitaminy gramotno!* [JUDGEMENT: propriety]. *Alfavit – samyj populjarnyj* [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: normality] *vitaminno-mineral'nyj kompleks v Rossii* [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim] (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 127).

'Take [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' imperative] vitamins the smart way [JUDGEMENT: propriety]! Alfavit – the most popular [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: normality] vitamin-mineral supplement in Russia [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim].'

The advertising message in Figure 5-6 provides essential information about the product in a concise manner. It also offers various types of *Alfavit* vitamins to meet the needs of a large audience: *mamino zdorov'e* 'mother's health,' *škol'nik* 'school student,' *diabet* 'diabetes,' and *Alfavit* for general use.

The above discussed messages for national vitamin supplements (5.5 and 5.6), in contrast to ads for personal care products (5.1-5.4), contextualize their messages in cultural 'common ground.' Indeed, the recipients are addressed as members of the same society who share motherland and cultural heritage. Thus, the commonality of people is emphasized.

Ads for products for children are diverse with respect to the type of address used. These messages variously appeal to the addressee. Certain texts employ the mode of visual address that is conventionally used to reach small children (i.e. similar to visual representations in children's book, cartoons and goods for children). Other texts feature photographs of the intended addressee (i.e. a child) and, optionally, a caregiver. In general, these ads target parents who need to meet 'the needs' of their children.

For example, Figure 5-7 is an ad for *Morozko* winter cosmetics for small children. The product name itself comes from the Russian fairy tale *Morozko* 'Jack Frost.' A screen version of the fairy tale was released in the Soviet Union in 1964. It continues to enjoy popularity nowadays, especially during winter

holidays. In a cartoon-like manner, Figure 5-7 represents children playing outdoors in winter.

Figure 5-7   Figure 5-8

Consider text fragments (5.7.1) and (5.7.2):

 (5.7.1) *"Rukavički", "Morozko", "Rumjanye ščëčki" – zaščita zimoj dlja syna i dočki.* [INVOLVEMENT: diminutives; IDENTIFICATION: relational (*syna, dočki*)] (*Krest'janka*, December 2006, 186).

'"Mittens," "Morozko," "Rosy cheeks" are the protection in winter for [your] son and daughter [INVOLVEMENT: diminutives; IDENTIFICATION: relational (son, daughter)].'

(5.7.2) *Každaja 10 mama* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *v Rossii vysoko ocenila* [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation] *kačestvo* [APPRECIATION: valuation] *i effektivnost'* [JUDGEMENT: capacity] *detskoj kosmetičeskoj serii "Morozko"* (ibid.).

'Every tenth mother [IDENTIFICATION: relational] in Russia has highly evaluated [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: valuation] the quality [APPRECIATION: valuation] and efficiency [JUDGEMENT: capacity] of children's cosmetic line "Morozko."'

The slogan line is a rhyme that names particular products by *Morozko* (5.7.1). These names use diminutive forms with connotations of endearment. The diminutive forms *rukavički* 'mittens,' *ščëčki* 'cheeks,' *dlja dočki* 'for the daughter' are common when addressing children. In (5.7.2), mothers are addressed collectively and are identified as *mamy v Rossii* 'mothers in Russia.'

Figure 5-8 directly appeals to parents. Consider the verbal message of (5.8) featured right below the visual image (Figure 5-8):

(5.8) *Estestvennyj immunitet dlja zdorov'ja <u>Vašego malyša</u>*
[IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal; relational]. (*Krest'janka*, December 2005, 25).

'Natural immunity for the health of <u>your child</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal; relational].'

This message identifies the addressee with the words *Vašego malyša* 'of your child' (5.8). Unlike the majority of ads that portray mothers and children, this message represents a male parent and a child.

In sum, advertisements published in *Krest'janka* variously construct interpersonal relations with the target addressee. The product category is an important factor that helps identify certain patterns of constructed communication. Ads for personal care products tend to construct an eye contact and a personal distance between the viewer and the portrayed model. This type of representation produces emotionally appealing dramatic images that seek involvement on the viewer's side.

Power strategies are more prominent in ads that aim at providing 'scientific' evidence to their claims about product efficiency. The subject of these messages is the product itself as a technological construct bearing the connotations of expertise, sophistication and advancement. Ads for personal care products utilize power strategies whereby these connotations are at play.

Ads for vitamins and products for children tend to construct relational identities. Furthermore, these are grounded in a particular context (i.e. cultural, historical, and linguistic). Ads for products for small children, in particular,

utilize solidarity strategies through communicating from the position of the individual to whom the addressee is related. Messages for vitamins and for products for small children, in contrast to the ads for personal care products, tend to be verbally driven, whereas visual images seem to play a secondary role.

5.1.2. Building images

The interplay of the visual and the verbal in the texture of an ad makes it a coherent entity. The interpretation of this interplay and meaning-making is the task of the receiver. However, ads typically allow for a degree of predictability of inferred meanings. Thus, the viewer is expected to decode certain implied meanings, the ultimate goal of which is to positively predispose the consumer to the advertised product and/or brand. In general, readers approach ads "with a set of expectations that are derived from our culture and mediated by experiences" (Callister and Stern 2008, 138). Visual-verbal interplay incorporates various rhetorical elements (i.e. visual address, the angle of representation, interpersonal distance, body language, contextual cues, and colours) and types of knowledge needed to decode an ad. In the following, patterns of visual-verbal interaction, the use of contextual cues, and the information value of visual elements are further discussed.

The information value is variously assigned to visual elements in the analyzed ads. Table 5-3 summarizes the layout types of ads in *Krest'janka*.

Table 5-3. Information value of visual elements in *Krest'janka* advertisements

Given-new, % (n)	Ideal-real, % (n)	Centre-margins, % (n)	Total
45.0 (40)	46.0 (41)	9.0 (8)	100 (89)

The 'given-new' (45.0%) and the 'ideal-real' (46.0%) patterns of visual organisation noticeably outweigh the 'centre-margins' layout type (9.0%). The 'given-new' layout type, whereby the model is placed to the left and the product is to the right, is "one way to persuade the viewer that some things are given and accepted, such as particular definitions of beauty, and that there are new routes to achieve such beauty" (Machin 2007, 141). In the following, the patterns of visual

organization of layouts are analyzed based on examples from the *Krest'janka* corpus.

Figure 5-9 features a close-up of a female model as 'given' and the advertised product as 'new.' In fact, the product name *DNKrem*' DNA cream' featured in the 'new' area is preceded by the exclamation *Innovacija!* 'Innovation!'

Figure 5-9

In Figure 5-9, the model is looking at the viewer at the same angle with her head slightly tilted to the left. This position suggests closeness, personal contact and equality. The visual portrayal and the slogan (5.9) written at the top of the layout (Figure 5-9) work together to convey the meaning of security, comfort and attentiveness to the consumer's personal needs:

(5.9) *DNKrem ponimaet* [AFFECT: trust] *DNK Vašej* ['vy' respectful/formal] *koži* (*Krest'janka*, December 2007, back cover).

'DNA cream understands [AFFECT: trust] the DNA of your ['vy' respectful/formal] skin.'

Respect for the viewer and appropriate social distance is expressed with the help of *Vašej* 'your – respectful' (5.9). Visual connectivity between the layout elements is achieved with the help of blue and white, the colours of *Nivea* logo.

These colours, which are associated with freshness, harmony and freedom in contemporary advertising, are used recursively in the visual design of the ad.

Consider Figure 5-4 discussed above. The 'given-new' pattern is used to emphasize a 'problem' ('given') that needs a 'solution' ('new'). This variant of the 'given-new' is less common in the studied data. However, it is common in *Vichy* advertisements, which are relatively frequent on the pages of *Krest'janka* (Table 5-1). Thus, the 'given-new' dichotomy can be used (1) to identify a goal ('given') and a means to achieve it ('new') and (2) to emphasize what is undesirable or outdated ('given') and to offer an innovative 'solution'('new').

In some advertisements, the dimensions of 'given-new' and 'ideal-real' appear to be equally significant in the layout structure. For example, Figure 5-10 below features an advertisement promoting the use of debit cards.

Figure 5-10   Figure 5-11

It represents two women standing on the left and on the right side. These representations shape the 'given-new' dimension, whereby the 'given' is the outdated and undesirable and the 'new' is a desirable alternative. Specifically, the woman to the left is wearing a shirt that features the expression *naličnye den'gi* 'cash,' her thoughts are expressed in (5.10.1). Another woman is displaying the expression *platëžnaja karta* 'debit card' and her position is featured in (5.10.2).

(5.10.1) *Kupit' men'še, čem xotelos' by* [AFFECT: desire irrealis], *tol'ko iz-za togo, čto naličnyx okazalos' s soboj nedostatočno...* (*Krest'janka*, December 2007, 85).

'To buy less than [I] would like to [AFFECT: desire irrealis], only because [I] did not have enough cash with me...'

(5.10.2) *...rasplatit'sja bankovskoj kartoj, blagodarja* [APPRECIATION: valuation] *vozmožnosti dostupa ko vsem* [GRADUATION: force] *svoim denežnym sredstvam v nužnyj moment* [GRADUATION: focus] (ibid.).

'to pay with a debit card thanks to [APPRECIATION: valuation] the access to all [GRADUATION: force] my funds at the right moment [GRADUATION: focus].'

The way the two options are voiced (5.10.1 and 5.10.2) suggests a negative evaluation of the first and a positive evaluation of the second one (i.e. regret about limited payment options versus the freedom to access one's funds with the help of a debit card). Furthermore, the female consumer paying cash is represented as being shy and frustrated in contrast to the other individual depicted on the right who displays confidence while looking directly at the viewer (Figure 5-10). This horizontal 'given-new' dimension is counterbalanced by the vertical 'ideal-real' structure, where the two female models occupy the 'ideal' area, and the information about the debit card is the 'real.' However, the navigation path, that is, the use of blue colour, extends and emphasises the information value of the 'new' dimension and guides the intended reader's position. Indeed, the woman to the right ('new') is wearing a blue shirt with blue letters and the same colour is used in the fonts of the slogan, the copy and instructions how to use the debit card. Thus, layout elements in this ad convey evaluations and clearly suggest the assumed reader's position.

Figure 5-11 exemplifies further the 'ideal-real' layout type. The 'ideal' represents the model's refection in the mirror (i.e. the perfect look) and the 'real'

explains how the advertised product works to ensure 'the perfect look.' Consider the verbal message placed right below the model's image:

> (5.11) *Moë* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja'personal] *otraženie* <u>*nepodvlastno*</u> [JUDGEMENT NEG: tenacity] *vremeni* (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 59).

> '<u>My</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja'personal] reflection is <u>beyond the power</u> [JUDGEMENT NEG: tenacity] of time.'

The text fragment (5.11) uses the first-person reference, which echoes the first-person visual representation (i.e. a type of a point of view shot).[44] Indeed, the viewer sees the reflection in the mirror from the point of view of the model who is looking at herself.

In Figure 5-11, the concept of a mirror reflection, imaginatively, allows to grasp the moment, similarly to photographs and portraits. The frame itself, including the mirror frame, conveys the potential to capture.

The above discussed ads (Figures 5-9 – 5-11) differ from Figure 5-12 in that this media text makes a reference to the Russian cultural context. It represents the close-up of a female model whose chin is covered by the passport. The document features the Russian coat of arms and the word *pasport* 'passport.' Unexpectedly, the cover of the document is navy blue in colour, whereas the Russian passport has a red cover.

---

[44] In filmmaking, a point of view shot (POV) is "a scene that is filmed from the point of view that a character would see it from" (Media Dictionary).

Figure 5-12

Consider the verbal address (5.12) featured in the top left part of the layout
(Figure 5-12):

> (5.12) *Volosy vygljadjat <u>tak</u>* [GRADUATION: force] *molodo, čto <u>tol'ko</u>*
> [GRADUATION: focus] *pasport možet <u>vydat'</u>* [JUDGEMENT NEG: propriety]
> <u>*Vaš*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *vozrast* (*Krest'janka*,
> September 2007, 7).

> '[Your] hair looks <u>so</u> [GRADUATION: force] young that <u>only</u>
> [GRADUATION: focus] [your] passport can <u>reveal</u> [JUDGEMENT NEG:
> propriety] <u>your</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] age.'

The word *vydat'* 'to reveal, to betray' in (5.12) and the close-up of the model
hiding behind the passport jointly produce the meaning of insecurity and
vulnerability. The advertised product comes to the rescue in that it helps conceal
the signs of aging. The use of the image of a passport and the emphasis on its
revealing power speak to the importance of bureaucratic procedures in the society.

The majority of the ads published in *Krest'janka*, however, avoid
contextual details (66.3%; n=59 out of 89). Washed away colours set the
background of ads that feature models and advertised commodities. These media
texts are potentially reusable on a global scale. Furthermore, close-ups tend to
dominate the visual space and connect to the viewer on an interpersonal level.

195

In sum, visual-verbal relations are variously constructed in advertisements. Pattern of interaction depend on the product category, the intended addressee and on implied interpersonal and evaluative meanings. Realizations of layout patterns are far from being homogenous in each particular instance. Indeed, the amount of space allotted to visual elements differs from one ad to another; navigation paths and dividing elements serve as helpful guidelines to identify the information value of layout elements. In general, there is a tendency to give more weight to the 'given' in a 'given-new' structure and to emphasize the 'ideal' in the 'ideal-real' layout type.

5.1.3. Building the consumer: value appeals in advertisements in *Krest'janka*

Advertising acts as a 'carrier of cultural values' (Pollay 1983, 73). Value appeals are classified along the lines of horizontal individualism (HI), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC), and vertical collectivism (VC) (Shavitt et al. 2006, 327). In accordance with the named cultural dimensions, Table 5-4 outlines the categories of appeals in ads published in *Krest'janka*. These categories are based on the analysis of advertising appeals in the periodical.

Table 5-4. Types of advertising appeals in *Krest'janka*

	Horizontal (self at the same level as others)	*Vertical (self in a hierarchy relative to others)*
Individualism (independent self)	- personal needs / comfort - being distinct / unique, self-directed, knowledgeable	- standing out - authority / status - competition / success
Collectivism (interdependent self)	- benevolent relations with other people - cooperation - common goals with others - long-term orientation	- Maintaining and protecting in-group status through patriotic sentiments, allusions to traditions - social appropriateness - conformity to norms / expectations

These appeals are termed value-expressive, since they aim at constructing the addressee's social identity (Shavitt et al. 2006). Utilitarian appeals, in turn,

concern exclusively the properties of advertised products. The distribution of the identified advertising appeals is provided in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Frequencies of advertising appeals in *Krest'janka*

Advertising appeals		% (n) Total (89)
Value-expressive appeals	Horizontal Individualism	29.2 (26)
	Vertical Individualism	19.1 (17)
	Horizontal Collectivism	31.5 (28)
	Vertical Collectivism	6.7 (6)
Utilitarian appeals	Technological	13.5 (12)

Value-expressive messages are at the focus of attention of this section. In the following, value appeals in *Krest'janka* ads are discussed and examples are provided.

Advertising appeals that focus on the individual need to be distinct, unique and knowledgeable are coded as HI (29.2%). HI values "self-reliance, independence, and hedonism" (Shavitt et al. 2006, 330). For example, Figure 5-13 advertises the *Quelle* catalogue. The upper part of the page layout displays an open wardrobe. Its space is filled with the image of the open catalogue. The representation is accompanied with the following words:

(5.13) *K Vam* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *idët to*, *čto vam idët!* (*Krest'janka*, June 2007, 61).

'Whatever suits you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] comes to you!'

Example 5.13 plays on the meanings 'to come/to go to' and 'to suite' of the verb *idti*. Thus, the reader is invited to identify with the message and to order clothing items that would suite her style uniquely. HI orientation is used in the *Vichy* advertisement for anti-aging products (Figure 5-14).

197

Figure 5-13   Figure 5-14

Consider example 5.14:

>   (5.14) *Provedite diagnostiku svojej koži v apteke i vyberite*
>   [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal (imperative)] *programmu*
>   *antivozrastnogo uxoda*, *kotoraja podxodit imenno Vam!* [IDENTIFICATION:
>   'vy' respectful/formal] (*Krest'janka*, December 2008, 9).
>
>   'Diagnose your skin at a pharmacy and choose [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy'
>   respectful/formal (imperative)] the anti-aging program that is exactly right
>   for you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal]!

Example 5.14, similarly to (5.13), focuses on the reader's individual needs and invites her to select a product that perfectly matches her expectations. The use of 'Vy' reinforces the formality of address. Both messages (5.14) and (5.13) do not attempt at building close interpersonal relations with the addressee and at expressing a caring friendly attitude, in contrast to the messages guided by HC orientation (for example, 5.18.1-5.18.2 below). Rather, they recommend and suggest what could be done to meet one's needs.

VI advertising appeals emphasize the importance of a high social status, power over other individuals and the need to stand out. These appeals in *Krest'janka* ads constitute 19.1% and are mainly voiced through celebrity

endorsements (59% (10 out of 17)). Celebrities "are frequently identified by name or profession and their credentials are used to pitch the product directly to the audience" (Shavitt et al. 2006, 336). In *Krest'janka* ads, modelling celebrities identified by their names come exclusively from the United States.

For instance, Figures 5-15 and 5-16 use the endorsements of Jane Fonda and Charlize Theron respectively. Both celebrities are identified by their names and their positions are voiced with the help of direct quotations.

Figure 5-15

Jane Fonda is an American actress, political activist and writer. In Figure 5-15, she is looking directly at the viewer smiling wide. The full-body shot signals social distance between the celebrity and the viewer. The text 5.15 below occurs on the left page of the spread in front of the image of Jane Fonda:

> (5.15) *"Kalcij - éto buduščee <u>moej</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *koži!"* *Džejn Fonda* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] (*Krest'janka*, March 2007, 0-1).

> 'Calcium is the future of <u>my</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] skin!' Jane Fonda [ENGAGEMENT: attribute].

This signature line (5.15) and the autograph of Jane Fonda position her as an individual who knows what is best for her and whose example should be followed

(orientation toward VI). The photograph of Jane Fonda serves as evidence to her words.

Similarly to Jane Fonda, Hollywood actress Charlize Theron models for *L'Oréal* (Figure 5-16). This ad is an example of maximal involvement with the viewer (i.e. gaze directed at the viewer at a frontal angle and at an intimate interpersonal distance). Constructed proximity is also emphasized through the image of the model's hand. Her hand is foregrounded and visually appears quite close to the viewer. These visual representation strategies allow to construct 'synthetic personalization' (Fairclough 1989, 203) and thus to mitigate the distance between the model and the addressee.

Figure 5-16

Consider the message (5.16) featured at the top of the second page of the spread:

(5.16) *"Kak i <u>ja</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal], *otkažites'* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy'formal/plural (imperative)] *ot tusklosti!" Šarliz Teron* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 24-25).

'<u>Give up</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy'formal/plural (imperative)] dullness the same way <u>I</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] do' Charlize Theron [ENGAGEMENT: attribute].

The words of Charlize Theron (5.16) position her as an individual whose example should be followed (i.e. power distance is implied). The addressee is explicitly invited to do so with the help of the imperative form *otkažites'* 'give up' that encodes 'vy' formal/plural address. It is unclear, however, whether a single reader or the entire readership is addressed, since the form *otkažites'* corresponds to both. The words *kak i ja* 'the same way I do' slightly mitigate the power distance and point at solidarity and equality.

HC cultural orientation constitutes the largest group in *Krest'janka* ads (31.5%). This orientation emphasizes "sociability, benevolence, and cooperation" (Shavitt et al. 2006, 330). In particular, messages that emphasize a caring attitude and project it onto the reader (e.g. mothers caring about their children) and texts that claim that the reader's needs are attended to are included into the group of HC appeals.

The identity of the addressee is constructed as relational, whereby advertised products are intended for the addressee's family members. Figure 5-17 is an ad for food for small children. It explicitly 'voices' a child's preference through the words:

> (5.17) *Mama* [IDENTIFICATION: relational], *ja* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *ljublju* [AFFECT: affection] *Xame* (*Krest'janka*, September 2006, 215).

> 'Mom [IDENTIFICATION: relational], I [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] like [AFFECT: affection] Hame.'

Example 5.17 imitates the way a child speaks to its mother. This type of verbal address attempts at building solidarity relations with the reader who has a small child.

Figure 5-17   Figure 5-18

Figure 5-18 is another example of an ad for food for small children. Both visually and verbally this ad uses a third-person address. Indeed, the represented personae, a young woman and a toddler, communicate with each other, and the viewer is presented with this image (i.e. the visual 'they'). The text that is directly below the brand name, at the top of the image is the following:

> (5.18.1) *Každaja mama* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *znaet, čto kaša – éto nezamenimoe bljudo v menju malyša* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed] (*Krest'janka*, June 2006, 21).

> 'Every mother [IDENTIFICATION: relational] knows that cereal is an irreplaceable meal on the menu of a small child [IDENTIFICATION: relational] [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed].'

In the bottom right corner the following text appears:

> (5.18.2) *Rossijskie malyši* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *očen' ljubjat* [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: affection] *kašu "Malyška" za eë prekrasnyj* [APPRECIATION: reaction] *vkus. Detki* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *edjat "Malyšku" s udovol'stviem* [AFFECT: pleasure], *a mamina* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *žizn' stanovitsja prošče* [GRADUATION:

force; APPRECIATION: complexity] *i prijatnee!* [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: pleasure] (ibid.).

'Russian <u>small children</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] <u>like</u> "Malyška" <u>very much</u> [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: affection] for its <u>wonderful</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction] taste. <u>Small children</u> (diminutive) [IDENTIFICATION: relational] eat "Malyška" <u>with pleasure</u> [AFFECT: pleasure], and <u>the mother's</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] life becomes <u>easier</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: complexity] and <u>more enjoyable</u> [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: pleasure]!'

The address line (5.18.1) appeals to 'shared knowledge' of mothers about dietary needs of small children. It uses relational terms of address that are common within families (i.e. *mama* and *malyš*). The closing line (5.18.2) constructs the reader's position through the use of terms of address (i.e. *Rossijskie malyši*, *detki*, *mamina žizn'*) and evaluative lexis (i.e. *očen' ljubjat*, *prekrasnyj vkus*, *s udovol'stviem*, *prošče i prijatnee*). The word *malyši* and a diminutive *detki* convey evaluative undertones of endearment.

HC orientation also translates into the aspiration to achieve common goals. For instance, Figure 5-19 features the image of sunglasses and suntan products on the sand. Underneath this representation, there is a slogan line (5.19.1) and the opening line of the body copy (5.19.2):

(5.19.1) *Navstreču solncu* 'Coming to meet the sun' (*Krest'janka*, March 2006, 115).

(5.19.2) <u>*Dlja tex, kto*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: inclusive/exclusive] *otpravljaetsja otdyxat'...* (ibid.)

'<u>For those who</u> [IDENTIFICATION: inclusive/exclusive] are going on vacation...'

Figure 5-19   Figure 5-20

The slogan in example 5.19.1, albeit indirectly, implies a common ground that unites people going on vacation. The body copy (5.19.2) specifies the message encoded in the slogan line. Thus, the advertisement addresses a group of people who share the intention to spend their vacation in a sunny destination.

VC appeals are the least frequent in the studied advertisements (6.7%). These emphasize stature, duty, and conformity" (Shavitt et al. 2006, 330). An advertisement for domestic vitamins *Komplivit* provides an example of a VC appeal (Figure 5-20). The lead of this ad placed underneath the brand name in the upper part of the layout claims that the product is the best in Russia (5.20.1):

(5.20.1) *Vitaminno-mineral'nyj kompleks №1* [JUDGEMENT: normality] *v Rossii*. (*Krest'janka*, December 2006, 131).

'Vitamin and mineral supplement №1 [JUDGEMENT: normality] in Russia [ENGAGEMENT: proclaim].'

The copy elaborates on the features of the product and states that it was initially devised for pilots and astronauts. The package features the Soviet State Quality Mark and thus appeals to nostalgic feelings of Russians who grew up in the Soviet Union. "This sign, the 'State Quality Mark,' is still recognisable among different generations of Russians, given its prevalent use in soviet and early post-soviet

times, on diverse everyday products; and the initial reaction is an assumption of high quality" (Makarenko and Borgerson 2009). Consider the slogan of this ad that is foregrounded in the centre of the layout (Figure 5-20):

(5.20.2) *Vitaminy bol'šix vozmožnostej* [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: capacity] – *vitaminy dlja nas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (ibid.).

'Vitamins of great opportunities [GRADUATION: force; JUDGEMENT: capacity] – vitamins for us [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation].'

This message (5.20.2) further encompasses the connotations of greatness and freedom. The analyzed advertisement (Figure 5-20) contextualizes its appeal in the cultural 'common ground.' It references national history and positively evaluates the Russian people. This message emphasizes the commonality of people as a group, in contrast to individualistic appeals to the uniqueness of each particular individual.

In sum, ads published in *Krest'janka* display both individualistic and collectivistic orientations, whereby the latter appeals slightly outweigh the former. HC appeals are particularly prominent in these ads, while VC appeals with their emphasis on group status and power distance are the least frequently used. In general, "Russian culture is considered a highly collectivistic culture where people have a strong sense of belonging to a group" (Ustinova 2008, 93). HI appeals constitute the second largest group in *Krest'janka*. These messages are mostly inherent to global advertisements that appeal to the addressee's individual needs.

5.2. Multimodal analysis of advertisements in *Karavan istorij*

Karavan istorij is abundant in advertisements that promote diverse luxury products and household appliances. For the current analysis, only advertisements that utilize the verbal and the visual mode of communication are selected. Ads whose verbal messages are limited to product and/or brand names are excluded

from the corpus. Table 5-6 outlines the distribution of product categories in the *Karavan istorij* data.

Table 5-6. Product categories in *Karavan istorij* advertisements

Product category	% (total n=504)
Personal care products	53.6 (270)
Fragrances	11.3 (57)
Food	3.0 (15)
Clothes/textiles	4.0 (20)
Vitamins/medicine	2.6 (13)
Appliances	8.3 (42)
For children	2.2 (11)
Services	4.4. (22)
Alcohol / tobacco	4.6 (23)
Vehicles	2.4 (12)
Accessories	2.2 (11)
Household	1.4 (7)
Real estate	0.2 (1)

In *Karavan istorij*, as well as in *Krest'janka*, the majority of ads promote personal care products (53.6%). Other large groups of commodities in *Karavan istorij* include fragrances (11.3%), appliances (8.3%), and alcohol/tobacco (4.6%).

In the following, ads published in *Karavan istorij* are analyzed from the perspective of constructed interpersonal communication (5.2.1), visual organization (5.2.2), and value appeals (5.2.3).

5.2.1. Building relations

Visual interpersonal strategies in ads published in *Karavan istorij* are summarized in Table 5-7.

Visual interpersonal strategies (total n =504)						
Representation, % (n)		Visual address, % (n)		Angle, % (n)		Distance, % (n)	
Fem. single	64.1 (323)	Demand	42.1 (212)	Horiz. oblique	58.5 (295)	Intimate	13.3 (67)
Fem. multiple	2.6 (13)	Offer (people)	36.7 (185)	Horiz. frontal	18.8 (95)	Intimate (metonymy)	4.6 (23)
Fem. & male	7.1 (36)	Offer (objects)	17.9 (90)	Vertical high	3.8 (19)	Close personal	27.0 (136)
Fem. & child	2.6 (13)	Dem. & offer	3.4 (17)	Vertical low	18.8 (95)	Far personal	11.9 (60)
Child/children	1.0 (5)					Close social	21.4 (108)
Family	1.2 (6)					Far social	5.2 (26)
Group – fem.	3.0 (15)					Object(s) close	4.6 (23)
Group – mixed	1.8 (9)					Object(s) middle	11.5 (58)
Object (s)	16.7 (84)					Object(s) long	0.6 (3)

Table 5-7. Visual interpersonal strategies in *Karavan istorij* advertisements

General tendencies coincide with those observed in *Krest'janka* ads. As Table 5-7 indicates, the majority of advertisements utilize images of single females (64.1%). The portrayed personae tend to address the viewer with direct gaze (42.1%) at a close personal distance (27.0%). Horizontal oblique angle is preferred in these representations (58.5%). In fact, these interpersonal strategies are quantitatively more accentuated in *Karavan istorij* than in *Krest'janka* (with the exception of close personal distance). Furthermore, in *Karavan istorij*, images of models who do not 'communicate' with the viewer (36.7%), depicted at a low vertical angle (18.8%) at a close social distance (21.4%) constitute noticeable groups. These representations construct the relations of detachment and/or formality.

Product categories, to a certain extent, predict the way interpersonal communication with the viewer is constructed. In what follows, examples from the largest groups, including personal care products, fragrances and appliances (Table 5-6), are further analyzed from the perspective of constructed communication.

Figures 5-21 and 5-22 are advertisements for personal care products. The represented female models are captured at a low vertical angle, which symbolically lowers the viewer's position and constructs hierarchical relations. Figure 5-21 represents Sharon Stone, the American actress and film producer. The reader is addressed with the following text:

> (5.21) *Sekret <u>večnoj</u>* [GRADUATION: force] *molodosti? Protein dolgoletija* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality]. *Segodnja <u>krasivee</u>* [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction], *čem v 20 let* (*Karavan istorij*, September 2007, 31).

> 'The secret of <u>eternal</u> [GRADUATION: force] youth? The protein of longevity [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality]. Today <u>more beautiful</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] than at the age of 20.'

The visual representation and the verbal appeal position the model as superior to the viewer in that she possesses the secret of eternal youth and can reverse the time flow.

Figure 5-21   Figure 5-22

Figure 5-22 foregrounds a young woman who appears pleased and content with herself while looking at the viewer slightly from top to bottom. A man's face is barely seen in the background as he touches the model's neck. The meaning of the visual representation is specified in the   lead of the advertising text (5.22):

> (5.22) _Ženščina_ [IDENTIFICATION: 3 pers. fem.] _čuvstvuet sebja krasivoj_
> [AFFECT: satisfaction], *i vsë vokrug* _preklonjaetsja_ [APPRECIATION:
> reaction] *pered nej* (*Karavan istorij*, June 2008, 88).

> 'A <u>woman</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 3 pers. fem.] <u>feels beautiful</u> [AFFECT:
> satisfaction], and everything around <u>bows down</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction]
> before her.'

The visual (Figure 5-22) and the verbal (5.22) complement each other and jointly produce the meanings of powerful beauty and superiority. Indeed, low vertical angle of the shot makes the model appear higher than the viewer, and the word *preklonjaetsja* 'bows down before' spells out the meaning of this angle. The use

of red in the model's clothing and in the product design conveys the connotation of power, vigour and emotionality.

In *Karavan istorij*, advertisements for perfumes heavily rely on visual imagery. Verbal messages function as brief commentaries to visual representations. Figure 5-23 is an ad for *Lacoste* fragrance for women. It represents a female model frolicly walking on tiptoes on a long table laid for a number of guests. The visual image (Figure 5-23) plays together with the verbal address (5.23) featured in the centre of the right margin of the layout:

(5.23) *Prikosnovenie <u>stilja</u>* [APPRECIATION: composition] (*Karavan istorij*, December 2006, 19).

'The touch of <u>style</u> [APPRECIATION: composition].'

The word *prikosnovenie* 'touch' is symbolically equated with the model's light walking, or touching the table surface with tiptoes. The concept of style is expressed visually with the help of the black and white representation of an elegantly dressed woman in a room set up for banquet. In this ad, style is also associated with walking on the table in that style is unique and walking on the table is uncommon in everyday life. The model is an object of the viewer's look, since she does not look outside the frame of the ad (5.23).

Figure 5-23
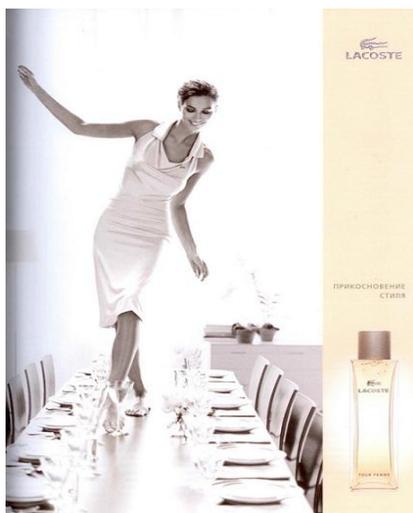
Figure 5-24
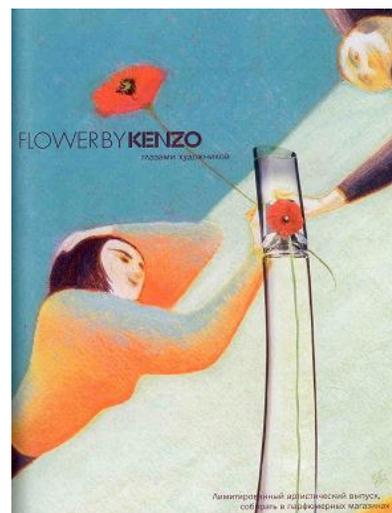
Similarly, Figure 5-24 represents a man and a woman who exist in their own world without 'communicating' with the viewer. The man is giving the woman a red poppy flower as they both fly against the blue background. The slender perfume bottle between them features the image of a poppy flower. The artistic mode of representation (i.e. pastel drawing) implies a certain distance between the viewer and the depiction. The verbal address emphasizes the product name and the authority of artists who created the perfume and its design elements as presented in (5.24):

> (5.24) *Flower by Kenzo* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. *Glazami xudožnikov* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute] (*Karavan istorij*, March 2006, 14).
>
> 'Flower by Kenzo [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. Through the artists' eyes [ENGAGEMENT: attribute].'

Indeed, the author of the drawing in Figure 5-24 is the Italian artist Lorenzo Mattotti who is famous for his illustrations, posters and paintings. This advertisement associates the product with refined elegance and appeals to the consumer's artistic taste. In *Karavan istorij*, ads for perfumes tend to be quite sophisticated in that they position the target addressee as a connoisseur and an intellectual.

Ads for appliances in *Karavan istorij* also tend to appeal to the sense of elitism and uniqueness of the addressee. They present the recipient with commodities and praise their qualities with reference to the reputation of the brand name. For example, Figure 5-25 foregrounds spatially and visually household appliances by Daewoo.
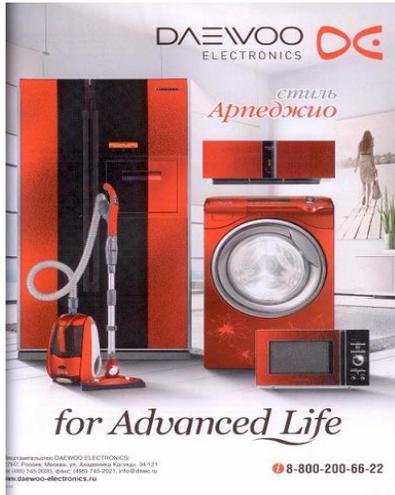
Figure 5-25   Figure 5-26

 The female model is represented from behind in the background as she is walking

away. Thus, it is implied that the appliances can manage household work to let

the owner escape into some outdoor space. Consider the verbal address (5.25)

that is featured in the upper and in the lower part of the layout (Figure 5-25):

> (5.25) <u>*Stil'Arpedžio*</u> [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. *For <u>advanced</u>*
>
> [APPRECIATION: complexity] *life* (*Karavan istorij*, December 2008, 313).
>
> '<u>Arpeggio style</u> [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. For <u>advanced</u> [APPRECIATION:
>
> complexity] life.'

This message praises the style of the appliances and the associated lifestyle of the

owner (5.25). The use of English in *For advanced life* is associated with the

positive evaluation of technological advancements (i.e. English as the language of

modernity) that are available to a limited group of individuals.

     Similarly, Figure 5-26 positions the advertised product as perfect and

exceptional. The *Ardo* washing machine is presented as performing on stage.

The capacity to wash perfectly and to treat the softest fabrics delicately is

associated with the bridal veil. The bouquet on the floor in front of the washing

machine symbolically expresses appreciation. The 'handwritten' verbal message

(5.26.1) at the top of the layout accords with the visual representation (Figure 5-26):

> (5.26.1) *Kogda iščeš'* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' generic] *soveršenstva*... [APPRECIATION: complexity] (*Karavan istorij*, September 2008, 297).

> 'When <u>you</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' generic] are looking for <u>perfection</u> [APPRECIATION: complexity]...'

These jointly convey the connotations of sophistication, vagueness and subtlety, which are particularized in the text (5.26.2) at the bottom of the layout (Figure 5-26):

> (5.26.2) <u>*Kačestvo*</u> [APPRECIATION: valuation] *i ital'janskij <u>stil'</u>* [APPRECIATION: composition] *v <u>soveršennoj garmonii</u>* [GRADUATION: focus; APPRECIATION: composition] (ibid.).

> '<u>Quality</u> [APPRECIATION: valuation] and Italian <u>style</u> [APPRECIATION: composition] in <u>perfect harmony</u> [GRADUATION: focus; APPRECIATION: composition].'

In (5.26.2), the concepts of perfection, elitism and performativity are constructed with reference to the 'Italianness' of the promoted commodity. 'Italianness' in turn is associated with elegance, performativity and romance in Russian culture.

In sum, product category, to a certain extent, predicts the way interpersonal communication with the addressee is constructed. Thus, ads for personal care products tend to address the viewer directly by way of establishing 'eye contact' at a personal or social distance. Ads for luxury products, including fragrances, are more conceptual and indirect. Texts that advertise appliances are somewhat similar in that these operate concepts to create fantasy representations, rather than portray the addressee as a housekeeper.

5.2.2. Building images

Advertisements published in *Karavan istorij* variously organize their visual spaces. The spatial allocation of layout elements attaches particular meanings to these elements. General types of spatial positioning of layout elements are

summarized in (Table 5-8). In *Karavan istorij*, similarly to *Krest'janka*, 'centre-margins' layout is the least frequently used type of visual organization (4.8% and 9.0% respectively). 'Ideal-real,' in its turn, is the dominant layout type in *Karavan istorij* (56.5%), whereas 'given-new' is less common than 'ideal-real' (38.7%). In the following, examples are provided and analyzed from the perspective of meaning construction.

Table 5-8. Information value of visual elements in *Karavan istorij* advertisements

Given-new, % (n)	Ideal-real, % (n)	Centre-margins, % (n)	Total
38.7 (195)	56.5 (285)	4.8 (24)	100 (504)

The 'ideal-real' dimension is exemplified in Figure 5-27. This ad for Baileys Irish Cream liqueur represents a group of dressed up young people who enjoy themselves while being on the roof of a building and consuming the advertised product. The skyline of a night city with a myriad of lights sets the background.
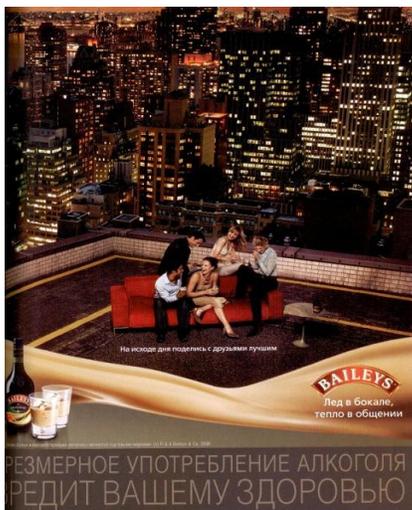
Figure 5-27   Figure 5-28
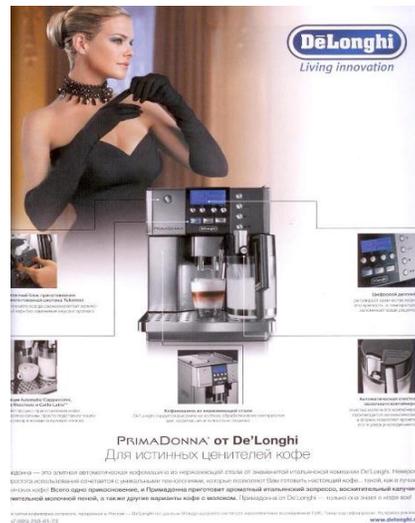
The 'ideal' yields an attractive image of night life powered by the energy of a city. The vertical orientation of skyscrapers and the focal point, that is, the roof of one of the buildings where young people are entertaining themselves, appeal to

one's aspirations to high social status and belonging to a group of individuals whose lifestyles are similar. Consider text (5.27.1) that appears underneath the image of a group of people and the slogan (5.27.2) featured underneath the Baileys logo in the lower right corner (Figure 5-27):

> (5.27.1) *Na isxode dnja <u>podelis'</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *s <u>druz'jami</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] <u>*lučšim*</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] (*Karavan istorij*, March 2007, 169).
>
> 'At the end of the day <u>share</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] <u>the best</u> [GRADUATION: force; APPRECIATION: reaction] with <u>your friends</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational].'

> (5.27.2) *Lëd v bokale*, <u>*teplo v obščenii*</u> [AFFECT: affection] (ibid.).
>
> 'Ice in glass, <u>warmth in communication</u> [AFFECT: affection].'

This advertising appeal (5.27.1) and the slogan (5.27.2) emphasize the importance of friendship and interpersonal communication. Considered in the visual context, this message probably reflects the importance of being loyal to a group in a corporate culture. Indeed, the advertismenet features a downtown setting, which is typically associated with business activity during the day (Figure 5-25). Skyscrapers that surround the focal point (i.e.the roof of the building with the group of people celebrating) metaphorically stand for ambitions and aspirations.

Figure 5-28 is another example of the 'ideal-real' composition.   This advertisement for De'Longhi espresso machine named Prima Donna portrays a young woman in a black evening gown. The model is partially turned away from the viewer as she is looking in the middle distance. She is captured at a low vertical angle, which conveys the meaning of power and superiority over the viewer. The connotations of the word prima donna (i.e. leading lady, diva, and opera star) play together with the visual representation and with the verbal appeal (5.28):

(5.28) *Prima Donna <u>ot De'Longhi</u>* [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. <u>*Dlja istinnyx*</u> <u>*cenitelej kofe*</u>. [APPRECIATION: complexity; IDENTIFICATION: inclusive/exclusive] (*Karavan istorij*, December 2008, 263).

'Prima Donna <u>of De'Longhi</u> [ENGAGEMENT: attribute]. <u>For true coffee</u> <u>connoisseurs</u> [APPRECIATION: complexity; IDENTIFICATION: inclusive/exclusive].'

In (5.28), the use of the name *Prima Donna* and the expression *dlja istinnyx cenitelej kofe* 'for true coffee connoisseurs' suggest that the advertised product aims to reach a particualar group of consumers. The target addressee is supposed to identify with aspirations for elitism and gourmandise.

The 'given-new' layout type is also variously realized in ads published in *Karavan istorij*. Along with representations where 'given' is the established standard and 'new' is the means to achieve this standard (Machin 2007, 141), there is another set of meanings attached to the visual elements in a 'given-new' layout. In *Karavan istorij*, certain ads position advertised products in the 'given' area and models are portrayed in the 'new' part of the layout. For example, Figure 5-29 represents the advertised product (i.e. Gucci Eau de Perfume II) as 'given' and the model as 'new.'

Figure 5-29
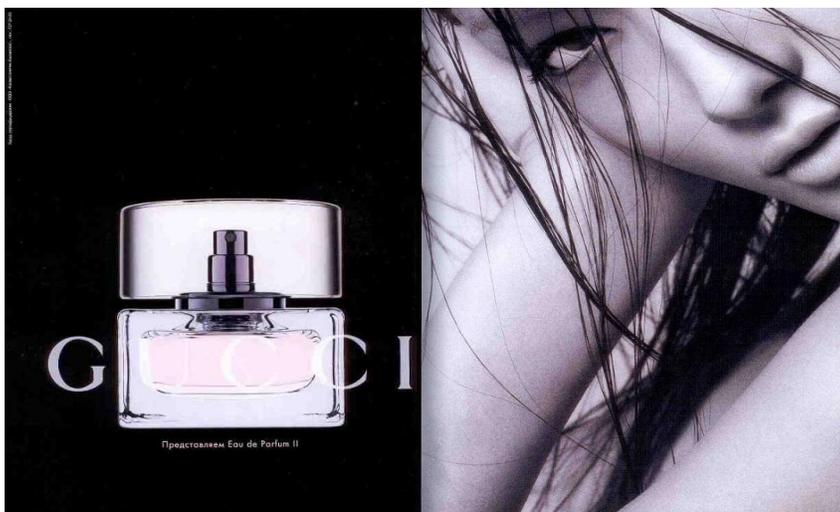
The verbal appeal that accompanies the image of the perfume bottle is the following:

(5.29) _Predstavljaem_ [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] _Eau de Perfume II_ (_Karavan istorij_, March 2006, 8-9).

'[We] present [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] Eau de Perfume II.

Text (5.29) seeks to establish the authority of the producer with the help of the 'my' professional form _predstavljaem_ 'we present.' Thus, this advertisement highlights the brand name and the advertised product, while avoiding addressing the consumer.

In Figure 5-29, the bottle design complements the verbal appeal. Indeed, its rectangular shape conveys connotation s of stability, structure, basics, and balance. The model is depersonalised, to a certain extent, since only a part of her face is seen. The colours use low saturation that makes them appear almost black and white. In this message, low saturation (i.e. low emotive 'temperature' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 233)), visual and verbal emphasis on the product and the self-asserting appeal (5.29) are power strategies. These emphasize the prestige and status of _Gucci_, one of the world's most successful manufacturers and designers that was founded in Italy in 1921.

The analysis of advertisements published in _Karavan istorij_ indicates that general types of layout organization (mainly 'ideal-real' and 'given-new') have distinct realizations. 'Ideal-real' layouts largely contribute to the promotion of so-called status consumption, where relatively expensive products are associated with 'sophisticated' lifestyles. The 'given-new' layout, along with the common pattern 'model-product,' uses the 'product-model' scheme. The latter occurs only in _Karavan istorij_ in advertisements for established high-quality consumer products.

5.2.3. Building the consumer: value appeals in advertisements in _Karavan istorij_

Karavan istorij offers a diverse array of advertising appeals. Particular messages are grouped into categories along the lines of horizontal / vertical

individualism and collectivism. Table 5-9 outlines the types of appeals in ads published in *Karavan istorij.*

Table 5-9. Types of advertising appeals in *Karavan istorij*

	Horizontal (self at the same level as others)	*Vertical (self in a hierarchy relative to others)*
Individualism (independent self)	- being distinct / unique - personal needs / comfort - hedonism - self-directed, knowledgeable - seductive	- authority / status - standing out - competing and achieving
Collectivism (interdependent self)	- benevolent relationships - cooperation - common goals with others - long-term orientation	- in-group harmony - conformity to social norms - social appropriateness

Table 5-10 provides the frequencies of identified advertising appeals. These are subdivided into value-expressive and utilitarian ones.

Table 5-10. Frequencies of advertising appeals in *Karavan istorij*

Advertising appeals		% (n) Total 100 (504)
Value-expressive appeals	Horizontal Individualism	39.9 (201)
	Vertical Individualism	24.5 (124)
	Horizontal Collectivism	23.6 (119)
	Vertical Collectivism	1.6 (8)
Utilitarian appeals	Technological	10.3 (52)

According to Table 5-10, individualistic appeals clearly dominate in ads published in *Karavan istorij* (HI – 39.9%, VI – 24.5%). HI orientation mostly translates into messages that invite the reader to be distinct and unique. Figure 5-30 provides an example of a HI value appeal. This ad for *Estée Lauder* facial foundation named *Individualist* addresses the reader as follows:

(5.30) *Vaša* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *krasota*
[APPRECIATION: reaction] – *éto Vaša individual'nost'* (*Karavan istorij*,
September 2006, 2-3).

'Your [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] beauty [APPRECIATION:
reaction] is your individuality.'

Figure 5-30

Example 5.30 conveys a markedly respectful attitude toward the addressee by
way of acknowledging her individuality (i.e. uniqueness). Furthermore, it uses a
second-person singular formal pronoun *Vaša* 'your – fem.' to mark the
addressee's social status. The visual representation accords with the verbal
message in that it represents a white and a black woman who appear unique, self-
sufficient and respectful to each other. Thus, orientation toward HI in (Figure 5-
30) is constructed through the implied message that each person is a distinct
individual who deserves a respectful attitude.

Hedonism is the type of HI value appeal which does not occur in
Krest'janka corpus. In *Karavan istorij*, appeals to hedonism typically occur in
ads for vacation, cigarettes and perfumes. For instance, Figure 5-31, the
advertisement for *Sobranie* cigarettes, features the slogan:

(5.31) *Mogu* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal; JUDGEMENT: capacity] *sebe
pozvolit'* (*Karavan istorij*, September 2007, 179).

'[I] can [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal; JUDGEMENT: capacity] afford it.'

Figure 5-31   Figure 5-32

Figure 5-31 represents a female model sitting in a bath tub with rose petals. She is holding a full champagne glass while contemplating the city through the open window. She is turned away from the viewer as if she were rather interested in the city view. Thus, the verbal appeal (5.31) and the visual representation convey the meaning of hedonism and pleasure.

VI orientation is the second most frequently used category in *Karavan istorij* (24.5%), where appeals to authority and status are particularly prominent (16%). On a par with advertisements representing celebrities, similarly to those featured in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* also publishes ads that resort to the authority of producers and reputation of advertised products. An advertisement for the Sochi hotel Radisson SAS Lazurnaya provides an example (Figure 5-32). The visually salient verbal message reads:

(5.32) *"YES" – edinstvennoe slovo*, *kotore JA XOČU* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal; AFFECT: desire] *slyšat'. Radisson SAS Lazurnaja – pervoklassnyj* [APPRECIATION: valuation] *otel' v Soči* (*Karavan istorij*, June 2006, 161).

'"YES" is the only word that <u>I WANT</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal;

AFFECT: desire] to hear. Radisson SAS Lazurnaya – <u>the first-class</u>

[APPRECIATION: valuation] hotel in Sochi.'

The words YES and JA XOČU in (5.32) are presented in bigger letters to emphasize the implied position of a potential customer of the hotel. The right to demand services and to be served implicitly suggests a social hierarchy that involves the customer and the hotel personnel. Thus, the discussed advertising appeal conveys a VI orientation.

Orientation toward HC in *Karavan istorij* (23.6%) is less prominent than individualistic appeals. An ad for *Olay* skin care product provides an example of a HC appeal (Figure 5-33), which is accompanied by the following text:

(5.33) *83% <u>rossijskix ženščin</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: collective],

poprobovavšix Olay, *rekomendujut ego <u>svoim podrugam</u>*

[IDENTIFICATION: relational] (*Karavan istorij*, September 2007, 115).

'83% of <u>Russian women</u> [IDENTIFICATION: collective] who tried Olay

recommend it to <u>their female friends</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational].'

This message (5.33) explicitly attempts at tapping into the local market by way of addressing Russian women as a group. It emphasizes positive trustworthy relations and thus builds on the highly valued HC concepts of friendship and interpersonal relations.

Figure 5-33   Figure 5-34
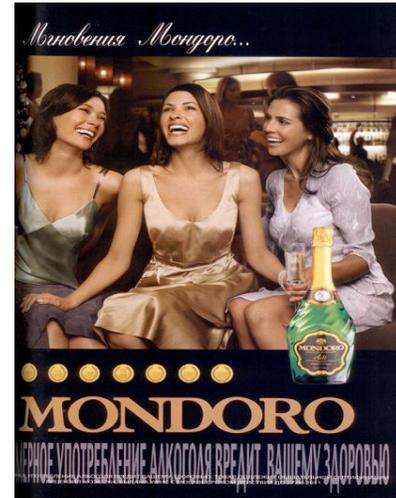
Orientation toward HC is also constructed in Figure 5-34. It represents a group of young women enjoying themselves in a bar and having the Italian sparkling wine *Mondoro*. The verbal appeal is limited to the following expression:

(5.34) *Mgnovenija Mondoro* (*Karavan istorij*, December 2006, 30).

'The moments of Mondoro.'

In example (5.34), the alcoholic beverage is associated with enjoyable memories of pastime spent in a company of friends.

In sum, advertising messages in *Karavan istorij* follow both collectivistic and individualistic orientations, whereby the latter clearly dominate. HI messages emphasize the addressee's uniqueness, independence and personal freedom of self-expression. VI texts appeal to the reader's aspirations to prestige and high social status. Collectivistically oriented messages are less prominent in *Karavan istorij*, where appeals to VC constitute an insignificant group (1.6%).

5.3. Multimodal analysis of advertisements in *Samaja*

Samaja is rich in advertisements. Their distribution according to the product categories is presented in Table 5-11.

Table 5-11. Product categories in *Samaja* advertisements

Product category	% (total n=450)
Personal care products	47.3 (213)
Fragrances	1.1 (5)
Food	8.9 (40)
Clothes/textiles	4.0 (18)
Vitamins/medicine	6.7 (30)
Appliances	5.8 (26)
For children	8.7 (39)
Services	6.4 (29)
Alcohol / tobacco	2.7 (12)
Vehicles	0.7 (3)
Accessories	4.2 (19)
Household	3.6 (16)
Real estate	--

As Table 5-11 indicates, personal care products constitute the top category in *Samaja* corpus (47.3%), similarly to *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij*. Other popular categories in *Samaja* include food (8.9%), products for children (8.7%), and vitamins/medicine (6.7%). The two latter categories are also prominent in the *Krest'janka* corpus. Ads from the top categories are used to provide samples of analysis of constructed interpersonal communication (5.3.1). Visual images are investigated with respect to layout types and information value of visual elements (5.3.2). Value orientations of advertising messages that are used to construct subject positions are considered in (5.3.3).

5.3.1. Building relations

Visual interpersonal strategies in ads published in *Samaja* display similar tendencies to ads in *Krest'janka* and in *Karavan istorij*. These are summarized in Table 5-12.

Visual interpersonal strategies (total =450)						
Representation, % (n)		Visual address, % (n)		Angle, % (n)		Distance, % (n)	
Fem. single	45.6 (205)	Demand	36.2 (163)	Horiz. oblique	71.1 (320)	Intimate	5.3 (24)
Fem. multiple	5.6 (25)	Offer (people)	30.4 (137)	Horiz. frontal	21.1 (95)	Intimate (metonymy)	4.9 (22)
Fem. & male	5.6 (25)	Offer (objects)	28.7 (129)	Vertical high	1.8 (8)	Close personal	19.3 (87)
Fem. & child	2.4 (11)	Dem. & offer	4.7 (21)	Vertical low	6 (27)	Far personal	9.6 (43)
Male[45]	0.4 (2)					Close social	26.4 (119)
Child/children	4.4 (20)					Far social	5.1 (23)
Family	1.8 (8)					Object(s) close	4.4 (20)
Group–fem.	2.4 (11)					Object(s) middle	21.6 (97)
Group –mixed	2.9 (13)					Object(s) long	3.3 (15)
*Expert[46]	1.3 (6)						
Object (s)	27.6 (124)						

Table 5-12. Visual interpersonal strategies in *Samaja* advertisements

---

[45] Representation is found only in *Samaja.*

[46] Experts are identified as such (e.g. doctors) and are featured in advertisements whose copies appear as interviews or expert advice (i.e. 'advertorials'). The authority of these professionals is used to address certain concerns and to answer questions regarding advertised products.

As Table 5-12 indicates, the majority of advertisements utilize images of single females (45.6%). Represented personae tend to establish 'eye contact' with the viewer (36.2%) at a close social distance (26.4%). Horizontal oblique angle is preferred in these representations (71.1%). Constructed interpersonal communication in *Samaja* advertisements is further analyzed and examples are provided.

Advertisements for major product categories in *Samaja* are generally similar to those in *Krest'janka* (section 5.1.1). Additionally, *Samaja* extensively publishes ads that actively use the verbal channel and try to reach the reader through direct speech of represented personae, opinions and comments on the advertised products. Figure 5-35 below provides an example of an interactive verbally-driven message. This ad features a title that directly addresses the reader (5.35):

> (5.35) *Neraskrytye sekrety <u>Vašej</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] <u>*krasoty*</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction] (*Samaja*, December 2008, 37).
> 'Undiscovered secrets of <u>your</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] <u>beauty</u> [APPRECIATION: reaction].'

In (5.35), the address form *Vašej* 'your-sg. formal' is used to establish a personal contact with the reader. This title line is followed by an elaborate text that includes mock letters of women who speak about their lifestyles and ask for advice about optimal skin care. These letters feature pictures of their authors, mention their names, age, and home town and use italics to resemble handwriting. The questions are answered by a Doctor of Medicine. Afterwards, in the lower half of the layout, the benefits of the advertised skin care product are presented. This ad foregrounds the reader's perspective through visually salient readers' letters. It acknowledges the diversity of the audience by way of presenting three women who pursue varying interests and lifestyles. The advertised product is presented as a series, which implies the availability of choice to satisfy varying needs. In sum, this text creates relations of equality and solidarity with the reader.

Figure 5-35   Figure 5-36

Figure 5-36 features a Rexona advertisement. Similarly to the previous text
(Figure 5-35), this Rexona ad explicitly communicates with the reader. Consider
texts (5.36.1) and (5.36.2) placed at the top of the layout (Figure 5-36):

> (5.36.1) *Vyberi svoj* [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)]
> *antiperspirant*. (*Samaja*, December 2008, 77).
> 'Select your [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)]
> antiperspirant.'

> (5.36.2) *Otmet'* [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] *frazy*, *s
> kotorymi ty soglasna*, *i opredeli*, *kakoj variant podxodit imenno tebe!*
> (ibid.)
> 'Tick off [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] phrases that you
> agree with and identify the variant that is right for you!'

Informal imperative address form *vyberi* 'select' (second person singular) in
(5.36.1) and the demand to participate in the offered test in (5.36.2) aim at
shortening the distance and establishing close interpersonal relations. Solidarity is
negotiated through the availability of product choice (Figure 5-36). Equal scaling
of multiple objects implies non-hierarchical relations.

A busy and lively environment is created in Figure 5-37. The image of juice pouring into a glass and splashing about, bright colours and lines project the meaning of motion and energy. Consider the verbal address (5.37) featured in the centre-right area of the layout (Figure 5-37):

(5.37) _Zarjadis'_ [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] _énergiej vitaminov!_ (_Samaja_, December 2008, 81).

'Get energized [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] by the energy of vitamins!'

Figure 5-37   Figure 5-38

Example (5.37) uses the informal imperative form _zarjadis'_ 'get energized' in an exclamatory sentence that is handwritten. The verbal and the visual in this message interplay as if the sender and the receiver were members of the same peer group, where informality and directness are the markers of communication.

The reader is invited to identify with the lifestyle proposed in Figure 5-38. The title of this message _Den' v stile "Pozitiv"_ 'A day in the "Positive" style' is expanded with the help of a day plan that starts and ends with the advertised shower gel. Other events invite the addressee to pamper and enjoy herself, as follows from (5.38):

(5.38) *Ustanovi* [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] *novyj screen saver na komp'jutere – kakuju-nibud'* [INVOLVEMENT: colloquial] *fotografiju iz otpuska – éto otlično podnimaet nastroenie* [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: cheer]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (*Samaja*, December 2007, 91).

'Set [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] a new screen saver on your computer – any [INVOLVEMENT: colloquial in Rus.] picture from vacation – it will cheer you up perfectly [GRADUATION: force; AFFECT: cheer]! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation].'

In (5.38), the mention of vacation and the English expression 'screen saver' appeal to the educated and dynamic audience. The indefinite pronoun *kakoj-nibud'* 'any' (compare to *ljuboj* 'any') is highly colloquial in Russian. Its use gives an air of live spontaneous speech. An exclamation mark at the end of the sentence signifies the emotionality of the appeal.

In sum, dominant visual representations in *Samaja* advertisements are consonant with those in *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij* (Table 5-12). This subsection focuses on those realizations of constructed interpersonal communication that constitute a substantial group and, at the same time, are unique to *Samaja*. In particular, numerous ads in the magazine appeal directly to the reader through the verbal channel. Informal communicative devices and busy layouts with multiple visual elements shape non-hierarchical intimate relations with the addressee.

5.3.2. Building images

The patterns of spatial arrangement of visual elements in *Samaja* ads are outlined in Table 5-13.

Table 5-13. Information value of visual elements in *Samaja* advertisements

Given-new, % (n)	Ideal-real, % (n)	Centre-margins, % (n)	Total
24.9 (112)	70.2 (316)	4.9 (22)	100 (450)

As Table 5-13 indicates, 70.2% of ads published in *Samaja* utilize 'ideal-real' layout, which outnumbers considerably the use of 'ideal-real' ads in *Krest'janka* (46%) and *Karavan istorij* (56.5%). Partially, this is due to the use of a vertical orientation in ads that occupy a left or a right part of the page. In *Samaja*, these ads constitute 14.9% of the entire corpus (compare *Karavan istorij*– 3.2% and *Krest'janka*– 12.4%).

'Ideal-real' layout in a vertically-oriented ad that occupies a half of the page is exemplified in Figure 5-39. The 'ideal' is represented by the image of the desired state, which is sleek slender legs. The model dressed in flowers is walking on tiptoes upwards. This representation conveys the connotations of lightness and freshness, which is echoed in the slogan line in the middle of the layout (5.39):

(5.39) *Podari sebe* [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] *letnee nastroenie s Byly!* (*Samaja*, June 2008, 89).

'Present yourself with [IDENTIFICATION: 'you' informal (imperative)] the summer spirit with Byly!'

In (5.39), the slogan line is handwritten to appear as a personal message to the addressee. The second-person singular imperative form *Podari sebe* 'present yourself with' directly addresses the reader. The expression *Letnee nastroenie* 'summer spirit' interplays with the visual representation of flowers and upward movement.

Samaja publishes a number of ads that imitate other media genres and thus mitigate their initial motivation to promote commodities (e.g. expert columns, letters from the readership, and other editorial materials).

Figure 5-39   Figure 5-40

For instance, Figure 5-40 is an advertisement for *L'Étoile* cosmetics that is designed as a magazine cover. The 'editorial materials' that introduce *L'Étoile* products are featured under the headings *Znakom'tes'* (imperative, second-person plural form) 'get to know' and *vstrečajte solnce* (imperative, second-person plural form) 'meet the sun.' The French singer Patricia Kaas, who enjoys popularity in Russia, is represented on the cover. She is portrayed at a low vertical angle with a parasol in her hand as if protecting both herself and the viewer from the sun. Underneath the image, the words of the celebrity are featured (5.40):

> (5.40) *Patrisia Kaas "Ja priglašaju* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] *vas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/collective] *v L'Etual'!* (*Samaja*, June 2008, 7).

> 'Patricia Kaas "I invite [IDENTIFICATION: 'ja' personal] you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respect/collective] to L'Étoile" [ENGAGEMENT: attribute].'

Example (5.40) and the image of Patricia Kaas shape the 'ideal' of the layout. The 'real' in this ad is given a minimal visibility. It features the web site and the telephone number for *L'Étoile* in Russia on a narrow black band at the bottom of the layout (Figure 5-40).

The 'ideal-real' layout type in *Samaja* ads co-occurs with personalized verbal appeals. The 'ideal' representations and accompanying textual messages tend to construct an idealized emotionally coloured world. The value of bonding and cooperation is accentuated in these messages. The significance of the 'real' is visually less salient than that of the 'ideal.'

5.3.3. Building the consumer: value appeals in advertisements in *Samaja*

The selection of value appeals in *Samaja* is similar to that in *Karavan istorij* with respect to its diversity along the lines of individualism and collectivism. Table 5-14 outlines types of appeals in ads published in *Samaja*. These types are identified based on the analysis of advertising appeals in the magazine.

Table 5-14. Types of advertising appeals in *Samaja*

	Horizontal *(self at the same level as others)*	*Vertical* *(self in a hierarchy relative to others)*
Individualism (independent self)	- personal needs / comfort - being distinct / unique - self-directed, knowledgeable - hedonism	- authority / status - standing out - competing and achieving
Collectivism (interdependent self)	- benevolent relationships - cooperation - common goals with others	- in-group harmony - social appropriateness - conformity to social norms

Table 5-15 provides the frequencies of identified advertising appeals. These are subdivided into value-expressive and utilitarian ones.

Table 5-15. Frequencies of advertising appeals in *Samaja*

Advertising appeals		% (n)	Total 100 (450)
Value-expressive appeals	Horizontal Individualism	34.9 (157)	
	Vertical Individualism	16.0 (72)	
	Horizontal Collectivism	35.1 (158)	
	Vertical Collectivism	5.3 (24)	
Utilitarian appeals	Technological	8.7 (39)	

According to Table 5-15, the distribution of value-expressive appeals in *Samaja* is proximate to that in *Krest'janka* (see Table 5.5). In the following, appeals in *Samaja* ads are discussed and examples are provided.

With respect to HI orientation, *Samaja* (34.9%) occupies an intermediate position between *Krest'janka* (29.2%) and *Karavan istorij* (39.9%). In particular, appeals to personal needs are the most widely used in *Samaja* and in *Krest'janka*, whereas ads in *Karavan istorij* emphasize the need to be distinct and unique. The former two tend to gravitate towards the utilitarian end, and the latter aims at self-expression.

In *Samaja* ads, appeals to be unique and distinct form the second largest group among HI appeals. Figure 5-41 is an ad for women's cigarettes *Glamour Superslims*. It uses black and white to portray the model in a shimmery sequined dress. The slogan line and the product title use pink to create a navigation path that allows to associate visually these elements of the layout and, arguably, to emphasize that the implied recipient is a woman.

Figure 5-41
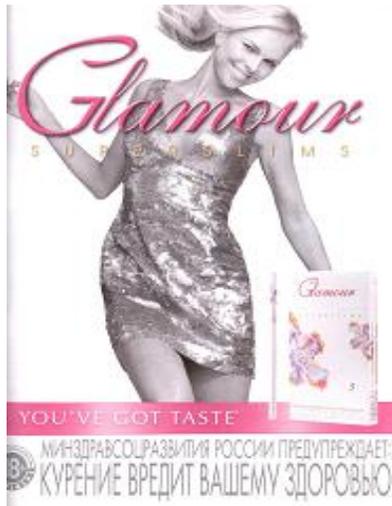
The slogan line *You've got taste* uses English and the translation is provided along the left margin with the help of a very small font size *v tvoëm vkuse* 'In your taste.'

In *Samaja*, appeals to VI are largely voiced through calls to participate in various contests to win prizes. For example, Figure 5-42 invites the reader to participate in *Glamour* advertising campaign and win the main prize – a mink fur coat (5.42). This appeal is featured in the upper right part of the layout (Figure 5-42):

> (5.42) *Akcija Glamour. <u>Vyigraj</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *norkovuju <u>šubku</u>* [INVOLVEMENT: diminutive] (*Samaja*, September 2007, 15).

> '*Glamour* campaign. <u>Win</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] the mink <u>fur coat</u> [INVOLVEMENT: diminutive].'

The imperative *vyigraj* 'win' in (5.42) is a second-person singular form that helps shorten the distance between the addresser and the addressee. A diminutive form *šubka* 'fur coat' is used to construct a playful mood and to mitigate the value of the prize to win. For years, however, mink fur has been a symbol of luxury and a high social status in Russia.

233

Figure 5-42   Figure 5-43

Figure 5-43 invites the addressee to compete for the right to represent *Kolber* in Russia, a Swiss producer of high quality wrist watches. The appeal featured in the middle of the second page of the spread reads:

> (5.43) *Stan'* [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *licom Kolber v Rossii* (*Samaja*, March 2007, 42-43).
>
> 'Become [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] the face of Kolber in Russia.'

Example (5.43), similarly to (5.42), uses an informal direct tone through the second-person singular imperative form *stan'* 'become.' Both texts under discussion promote luxury products and appeal to the ideal addressee's aspirations towards a high social status. In general, *Samaja* is notable for ads that not only advertise goods, but also invite readers to participate in various contests.

Similarly to *Krest'janka*, HC orientation in *Samaja* (35.1%) is almost equally represented as HI orientation. Thus, the value of interpersonal solidary relations is accentuated. In *Samaja*, the types of these relations are particularly diversified and balanced. The target addressee is identified as a member of her female peer group, as a member of a large women's community, as a working woman, as a person enjoying men's attention, as a wife and mother.

In Figure 5-44, which is a dry cleaners ad, the addressee is constructed as a member of her peer group. This ad represents three communicating women in different contexts.

Figure 5-44   Figure 5-45

The address line is placed above the three images:

> (5.44) *Xorošie novosti!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] *Uznaj*
> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *bol'še – rasskaži druz'jam*
> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (*Samaja*, September 2006, 167).
> 'Good news! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] Find out [IDENTIFICATION:
> 'ty' informal (imperative)] more and let your friends [IDENTIFICATION:
> relational] know.'

Solidarity is constructed between the addresser and the addressee by way of emphasizing friendship relations and the need to share the news with friends (5.44). The imperative *uznaj bol'še* 'find out more' is a second-person singular form that helps construct the informal discourse of the ad. The model to the right is covering the lower part of her face with the side of her hand while speaking (Figure 5-44). This gesture signals gossiping and sharing secrets. This representation is visually prominent, since it portrays the model's face in full. The two other images show only the lower part of the models' faces, apparently, to emphasize the concept of communication.

Figure 5-45 is an ad for *Dove* hair products. In contrast to the previous message (Figure 5-44), it represents multiple females whose unity is based on their differences with respect to hair styles, age and race. The body copy in the bottom left part opens with the following:

> (5.45) *Volosy <u>dlja ženščiny</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 3rd person fem. (generic)] – *éto sposob samovyraženija* (*Samaja*, March 2006, 23).
>
> 'Hair <u>for a woman</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 3rd person fem. (generic)] is a way of self-expression.'

In (5.45), the expression *dlja ženščiny* 'for a woman' is used generically to include all women and thus to construct a sense of a common goal. Simultaneously, example 5.45, as well as the visual representation of multiple females, where the image of each is lightly framed (Figure 5-45), suggest an orientation toward individualism. Indeed, women are constructed as pursuing a common goal, on the one hand, and as self-reliant individuals who achieve this goal in distinct ways, on the other hand.

The implied addressee is also constructed as a working woman, as demonstrated in Figure 5-46. The address line (5.46.1) in this ad for *Twix* candy bars is featured in large print at the top of the layout:

> (5.46.1) *Čto obsudit' na pereryve?*[INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (*Samaja*, December 2008, 181).
>
> 'What to discuss at lunch break? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality].'

The question in (5.46.1) is the title of a mock test that the reader is invited to do in order to find out what particular kind of the advertised product matches her needs. The lead to the test placed in the top left corner of the layout (Figure 5-46) reads:

> (5.46.2) *Čego-čego*, *a <u>interesnyx</u>* [AFFECT: interest] *razgovorov s <u>kollegami</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *<u>Vam</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *ne zanimat'!* [PRESUPPOSITION: inscribed] *O čëm lično <u>Vas</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *<u>tjanet poboltat'</u>* [INVOLVEMENT: closeness (colloquial)], *gljadja na kartinki <u>našego</u>*

[IDENTIFICATION: 'my' professional] *testa?* [INVOLVEMENT:

dialogicality] (ibid.).

'<u>You are</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] certainly not short on

<u>interesting</u> [AFFECT: interest] conversations with <u>your colleagues</u>

[IDENTIFICATION: relational]! What do <u>you</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy'

respectful/formal] personally <u>feel like chatting about</u> [INVOLVEMENT:

closeness (colloquial)] while looking at <u>our</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my'

professional] test images? [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality].'

In (5.46.2), the distance between the addresser and the addressee is mitigated

through the inscribed presupposition that the reader values interpersonal

communication at work. Furthermore, this communication is presented as

informal and friendly through the word *poboltat'* 'to chat.' In Figure 5-46, each

of the test images is accompanied by a group of messages that could be associated

with the images. A single test image relates to work, while others highlight such

spheres of interest as family, vacation, art, fashion, and personal care. This mock

test implies that the addressee prioritizes personal life and leisure activities over

career.

Figure 5-47 is an ad for the *Citroen C3* vehicle. It represents two firemen

washing the vehicle with the help of fire hoses. The slogan line placed in the top

left corner directly addresses the reader:

(5.47.1) <u>*Gotov'sja*</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] *k znakam*

vnimanija (*Samaja*, December 2006, 35).

'<u>Get ready</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'ty' informal (imperative)] for signs of

attention.'

Text 5.47.1 uses the second-person singular imperative form *gotov'sja* 'get ready'

and points to informality and closeness with the addressee.

Figure 5-46

Figure 5-47
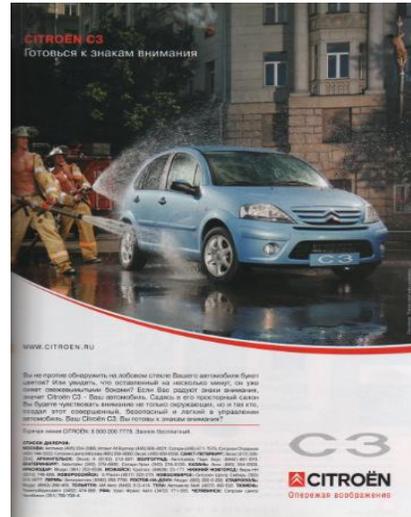
The body copy (5.47.2) placed underneath the image in the left part (Figure 5-47) further addresses the reader:

(5.47.2) *Vy* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *ne protiv obnaružit' na lobovom stekle Vašego avtomobilja buket cvetov? Ili uvidet', čto ostavlennyj na neskol'ko minut*, *on uže sijaet sveževymytymi bokami?* [INVOLVEMENT: elliptical] *Esli Vas* [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] *radujut* [AFFECT: cheer] *znaki vnimanija*, *značit Citroen C3 - Vaš avtomobil'* [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality] (ibid.).

'Do you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] mind to find a bunch of flowers on your windshield? Or to see it [vehicle] shining with just washed fenders after you left it for a few minutes? [INVOLVEMENT: elliptical] If you [IDENTIFICATION: 'vy' respectful/formal] like [AFFECT: cheer] signs of attention, then Citroen C3 is your vehicle. [INVOLVEMENT: dialogicality].

Example 5.47.2 with multiple direct address forms and interrogative constructions is highly interactive. INVOLVEMENT strategies, including the elliptical sentence that starts with *Ili uvidet'* 'or to see' and the imaginary dialogue with the reader that follows the question-response model, contribute to the personalization of the

message. This text constructs imaginary situations in which the addressee could receive signs of attention. An automobile is presented as a mediator in these situations. The verbal address (5.47.1-5.47.2) and the visual image (Figure 5-47) imply the presence of a female addressee. These two modes of communication jointly produce the meaning of playfulness and closeness.

Figure 5-48 presents an ad for Nissan Note automobile. It features images that centre around the advertised vehicle.

Figure 5-48   Figure 5-49

In Figure 5-48, the addressee is constructed as a parent and a family woman through photograph captions apparently made by a child's hand. These occur under each picture in Figure 5-48. Consider the captions in (5.48.1):

(5.48.1) *Mama* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *ljubit* [AFFECT: pleasure] *cvety*, *naša sobaka* [IDENTIFICATION: relational], *mama i papa* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *na gorke*, *my* [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] *jedem na piknik*, *moj miška* [IDENTIFICATION: relational], *moja* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] *ljubimaja* [AFFECT: affection] *mašina* (*Samaja,* September 2006, 13).

'Mum [IDENTIFICATION: relational] likes [AFFECT: pleasure] flowers, our dog [IDENTIFICATION: relational], mum and dad [IDENTIFICATION:

relational] on a hill, <u>we are</u> [IDENTIFICATION: 'my' inclusive] going on a picnic, <u>my teddy bear</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational], <u>my</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational] <u>favourite</u> [AFFECT: affection] <u>car</u>.'

The slogan that occurs below images summarizes and reinforces the message of this ad:

(5.48.2) *Nissan Note. <u>Sčastlivye</u>* [AFFECT: cheer] *momenty <u>semejnoj žizni</u>* [IDENTIFICATION: relational] (ibid.).

'Nissan Note. <u>Happy</u> [AFFECT: cheer] moments of <u>family life</u> [IDENTIFICATION: relational].'

Text (5.48.2) generalizes the particular meanings expressed in (5.48.1) and positively evaluates them with reference to the advertised vehicle. In Figure 5-48, the visual and the verbal mode collaboratively construct the putative addressee through the prism of a child's memories and emotions of affection and liking.

Appeals to VC constitute the smallest group in *Samaja* (5.3%), similarly to *Krest'janka* (6.7%) and *Karavan istorij* (1.6%). These imply the need to belong to a group, to comply with group norms and meet social expectations.

Consider Figure 5-49, which is an ad for *Calve* mayonnaise. It represents traditional New Year dishes in Russia and an element of a decorated New Year tree. The verbal address is the following:

(5.49) <u>*Bol'še*</u> [GRADUATION: force] *Calve k <u>ljubimomu</u>* [AFFECT: affection] *prazdniku!* [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation] (*Samaja*, December 2007, 121).

'<u>More</u> [GRADUATION: force] Calve for the <u>favourite</u> [AFFECT: affection] holiday! [INVOLVEMENT: exclamation].'

In (5.49), the evaluative phrase *k ljubimomu prazdniku* 'for the favourite holiday' implies that the addressee is expected to share this positive attitude. Self-identification in this context denotes belonging to a group of people who also consider New Year their favourite holiday and sharing the group norms, including traditional food and decorations.

As demonstrated above, ads published in *Samaja* use various types of value orientations. Horizontally-oriented appeals (i.e. HC and HI) considerably outnumber vertical ones (i.e. VI and VC). In particular, constructed femininities are relatively diverse with respect to the types of relations with other individuals (HC). Personal needs of the recipient are also extensively addressed and the need for self-expression is articulated (HI).

5.4. Summary of the multimodal analysis of advertisements

This chapter presents results of the multimodal analysis of advertisements published in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*. It focuses on constructed interpersonal communication between the addresser and the addressee, visual organization of layout space, and value orientations underpinning advertising messages. These aspects of analysis are instrumental to the study of femininities construction in contemporary advertising discourse. They allow to identify common trends as well as particularities in representations and value orientations that relate to the profile of the magazine's target audience.

Interpersonal communication in ads is analyzed with reference to the largest product categories in each magazine. Texts promoting personal care products considerably outweigh other groups of commodities in the studied corpus. These ads display some common tendencies, including representations of single females at a relatively close interpersonal distance as indicated by the size of the frame (i.e. 'synthetic personalization'). Portrayals of celebrities enhance and 'validate' advertisers' claims about advertised products, particularly, in *Krest'janka* and in *Karavan istorij*. Ads in *Samaja* mostly utilize images of models whose authority and status in the public sphere is underspecified. Furthermore, *Samaja* publishes ads that explicitly relate to the target audience of the magazine and create a sense of community (i.e. young women who work and take care of their families). In general, the analysis of ads representing females confirms the tendencies of contemporary advertising, including interpersonal interaction, involvement and the illusion of intimacy (Cross 2006).

The organization of visual space in advertisements is specific to each magazine and to particular product groups. In *Krest'janka* ads, the distribution of 'given-new' and 'ideal-real' layouts is almost identical, whereas ads in *Karavan istorij* and in *Samaja* utilize the 'ideal-real' layout more often. In general, the 'given-new' organization of the visual space expresses the relations of goal ('given') and means to achieve it ('new'). Alternatively, 'given' represents what is undesirable or outdated and 'new' offers a solution to improve it. The practical orientation of the 'given-new' layout is counterbalanced by the 'ideal-real' dichotomy. This visual scheme is frequently used to create a fantasy world or to offer different versions of reality. In *Karavan istorij*, the 'ideal-real' layout is typical for luxury products and high quality equipment. This layout type is used to express concepts and to create imagery that is arbitrarily related to the product, which creates a sophistication of artistic expression. Verbal messages play a secondary role in these ads. In *Samaja* ads, the use of the 'ideal-real' layout is primarily used to construct different versions of reality the addressee might identify with. These ads are frequently marked by busy visual spaces and elaborate verbal communication that explicitly targets the reader.

With respect to value orientations, advertisements published in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and in *Samaja* feature horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualistic and collectivistic value appeals. The distribution of these is specific to each magazine. *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* are somewhat proximate to each other with respect to the distribution of horizontal orientations. These dominate in both magazines and thus emphasize the need of an individual to be at the same level as others. In *Karavan istorij*, appeals to individualism dominate. These emphasize the need to be independent, unique and self-reliant.

In particular, ads in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* use HC appeals slightly more frequently than HI, despite the obvious prevalence of advertisements for foreign personal care products that tend to appeal to individualism and focus on personal needs. In *Karavan istorij*, on the contrary, HI orientation dominates. Appeals to

hedonism and pleasures are also prominent in *Karavan istorij*, whereby in *Krest'janka* these do not occur.

The orientation to VI is stronger in *Karavan istorij* than in *Krest'janka.* In both magazines, this orientation is largely endorsed by the authority of celebrities. In *Karavan istorij*, however, VI is also constructed through appeals that emphasize the authority and reputation of producers of advertised commodities. Compared to *Karavan istorij* and *Krest'janka*, *Samaja* scores the lowest on VI appeals, which signals a relatively low priority of prestige, competition and high social status.

These findings support the implication that value positions conveyed in ads in a particular magazine are, to a certain extent, consonant with the profile of the target readership. Indeed, *Krest'janka* is one of the oldest women's magazines that has been advocating traditional values, social equality and in-group relations. "Contemporary *Krest'janka* uses its Soviet history as a means of identification and differentiation" (Ratilainen 2010, 159). It was rebranded and modernized to survive the harsh competition with other women's periodicals that emerged in the 1990s as Russia moved to a free-market economy. "Leaning heavily towards the imagery in post-Soviet luxury, *Krest'janka* still regards itself a forum for every woman, especially for the Russian or even Slavic woman" (ibid., 160).

Karavan istorij and *Samaja* made their appearance in post-Soviet Russia. *Karavan istorij* focuses on the stories of celebrities, including interviews with high profile foreign artists, social activists, singers and actors. By way of focusing on the life of celebrities, these editorial materials tend to give positive evaluations to personal achievements and to advocate individualistic values. Accordingly, numerous ads in *Karavan istorij* promote values associated with various lifestyles, whereby aspirations to be distinct from others, to achieve a high social status and prestige are presented as desirable and appealing.

Samaja is the magazine of a women's advisory type that values a two-way communication with the audience. By way of example, the cover of *Samaja*

features images of its readers selected by the editorial board. The magazine targets active young professional women who take care of their families. Advertisements in this periodical reflect the multiplicity of femininities. Many of these are also marked by intimate conversational style that suggests the relations of equality and cooperation.

In conclusion, advertising content in the studied women's magazines acts as a carrier of cultural values. Encoded value orientations are, to a certain extent, consonant with the values of a periodical. Concurrently, it is plausible that commercial advertising impacts the discourse of women's magazines, including the communication of values, given the significance of advertising revenues for publications. Post-Soviet media representations, in general, are marked by the commodification of reality, focus on the individual, and the significance of lifestyles based on consumption patterns (Rosenholm et al. 2010).

Chapter 6. Discussion and conclusions

This section briefly summarizes results of the analysis of contemporary Russian monthly women's magazines *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* (6.1). These magazines are studied with respect to the construction of femininities in their discourses. In particular, letters from the editor (6.1.1), tables of contents (6.1.2) and advertisements (6.1.3) are subject to analysis. Evaluative meanings and strategies used to construct reading positions shape the focus of analysis of these media texts. Specific discursive features are considered as expressions of value positions that underpin the discourse of the magazines. The summary of results is followed by the discussion of patterns of femininity construction that are specific to each magazine and those that are common across the discursive planes of letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements (6.2). These findings are situated in the socio-cultural context of contemporary Russian society (6.3). Specifically, trends on the Russian magazine market (6.3.1) and gender dynamics in society (6.3.2) are discussed. *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* are critically evaluated with reference to global media discourse in (6.4). This chapter ends with linking results of the present study to other studies in relevant fields and proposes directions for further research in the domain of media representations (6.5).

6.1. Summary of analysis of *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

This subsection briefly summarizes major findings of the analysis of letters from the editor (6.1.1), tables of contents (6.1.2) and advertisements (6.1.3) in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja.*

6.1.1. Letters from the editor

Letters from the editor are essential to each magazine under study. A letter from the editor helps introduce a magazine's issue with respect to its key theme and, importantly, it allows to address the reader directly (McLoughlin 2000, 74). Letters from the editor were analyzed within the Appraisal framework, which allowed to investigate constructed subject positioning from the perspective of power and solidarity strategies.

In *Krest'janka* letters from the editor, the reader's position is constructed mainly as similar to that of other female readers and in relation to other people, including significant others.[47] The readership is well acknowledged and addressed in these letters. The author constructs her position as a member of the editorial board ('I-professional'), as a person whose experiences are similar in some ways to those of the readership ('I-personal'), and as a member of women's community ('we-inclusive') by way of emphasising group values, norms and beliefs. 'I-personal' is linked to 'we-inclusive' by implication that the author's personal stories stem from familiar everyday practices. In general, letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* emphasize common experiences of the readership and the author and the importance of interpersonal relations as the basis of alignment. These group-oriented values display a collectivist orientation signalling that *Krest'janka* prioritizes the collective over the individual.

Letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij* primarily introduce some of the celebrity stories published in a given issue. Famous actors, singers, artists and other public figures tend to be positively represented with respect to their achievements and personalities. The author and the reader are constructed as observers, or voyeurs, of others' lives. The high social status of celebrities who give interviews to *Karavan istorij* enhances the status of the magazine. Famous personae and the magazine are referred to most often in letters from the editor. Subject positioning of the reader is limited to group identification—that of the readership ('you-collective' and 'you' formal). The editor establishes her identity in relation to her colleagues, interviewees and to the magazine. Communication between the magazine and the readership is limited to the relation 'magazine – target audience.'

Letters from the editor in *Samaja*, in contrast to those in *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij*, position the author as an individual who exchanges personal

---

[47] Please note that the discussion of *Krest'janka* centres on the issues from December 2005 to March 2008.

stories with the reader and shares subjective opinions. These personalized accounts use conversational structures and colloquial expressions that aim at constructing closeness and solidarity with the reader.

In sum, the editors of *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* variously use discursive strategies to assert certain positions, including the use of institutional authority (power), and to align the reader with what is being said (solidarity). The interplay of these strategies is variously used to position discourse participants and evaluate aspects of reality. In particular, the pre-June 2008 issues of *Krest'janka* display the value of interpersonal relations where the reader is a member of the target community; the editor tends to identify with the readership. *Karavan istorij* focuses on celebrities, whereas readers are constructed as observers. The focus of *Samaja* letters from the editor is largely on the author; the readers are constructed as discourse participants.

6.1.2. Tables of contents

The corpus of *Krest'janka* tables of contents is divided into those published in the pre- and post-June 2008 issues. This division is the result of rebranding of *Krest'janka*. The pre-June 2008 tables of contents constitute the core of *Krest'janka* corpus. These issues extensively publish materials specifically oriented to women and introduce materials that trigger social aspects. Interpersonal strategies (e.g. terms of address) and so-called membership resources (i.e. allusions, proverbs, wordplay, etc.) are used to construct communication with the reader. Thus, the reader is expected to be familiar with the cultural context. The post-June 2008 issues indicate that *Krest'janka* has become essentially a magazine for reading about public figures from Russia and abroad. Materials that address specifically the women's audience are infrequent in these issues.

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* reflect the focus of the magazine. These are visually-driven media texts that represent celebrities and announce their stories in corresponding rubrics. Visuals in these tables of contents construct a

version of symbolic reality featured by aspirations toward glamour, prestige and high social status.

Samaja tables of contents focus on practical advice in different areas of women's life. The magazine encourages a two-way communication with its readership. In addition to letters from the editor, *Samaja* publishes letters from readers and runs *Samaja* club, which is announced in its tables of contents. Textual analysis indicates that *Samaja* tables of contents engage the reader by using a highly interactive style to address the target readership.

6.1.3. Advertisements

Advertisements were analyzed with respect to their essential functions identified by Fairclough (1989), which include constructed interpersonal communication, visual design, and ideological work of these messages. The analysis of interpersonal communication incorporates 'Grammar of visual design' proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and the Appraisal framework by Martin and White (2005). The study of visual design of advertisements is based on the methodology by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The ideological work of advertisements is considered with respect to value orientations from the perspective of individualism and collectivism.

With respect to interpersonal communication, representations of single females positioned relatively close to the viewer and maintaining 'eye contact' ('demand' visual address) constitute the largest group in each magazine under study. Celebrity endorsements are used in some ads published in *Karavan istorij* and to a lesser degree in *Krest'janka*. Ads in *Samaja* tend to avoid emphasizing models' authority. These ads mostly focus on the reader and construct her as being involved in different types of social relations.

The 'given-new' and 'ideal-real' types of visual design are commonly used in the studied ads. Yet meanings and values ascribed to layout segments display some magazine-specific patterns. In *Krest'janka*, both layout types are prominent. The 'given-new' dimension expresses the relations of goal, or the desired standard ('given'), and means to achieve the goal ('new'). The 'ideal-

248

real' layout dominates in *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* ads. In *Karavan istorij*, the 'ideal-real' layout is mainly used to visualize concepts, sophistication and artistic creativity. In *Samaja* ads, in contrast, the 'ideal-real' layout constructs a busy visual space that includes elaborate verbal communication with the reader.

Value orientations along the lines of individualism and collectivism are variously expressed and distributed in the studied advertisements. Orientation toward horizontal collectivism (HC) in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* ads slightly outweigh a horizontal individualist orientation (HI). In *Karavan istorij*, on the contrary, HI orientation dominates. Among others, this orientation uses appeals to hedonism and pleasures. In *Krest'janka* ads, however, such messages do not occur. The orientation to vertical individualism (VI) is stronger in *Karavan istorij* than in *Krest'janka* and in *Samaja*. It uses celebrities' endorsements and, particularly in *Karavan istorij*, VI translates into the statements of authority and credibility of renowned brand names. Compared to *Karavan istorij* and *Krest'janka*, *Samaja* scores the lowest on VI appeals, which signals a relatively low priority of prestige, competition and high social status.

6.2. Construction of femininities in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*

The results of the analysis of letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements published in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* reveal patterns that are specific to each magazine as well as those that display commonalities. Magazine-specific patterns are largely linked to the core values and the definition of the target audience of each periodical. Commonalities within the studied media texts stem from some convergence in editorial practices and from the inscribed functions of letters from the editor, tables of contents and ads.

The analysis of *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* indicates that value positions of these magazines are conveyed through multimodally expressed interpersonal meanings. Constructed reading positions with respect to these meanings participate in shaping the target readership. Each magazine creates its

discourse community that is based on shared values, norms and beliefs. Letters from the editor actively participate in the articulation of intended subject positions and, consequently, in the process of establishing a discourse community.

Despite institutionally determined positions (i.e. editor – readership), letters from the editor in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* construct diverse patterns of interaction. Depending on the communicative goal, the editors choose to resort to their professional identities, identify with the readership or present their personal experiences as unique. The multiplicity of constructed relations along with the variety of subject matters that touch upon readers' lives help engage the audience. In *Karavan istorij*, however, the editor almost exclusively maintains the 'editor – readership' relation, which signals interpersonal distance and formality.

Contemporary women's magazines, in general, aim at maintaining solidarity relations with the readership (Thompson and Klerk 2002). Solidarity implies identification and involvement. These relations are variously constructed in the studied letters. The editor of *Krest'janka* emphasizes the commonality of experiences, the continuity of society and the importance of family values. This discourse is firmly rooted in the cultural common ground. In *Samaja*, solidarity is constructed mainly through symmetrical address forms, dialogic constructions, colloquialisms and identification with the reader. In letters in *Karavan istorij*, non-imposition on the editor's part and common interest in the life of celebrities serve as the basis of solidarity. The editor introduces stories of celebrities and presents other people's positions, while avoiding expressing her personal opinions. The readership is invited to interpret these stories on having read them. Constructed solidarity in the studied texts is analyzed with the help of discourse markers that signal involvement, closeness and cultural common ground. In sum, letters from the editor in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* construct communication with their audiences in a manner that depends on each magazine's value positions and target audience profile.

Value positions identified in letters from the editor are also encoded in the studied tables of contents. The thematic diversity of announced editorial

materials, the sequence of rubrics and accompanying images determine the hierarchy of features. Issue themes in *Krest'janka* open each table of contents and announce materials that reflect on social phenomena, family stories, interviews with representatives of high and popular culture, reports, and accounts of Russia's cultural legacy. These materials highlight certain social issues and thus raise public awareness. Family values are expressed in family stories of professionally successful couples. The importance of cultural heritage and the need for the continuity of society are also expressed in *Krest'janka* tables of contents. Editorial materials that target readers of different generations (e.g. young mothers, teenagers and mature women) signal the importance of cross-generational continuity, as well as the assumption that the magazine resonates with values of different age groups. The above discussed magazine features gravitate towards the state of collectivism, which is marked by the value of in-group relations, including families and social groups, deference to authorities and to those who are older, the significance of traditions and social continuity.

Dictated by marketing considerations, orientation towards individualism is also salient in *Krest'janka* tables of contents. Rubrics devoted to personal well-being, style and beauty occupy a central place in the succession of rubrics. Images that illustrate them are visually prominent with respect to their relative size and central position in the layout. In particular, an unframed image of a female model symbolically transcends the visual space of a table of contents. Such a visual representation devoid of any particular context (i.e. links and ties) contrasts other relatively regular framed images that display certain settings. The image of a model demonstrating the latest fashion trends invites consumerist attitudes and symbolically relates to the advertising content of the issue. Expressed formality, orderliness and conservatism is counterbalanced by visually-salient consumer-oriented discourse in *Krest'janka* tables of contents.

Tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* are dominated by orientation toward individualism that is explicitly associated with Western models. This is suggested by numerous introductions of stories of foreign celebrities. On a visual plane,

251

images of 'glamorous' single women and men (i.e. one-person representations) mostly devoid of any particular setting dominate the layout. Images of this type have become the language of global advertising. Indeed, such representations, especially, when establishing a short interpersonal distance with the viewer, highlight affective meanings and thus appeal to emotions (e.g. through 'eye contact,' facial expressions and gesture). They are also symbolic in that they appear as icons of status and prestige.

Samaja tables of contents display some value positions that are similar to those in *Krest'janka*. *Samaja*, as well as *Krest'janka*, values interpersonal relations, which is manifest in editorial materials on childcare, family relations and psychological advice. The interactive style of *Samaja* tables of contents is marked by connotations of collective actions, inclusion and intimate friendly communication. The business of the visual design and the emphasis on practical information well accord with the profile of the magazine's target readership, that is, young working women who take care of their families. *Samaja* tables of contents, similarly to *Krest'janka*, publish visually salient unframed images of female models that are associated with rubrics on personal care, style and beauty. These editorial materials shape consumer positions and provide context for advertising. In general, the commercialization of Russian mass media is a persistent tendency (Vartanova and Smirnov 2010).

The quantitative analysis of advertisements has revealed the hierarchy of value orientations from the perspective of collectivism and individualism in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*. It has confirmed that values expressed in advertising, to a certain extent, correlate with the profile of the target readership. Indeed, advertisers pay attention to the circulation, position and the target audience of a periodical (Kornilova 2002, 61). On a large scale, however, there are more commonalities than differences among advertisements in the studied women's magazines. Despite the fact that *Krest'janka* (Table 5.5) and *Samaja* (Table 5-15) score higher on HC than on HI, the preponderance is minimal in both cases; furthermore, the total percentage for individualistically-

motivated messages (both HI and VI) is noticeably higher than that of collectivistically-oriented texts (both HC and VC). Ads in *Karavan istorij* display the strongest orientations toward individualism (Table 5-10). These data are explained, to a certain extent, by the prevalence of foreign ads in the studied magazines, which tend to convey global vales of personal freedom, independence and achievement. Samojlova (2003) in her analysis of the market of print media confirms that foreign advertisers have the biggest budget, whereas the share of national advertising amounts only to 15-20% of the entire turnover in the segment. Particularly, ads for *L'Oréal* personal care products dominated the segment of Russian print media in 2007 (Bešenceva 2007).

Advertisements appear to be at the forefront of value change in the studied magazines. So-called lifestyle advertising, particularly evident in *Karavan istorij*, calls for individualism, hedonism and pleasures. "Lifestyle is described in terms of shared values or tastes as reflected in consumption patterns" (Mooij 2004, 123). Nowadays, advertising discourse impacts significantly the editorial content of women's magazines. Lifestyle-oriented publications have become the marketing imperative that serves to attract advertising revenues. In the following, the context of present-day Russia, in which these publications circulate, is discussed.

6.3. Socio-cultural context of contemporary Russia

The Russian socio-cultural context is considered with reference to the major developments on the magazine market (6.3.1) and gender dynamics in society (6.3.2). The state of both is quite symptomatic of post-Soviet changes and, especially, of the 2000s.

6.3.1. Major developments on the magazine market in Russia

Since the beginning of transition, Russian mass media have undergone important changes. The diversification of mass media with respect to their target audiences and the spread of consumerism aimed at attracting advertising revenues constitute the hallmarks of post-Soviet transformation of mass media (Pietilainen et al. 2010, 54-55). Contemporary market-driven mass media in Russia "take into

account interests of advertisers and audiences more than ever" (Vartanova 2009, 283). Magazines, especially those based on Western formats, shape one of "the most Westernized sectors of the media and the best adapted to the new economic and political conditions" (Pietilainen et al. 2010, 54). TNS Gallup Media survey for the period of December 2006 - April 2007 indicates that women's magazines based on Western formats have the biggest readership in Russia (*Cosmopolitan* holds the lead with Average Issue Readership of 3 860 000). *Karavan istorij* is the only magazine established in Russia whose readership measures up to the audiences of the leading licensed magazines. Magazines are mainly read in metropolitan areas, while the ratio between Moscow and the regions is 60:40 (Vartanova and Smirnov 2010, 22). Magazine readership has been growing in recent years with women's magazines retaining the biggest audiences (Pietilainen et al. 2010, 48).

Successful women's magazines in Russia are largely involved in 'glamour and fame' discourse (Goscilo and Strukov 2011). The word *glamur* 'glamour' was imported into everyday Russian from mass media. The variety of meanings and contexts that are associated with this word and its derivatives give it a symbolic meaning. Interestingly, according to the 2007 survey "Word of the year," *glamur* topped the list of high-frequency words used in Russia (ibid.). The concept of glamour is based on the premise that "consumption is success" (Litovskaia and Shaburova 2010, 199). "Glamour as a lifestyle, a [media] technique and an orientation towards a show of prosperity is propagated both from below (by glossy periodicals seeking the optimisation and increase of sales) and from above (by the State structures, interested in coping with, or at least smoothing over social contradictions)" (ibid., 204).

The rise of glamour and celebrity culture is associated with Putin's leadership as the president of Russia (2000-2008) and as the prime minister (2008-present) (Goscilo and Strukov 2011, 1). "After the hungry, chaotic, and humiliating years of Yeltsin's government, the growing prosperity of Russian citizens in the first decade in the millennium [due to relatively high oil and gas

prices] has lead to an impression of stability, even well-being" (ibid.). However, the reality constructed by glamour industry with its unlimited consumption, fashion and celebrity life very much differs from the reality of many ordinary citizens. In general, "contemporary Russian media relentlessly cultivate celebrity culture not only because it sells, but also because the media system lacks channels necessary for real social engagement and political motivation" (Goscilo and Strukov 2011, 23).

Lev Gudkov, the head of Levada Centre, one of the largest sociological research organizations in Russia, claims that transition from the Soviet Union to contemporary Russia has been uneven in various spheres of public life.[48] In particular, such domains as technologies, mass media, mass consumption and fashion were at the forefront of social change. On the contrary, social institutions that are considered the basis of the State and have a long-standing tradition, including schools, public health care, judicial institutions, law-enforcement units, and military forces, have been the most conservative. Furthermore, public control over these institutions is quite limited.

6.3.2. Gender dynamics in Russia

In Russia, a society still in transition, transformations in gender dynamics are ongoing. Contemporary gender discourse is based on the interplay of modernity and tradition (Stučevskaja 2008, 49). In young Russians, modernity is linked to aspirations to achieve a higher education, build a career and become financially independent, which are individualist values. Tradition translates into a high level of tolerance of gender inequality. The acceptance of gender inequality is explained by the lack of social and political institutions that would adequately represent and protect interests of women. In fact, many social programs that largely targeted the welfare of women, such as various family benefits and the

---

[48]   Interview with Lev Gudkov by Finam FM radio station entitled *Nedoponimanie ili "cennostnyj razryv." Počemu rossijane ne doverjajut Zapadu?*[Misunderstanding or "gap between value systems." Why do not Russians trust the West?] was recorded on August 26, 2010. It is available at http://finam.fm/archive-view/2947/ (accessed March 14, 2011).

developed system of out-of-school activities for children, were curtailed since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Rimaševskaja 2006). Furthermore, social and economic transformations of the transition period in Russia entailed the phenomenon of 'patriarchal renaissance' (i.e. limited access to resources and reduced social mobility of women) that has reinforced gender asymmetry in the society (Rimaševskaja 2006, Zdravomyslova 2009).

In the beginning of the 1990s, the new initiatives of gender researchers and activists aimed at supporting and reinforcing the relationship between democracy and gender equality. This relationship was consolidated in the Constitution of the Russian Federation that stipulated equal rights of both genders. Despite much-needed initiatives advanced by gender researchers, grassroots organizations and on the level of legislation, public opinion in Russia rejected new interpretations of gender inequality as well as the concept of gender ('гендер' in Russian) (Zdravomyslova 2009). In the 2000s, social stability and the enforcement of 'the vertical of power' have been prioritized in political discourse in Russia. This means increased control over social life, including the marginalization of gender discourse. Instead, the demographic situation in Russia (e.g. low birth rate and life expectancy) and the need to reinforce traditional family values have been emphasized by the State officials (ibid.). Zdravomyslova (2009) claims that an obvious gender conflict exists on a personal and social level, however, it is rarely acknowledged as an important personal and social issue in Russia.

6.4. Outcomes of early democratic developments and women's magazines in Russia

A tendency toward traditionalism, along with aspirations for modernity, is a feature of societies in transition (Sofist 2006).[49] Yet each country develops its unique scenario of transition, the outcome of which is not necessary full-fledged democracy with equal rights for social groups and individual citizens. Democratic reforms administered by Gorbachev in the late 1980s and the

---

[49] *Sofist* is the information bulletin issued by Independent Institute for Social Policy in Moscow. It includes data from the Russian Sociological Data Archive.

developments in Russia in the early 1990s gave rise to the liberalization of economy, freedom of speech and free media. However, the new opportunities were not adequately used, which led to the failure of democratic reforms in vital spheres of social life and to general public disillusionment (Marsh 2007). This tendency gained its full strength in the late 1990s, particularly, in light of the financial crisis of 1998. As noticed above, Putin's leadership of the 2000s is associated with the increased prosperity of Russians and a general sense of stability. The reverse side of these improvements has been an increased control over social institutions and mediatized public discourse.[50] As one of the outcomes, the non-politicized entertainment sphere and commercial mass media, including women's magazines, are booming nowadays (Vartanova and Smirnov 2010).

Western-based women's magazines that appeared in Russia in the 1990s, including *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Elle* and *Vogue*, introduced the image that was "glamorous, on a pedestal, and seriously non-productive— who existed outside the workplace and in many respects the home" (Stephenson 2007, 615). This image serves the need of the advertising industry to enhance lifestyle consumption.

The numbers of advertisements and the types of products promoted in *Krest'janka, Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* are indicative of the degrees of attractiveness of these publications to advertisers. In this respect, *Krest'janka* and *Karavan istorij* stand in opposition to each other, where *Krest'janka* publishes only a few ads per issue, mostly those for personal-care products, and *Karavan istorij* is abundant in high-resolution images of luxury products. *Samaja* occupies an in-between position.

---

[50] These attitudes are mostly shared by those Russians whose main source of information is state television stations. These constitute the majority. Intellectuals, social activists, political opposition and critically thinking ordinary people actively use the Internet as their public forum. Russian Internet (RuNet), including its blogosphere, is fast-developing and increasingly diverse (for more information see Etling et al. 2010).

Several rebrandings of *Krest'janka* and changes in editorial board since 1994 point to the magazine's quest for identity and for its audience under new social and economic conditions. In the early 1990s, *Krest'janka's* values associated with tradition and cultural heritage and the primacy of the written word over illustrative materials were challenged by newly emergent glossies for women. These publications were visually appealing, they suggested an escape from the daily routine, and they communicated with the reader in a new way— from the position of an intimate friend, an advisor and an expert. They signified "a new departure for women raised on the homely advice, simple recipes and sewing patterns of traditional Russian women's magazines" (Stephenson 2007, 614). To a certain extent, *Krest'janka* has adapted to these new market needs. Its front covers represent 'standardized' model-like women; its editorial content is quite eclectic and includes publications targeting the reader as constructed in letters from the editor and commercially-motivated features. The tension between orientations towards collectivism, on the one hand, and individualism, on the other, and the lack of a well-defined profile of the target audience (at least for the studied period of 2005-2008) have apparently lead to another rebranding of *Krest'janka* in 2009.

Both *Samaja* and *Karavan istorij* are post-Soviet Russian publications that have successfully established themselves on the market and have a stable and loyal audience. *Samaja* offers a unique combination, where collectivistically- and individualistically-motivated messages form a seamless whole. Collectivistic orientation is incorporated into the definition of the target audience of women who are engaged in their family lives and who are active in the social sphere. Aspirations towards individualism are largely conveyed through lifestyle-inspired messages. These address the readership of *Samaja* whose core age is 25-28 and who belong to the economically-active population.

The focus of *Karavan istorij* (i.e. celebrity life) is much narrower than that of *Krest'janka* and *Samaja*. *Karavan istorij* constructs a fantasy world that is full of glamour imagery. Such representations accord with those in advertisements as

if they are articulated in the same visual language. Visual imagery in such publications as *Karavan istorij* increasingly loses its anchorage in space and time and starts to denote concepts and symbols. This is one of the key features of global media discourse (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007).

In sum, pressures of the free-market economy and the dominant tendencies in the segment of women's magazines, which are largely influenced by the global culture, potentially lead to a greater standardization of the definition of femininity and associated imagery. Contemporary magazines tend to "operate on a level removed from reality" (Stephenson 2007, 619). They distract "the public from serious debate of genuine social and political issues . . . [and] create the illusion of an ongoing celebration, an eternal carnival (Goscilo and Strukov 2011, 8). Authentic Russian publications, however, still have the resource and the potential to communicate with their audiences without putting primary importance on the topics of fashion, beauty and celebrity, even at the expense of readership reduction.

6.5. Scholarly contributions and directions for further research

This section reviews the present study in light of research in the area of discourse analysis of mass media representations. In particular, contributions to the area of multimodal discourse analysis (6.5.1), the Appraisal theory (6.5.2), the analysis of gender representations in women's magazines (6.5.3), and to the field of advertising research (6.5.4) are considered. Directions for further research are outlined in (6.5.5).

6.5.1. Contributions to multimodal discourse analysis

The current research offers a relatively new perspective on the study of media representations, which is multimodal discourse analysis of contemporary women's magazines. This type of analysis was earlier used to study television commercials (Forceville 2008, Cook 2001), print advertisements (Velasco-Sacristan and Fuertes-Olivera 2006, Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985), newspaper design (Economou 2006, Kress and van Leeuwen 1998), illustrated documents

(Kong 2006, Martinec 2003, Delin et al. 2003), textbooks (Bezemer and Kress 2009), and dynamic interaction (Norris 2004).

The methodological framework in this study is based on the Appraisal theory elaborated by Martin and White (2005) and the 'Grammar of visual design' developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). These approaches are respectively employed for the study of verbal and visual interpersonal communication. The current analysis of women's magazines, a highly visualized type of media communication, has demonstrated that both the verbal and the visual jointly articulate complex meanings. In particular, the analysis of tables of contents and advertisements has proved that both modes of communication need to be considered to decode implied meanings. It has been illustrated that the relationship between the verbal and the visual in multimodal discourse communication is varying, which depends on the type of a multimodal text with respect to its communicative function, visual design, authorship and distribution (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). The analysis confirms the finding that verbal language is not always the dominant mode of communication and that the meanings of multimodal texts are based on the interplay of constituting modes (Ventola et al. 2004, Norris 2004, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001).

6.5.2. Contributions to the Appraisal theory

The elaborated framework of the present study, which utilizes the Appraisal theory and the 'Grammar of visual design,' brings a new perspective on discursively constructed subject positioning. Verbal and visual features and considered from the perspective of power and solidarity, the guiding principles of interpersonal communication. Power and solidarity interplay to align the readership with expressed evaluations (Martin and White 2005). The analysis of these discursive strategies allows to capture the dynamic aspect of communication (Oliveira 2005).

Previous research utilized the Appraisal theory for the analysis of evaluative meanings and intersubjective positioning in verbal texts (Bednarek 2009, Martin 2004, White 2003). Interpersonal communication in visual images

of women was investigated by Cross (2006). Macken-Horarik (2004) applied both the Appraisal framework and the 'Grammar of visual design' to the analysis of student artworks. In particular, the author explores multimodally constructed categories of contact, social distance, and attitude in her study.

In the present study, the Appraisal theory is linked to the analysis of value orientations (Shavitt et al. 2006, Lee and Choi 2005, de Mooij 2004). This approach allows for data-driven analysis that stems from the investigation of media texts and is followed by the discussion of these findings with respect to socially anchored value orientations. Value orientations are considered from the perspective of individualism and collectivism. These cultural dimensions respectively correspond to global and traditional local values. This dichotomy has proven fruitful given the social and historical context of the present study (i.e. two decades after the dissolution of the Soviet Union). Indeed, the analysis of contemporary women's periodicals established in the Soviet Union (*Krest'janka*) and in present-day Russia (*Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*) reveals how orientations toward individualism and collectivism coexist in their discourses.

6.5.3. Contributions to the analysis of women's magazines

The present study follows a discourse analytic approach to the study of femininities in contemporary women's magazines established in Russia. It contributes to a relatively small group of studies on national periodicals for women (e.g. Ratilainen 2010, Nedashkivska 2002, Eggins and Iedema 1997). Research to date has been focusing mainly on global publications with multiple versions in different countries (e.g. Machin and van Leeuwen 2005, Machin and Thornborrow 2003, Hartley and Montgomery 2009). Foreign magazines that made their appearance in Russia were reviewed and analyzed by Alperina (2000), Bartlett (2006) and Stephenson (2007).

The results of the analysis of *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* are broadly consistent with major trends identified in the literature on gender representations. Eggins and Iedema (1997, 168) summarize that contemporary women's magazines construct women as desocialized and preoccupied with

personal appearance. Personalization, as noted by the authors, is the key elements of the discourse of women's magazines. Although these trends are observable in the studied data, they variously manifest themselves in each magazine and with respect to the analyzed text types (i.e. letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements). Preoccupation with personal appearance is largely stimulated by the advertising discourse in the studied magazines. Tables of contents in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* contain rubrics on beauty and style. These rubrics are associated with visually salient representations of female models.

Desocialization, according to Eggins and Iedema (1997), is linked to the reduction of social variables, including education, social status, ethnicity and others, to the gender variable. Although there is a tendency toward desocialization in the studied magazines, their discourses variously point to social definitions that go beyond the concept of gender. In particular, tables of contents in *Krest'janka*, including features in the opening rubric, announce materials that target readers who are interested in literature, culture and history. The language of *Krest'janka* tables of contents is quite rich in allusions to literary works, films and cultural legacy in general. Occasionally, *Krest'janka* addresses social issues and problematizes the status quo. *Karavan istorij*, to a greater degree than *Krest'janka*, balances the category of gender with other social attributes. It appears to prioritize prestige and social status as the source of identity. On a visual level, tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* feature diversified representations with respect to settings, age and gender of portrayed personae. *Karavan istorij*, as well as *Krest'janka*, makes references to the personalities and events of the past, which contributes to the continuity of society. In *Samaja*, letters from the editor, tables of content and even advertisements tend to place the target reader in relation to other people and construct various social contexts. The results of the analysis indicate that constructed relational femininities in *Samaja* are quite prominent. This is probably linked to the definition of the target audience of active young women who balance their families and careers.

Personalization, to varying degrees, is a feature of the discourses of *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja*. It is particularly evident from the analysis of letters from the editor. These texts in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja* address the topics that are part of everyday life of many women. These subject matters and strategies of subject positioning (i.e. direct communication, conversational style and evaluations, including commonsense assumptions) between the author and the reader ultimately aim at solidarity negotiation (Thompson and de Klerk 2002). Roginskaja (2004) points that contemporary women's magazines tend to reproduce colloquial speech in its two varieties of confession and chat, where the multiplicity of deictic expressions leads to the construction of women's 'we.' Letters from the editor in *Karavan istorij*, in contrast to those in *Krest'janka* and *Samaja*, are impersonal in that they mostly avoid direct communication with the reader. These letters illustrate yet another feature of women's magazines identified by Roginskaja (2004), which is pseudo-dramatization of reality. Indeed, stories of celebrities that are introduced in letters from the editor and in tables of contents in *Karavan istorij* tend to appeal to emotions by way of making the private a matter of public concern.

6.5.4. Contributions to advertising research

The results of the analysis of advertisements published in *Krest'janka*, *Karavan istorij* and *Samaja* confirm general tendencies in advertising research. With respect to interpersonal communication, spatial proximity of visual representations and verbal personalization appear to be quite common. This mode of communication allows to establish "a sense of connection between the viewers and the authority figures, celebrities and role models they depict" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 120).

Language use and cultural symbols are differently manifested in the studied advertisements. Ads in *Krest'janka* and in *Samaja* promote both national and foreign products. Certain categories of national products, including personal care articles, medicine and food, utilize exclusively Russian. The vast majority of ads, however, promotes foreign products and utilizes English mainly for brand

recognition. Ads in *Karavan istorij* almost exclusively promote foreign consumer products. These ads use foreign languages in brand names; English is occasionally present in slogans and leads. Alternatively, the origin of the product is specified.   Language use and associated cultural values in advertisements were studied by Ustinova (2006, 2008), Ustinova and Bhatia (2005) and Six (2005). Their analyses of TV commercials broadcast in Russia indicate that the use of English symbolically stands for Westernization, prestige and innovation. The use of other foreign languages codifies "an attempt to associate the advertised product with an ethno-cultural stereotype about the speakers of a given language" (Piller 2003, 172). This also holds true in those cases where the the origin of a product is emphasized. The avoidance of using a foreign language other than English in slogans is probably informed by the assumption that the reader lacks the needed knowledge. In general, as Ustinova (2008, 97) observes, "Russian advertisements construct the social and cultural world where individualism, high self-esteem, success in the public arena, fun in life are the most important values."

6.5.5. Directions for further research

This study is an attempt to consider social transformations and gender dynamics in post-Soviet Russia through the prism of discourses of authentic women's publications. The analysis focuses on the interplay of value orientations in letters from the editor, tables of contents and advertisements. Value orientations participate in the disursive construction of femininities. The social significance of this work is rooted in the context of contemporary Russian society with its ongoing value shift from collectivism to individualism. Although this research has yielded fruitful results, it is limited to discourse analysis of media texts. The task that lies ahead is to investigate how the present results relate to the perceptions and expectations of the readerships, on the one hand, and to the visions of the editorial boards, on the other. It is also important to consider the constraints within which editorial boards operate and how journalistic creativity interplays with considerations of advertisers and shareholders. This data triangulation requires surveys and in-depth interviews with the readerships and

editorial boards. Furthermore, the data used in this research is by no means exhaustive. A longitudinal study that covers a period from the early 1990s (i.e. the beginning of post-Soviet Russia) to nowadays would reveal changing patterns of gender representations and associated value positions. Given the context of transition in post-Communist countries, a comparative study of gender representations in mass media would be another productive avenue of research. In sum, the fascinating topic of media representations and value systems in transitional contexts awaits further investigation.

Bibliography

Alden, Dana L., Wayne D. Hoyer, and Chol Lee. 1993. Identifying global and culture-specific dimensions of humor in advertising: A multinational analysis. *Journal of Marketing* 57(2): 64-75.

Alperina, Susanna. 2000. Amerikanskoe i rossijskoe izdanie žurnala "Cosmopolitan": Sravnitel'nyj analiz [American and Russian edition of "Cosmopolitan": Comparative analysis]. *Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta. Serija 10 Žurnalistika* 2: 87-101.

Arnheim, Rudolf. 1988. *The power of the center: A study of composition in the visual arts.* University of California Press.

Atlas, Jay David. 2005. *Logic, meaning and conversation: Semantical undeterminacy, implicature, and their interface.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Atlas SMI. N.d. Krest'janka žurnal. http://www.mediageo.ru/fedpressa/ezhemes/krestyanka.html (accessed September 2008).

Ažgixina, Nadežda. 2000. Gendernye stereotipy v sovremennyx mass-media. *Gendernye Issledovanija* 5: 261-273.

Baron, Bettina and Helga Kotthoff. 2001. *Gender in interaction: Perspectives on femininity and masculinity in ethnography and discourse*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bartlett, Djurdja. 2006. In Russia, at last and forever: The first seven years of Russian *Vogue*. *Fashion Theory* 10(1/2): 175-204.

Bednarek, Monika. 2009. Language patterns and ATTITUDE. *Functions of Language* 16(2): 165-192.

Bekalu, Mesfin Awoke. 2006. Presupposition in news discourse. *Discourse and Society* 17(2): 147-172.

Bešenceva, Olga. 2007. Samye aktivnye reklamodateli [The most active advertisers]. *Vlast'*, 27. http://www.kommersant.ru/doc.aspx?DocsID=782507 (accessed March 10, 2008).

Bezemer, Jeff and Gunther Kress. 2009. Visualizing English: A social semiotic history of a school subject. *Visual Communication* 8(3): 247-262.

Bojkov, Vladimir. 2004. Cennosti i orientiry obščestvennogo soznanija Rossijan. *Sociologičeskie Issledovanija* 7: 46-51.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies* 7(4/5): 585-614.

Bucholtz, Mary, Anita C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton, eds. 1999. *Reinventing identities: The gendered self in discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Burgoon, Judee and Thomas Saine. 1978. *The unspoken dialogue: An introduction to nonverbal communication*. Boston: Hughton Mifflin Company.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble*. New York: Routledge.

Callister, Mark A. and Lesa A. Stern. 2008. Inspecting the unexpected: Schema and the processing of visual deviations. In *Go figure! New directions in advertising rhetoric*, ed. Edward F. McQuarrie and Barbara J. Phillips, 137-156. M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York and London, England.

Cameron, Deborah. 1997. Theoretical debates in feminist linguistics: Questions of sex and gender. In *Gender and discourse*, ed. Ruth Wodak, 21-36. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

---. 1990. Introduction. In *Women in their speech communities: New perspectives on language and sex*, ed. Jennifer Coates, Deborah Cameron, 3-12. London: Longman.

Cheong, YinYuen. 2004. The construal of ideational meaning in print advertisements. In *Multimodal Discourse Analysis*, ed. Kay L. O'Halloran, 163–95. London: Continuum.

Cheshire, Jenny and Peter Trudgill, eds. 1998. *The sociolinguistics reader: Gender and discourse*. Vol. 2. London: Arnold.

Cinnirella, Marco. 1998. Exploring temporal aspects of social identity: The concept of possible social identities. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 28: 227-248.

Coates, Jennifer. 1993. *Women, men and language*. 2nd ed. London, New York: Longman.

Cook, Guy. 2001. *The discourse of advertising*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Cross, Judith Leah. 2006. Icons as ideology: A media construction. In *Mediating ideology in text and image: Ten critical studies*, ed. Inger Lassen, Jeanne Strunck and Torben Vestgaard, 173-192. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Černova, Žanna. 2003. Genderno-orientirovannye SMI: Žurnaly dlja "nastojaščix" mužčin i sovremennyx ženščin [Gender-oriented mass media: Magazines for 'real' men and contemporary women]. In *Transformacii gendernyx otnošenij: Zapadnye teorii i rossijskie praktiki. Materialy letnej školy po gendernym issledovanijam* [Transformations in gender relations: Western theories and Russian practices. Proceedings of the summer school for Gender Studies], ed. L.N. Popkova and I.N. Tartakovskaja, 188-204.

Degano, Chiara. 2007. Presupposition and dissociation in discourse: A corpus study. *Argumentation* 21: 361-378.

Delin, Judy, John Bateman, and Patrick Allen. 2003. A model of genre in document layout. *Information Design Journal* 11(1): 54-66.

Delogu, Francesca. 1997. Presuppositions. In *Handbook of Pragmatics Online*, ed. Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dmitrieva, Marija. 2002. Gendernye roli čerez prizmu jazyka. In *Gender-forschung in der Slawistik*, ed. van Leeuwen-Turnovcova J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schindler, 273–88. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 55, Wien.

Doleschal, Ursula and Sonja Schmid. 2001. Doing gender in Russian: Structure and perspective. In *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*, ed. Marlis Hellinger, Hadumod Bussmann. Vol. 1, 253-282. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Don, A.C. 2007. "A Framework for the investigation of interactive norms and the construction of textual identity in written discourse communities: The case of an email list." Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, U.K. http://www.grammatics.com/lexi_con/lexis-text/thesis/donacPhD.html (accessed 10 January 2010).

Economou, Dorothy. 2006. The big picture: the role of the lead image in print feature stories. In *Mediating ideology in text and image: Ten critical studies*, ed. Inger Lassen, Jeanne Strunck and Torben Vestgaard, 211-233. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Edipresse Group. 2008. Russia.
http://www.edipresse.com/category/pays/worldwide/russia# (accessed September 2008).

Eggins, Suzanne and Rick Iedema 1997. Difference without diversity: Semantic orientation and ideology in competing women's magazines. In *Gender and discourse*, ed. Ruth Wodak, 165-196. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Englebretson, Robert. 2007. Stancetaking in discourse. An introduction. In *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, ed. Robert Englebretson, 1-25. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Etling, Bruce et al. 2010. Public discourse in the Russian blogosphere: Mapping RuNet politics and mobilization. Berkman Centre for Internet and Society at Harvard University. http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Public_Discourse_in_the_Russian_Blogosphere_2010.pdf (accessed May 15, 2011).

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research.* London, New York: Routledge.

---. 1992. *Discourse and social change.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

---. 1989. *Language and power*. London and New York: Longman.

Feng, Jieyun Wendy and Doreen Wu. 2007. Cultural value change in mainland's China commercial discourse. In *Discourse as cultural struggle*, ed. Shi-xu, 73-90. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Ferguson, Marjorie. 1983. *Forever feminine: Women's magazines and the cult of femininity.* London: Heinemann.

Forceville, Charles. 2008. Pictorial and multimodal metaphor in commercials. In *Go figure! New directions in advertising rhetoric*, ed. Edward F. McQuarrie and Barbara J. Phillips, 178-204. Armonk NY: ME Sharpe.

Goroško, Elena. 2003. Jazykovoe soznanie: Gendernaja paradigma [Linguistic consciousness: Gender paradigm]. In *Metodologija sovremennoj psixolingvistiki.* Barnaul: Altai University.

Goscilo, Elena and Vlad Strukov, eds. 2011. *Celebrity and glamour in contemporary Russia: Shocking chic.* Routledge: London and New York.

Gregory, Gary, James M. Munch, and Mark Peterson. 2002. Attitude functions in consumer research: Comparing value-attitude relations in individualist and collectivist cultures. *Journal of Business Research* 55: 933-942.

Grundy, Peter. 1995. *Doing pragmatics.* London: Arnold.

Guenthner, Susanne. 1998. The construction of gendered discourse in Chinese-German interactions. In *The sociolinguistic reader: Gender and discourse,* ed. Jenny Cheshire and Peter Trudgill. Vol. 2, 153-177. London, New York: Arnold.

Gusejnova, I. A. 2002. Problema gendernoj asimmetrii v videorjade kommerčeskix diskriptivnyx reklamnyx tekstov [To the question of gender asymmetry in descriptive television commercials]. Paper presented at II international conference "Gender, language, culture, communication." Moscow.

Guseva, Ju.E. 1999. Ženščina na stranicax ženskix izdanij. *Rossijskie ženščiny v XX veke.* http://www.a-z.ru/women (accessed August 23, 2008).

Hartley, John and Lucy Montgomery. 2009. Fashion as consumer entrepreneurship: Emergent risk culture, social network markets, and the launch of Vogue in China. *Chinese Journal of Communication* 2(1): 61–76.

Hyland, Ken. 2002. What do they mean? Questions in academic writing. *Text* 22(4): 529–557.

Johar, J.S. and M. Joseph Sirgy. 1991. Value-Expressive Versus Utilitarian Advertising Appeals: When And Why To Use Which Appeal. *Journal of Advertising* 20(3): 23-33.

Kalacheva, Olga. 2002. A Western body for the Russian woman: Shaping gender identity in modern women's magazines. *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 20(1).

Kendall, Sharki and Deborah Tannen. 2003. Discourse and gender. In *The handbook of discourse analysis*, ed. Deborah Shiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton, 548-567. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kirilina, Alla. 2003. Vozmožnosti gendernogo podxoda v antropoorientirovannom izučenii jazyka i kommunikacii. In *Obščestvo i gender: Materialy letnej školy v Rjazani*, ed. N.A. Bloxina. http://library.gender-ehu.org (accessed November 17, 2007).

---. 2002. Manifestacija gendernyx stereotipov v rossijskoj presse: Žurnalistskaja i čitatel'skaja perspektivy. In *Gender-forschung in der Slawistik*, ed. van Leeuwen-Turnovcova J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schindler, 121-134. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 55, Wien.

---. 1999. *Gender: Lingvističeskie aspekty*. Moscow: Institut Sociologii RAN.

Kirilina, Alla and Marija Tomskaja. 2005. Lingvističeskie gendernye issledovanija. *Otečestvennye Zapiski*, 2(23). http://www.strana-oz.ru/?numid=23&article=1038 (accessed November 27, 2007).

Kong, Kenneth. 2006. A taxonomy of the discourse relations between words and visual. *Information Design Journal* 14(3): 207-230.

Kornilova, E.E. 2002. *Televizionnaja reklama* [Television advertising]. Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg University.

Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen. 2006. *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge.

---. 2001. *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Edward Arnold.

---. 1998. Front pages: (The critical) analysis of newspaper layout. In *Approaches to Media Discourse*, ed. Allan Bell, Peter Garrett, 186-219. Oxford: Blackwell.

Krest'janka media kit. 2010. http://www.idr.ru/admin/spaw2/uploads/files/MEDIAkrestyanka%202010.pdf (accessed January 2011).

Kroon, Asa and Mats Ekstrom. 2008. The complex visual gendering of political women in press. *Journalism Studies* 9(6): 891-910.

Lakoff, Robin Tolmach. 1975. *Language and woman's place.* New York: Harper and Row.

Lee, Wei-Na and Sejung Marina Choi. 2005. The role of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism in online consumers' response toward persuasive communication on the web. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(1). http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol11/issue1/wnlee.html (accessed December 5, 2007).

Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lindner, Katharina. 2004. Images of women in general interest and fashion magazine advertisements from 1955 to 2002. *Sex Roles* 51(7-8): 409-421.

Litovskaia, Maria and Olga Shaburova 2010. Russian glamour and its representations in post-Soviet mass media. In *Russian mass media and changing values*, ed. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Elena Trubina, 193-208. Routledge: London and New York.

Machin, David and Sarah Niblock. 2008. Branding newspapers: Visual text as social practice. *Journalism Studies* 9(2): 244-259.

Machin, David and Joanna Thornborrow. 2003. Branding and discourse: The case of Cosmopolitan. *Discourse and Society* 14(4): 453-471.

Machin, David and Theo van Leuween. 2007. *Global media discourse: A critical introduction*. Routledge: London and New York.

---. 2005. Language style and lifestyle: The case of a global magazine. *Media, Culture and Society* 27(4): 577-600.

Macken-Horarik, Mary. 2004. Interacting with the multimodal text: Reflections on image and verbiage in *ArtExpress*. *Visual Communication* 3(1): 5-26.

Makarenko, Kseniya and Janet Borgerson. 2009. Ice Cream and 'CCCP': Evoking nostalgia in post-soviet packaging. http://blogs.nyu.edu/projects/materialworld (accessed August 20, 2010).

Marsh, Rosalind. 2007. The nature of Russia's identity: The theme of "Russia and the West" in post-Soviet culture. *Nationalities Papers* 35(3): 555-578.

Martin, Elizabeth. 2006. *Marketing identities through language: English and global imagery in French advertising*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martin, J.R. 2004. Mourning: How we get aligned. *Discourse & Society* 15(2-3): 321-344.

McLoughlin, Linda. 2000. *The language of magazines.* London: Routledge.

Martin, J.R. and P.R.R. White. 2005. *The language of evaluation: Appraisal in English.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martinec, Radan. 2003. The social semiotics of text and image in Japanese and English software manuals and other procedures. *Social Semiotics* 13(1): 43-69.

Media Dictionary. POV shot. http://www.mediadictionary.com/definition/POV-shot.html (accessed April 10, 2011).

Mills, Margaret. 1999. Background and introduction. In *Slavic Gender Linguistics*, ed. Margaret Mills, vii-xviii. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Mooij, Marieke K. de. 2004. *Consumer behaviour and culture: Consequences for global marketing and advertising*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2004. "Let's dress a little girlishly!" or "Conquer short pants!" Constructing gendered communities in fashion magazines for young people. In *Japanese language, gender and ideology: Cultural models and real people*, ed. Shigeko Okamoto and Janet S. Shibamoto Smith, 131-147. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nedashkivska, Alla. 2002. The language of polarized femininities in contemporary Ukraine. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 27(1-2): 295-319.

Nejaglova-Kolosova, Raisa. 2006. Novyj žurnal pod brendom *Samaja* imeet šans stat' uspešnym [A new magazine branded *Samaja* has chances to become a success]. *Novosti SMI.* March 16. http://mediaatlas.ru/items/print.php?id=816 (accessed September 2008).

Noonan, Norma C. 2006. Ženščiny i Rossija. *Washington Profile*, January 1, 2006. http://www.washprofile.org/en/node/5419 (accessed September 16, 2007).

---. 1996. Crossroads in Russian history: A brighter road ahead for women? In *Russian women in politics and society*, ed. Wilma Rule and Norma C. Noonan, 167-171. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Norris, Sigrid. 2004. Multimodal discourse analysis: A conceptual framework. In *Discourse and technology: Multimodal discourse analysis*, ed. Philip LeVine and Ron Scollon, 101-115. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Oliveira, Sandi Michele de. 2005. A retrospective on address in Portugal (1982-2002): Rethinking power and solidarity. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 6(2): 307-323.

Orlova, Olga. 2003. Olga Orlova, glavnyj redaktor "Karavana istorij": "U našix zvëzd poka net navykov publičnosti" [The editor-in-chief of *Karavan istorij*: "Our celebrities do not have public skills yet"]. *Izvestija*. June 2. http://www.izvestia.ru/media/article34480 (accessed September 2008).

Papi, Marcella Bertuccelli. 1997. Implicitness. In *Handbook of Pragmatics Online*, ed. Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Peirce, Kate. 1997. Women's magazine fiction: A content analysis of the roles, attributes, and occupations of main characters. *Sex Roles* 37(7-8): 581-593.

Pietilainen, Jukka, Irina Fomicheva, and Liudmila Resnianskaia. 2010. Changing media use in Russia. In *Russian mass media and changing values*, ed. Arja

Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Elena Trubina, 41-56. Routledge: London and New York.

Piller, Ingrid. 2003. Advertising as a site of language contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23: 170-183.

Pollay, Richard W. 1983. Measuring the cultural values manifest in advertising. In *Current issues and research in advertising*, ed. J.H. Leighin and C.R. Martin, Jr., 71-92. Ann Arbor, MI: Graduate School of Business, Division of Research, University of Michigan.

Ratilainen, Saara. 2010. 'Family – that's an opera': Creativity and family representations in Russian women's magazine *Krest'ianka*. In *Russian Mass Media and Changing Values*, ed. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Elena Trubina, 157-174. London and New York: Routledge.

Rimaševskaja Natalja. 2006. Gendernye stereotipy i logika social'nyx otnošenij [Gender stereotypes and the logic of social relations]. *Svobodnaja mysl'* 3: 100-110.

Roginskaja, Olga. 2004. Gljancevoe "Ja": Ženskie žurnaly i krizis avtobiografizma. *Kritičeskaja massa* 1: 93-97.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1999. *Communicating gender*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rosenholm, Arja, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Elena Trubina. 2010. Introduction. In *Russian Mass Media and Changing Values*, ed. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Elena Trubina, 1-17. London/New York: Routledge.

Samojlova, Tat'jana. 2003. Inostrancy pokorili Rossiju [Foreigners have conquered Russia]. http://www.sostav.ru/articles/2003/06/10/razv100603/ (accessed March 11, 2008).

Sbisa, Marina. 1999. Presupposition, implicature and context in text understanding. In *Modeling and using context*, ed. P. Bouquet et al., 324-338. Berlin: Springer.

Scheibman, Joanne. 2007. Generalizations in English conversations. In *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, ed. Robert Englebretson, 111-138. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shavitt, Sharon, Ashok K. Lalwani, Jing Zhang, and Carlos J. Torelli. 2006. The horizontal/vertical distinction in cross-cultural consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 16(4): 325–356.

Simon, Bernd. 2004. *Identity in modern society: A social psychological perspective*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Six, Irina. 2005. What language sells: Western advertising in Russia. *The Journal of Language for International Business* 16(2): 1-12.

Skalli Loubna H. 2006. *Through a local prism: Gender, globalization, and identity in Moroccan women's magazines.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Škljaruk, Aleksander. 2004. Konstruktivizm v sovetskom plakate [Constructivism in the Soviet poster]. http://www.plakat.ru/Info/p_r01.htm (accessed March 15, 2010).

Skornjakova, Svetlana. 2004. Gendernye stereotipy v sredstvax massovoj kommunikacii. In *Aktualnye problemy teorii kommunikacii*, 225-231. Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg Pedagogical University.

Sofist. 2006. Informacionnyj bjulleten' [Information bulletin] 1(7). http://sophist.hse.ru/bulleten.shtml (accessed May 5, 2011).

Stephenson, Sean. 2007. The changing face of women's magazines in Russia. *Journalism studies* 8(4): 613-620.

Stalnaker, Robert. 2002. Common ground. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25:701-721.

Stučevskaja Olga. 2008. Xarassment i rossijskie ženščiny [Harassment and Russian women]. *Vestnik obščestvennogo mnenija* 4(96) (July-August): 43-49.

Sunderland, Jane and Lia Litosseliti. 2002. Gender identity and discourse analysis: Theoretical and empirical considerations. In *Gender identity and discourse analysis*, ed. Lia Litosseliti and Jane Sunderland, 1-39. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tajfel, Henry and John C. Turner 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In *Psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. Stephen Worchel, William G. Austin, 7-24. Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Tannen, Deborah, ed. 1993. *Gender and conversational interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

---. 1991. *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Talbot, Mary. 1998. *Language and gender: An introduction.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Temkina, Anna and Elena Zdravomyslova. 2003. Gender studies in post-Soviet society: Western frames and cultural differences. *Studies in East-European Thought* 55: 51-61.

Thompson, Sharon and Vivian de Klerk. 2002. Dear reader: A textual analysis of magazine editorials. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 20: 105-118.

Thorne, Barrie. 2001. Gender and interaction: Widening the conceptual scope. In *Gender in Interaction: Perspectives on Femininity and Masculinity in Ethnography and Discourse*, ed. Bettina Baron, Helga Kotthoff, 3-18. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Triandis, Harry C. 1995. *Individualism & collectivism*. Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press.

Turner, John C., Michael A. Hogg, et al. 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, New York: Blackwell Publishing.

Ustinova, Irina. 2008. English and American culture appeals in Russian advertising. *Journal of Creative Communications* 3(1): 77-98.

---. 2006. English and emerging advertising in Russia. *World Englishes* 25(2): 267-277.

Ustinova, Irina and Tej K. Bhatia. 2005. Convergence of English in Russian TV commercials. *World Englishes* 24(4): 495-508.

van Leuween, Theo. 1996. The representation of social actors. In *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*, ed. Carmen R. Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard, 32-70. London, New York: Routledge.

Vartanova, Elena and Sergei Smirnov. 2010. Contemporary structure of the Russian media industry. In *Russian mass media and changing values*, ed. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Elena Trubina, 21-40. Routledge: London and New York.

Vartanova Elena. 2009. Russian media: Market and technology as driving forces of change. In *Perspectives to the media in Russia: "Western" interests and Russian developments*, ed. Elena Vartanova, Hannu Nieminen, and Minna-Mari Salminen, 283-300. Helsinki: Aleksanteri Institute.

Velasco-Sacristan, Marisol and Pedro A. Fuertes-Olivera. 2006. Towards a critical cognitive–pragmatic approach to gender metaphors in advertising English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(11): 1982-2002.

Ventola, Eija, Cassily Charles, and Martin Kaltenbacher, eds. 2004. *Perspectives on multimodality*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vestergaard, Torben and Kim Schroeder. *The language of advertising*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Voronina Olga. 1999. Svoboda slova i stereotipnyj obraz ženščiny v SMI. *Znamja* 2: 65-175.

White, Peter. 2002. Appraisal. In *Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Jef Verschueren et al., 1-27. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

White, Peter. 2003. Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view on the language of intersubjective stance. *Text* 23(2): 259-283.

Wodak, Ruth and Gertraud Benke. 1996. Gender as a sociolinguistic variable. In *The handbook of sociolinguistics*, ed. Florian Coulmas, 127-50. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wodak, Ruth. 1997. Introduction: Some important issues in the research of gender and discourse. In *Gender and discourse*, ed. Ruth Wodak, 1-20. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Yokoyama, Olga. 2002. Kognitivnyj status gendernyx različij v jazyke i ix pragmatičeskoe modelirovanie. In *Gender-forschung in der Slawistik*, ed. van Leeuwen-Turnovcova J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schindler, 29–40. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 55, Wien.

---. 1999. Russian genderlects and referential expressions. *Language in Society* 28: 401-429.

---. 1994. Iconic manifestation of interlocutor distance in Russia. *Journal of Pragmatics* 22: 83-102.

Zdravomyslova Elena. 2009. Gendernye issledovanija kak opyt publičnoj sociologii v Rossii [Gender studies as the experience of public Sociology in Russia]. Polit.ru. http://www.polit.ru/author/2009/09/24/gender.html (accessed April 12, 2011).

Zemskaja, Elena. 2000. Aktivnye processy v russkom jazyke poslednego desjatiletija 20-go veka [Active processes in Russian in the last decade of the twentieth century]. In *Die sprachliche Situation in der Slaviazehn Jahre nach der Wende*, ed. Baldur Panzer, 31-48. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Appendix 1. List of codes for textual analysis

APPRAISAL resources: **AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION (attitude)** **ENGAGEMENT** **GRADUATION** (from Martin and White 2005)		
AFFECT(emotional responses)		
fear **desire**	e.g. wary, fearful miss, long for	DIS/INCLINATION
misery **antipathy** **cheer** **affection**	e.g. down, sad, miserable dislike, hate e.g. cheerful, buoyant, jubilant be fond of, love, adore	UN/HAPPINESS
disquiet **surprise** **confidence** **trust**	e.g. uneasy, anxious startled, jolted e.g. confident, assured comfortable with	IN/SECURITY
ennui **displeasure** **interest** **pleasure**	e.g. flat, stale cross, angry, furious e.g. involved, absorbed satisfied, impressed, pleased	DIS/SATISFACTION
JUDGEMENT(evaluations of behaviour)		
normality 'how special?'	positive: e.g. lucky, fortunate, celebrated	negative: e.g. unlucky, odd, eccentric
capacity 'how capable?'	e.g. powerful, mature, expert	e.g. immature, childish
tenacity 'how dependable?'	e.g. plucky, brave, reliable	e.g. timid, reckless, unreliable
veracity [truth] 'how honest?'	e.g. truthful, honest, credible	e.g. dishonest, deceptive, devious
propriety [ethics] 'how far beyond reproach?'	e.g. good, moral, ethical	e.g. bad, immoral, evil
APPRECIATION (assignments of social value to objects and phenomena)		
Reaction: impact 'did it grab me?'	positive: e.g. fascinating, exciting, dramatic	negative: e.g. dull, boring
Reaction: quality 'did I like it?'	e.g. okay, fine, good, lovely	e.g. bad, nasty, revolting
Composition: balance 'did it hang together?'	e.g. balanced, consistent, logical	e.g. unbalanced, irregular, contradictory

Composition: complexity 'was it hard to follow?'	e.g. simple, pure, elegant, precise	e.g. ornate, extravagant, simplistic
Valuation: 'was it worthwhile?'	e.g. profound, deep, creative, timely, helpful	e.g. shallow, insignificant, worthless, ineffective

ENGAGEMENT (signals positioning /alignment through the contraction / expansion of discursive space)

Disclaim: deny counter	negation concession / counter expectation	DIALOGIC CONTRACTION
Proclaim: concur pronounce endorse	e.g. naturally, of course, obviously e.g. I contend, there is no doubt that... e.g. X has demonstrated that...	
Entertain	e.g. it seems, perhaps, probably; some 'rhetorical' or 'expository' questions	DIALOGIC EXPANSION
Attribute: acknowledge distance	e.g. X said..., according to X,... e.g. X claims that..., it is rumoured that...	

GRADUATION (expresses degree of alignment with the truth value of a position)

force	intensification / quantification of expression (e.g. slightly sad, small problem)
focus	sharpening / softening of expression (e.g. a true father, an apology of sorts)

INVOLVEMENT	
dialogicality	Interrogative constructions that directly address the reader or construct imaginary dialogues with the reader. These are different from 'rhetorical' questions labelled [ENGAGEMENT: entertain].
exclamation	Exclamatory constructions that emotionally involve the reader.
shared knowledge	Membership resources or implications of shared cultural knowledge (e.g. allusions, word play, idiomatic expressions, etc).
grammar of closeness	Lexemes and grammatical constructions typical for informal speech: slang, acronyms, colloquialisms, diminutives, inverted word order, elliptical constructions, etc.

PRESUPPOSITIONS	
inscribed	Explicit evaluative statements that prescribe certain reading positions.
invoked	Implicit evaluative statements that indirectly suggest certain reading positions.
shared knowledge	Common-sense assumptions grounded in shared cultural and social norms.

IDENTIFICATION	
Reader/addressee	
'vy' collective	Second-person plural address forms that denote the readership as a group (personal pronouns, verbs and directives).
'vy' collective (relational)	Second-person possessive pronoun forms and/or nouns naming other people as related to each member of the target readership as a group.
'vy' respectful/formal	Second-person plural address forms that denote an individual reader (personal pronouns, verbs and directives). In Russian, *Vy* 'you' and its forms are capitalized, which encodes respect and social distance.
'vy' inclusive/exclusive	Second-person plural address forms that include the intended group, while excluding the rest (e.g. for those who...)
'vy' respectful/formal (relational)	Second-person plural possessive pronoun forms and/or nouns naming other people as related to the individual addressee.
'vy' respectful/collective	Second-person plural address forms that could denote an individual addressee, as well as a group of people. The intended meaning cannot be inferred from the context.
Reader/ship (explicitly)	Words and expressions that identify an individual reader or the readership.
'ty' informal	Second-person singular forms that addresses an individual.
'ty' informal (relational)	Second-person singular possessive pronouns and/or nouns naming other people as related to the individual addressee.
'ty' generic	Second-person singular forms that serve to express generalizations (e.g. do not address a particular individual).

Author / editorial board	
'my' professional	First-person plural forms that denote a professional group (e.g. editorial board).
'my' professional (relational)	First-person plural forms that denote a professional group in relation to other phenomena.
'ja' professional	First-person singular forms that convey the professional identity of the author.
'ja' professional (relational)	First-person singular possessive pronoun forms and/or nouns naming other people as related to the author whose professional identity is established.
'ja' personal	First-person singular forms that that convey the personal identity of the author.
'ja' personal (relational)	First-person singular possessive pronoun forms and/or nouns naming other people as related to the author whose personal identity is established.
'my' personal	First-person plural forms that denote the author and other person/people.
Author and readership	
'my' inclusive	First-person plural forms that denote the author and the readership as members of the same group (personal pronouns, verbs and directives).
'my' inclusive/exclusive	First-person plural address forms that include the intended group, while excluding the rest (e.g. those of us who...)
'my' inclusive (relational)	First-person possessive pronoun forms and/or nouns naming other people as related to the author and the readership.
impersonal	Verbal forms, including directives, and relational expressions that do not name a particular addressee. However, based on the context, these potentially apply to the author and the readership.
third parties	Singular (gender-specific) and plural (gender-specific and gender-neutral) referential expressions that name other people than the author and the reader.

Appendix 2. List of magazine issues

1. *Krest'janka*, December 2005.
2. *Krest'janka*, March 2006.
3. *Krest'janka*, June 2006.
4. *Krest'janka*, September 2006.
5. *Krest'janka*, December 2006.
6. *Krest'janka*, March 2007.
7. *Krest'janka*, June 2007.
8. *Krest'janka*, September 2007.
9. *Krest'janka*, December 2007.
10. *Krest'janka*, March 2008.
11. *Krest'janka*, June 2008.
12. *Krest'janka*, September 2008.
13. *Krest'janka*, December 2008.
14. *Karavan istorij*, December 2005.
15. *Karavan istorij*, March 2006.
16. *Karavan istorij*, June 2006.
17. *Karavan istorij*, September 2006.
18. *Karavan istorij*, December 2006.
19. *Karavan istorij*, March 2007.
20. *Karavan istorij*, June 2007.
21. *Karavan istorij*, September 2007.
22. *Karavan istorij*, December 2007.
23. *Karavan istorij*, March 2008.
24. *Karavan istorij*, June 2008.
25. *Karavan istorij*, September 2008.
26. *Karavan istorij*, December 2008.
27. *Samaja*, December 2005.
28. *Samaja*, March 2006.
29. *Samaja*, June 2006.
30. *Samaja*, September 2006.
31. *Samaja*, December 2006.
32. *Samaja*, March 2007.
33. *Samaja*, June 2007.
34. *Samaja*, September 2007.
35. *Samaja*, December 2007.
36. *Samaja*, March 2008.
37. *Samaja*, June 2008.
38. *Samaja*, September 2008.
39. *Samaja*, December 2008.