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## Introduction to the Volume

This volume compiles three papers based on research presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics and Language Teaching (LAEL PG conference), which was held in person at Lancaster University on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2024. The submissions went through an anonymous peer-review process and were revised by the authors according to reviewer feedback. The LAEL PG conference is an annual event originated in 2006 and is organised by postgraduate students from the department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University. The goal of the conference is to provide early-stage researchers, particularly MA and PhD students, with a platform to share and discuss their work, receive constructive feedback, and connect with peers. The theme of the 18<sup>th</sup> LAEL PG conference was *Future Directions and New Development in Linguistics*. This was chosen to represent the ever-evolving nature of linguistics and to encourage innovative and novel perspectives on a wide range of linguistic issues. We welcomed more than 40 attendees including seven presenters from various national and international institutions. Presentations covered a range of topics including cognitive linguistics, cross-linguistics studies, corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, and corpus linguistics. Plenary talks were provided by Professor Tony McEnery and Dr Claire Hardaker covering swearing, discourse, and functions in British English, and forensic linguistics in the age of AI respectively.

The editors would like to express our sincere gratitude to everyone who contributed to the successful organisation of the conference. First, we would like to thank Sebastian Muth and Chris Sanderson for generously sharing their experience in conference organisation and to Professor Jonathan Culpeper for delivering the opening speech. Special thanks go to our plenary speakers, Prof Tony McEnery and Dr Claire Hardaker, for taking the time to share their insightful research and perspectives with us. Finally, we would like to thank our reviewers for providing constructive feedback to the authors, and all of the presenters and attendees for sharing their work and contributing to the success of the event.

This volume opens with the paper *Queer Russians' Understanding of "Traditional Family Values" and Opposition to Anti-LGBTQ+ Legislation on X (formerly Twitter)* by Sofia Pastukhova, PhD student in linguistics at Lancaster University. The article examines queer Russians' discourse on X (formerly Twitter), aiming to gain insight into how they conceptualise the notion of 'traditional values' and express disagreement with recently adopted anti-LGBTQ+ legislation. This study investigates 60 tweets posted between July 2022 and December 2022

by the Russian queer community, during the period when an anti-gay bill was proposed in the Russian Federation, passed, and signed into law. A discourse-historical approach was taken with particular focus on five discursive strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, and mitigation or intensification. The author discusses how the Russian queer community on X refuses to accept government rhetoric and the heteronormative definition of ‘traditional family values’.

The second paper of this collection is *From War to Journey: A Cross-cultural Corpus Analysis of COVID-19 Metaphors in China and the UK* by Danyang Li, PhD student in Linguistics at Lancaster University. This cross-cultural analysis of COVID-19 discourses in China and the United Kingdom focuses on *war* and *journey* metaphors in public speeches by the Chinese President and the British Prime Minister between December 2019 and December 2021. Corpus linguistics methods are used to explore *war* and *journey* metaphors in the discourse of the two selected subjects, the frequency differences between *war* and *journey* metaphors in the Chinese and English corpora, and the extent to which differences in frequency and variety can be explained by cultural predisposition. The author concludes that the differences between collectivist and individualist cultures was a key factor affecting the language use of the two world leaders.

The final paper in the volume, *Silence in Court – What is NOT Said*, was submitted by Claire Jones, PhD student in English at the University of Liverpool. The study explores the significance of silence in courtroom interactions, adopting a pragmatic perspective, and in particular, building on Grice’s Cooperative Principle (CP). The study analyses the transcripts of the cross-examinations from the trial of the notorious serial killer Harold Shipman to investigate the extent to which Grice’s CP operates in cross-examination, how strategies of silence impact the CP, and the degree to which silent responses impact subsequent turns in cross-examination. Findings demonstrate that Shipman’s language use partially followed Grice’s CP, especially in terms of word choice and relevance, though it was shaped by his own communicative goals. Furthermore, his speech showed minimal cooperation and violated the CP, suggesting that in high-pressure situations like cross-examinations, a distorted version of the CP can lead to uncooperative implicatures that don’t align with Grice’s original theory.

The articles contained in the volume present findings from work in progress, covering a range of contemporary topics in linguistics and offering valuable insights into diverse

approaches. We would like to extend our thanks to the authors for their contributions to this collection.

Liyang Zhou, Greta Esposito, and Emil Tangham Hazelhurst

# **Queer Russians' Understanding of "Traditional Family Values" and Opposition to Anti-LGBTQ+ Legislation on X (formerly Twitter)**

Sofia Pastukhova

## **Abstract**

The notion of 'traditional family values' in official Russian discourse has been getting more and more prevalent since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Its adoption has resulted in several laws restricting the rights and freedoms of LGBTQ+ people in the country, including two so-called 'anti-gay' laws (2013 and 2022). The present study focuses on the 2022 anti-gay law and analyses queer Russians' discourse on Twitter. 60 tweets and threads posted around the time when the bill was first proposed, accepted, and then signed into law are analysed using the discourse-historical approach to discover how queer Russians conceptualise and discuss the notion of 'traditional family values' and how they express disagreement with recently adopted anti-gay legislation. The findings suggest that queer Russians have devised their own definitions of 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' values that challenge those proposed by the state. Their attitudes towards the legislation are also overwhelmingly negative, yet the data analysed does not suggest mobilisation to challenge the law, instead accepting it as the unfortunate reality.

## **1. Introduction**

The notion of 'tradition' in official Russian rhetoric has been getting more and more prevalent for years but remained vague. Introduced in 2013 and officially passed the following year, the Conception of state family policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025 has given a more concrete definition to 'traditional family values' as encapsulated by 'the values of marriage, understood solely as a union between a man and a woman... registered for the purpose of procreation, of having and raising together three or more children.' (Conception of state family policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025: section 1, paragraph 4, as quoted by Pecherskaya, 2013:97)

As this definition illustrates, the notion of 'traditional family values' clearly highlights that the only acceptable family model is that created by a man and a woman and is purposefully alienating and exclusionary of same-sex families and of LGBTQ+ individuals more generally. The discourse adopted by government officials on what they refer to as 'non-traditional sexual relations' has 'situat[ed] LGBT people as the aberrant "other"' and 'characterize[d] sexual and gender minorities as outgroups and hence convenient scapegoats.' (Reid, 2017)

In the same year that the Conception of state family policy was first open to public discussion, the first out of two now existing anti-‘homopropaganda’ bills was passed into law in Russia. Despite similar legislation having been introduced in some Russian regions since 2006 (Wilkinson, 2014:365-366), this was the first nationwide law prohibiting ‘propaganda of homosexuality to children’ in the name of protecting ‘traditional family values’. The adoption of the law has led to an increase in hate crimes committed against members of the LGBTQ+ community in Russia (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

The present study is concerned with the second ‘propaganda’ law that was adopted in late 2022. It expanded the restrictions originally introduced by its predecessor, making it illegal to share positive or neutral information about queerness and to publicly display any sexual orientations other than heterosexual (Human Rights Watch, 2022). What is more, the law now prohibits ‘propagating’ to adults as well as minors. This law has affected activist organisations and queer Russians alike and has provoked widespread discussion in the Russian LGBTQ+ community, particularly on social media.

Twitter<sup>1</sup> has especially served as a platform for many to express their attitudes to the new law and consider what this legislation means for the already largely marginalized queer community in Russia. Thus, 60 tweets from queer Russians mentioning ‘traditional values’, ‘non-traditional values’ or ‘family values’ have been collected, analysed and translated in order to answer the following questions:

1. How do queer Russians conceptualise and discuss the notion of ‘traditional values’ on Twitter?
2. How do queer Russians express disagreement with recently adopted anti-LGBTQ+ legislation on Twitter?

Tweets posted in July 2022 (when the second anti-gay bill was first proposed) and November-December 2022 (when it was passed and signed into law by Putin) are analysed according to five discursive strategies as outlined in the discourse-historical approach: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, and mitigation or intensification (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016:37).

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<sup>1</sup> Now called X

## 2. LGBTQ+ Discourses on Twitter

Avdeeff (2021) studied the reception of Taylor Swift's song "You Need To Calm Down" and the music video for it on TikTok and Twitter. Serving as a declaration of Swift's allyship with the LGBTQ+ community, the song understandably generated a discussion among queer people, especially on Twitter. Avdeeff highlights the duality of the reception of the song by queer Twitter users, some commenting positively and some accusing the singer of queer baiting and performative activism. This finding echoes Jacobsen et al.'s (2022) research into trans discourse on Tumblr, whose findings suggest a divide between two groups of trans Tumblr users that have opposing opinions on gender dysphoria, indicating that queer discourses on social media frequently feature drastically different opinions on the same issues.

Nevertheless, Twitter remains an important platform for the LGBTQ+ community. Even in contexts where it is unsafe for queer people to be out in real life, Twitter can serve as a safe space for them to express themselves. Tuah and Mazlan (2020:436) interviewed 10 young members of the LGBTQ+ community from Malaysia and found that '[t]hey use Twitter as it is seen as a private space where they can be themselves and be safe, supporting the notion of Twitter as a safe space for LGBTQ youths.'

Twitter can also act as a space for queer people to advocate for their rights, as is the case in Nigeria. Funmi Oyebanji (2022) examines what identities Nigerian LGBT people construct on Twitter by considering discourses from the hashtag #EndHomophobiaInNigeria, which was trending in the country in 2020. The study revealed that in this discourse LGBT people are constructed as humans whose rights should be respected, as a community, and resilient as a means of fighting homophobia and discrimination.

Finally, discourse on the LGBTQ+ community as generated by people outside the community can also be found on the platform. Gorjanc and Fišer (2020) analysed the discourse on the 2015 referendum on the Civil Partnership Registration Act in Slovenia. They study two referendum campaign accounts: that of *Za otroke gre* (ZOG), the Act's strongest opponent, and *Čas je ZA* (ČJZ), its' most prominent proponent. The findings show that '[t]he ZOG campaign used the strategy of reproducing the traditional concept of the family within the hegemonic heterosexual discourse as the main discourse strategy, but at the same time restricted it with the concept of the Catholic normative model.' (Gorjanc & Fišer, 2020:51) Other features of the campaign, like the reference to gender theory, places the campaign in the eyes of the researchers with other mobilisation movements against equality that are evident across the

right-wing in Europe. The ČJZ campaign on the other hand seemed more focused on the referendum and the content of the amendments proposed yet still responded to disinformation spread by opponents. Their campaign was also activist in nature, ‘explicitly based on the ideological concepts of human rights, human dignity, freedom, fairness, equality, and non-discrimination.’ (Gorjanc & Fišer, 2020:51)

### 3. Methodology

The data for this study were collected using the Advanced Search function on Twitter. It must be noted that as of March 2022 Twitter is officially banned in Russia. Roskomnadzor (The Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media) has restricted access to Twitter from Russia due to the platform allegedly spreading misinformation about the war in Ukraine. However, Russian have continued to access the platform by using VPN services.

The second ‘gay propaganda’ bill was proposed to the Russian Duma on 18 July 2022, which fuelled online discussions of both the proposed bill and the underlying notion of ‘traditional family values’. 24 November 2022 was the day when the Duma passed the bill, and on 5 December 2022 President Putin signed it into law. The timeframes for the search were thus chosen around these dates and were as follows: 18 July 2022 to 31 July 2022 and 24 November to 31 December 2022.

The 3 terms of interest for the present study were: «традиционные ценности» (*traditsionnye tsennosti* – ‘traditional values’), «нетрадиционные ценности» (*netraditsionnye tsennosti* – ‘non-traditional values’), and «семейные ценности» (*semeinye tsennosti* – ‘family values’). This choice was made due to the overall popularity of the terms in Russian discourse, both in government officials’ and the public’s.

I also looked for mentions of the author’s sexuality or gender identity in the text itself or their profile. That included checking the user’s username or profile picture, and if those did not feature any relevant indicators (e.g., Pride flags or emojis), then I looked at their bio and/or any pinned tweet. If a mention of queerness was found, the tweet was included in the sample. Thus, the sample features people of a variety of gender identities and sexual orientations.

Data were analysed in the original language and manually translated into English. The analysis was carried out according to 5 discursive strategies highlighted in the discourse-historical approach: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, and intensification/mitigation.

Anonymised original tweets and threads accompanied by translations are featured in Appendix 1. Permission was not sought from the tweets' authors due to the publicly available nature of the data.

## **4. Findings and Discussion**

### **4.1. Defining Russian 'Traditional Family Values'**

The results of the analysis have demonstrated that queer people in Russia have a negative attitude towards the notion and the legislation that utilises it, which is to be expected as they are the most vulnerable to discrimination because of anti-gay laws. However, the aspects of the term they challenged in their discourses and how they defined it differed. The following definitions are worth mentioning:

#### *4.1.1. 'Traditional values' as defined by the government*

One of the most commonly found approaches to defining 'traditional family values' seemed to be agreeing with the Russian government's definition. The notion was thus viewed as inherently heteronormative and exclusionary of any form of queerness. Members of the LGBTQ+ community whose data I collected were unanimous in their negative assessment of the concept of 'traditional family values' when defined this way and about their unwillingness to participate in it, and it is perhaps safe to generalise and assume that this attitude prevails in the Russian LGBTQ+ community more generally. What is more, multiple Twitter users have pointed out the rarity of such a picture-perfect family 'from a mayonnaise commercial' (Thread 14) deeming it 'really fucking NON-traditional' (Tweet 1). And while some only went as far, others have attempted to define what the 'real traditional values' are in Russia.

#### *4.1.2. 'Traditional values' as social issues*

By equating 'traditional family values' to negative phenomena in society such as domestic violence, poverty, addiction, human rights restrictions, etc. Russian queer people seemingly attempted to propose an alternative, 'real' definition of 'traditional family values' to counter the state's idealistic definition. Sometimes tied to claims of how non-traditional 'traditional values' actually are, the 'traditional values as social issues' definition was evident either in predication strategies by making an explicit statement like 'traditional values are...' or as nominating the term in response to news stories posted by different accounts. For example, Tweet 47 quote retweeted a story on Russia being in the top 5 countries by new HIV cases in the world. The tweet reads just 'Family values!', indicating that the author believes that the 'real' 'traditional family values' in Russia include the HIV epidemic. Similarly, Tweets 55 and 56 quote retweeted news on the director of a popular children's show being imprisoned

for paedophilia and a drunk father hitting his daughter, respectively, and sarcastically asked ‘how our traditional values are doing.’

#### *4.1.3. ‘Traditional values’ as inclusive of queer people*

An alternative viewpoint that does not view ‘traditional values’ as inherently bad but as misinterpreted is that of ‘traditional values’ as inclusive of queer people. Several users mentioned how they or other people in the LGBTQ+ community wanted a family but could not start one due to government restrictions or highlighted the lack of a difference between queer and heterosexual relationships, thus viewing ‘traditional family values’ as desirable but inaccessible. They advocated for a re-evaluation of the term and wanted to be included in it. This can be tied with how ‘non-traditional values’ were perceived, as in some user’s minds ‘non-traditional values’ appeared to be interpreted as queer-inclusive ‘traditional values’, such as when Tweet 46 referred to having a partner and a cat as propagating non-traditional values’.

## **4.2. Opposition to Anti-Gay Legislation**

Despite the overwhelmingly negative reaction towards the new anti-gay law among queer Russian Twitter users, a striking feature of the discourse is the lack of activist effort to combat its adoption. The only exception from this is Thread 35, which not only provided details on how to send letters to the Duma but also explained why it needed to be done, and refuted claims made by another activist regarding the unlikelihood of the (then) bill’s adoption. Other than that, no mentions of standing up for their rights or combating the legislation were present in the data. This can be attributed to the general lack of political agency among Russians, who feel like politics is something that happens to them as opposed to something they have a say in. This ‘depoliticization and disengagement’ can be partially explained by ‘a legacy of a state socialism in which political participation was obligatory but often regarded as inauthentic’ (Mason, 2016:14), not to mention the ‘government crackdown on the Russian Internet and social media’ that ‘disempowers publics’ (Klyueva, 2016:4661) and the increasingly harsh legal punishment for protesting or allegedly inciting protest in modern Russia, aggravated in light of the invasion of Ukraine. These factors are believed to have contributed to a complete loss of faith among the Russian LGBTQ+ community, as according to the tweets: ever since the bill was proposed, it was already treated by most as if it had already been signed into law, which was seen as inevitable.

## 5. Conclusion

The present study has shed light on queer Russians' understanding of the notion of 'traditional values' and opposition to anti-gay legislation in the country. As Koller (2008:19) notes, 'non-dominant discourses are interdiscursively linked to dominant ones as they respond to them, anticipate them, resist them and—directly or indirectly—quote from them. Most notably, non-dominant discourses are vehicles for establishing alternative realities, so that constructing an image of the alternative discourse community plays a central role in differentiating it from the host culture.' Queer Russian discourse is similarly linked to the dominant discourse of the Russian authorities, who have been promoting and enforcing 'traditional values' since the early 2000s, as its very purpose is to contest a concept that the government introduced. What is more, by providing their own definitions and understandings of 'traditional family values', queer Russians are constructing an alternative narrative that goes against the official one. As would be expected in a community as diverse, there are multiple points of view that are not entirely in agreement with one another or are even contradictory. However, they are united in their refusal to accept the official government rhetoric and the heteronormative definition of 'traditional family values' as a family with a husband, a wife and multiple children as the only acceptable family model.

On the other hand, when it comes to contesting the restrictive legislation that has brought the idea of 'traditional family values' to the forefront of the discussion in the first place, queer Russians make little too no attempt to challenge it at its core, at least as seen in the data analysed in the present study. There is a multitude of possible explanations for this, but the key is lack of faith in that political changes can be made by 'average' people.

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# **From War to Journey: A Cross-cultural Corpus Analysis of COVID-19 Metaphors in China and the UK**

Danyang Li

## **Abstract**

Metaphor is pervasive in human thought and language (Lakoff & Johnson 2008). Unsurprisingly, it was widely used during the COVID-19 pandemic in different countries to frame the problem in culturally specific ways (Pfrimer & Barbosa 2020). While research has focused on the kinds of metaphors used in the pandemic (Semino 2021), few studies investigate the differences between metaphor usage in different cultural contexts (cf. Kazemian & Hatamzadeh 2022). This presentation is a cross-cultural corpus study of metaphorical framing efforts in COVID-19 discourses with a focus on War and Journey metaphors produced as part of government and media communication in China compared to the UK. In particular, I will compare the frequencies with which the British Prime Minister and Chinese President use War and Journey metaphors in their COVID-19 public speeches and explore the use of these two types of metaphors in terms of their specific instantiations, entailments, and affective qualities. I will then explore whether any frequency differences between the two corpora can be account for in terms of contrasting cultural predispositions (collectivism/individualism). The investigation includes three parts: (i) corpus compiling; (ii) metaphor identification and quantification; (iii) critical interpretation. In the first part, public speeches about COVID-19 will be searched and selected from two websites with the same time range. In the second part, I will use the English and Chinese COVID War/Journey Metaphor List following and further adapting the method of Wicke and Bolognesi (2020) to identify and analyse the frequencies of War versus Journey metaphors. In the third part, qualitative analysis will focus on the categorizations and the valence of War and Journey metaphors. The pilot study has already revealed that War metaphors in the Chinese corpus encompasses a greater diversity and more details. Further findings from this investigation will be presented at the conference.

**Keywords:** War/Journey metaphors, COVID-19, corpus

## **1. Introduction**

Covid-19 presented communicative challenges for governments who needed to find ways to talk about the pandemic. Metaphor was one key cognitive and communicative resource used in framing the pandemic (Pfrimer & Barbosa, 2020). While previous research has shown the various source domains relied upon in figurative framings of COVID-19 (Semino, 2021), few studies have undertaken a cross-cultural analysis to consider variation in metaphor usage according to cultural context.

This paper provides a cross-cultural examination of metaphorical framing efforts within COVID-19 discourses. Applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008) together with Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, 2011) as the cultural comparison framework, the research focuses on comparing the use of War and Journey metaphors in speeches by Chinese President and the British Prime Minister.

## **2. Literature Review**

Most of the studies investigating the use of metaphors to frame COVID-19 are theoretical analyses or case studies. Pfrimer and Barbosa (2020) analyzed why the Bolsonaro administration in Brazil benefited from using War metaphors to frame COVID-19 and the negative consequences caused in society. Through the comparison of the source and target domain of the War metaphors identified in the public speech by the Bolsonaro administration, the author argued that War metaphors frame COVID-19 as an extra-territorial threat to maintain domestic stability while covering their failure to react to the pandemic.

The use of the Journey metaphor is advocated in public speeches, especially during the post-pandemic period. The journey mindset in framing COVID-19 could be beneficial. It helps both sufferers and healthcare workers recover from post-traumatic stress. Compared to the War metaphor, it is relatively individualized focusing on self-growth and self-transcendence. It also stands for a transformation into a new stage with more opportunities. However, no single metaphor is enough to characterize all the traits of the target. The effectiveness of metaphor usage is highly dependent on the context and individual background. The present study focused on the influence of cultural predisposition on the framing effects of War and Journey metaphors.

## **3. Methodology**

The research will compare the frequencies with which the British Prime Minister and Chinese President use War and Journey metaphors in their COVID-19 public speeches and explore in detail the use of these two types of metaphors in terms of their specific instantiations, entailments, and affective qualities. The research conducts a large-scale investigation of the use

of War and Journey metaphors on a cross-cultural level. The research questions are as follows:

**RQ1:** What kinds of War and Journey Metaphors are used in the Chinese and English corpus?

**RQ2:** What are the frequency differences between War and Journey Metaphors in the Chinese and English corpus?

**RQ3:** To what extent can differences in frequency and variety be explained by cultural predisposition (collectivism/individualism)?

The English corpus was comprised of the speeches on <https://www.gov.uk/>. In the search box, I entered “Prime Minister Statement” and chose the topic COVID-19. The time range was from Dec. 31st, 2019 to Dec. 31st, 2021. The Chinese corpus was comprised of the speeches on <http://jhsjk.people.cn/>. I chose “讲话 (speeches)” as the text type and set the same time range. However, this website has no topic selection, so it was mainly a manual task to select speeches related to COVID-19. All the speeches were converted into a text file and stored on a computer. Ultimately, the total number of the English corpora was 87 passages, 90,372 words. The Chinese corpus was 48 passages, 73,325 words.

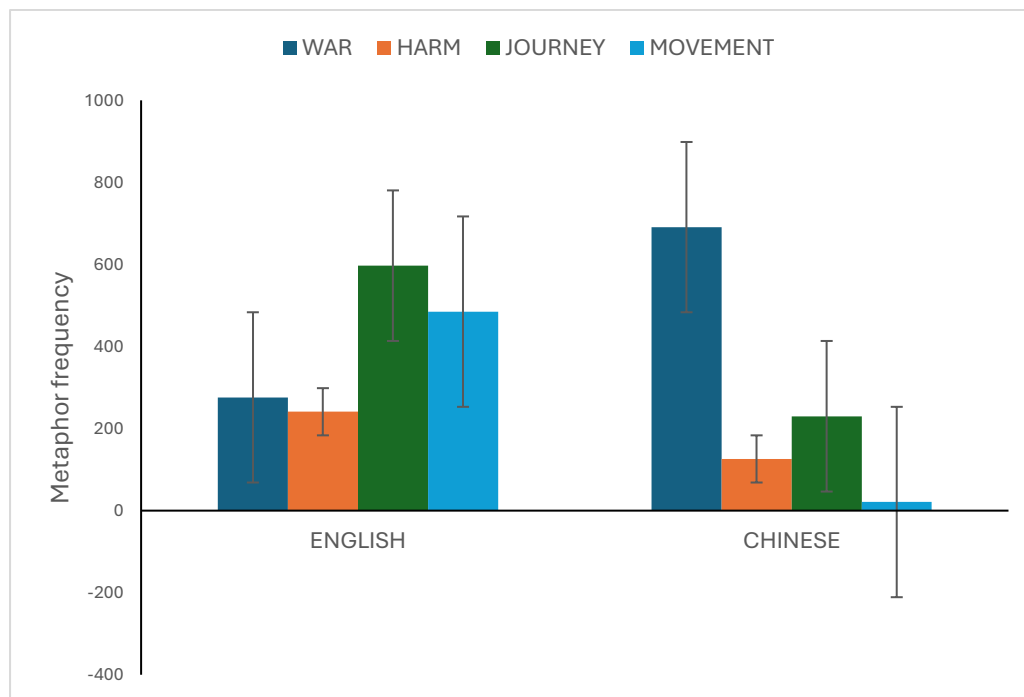
I compiled an English “COVID War/Journey Metaphor List” to generate a list of potential metaphor indices which could be searched for in the corpus and check whether or not they were instances of metaphor. Following and further adapting the method of Wicke and Bolognesi (2020), two public databases were referred to in compiling the metaphor lists: 1) the web service *relatedwords.org* providing word lists (inflected word forms, not lemmas) related to the source domains, and 2) the MetaNet repository of conceptual metaphors supported by the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley, California (Karlberg & Buell, 2005: 22-39). In addition, the USAS tagger, short for UCREL Semantic Annotation System, in Wmatrix was used as a reference (G3 for War Metaphor List and M for Journey Metaphor List). Furthermore, to ensure no potential metaphor indices were missed, a sample of the speeches published between Dec. 31st, 2019, and June 30th, 2020, from both the corpora was read and analyzed manually to identify additional words belonging to War and Journey domains. A list of war-related words was already compiled by Wicke and Bolognesi (2020), so for the domain of war, I only augmented this list. The Chinese “COVID War/Journey Metaphor List” was the translation of the English version. The generated lists were given to a Python (a high-level programming language) program already written to automatically extract potential metaphor hits from the corpus and input them into an Excel spreadsheet. All the hits were analyzed for

metaphoricity to establish whether they are functioning literally or metaphorically and, if metaphorically, whether the target domain is Covid-19. The results from this analysis were rearranged and stored in an Excel spreadsheet with columns for “SD (Source Domain: WAR/JOURNEY), Trigger, Examples, and Text id”.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Metaphor Frequencies

The frequency of each metaphor in different corpora is shown in Figure 1; the X-axis shows various types of targeted metaphors in the corpora, while the Y-axis indicates the number of metaphors. The frequency of War metaphors in the Chinese corpus (691) is significantly higher than in the English corpus (276) ( $z = 16.724$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, the frequency of Harm metaphors in the English corpus (241) is moderately but significantly higher than in the Chinese corpus (126) ( $z = 2.41$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Conversely, the English corpus (599) contains substantially more Journey metaphors than the Chinese corpus (230) ( $z = 9.8963$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Similarly, the frequency of Movement metaphors in the English corpus (485) is significantly higher than in the Chinese corpus (21) ( $z = 18.4132$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Overall, the distributional differences in metaphor usage across the two corpora are statistically significant ( $\chi^2 (3) = 726.6144$ ,  $p < .001$ ).



**Figure 1** *Metaphor frequencies in English and Chinese corpus*

The standard for determining whether a sentence contains a metaphor was through trigger

words in each metaphor frame. Under each metaphor category, for both English and Chinese corpus, I conducted frequency statistics of different metaphor categories according to the frequency of trigger words from high to low. The top 5 trigger words were selected with the highest hits. I recorded their contextual usage (Instantiations) and created 8 HIT tables. Some metaphorical trigger words (such as “further”, “move”, and “come”) cannot be directly related to the source domains under investigation when they appear alone. However, based on the findings of the pilot study, the research manually identified instantiations where such words could be clearly linked to the intended source domains when examined within their full contextual environments. These contextually validated cases were therefore included in the analysis.

**Table 1** *English War Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
WAR_english	fight	58	<i>fight against the disease</i>
WAR_english	shield	30	<i>a human shield, shield NHS, shield those with serious conditions</i>
WAR_english	defeat	21	<i>defeat this disease, defeat this virus</i>
WAR_english	campaign	18	<i>vaccination campaign, booster campaign</i>
WAR_english	defence	15	<i>the first line of defence</i>

**Table 2** *English Harm metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
HARM_english	protect	186	<i>protect the NHS</i>
HARM_english	beat	33	<i>beat this virus</i>
HARM_english	suppress	11	<i>suppress the disease</i>
HARM_english	rip	5	<i>let the virus rip</i>
HARM_english	shelter	2	<i>shelter our economy</i>

**Table 3** *Chinese War Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
WAR_chinese	抗疫 combat against the pandemic	119	<i>合作抗疫(collaborative efforts in combatting the epidemic)</i>
WAR_chinese	斗争 fight	76	<i>抗疫斗争(fight against the epidemic)</i>
WAR_chinese	一线 frontline	44	<i>一线医务工作者(frontline medical workers), 防控一线(frontline of prevention and control)</i>
WAR_chinese	赢 win	43	<i>合作共赢(win-win cooperation)</i>
WAR_chinese	战胜 to triumph over	42	<i>战胜疫情(triumphing over the epidemic)</i>

**Table 4** *Chinese Harm Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
HARM_chinese	抗击 oppose	37	抗击疫情(oppose the epidemic)
HARM_chinese	保护 protect	35	保护人民健康(protect the health of the people)
HARM_chinese	防护 prevention	17	科学防护(scientific prevention)
HARM_chinese	冲击 impact	15	疫情冲击(impact of the pandemic)
HARM_chinese	打击 strike	9	打击全球产业链(strike the global industrial chain)

The boundary between War metaphors and Harm metaphors is rather blurred. This paper adopted the war-related vocabulary listed by Wicke & Bolognesi (2020: 13). The distinction in the Chinese corpus is based on the Chinese translation of this vocabulary list. Harm metaphors are a hypernym of War metaphors. War metaphors were singled out to identify extreme metaphors in the corpus that may trigger strong emotional reactions. War frame involves core elements like opposing parties (usually two), military actions (“*fight*”, and “*defeat*”), specific places, time, or military strategies (“*strategy*”) (Hart, 2017) as indicated by trigger words in Tables 1 and 3. Harm metaphors might contain or describe a unilateral action and more moderate actions, as shown in Tables 2 and 4 (“*protect*”, “*beat*”, “*oppose*”, and “*impact*”). Apart from quantitative differences, this set of metaphors shows no significant cross-cultural usage differences.

**Table 5** *English Journey Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
JOURNEY_english	step (n.)	137	move to step 2, the next step
JOURNEY_english	approach	49	a new global approach, approach to tackling the virus, approaching the fast growth part
JOURNEY_english	guidance	41	guidance on social contact, follow this guidance, guidance for the retail sector
JOURNEY_english	roadmap	36	roadmap to freedom
JOURNEY_english	stage	33	come to the stage of our plan, at this stage, the second most serious stage

**Table 6** *English Movement Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
MOVEMENT_english	come	96	<i>come to the stage</i>
MOVEMENT_english	move	88	<i>move to step 2</i>
MOVEMENT_english	further	79	<i>go further and faster</i>
MOVEMENT_english	fall	46	<i>consistent fall</i>
MOVEMENT_english	rise	45	<i>rise sharply</i>

**Table 7** *Chinese Journey Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
JOURNEY_chinese	推进 to advance	56	推进疫苗研发( <i>advancing vaccine research and development</i> )
JOURNEY_chinese	同舟共济 crossing the river in the same boat	19	中华人民同舟共济( <i>The Chinese people cross the river in the same boat</i> )
JOURNEY_chinese	走 walk	15	走团结合作之路( <i>walk the path of unity and cooperation</i> )
JOURNEY_chinese	方向 direction	12	斗争方向( <i>direction of struggle</i> )
JOURNEY_chinese	途径 route	10	传播途径( <i>transmission route</i> )

**Table 8** *Chinese Movement Metaphor HIT*

Type	Trigger	Hits	Instantiations
MOVEMENT_chinese	进入 enter	12	进入动荡变革期( <i>entering a period of turbulence and change</i> )
MOVEMENT_chinese	速度 speed	9	传播速度加快( <i>increased spread speed</i> )

The superordinate concept of Journey metaphors is Movement metaphors. The journey frame contains core elements describing a specific travelling action as shown in Tables 5 and 7 (“*approach*”, “*advance*”, and “*walk*”). By comparison, as listed in Tables 6 and 8, the actions in the Movement frame (“*come*”, “*move*”, and “*enter*”) are more generic, which could be done in daily life apart from a journey. A cultural-specific trigger, “crossing the river in the same boat”, appears in Table 7. The phrase was first recorded in the *Zuo Zhuan*, Year 24 of Duke Zhao. It depicts people all in the same boat to cross the river, indicating close cooperation in times of difficulty. The boat could vividly entail teamwork and collective effort. Navigation is also a journey full of twists and turns, occupying a significant role in the ancient Chinese adventure. Another cross-cultural difference is that the British Prime Minister preferred to use

numerical changes to demonstrate the current situation (“*fall*” and “*rise*”). Meanwhile, the Chinese President would use more pictorial expressions and metaphorical language to frame the state of affairs.

#### 4.2. Metaphor Varieties

The operational mechanism of conceptual metaphors is selecting and mapping rich additional knowledge from the source to the target. In this research, “trigger words” are the identification markers of interested conceptual metaphors. Therefore, the captured metaphors were categorized by determining the frame elements to which the trigger words belong. The war frame is the instantiation of the more generic frame, the Violent/Opposition frame (Hart, 2017). The core elements within the frame include places of the war, military activities, results of the war, etc. As shown in Table 9, this type of frame element is directly related to the description of the war itself. In this case, the conceptual metaphor, DISEASE IS WAR, could be further elaborated as CURING A DISEASE IS FIGHTING A WAR. The second part of the core elements is the participants: two opposing parties, allies, victims, and so on. The subordinate metaphors are PEOPLE ARE SOLDIERS/VICTIMS, and NATIONS ARE ALLIES. Some non-core elements within the war frame also include methods of war and the emotions invoked.

**Table 9** *Details of War Frame*

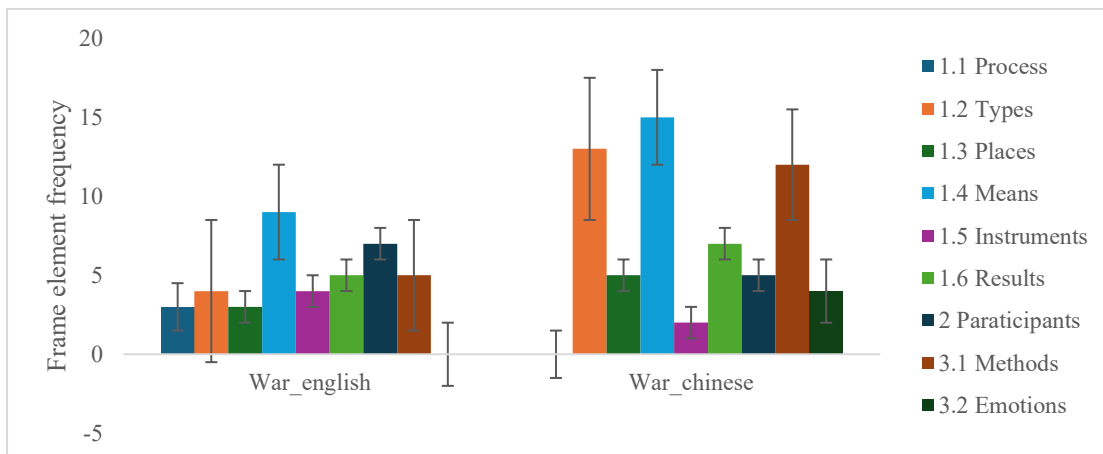
Frame	Mappings		
Elements	Source: War	Target: Disease	
1.1 Process	stages of war	stages of anti-disease	
1.2 Types	war types	types of anti-disease	
1.3 Places	war sites	locations to control the disease	
1.4 Means	actions to fight the war	actions to control the disease	1 CURING A DISEASE IS FIGHTING A WAR
1.5 Instruments	war equipment	attitudes towards the disease	
1.6 Results	results of war	results of anti-disease	
2 Participants	commander	political leaders	
	soldiers/warriors	medical workers/volunteers/the public	2 PEOPLE ARE SOLDIERS/VICTIMS; NATIONS ARE ALLIES
	victims	patients	
	nations	allies	
3.1 Methods	war physical strategies	treatment approaches	3 TREATMENT APPROACHES ARE WAR STRATEGIES
3.2 Emotions	war psychological strategies	people's emotions during the pandemic	

The journey frame is subordinate to the movement frame, with the primary structural type being the “source-path-goal” image schema (Talmy, 1985, 2000). As shown in Table 10, the core elements demonstrate aspects of a trip, including the process, the speed, the places (goal), etc. DISEASE IS JOURNEY; therefore, it could be specified as CURING A DISEASE IS TAKING A JOURNEY. Participants (travelers and guides) are another core element entailing the relations of people taking part. Subordinate conceptual metaphors are PATIENTS ARE TRAVELLERS, and NATIONS ARE GUIDERS. Finally, how to take the trip belongs to the decisive issue, also entailing some non-core elements like modes of transportation and the direction. This belongs to TREATMENT APPROACHES ARE TOURISM STRATEGIES.

**Table 10** *Details of Journey Frame*

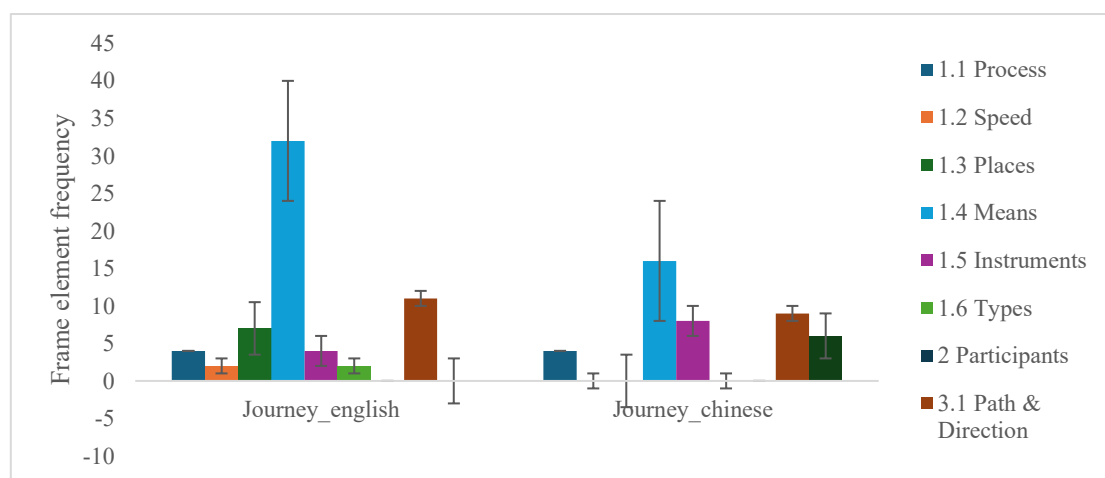
Frame Elements	Mappings		
	Source: Journey	Target: Disease	
1.1 Process	stages of journey	stages of anti-disease	
1.2 Speed	travel rate	control rate	
1.3 Places	travel sites & landscape	locations to control the disease	1 CURING A DISEASE IS TAKING A JOURNEY
1.4 Means	actions to take a trip	actions to control the disease	
1.5 Instruments	travel equipment	supportive pandemic control equipment	
2 Participants	travelers	patients	2 PATIENTS ARE TRAVELERS;
	guiders	governments/medical workers/volunteers	NATIONS ARE GUIDERS
3.1 Path & Direction	travel trajectory & orientation	therapeutic protection plan	3 TREATMENT APPROACHES ARE TOURISM STRATEGIES
3.2 Modes of transportation	What modes of transportation are used	What actions are being taken	

Data in both the English and Chinese corpus conforms to the summarized framework pattern. As shown in Figure 2, the X-axis represents the frame elements contained in different corpora, while the Y-axis is the number of different T-words contained in each type of frame element. The distribution of War metaphor variety does not show a statistically significant difference between the English and Chinese corpora ( $\chi^2(8) = 13.52, p = .095$ ). However, certain categories (e.g., "1.2 Types" and "1.4 Means") show notable discrepancies between observed and expected values.



**Figure 2** *War metaphor varieties*

According to Figure 3, the English corpus contains seven types of Journey frame elements without 2 Participants and 3.2 Modes of transportation. Compared to the English corpus, the Chinese corpus contains fewer categories of frame elements: 1.1 Process, 1.4 Means, 1.5 Instruments, 3.1 Path & Direction, and 3.2 Modes of Transportation. Still, 1.4 Means (16) remains the category with the highest quantity. Neither corpus contains any trigger words related to Category 2 Participants. The distribution of Journey metaphors shows a significant difference in these two corpora ( $\chi^2(8) = 20.00, p < .05$ ).



**Figure 3** *Journey metaphor varieties*

An interesting phenomenon is that the total number of War metaphor varieties in the Chinese corpus (63) is greater than in the English corpus (40) and similar to the number of Journey metaphor varieties (62) in the English corpus. And the Journey metaphor varieties in the Chinese corpus (43) are close to the quantity of War metaphors in the English corpus (40). In both War and Journey frames, the category with the most trigger words appears predominantly in the vocabulary related to action patterns describing the events (1.4 Means).

## 5. Discussion

Chinese President Xi Jinping preferred War metaphors, whereas British Prime Minister Boris Johnson preferred Journey metaphors. Under the impact of collectivism, which strengthens joint struggle and group mobilization (Hofstede, 2011), the government tended to promote a “unified national effort” when facing COVID-19. War metaphors are an effective linguistic strategy for maximizing collective mobilization. The expressions like “war against the pandemic” evoke a sense of urgency and encourage individuals to comply with national strategies, such as lockdowns and health code systems. By contrast, the UK has a more

individualistic culture, where political discourse tends to avoid War metaphors and instead use Journey metaphors. The UK government focused more on personal freedoms and self-determined decision-making than state-led collective mobilization. In collectivist cultures, the government often plays a “paternal” role, portraying itself as the protector of its people and demanding unity in times of crisis. As a result, War metaphors mobilize citizens and reinforce governmental authority. In contrast, in individualistic cultures like the UK, the government acts as a service provider, offering information and recommendations rather than issuing direct orders. Since the Revolutionary War era, War metaphors have been a staple of Chinese political discourse. Expressions such as “the battle against poverty” and “the special campaign against crime” illustrate the long-standing tradition of “militarized governance”. Therefore, using War metaphors during COVID-19 was a natural linguistic choice.

## **6. Conclusion**

The current study examined how War and Journey metaphors were used by Chinese and British presidents in their public speeches during the COVID-19, reflecting cultural influences on metaphorical usage. Under the frameworks of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Cultural Dimension Theory, the study shows that China, a relatively collectivist culture, favored using War metaphors to achieve group unity and mobilization. By comparison, the UK, an individualistic country, preferred to use Journey metaphors emphasizing individual progress and goals. Both the quantitative and qualitative analysis shows significant cross-cultural differences in metaphor frequencies, varieties, and emotional effects, reflecting the influence of broader cultural values and political communication styles on metaphor usages.

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# Silence in Court – What is NOT Said

Claire Jones

## Abstract

Paul Grice's theory of Conversational Implicature has been a cornerstone in the discipline of pragmatics within linguistics for several decades. Whilst Grice's theory demonstrates a systematic account explaining how people use and understand language non-literally there remains a grey area regarding silent responses. Previous research concerning silence (Ephratt, 2012; Jaworski, 1993) has highlighted its communicative function in casual conversations demonstrating that silence may sometimes comply with Grice's Cooperative Principle once contextual information is considered. The interpretation of silence may not be routinely recognized as a problematic issue in ordinary life, but in a legal context, silence often has serious consequences, some of which are enforced in the legislation of the *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act* (CJPOA, 1994). A key contribution of the paper is to highlight certain silences as strategic having the potential to produce an implicature unaccounted for in the original theory. Using court transcripts from a murder trial, the aim of the paper is to apply the Gricean framework to instances of silence during the cross-examination determining whether they can be considered as strategic and to what extent strategic silence impacts on following turns of interaction particularly the notion of 'uncooperative implicatures'.

**Keywords:** Gricean pragmatics, silence, forensic linguistics

## 1. Introduction: The Gricean Framework

This paper is primarily concerned with whether Paul Grice's *Cooperative Principle* (CP) operates in the legal process of cross-examination in the same way he asserted in his theory. The CP is one part of the overall Gricean framework which is an effective system when considering how speakers and hearers understand non-literal meaning. During social interaction there is a natural impulse for participants of a conversation to be cooperative in terms of understanding each other communicatively. Grice defines the CP as follows,

“Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose and direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1989: 26).

The theory operates on the basis that both speaker and hearer assume each other to be behaving cooperatively even when it appears that a particular utterance may initially seem out of place by implicating beyond the literal sense of what is said. Gricean pragmatics considers the CP as a norm for how people generally behave during communicative interaction. However, it does not really say how our communicative intentions are linked to each other. For this, Grice developed four maxims, which when thought of together with the CP, ground his theory of *conversational implicature*:

### **Quantity**

- 1) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
- 2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

### **Quality**

- 1) Do not say what you believe to be false.
- 2) Do not say that which you lack adequate evidence.

### **Relevance**

Be relevant

### **Manner**

Avoid obscurity

Avoid ambiguity

Be Brief

Be orderly

(Grice, 1975 [1989]: 26 & 27)

Conversational implicatures can occur in several ways, one of which is when a maxim is *flouted*. These types of interaction appear entirely uncooperative and need a distinct interpretation to maintain the assumption of cooperation. Grice characterises these scenarios as instances when the speaker deliberately flouts a maxim in order to achieve a certain communicative effect.

Work Colleague A: “Alison’s presentation was dreadful”.

Work Colleague B: “I wonder what the soup of the day will be”.

Considering the exchange at the literal level of what is said and nothing more, work colleague B seems to be entirely unhelpful with their response to A. But, according to Grice's CP, both colleagues assume that the other is being cooperative and so A will search for an alternative meaning. Communication is achieved when A acknowledges B's comment and comprehends the meaning in the remark at the level of what is implicated: colleague B does not want to talk about Alison. Whilst Grice observed the intricacies of verbal interaction as a “special case or variety of purposive, indeed rational, behavior” (Grice, 1975 [1989]: 28), he wrote very little about how people communicate by saying nothing. His theory also did not extend beyond social interaction and so there are areas for exploration concerning the operative value of the principle in adversarial environments. Grice suggests there are occasions when the CP may not be maintained to its fullest, but that a distorted version of it exists perhaps in hostile interaction.

This observation is particularly relevant in exploring the extent to which the Gricean framework can operate in the legal setting of cross-examination when considering silent responses. British law permits the accused to remain silent during police interviews or custody. However, once events have been established, it is in the best interests of the accused to respond to questions to build a defence. If defendants choose to withdraw speech, adverse inferences maybe drawn by the jury under Section 34 of the CJOPA (1994) if silence is found to be unjustified. The notion of drawing adverse inferences suggests that some silences, in a legal setting, are judged as unfavourable and yet silence is resorted to in many cases. The fact that some defendants maintain silence, (even with the threat of adverse inferences) strongly suggests that it is used as a strategy for avoidance and quite possibly impacts on following turns of the exchange. The questions the paper will address are as follows:

- 1) To what extent does Grice’s Cooperative Principle operate in cross-examination?
- 2) Does silence impact the Cooperative Principle, and if so, how?
- 3) To what extent do silent responses impact following turns in cross-examination?

## **2. Literature Review**

Research on silence and specifically its place in human interaction has discussed a heterogeneity of approaches, taxonomies and typologies (Ephratt, 2008; Jaworski, 1993; Kurzon, 2007; Saville-Troike, 1995). It has been identified as a matter of power particularly with silencing marginalised groups and women (Cloud, 1999) and as a strategic and intentional act in both every day and formal interaction (Brummett, 1980; Morrill, 1976). Whilst Jaworski (1993) polarizes speech and silence as meaningful absences of speech at one end, and straightforward talk on the other, Ephratt's (2008) construction of communication processes distinguishes silence as part of communication separate to notions of stillness and pauses (Fox Tree, 2002; Haworth, et, al, 2023).

Jaworski (1993: 67) discusses the idea of a continuum on which “the properties of silence can be on a number of planes” but then limits the definition of these ‘planes’ as only either positive or negative. Tannen (1985: 94) also evaluates silence in a similar way “serving two functions, one negative – a failure of language and one positive – a chance for exploration”. Such studies tend to concentrate on the idea that silence is either one thing or another ignoring the notion that there can be several domains in which it exists. For instance, silence held during a political protest performs differently from a witness remaining silent during a police interrogation. Whilst typologies and taxonomies are helpful in positioning silence and understanding to an extent its value, none of the articles mentioned above seem to investigate its effect further, particularly when considering following turns of interaction.

This study argues that silence must be considered on a more gradual continuum which incorporates speech. Such a continuum would also be useful in determining the scope to which silent responses impact following interaction. By applying the continuum to exchanges in an authentic trial, the data may indicate that our understanding of the CP and the degree to which the operational value becomes questionable, can be further enhanced.

## **3. Methodology**

Harold Shipman worked as a community General Practitioner in Market Street Practice, Hyde, Manchester from 1992. On January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2001 he was found guilty of murdering 15 of his patients and one count of forging a patient's last will and testament. During his cross-examination he responded with silence 29 times when questioned. The data collected for the study was made available through the National Archives under the heading The Shipman Inquiry (2009). Although all the transcripts from the examination-in-chief and cross-examination were downloaded, the study has only analysed cross-examination because silent

responses only occurred in this section. Harold Shipman was cross examined by Mr Richard Henriques (prosecuting counsel) over seven days. No other witness statements were considered as they did not contain any silent responses.

This study has followed a qualitative method in approaching the data to reach conclusions whether strategies of silent responses impact the CP and following turns of interaction. The study considers the CP from a theoretical perspective by analysing each selected transcript identifying patterns to support the questions. The data used for the analysis was organised into separate tables. The first table (set A) discusses verbal responses and answers the first question of the study. The second table (set B) discusses silent responses and answers the second and third question. The data was split into two sets, A and B. Set A did not contain any silent responses and was used as a comparison to test the theory with verbal utterances. Analysis of verbal interaction was necessary in drawing comparisons with interactions containing silence to demonstrate the extent the principle operates in cross-examination. Results from the data were then applied to the continuum (appendix one) to measure levels of cooperation (strong/weak). Whilst the data in the tables provides an analysis for each exchange, it does not assist in determining whether responses can be considered as strategic. The continuum in appendix one has assisted the research in defining silent responses as strategic. Gricean terminology was used in the continuum but the additional features (points 6, 7, & 8) are the researchers own development. The continuum has helped define where Gricean theory can account for cooperation and where a refined approach is required in understanding silence as a strategy. Set B contained selected samples of silent responses only. The same method that was applied to set A, was applied to set B. Set B contained all of Shipman's responses: 29 in total. For present purposes, I have limited the analysis to one table from each set. For a summary of the full data set, see the table below.

<b>Interactions from the Cross-examination</b>	<b>Set A</b>	<b>Set B</b>
Verbal Utterances	7	0
Silent Responses	0	29

#### **4. Results / Discussion**

**Set A - *To what extent does Grice's Cooperative Principle operate in cross-examination?***

An example below of verbal responses from the Shipman trial (Day 34, transcript page, 24)

Question Type	Transcript	Gloss
<b>Prosecutor's question - Yes/No</b>  <b>Shipman's answer</b>	Well, can you point to any other occasion of her declining treatment, and genuine occasion when she declined treatment?  <b>She often got confused about the dosage and stopped drugs and started them again.</b>	Implies there were occasions when Shipman did not discuss if the patient has ever declined treatment.  Maxim of relevance involved. It does appear to be a flout because Shipman's answer is about treatment. However, he has not answered the question explicitly.
<b>Prosecutor's question - Declarative</b>  <b>Shipman's answer</b>	I am asking about her refusing treatment?  <b>I just can't off hand.</b>	Prosecution clarifies the question. He persists using the word 'refusing' instead of Shipman's alternative 'stopped'.  Opting out as a strategy for concealment.

**Table 1** *Verbal responses from the Shipman trial*

Whilst it may be an obvious observation that cross-examination will be fraught with uncooperativeness due to the adversarial activity of the process (Levinson, 1979), there are several instances in the above data which demonstrate the CP operating to some extent, even in the most stressful of environments (Gumperz, 1990). In the first exchange, Shipman appears to flout the maxim of Relevance so that a further interpretation is required to achieve successful interaction. However, it does not occur in the same way that Grice's system sets out. It is not a full flout. Whilst he does not answer explicitly, there is some relevance to the question about treatment. The main issue is the altering of 'declining' to 'stopped' in Shipman's answer.

Changing the wording causes an alternative interpretation (Hansen, 2008). At the level of what is implicated, 'declining' suggests that the patient refused to take medication. Changing it to 'stopped' presupposes that it was the patient's decision, implicating that they are solely responsible for not taking the medication. He avoids committing himself to any definite statement of fact, knowing which, the interrogator cannot be content with implicated statements that can later be denied – hence prosecution's reason for the follow up question. In terms of the continuum, Shipman's response corresponds to point 2 of the appendix. This highlights that although there may not be a full flout in the same way Grice demonstrated, Shipman's answer does bear some relevance to the question once what has been implicated has been considered. The response can also correspond to point 5 on the continuum as it could give Shipman the opportunity to dominate the discourse and alter the topic of the following question (Haworth, 2006). Overall, Shipman's response can be determined as having some cooperation but with the intention of changing the direction of questioning.

**Set B – *Do strategies of silence impact the Cooperative Principle and, if so, how?***

An example below of silent responses from the Shipman trial (Day 32, transcript page, 89)

Question Type	Transcript	Gloss
<b>Prosecutor's question - Declarative with Tag</b>  <b>Shipman's response</b>	<p>That is the cornerstone of this prosecution, as well you know, it is not, that you have unlawfully administered diamorphine in very large amounts?</p> <p><b>(No Reply)</b></p>	<p>Direct address is framed as accusatory.</p> <p><b>Silence is considered as a blunt refusal to respond.</b></p> <p><b>Strategy of avoidance and deliberate weak cooperation.</b></p>

<b>Prosecutor's question - Tag</b>	60 milligrams, that would certainly kill two people, wouldn't it?	A medical question that Shipman will know the answer to. Refers back to the first question about large amounts of diamorphine.
<b>Shipman's answer</b>	<b>If it was given intravenously and quickly then I would have to agree with you.</b>	Rather than answer with a direct yes or no, Shipman implicates something else. The implicature produced is neither helpful or rational and is considered as an uncooperative implicature.

**Table 2** *Silent responses from the Shipman trial*

The analysis of silent responses in table 2 indicates that strategies of silence impact the CP. The silent responses fail to provide a verbal reply. Shipman's silence does not provide effective communication. The silence is considered as a blunt refusal to communicate; point 8 on the continuum. This type of silence precludes any interpretation, as there is nothing present to analyse. Certain silences can be interpreted and deemed communicatively significant once contextual information is taken into account resulting in the facilitation of meaningful communication. Shipman's instances of silence do not conform to this assertion. Silence characteristic of this presentation is thus regarded as a strategic violation of the CP essentially correlating to weaker cooperation.

**Set B - *To what extent do silent responses impact following turns in cross-examination?***

Shipman's silence in the first turn of the exchange potentially provides him with an opportunity to contemplate his response in the subsequent turn (Morrill, 1976). In the second turn of table 2, the pragmatic implications of 'if' and 'then' suggest that 60 milligram of diamorphine is a lethal dose only if it is administered quickly and intravenously. Whilst it seems he has answered the question, the diversion from confirming fatal consequences of 60 milligrams of diamorphine are somewhat redirected to implicate something else. This results in a pattern for Shipman's implicated utterances to be complicated with inferences that do not

conform the way Grice predicted. They are not cooperative in the general sense of how conversational implicature works, neither are they rational from a communicative perspective.

Gricean implicatures should be straightforward to grasp but Shipman blatantly obfuscates the notion of a natural tendency towards rational cooperative communication that Grice argued is central to interactions. This behaviour is directly linked to strategies of cooperation.

In terms of the continuum, these types of uncooperative implicatures are caused by the blunt refusal, which represents the weakest form of cooperation at point 8 on the continuum. The characteristics of uncooperative implicatures operate differently than Grice's conception. One primary observation is that they do not provide assistance in the manner that conversational implicatures do. Uncooperative implicatures may contain a level of inference, but cannot be definitively understood in the same manner proposed by Grice.

## **5. Conclusions**

The data contained in set A provided the research with conclusions that the CP operates in some way to how Grice predicted. Whilst specific conclusions were drawn regarding word choice and the maxim of Relevance determining between what had been implicated and what was fact became frustrating. It would seem that Shipman orchestrates his own version of the CP concealed in strategies associated with his communicative goals. Observations such as this have been helpful in arranging the continuum which has enhanced our understanding in strategic choices of language (set A). The data in set B highlighted a tendency towards minimal cooperation and a violation of the CP producing challenging implicatures which are atypical to Gricean implicatures. The tenets of the CP do not hold as strongly in cross-examination as they do in everyday conversation. Strategies of silence result in weak cooperation producing 'uncooperative implicatures'. Results in set B demonstrate that the CP is put under some strain which relates to a poorly distorted version suiting Shipman's linguistic goals. The research therefore makes the claim that uncooperative implicatures are not a product of Grice's CP in its fullest form, but exist in a distorted version of it. A distorted CP would have the potential to produce uncooperative implicatures.

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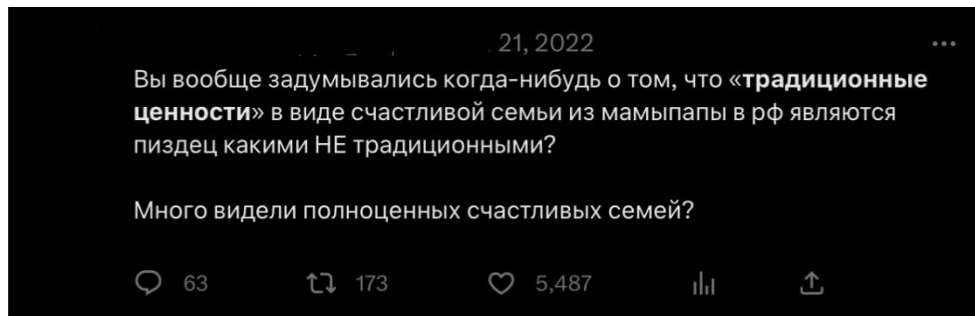
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## Appendix 1 from ‘Queer Russians’ Understanding of “Traditional Family Values” and Opposition to Anti-LGBTQ+ Legislation on X (formerly Twitter)’



### Tweet 1

Have you ever considered that “traditional values” in the form of a happy family consisting of mumanddad in the rf [Russian Federation] are really fucking NON-traditional?

Seen many full happy families?

### Thread 14



This sounds disgusting at least because it technically excludes and devalues ALL families that don't fit into this tiny box of a family from a mayonnaise commercial, which there is (surprise-surprise) very few of

Single mothers? Single fathers? A classic same-sex family consisting of a mother, a grandmother and a child? Grandparents or other relatives raising grandchildren themselves? Childless couples?

The bloody traditional values exclude everything that is not exemplarily conventional, and not just us lgbt people

### Thread 35

Jul 18, 2022 ...

В Госдуму опять внесли законопроект ([sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/165975-8](https://sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/165975-8)) против "пропаганды нетрадиционных сексуальных отношений". В нем изменения сразу в три закона. 🇷🇺

Во-1ых, изменения предлагается внести в закон о информации — появится запрет "пропаганды" и "отрицания семейных ценностей".

2 448 862

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Всю такую информацию независимо от допуска только после жамканья кнопки "да, мне 18+", как оно сейчас происходит, Роскомнадзор сможет блокировать.

1 4 240

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Во-2ых, предлагаются изменения в закон о господдержке кино — запретить выдавать прокатное удостоверение на кино с "отрицанием семейных ценностей" или "пропагандой".

В-третьих, изменения предлагаются в закон о СМИ. Им тоже совсем запретят распространять "пропаганду" и "отрицание".

1 10 256

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Что интересно, корреспондирующее изменение в статью КоАП о злоупотреблении свободой СМИ не вносится — но в той статье и слов о запрете мата в СМИ нет, а в законе о СМИ он есть и все праведно его запикивают.

1 212

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Изменения в статью КоАП о пропаганде, как предлагали в недавно отправленном назад законопроекте тоже не вносятся. Возможно, по КоАП будет отдельный законопроект, но пока его не вносили.

1 1 190

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Во-первых, у меня вот вопрос, что такое "отрицание семейных ценностей". Серии или выложенная в открытый доступ классика с описанием/изображением измен — они как, отрицают семейные ценности?

(Но полагаю, что сюда попадут полиаморность и чайлдфри, на которых давно гонит ркн)

[Translate Tweet](#)

3:25 PM · Jul 18, 2022

8 Retweets 1 Quote 292 Likes 1 Bookmark

Tweet your reply! Reply

Jul 18, 2022 ...

Во-вторых, там формулировками распространение "пропаганды нетрадиционных сексуальных отношений" ставится в один ряд с распространением 1) ненависти и вражды, при этом ненависть к ЛГБТ вполне себе распространяется, втч СМИ — гостелеканалами или тем же Царьградом >>>

1 5 237

Jul 18, 2022 ...

а уж ненависти по национальному признаку вообще не то что вагон и тележка, а целый поезд; 2) в один ряд с пропагандой войны, которая тоже запрещена законом об информации, ага, будто от этого агрессивная пропаганда войны куда-то делась.

1 2 224

1 1 203

1 11 184

[Show this thread](#)

1 12 134

**Дочери Сиф** @SifDaughters · Jun 8, 2022  
Разбираемся, какую ответственность предлагают вменять гражданам(кам) в новом гомофобном законопроекте и предлагаем способ повлиять на происходящее.  
[sifdaughters.medium.com/%D1%87%D1%82%D...](#)

[Show this thread](#)

1 14 132

2 91 254

Replying to

Ещё в комитет по государственному строительству и законодательству. Именно они в прошлый раз свернули законопроект.

3 8 121

Говорит, прошлый законопроект не дошел до комитета - ложь, дошел, смотрите сами ([sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/138702-8](http://sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/138702-8)). Это про уровень погружения в тему, при всем уважении к лгбт-сети.

ВНИМАНИЕ, инфа от правозащитников (на скрине Игорь Кочетков)

пока законопроект не рассматривается официально, \*то письма депутатам тоже не учитываются и не подсчитываются\*

Так что пока ждите, можете готовить письма, но не отправляйте. Не растрачивайтесь!

[t.me/ivkochetkov/520](https://t.me/ivkochetkov/520)

[Show this thread](#)

по совершенно политным причинам сегодня много вопросов про письма депутатам по поводу очередного нелепого и возмутительного законопроекта . Несколько важных моментов:

**Когда писать?** Если ваша цель снизить шансы прохождения законопроекта, а не, например, поделиться своими чувствами с депутатами, то письма стоит писать тогда, когда их будут читать.



A bill has been submitted to the State Duma again (<https://sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/165975-8>) against "propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations". It changes three laws at once. 🇷🇺

Firstly, it is proposed to amend the law on information — there will be a ban on "propaganda" and "denial of family values".

Roskomnadzor will be able to block all such information, regardless of whether you need to click the "yes, I am 18+" button to access it, as it is the case now.

Secondly, amendments are proposed to the law on state support of cinema — to prohibit the issuance of a rental certificate for a movie with "denial of family values" or "propaganda".

Thirdly, amendments are proposed to the law on mass media. They will also be completely banned from spreading "propaganda" and "denial".

Interestingly, a corresponding change is not made to the article of the Administrative Code on the abuse of freedom of the media — but in that article there are no words about the prohibition of swearing in the media, but in the law on the media it is and it is carefully bleeped out everywhere.

Changes to the article of the Administrative Code on propaganda, as proposed in the bill recently sent back, are also not being made. Perhaps there will be a separate bill under the Administrative Code, but so far it has not been introduced.

First of all I would like to ask what is “denial of family values”. TV series or open access classic literature featuring descriptions/depictions of infidelity — are they denying family values?

(But I’m assuming that polyamory and child-free, who rkn [Roskomnadzor - The Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media] has had a problem with for a while, will fall under this category)

Secondly, the wording there puts the spread of "propaganda of non—traditional sexual relations" on a par with the spread of 1) hatred and enmity, while hatred of LGBT people is very much being spread, including by the media - by state television channels or Tsargrad >>>

and hatred on a national basis is absolutely everywhere as well; 2) on par with the propaganda of war, which is also prohibited by the law on information, aha, as if aggressive propaganda of war has disappeared somewhere.

It is not that it has not gone away, it has already moved from "we do not bomb residential buildings, everything is high-precision" to "Vinnitsa isn’t enough, we need more!". In general, this is rhetorically very hypocritical.

Thirdly, it is unclear when the bill will be considered. The State Duma is on vacation now, but they can still call an emergency meeting.

You can write an old letter, from the daughters of Sif, you can still add something about the blurriness of the "denial of family values" and the resulting legal uncertainty. But, in short, let's write something.

[Quoted tweet] HELP REPEAL THE NEW HOMOPHOBIC BILL

A bill prohibiting propaganda of "non-traditional" sexual orientation has been submitted to the State Duma. The previous case showed that we can influence.

Write an appeal on the State Duma website. Further detailed instructions on how to do this.

>

An article by the daughters of Sif on medium

[Quoted tweet] Explaining what responsibility is proposed to impute to citizens in the new homophobic bill and offering a way to influence what is happening.

Who exactly should you write to? Firstly, to "your" deputy. Secondly, to the committees on information policy and culture, to the deputies who are there. Thirdly, Volodin. Fourth, you can also try to challenge the deputies who proposed this bill (see the page of the bill)

A good addition

[Quoted tweet] Also to the Committee on state construction and legislation. They were the ones who blocked the bill last time.

I'll be swearing now, because the screenshot is crazy, despite the fact that he is a human rights activist.(1/n)

He says the last bill did not reach the committee - a lie, it did, see for yourself (<https://sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/138702-8> ). This is about the level of immersion in the topic, with all due respect to the LGBT network.

[Quoted tweet] ATTENTION, information from human rights defenders (Igor Kochetkov on the screen)

while the bill is not officially considered, \* letters to deputies are also not taken into account and are not counted\*

So while you're waiting, you can prepare letters, but don't send them. Don't waste your energy!

(2/n) Secondly, it makes sense to write even at the stage of admission to Volodin. Moreover, even before the bill was introduced, the information policy committee was engaged in working on the topic, which is likely to be specialised - so you can and should write now.

(3/n) The holiday season is not an indicator, deputies are actively submitting bills, committees are working, they will hold another emergency meeting if they want to. We wrote letters against

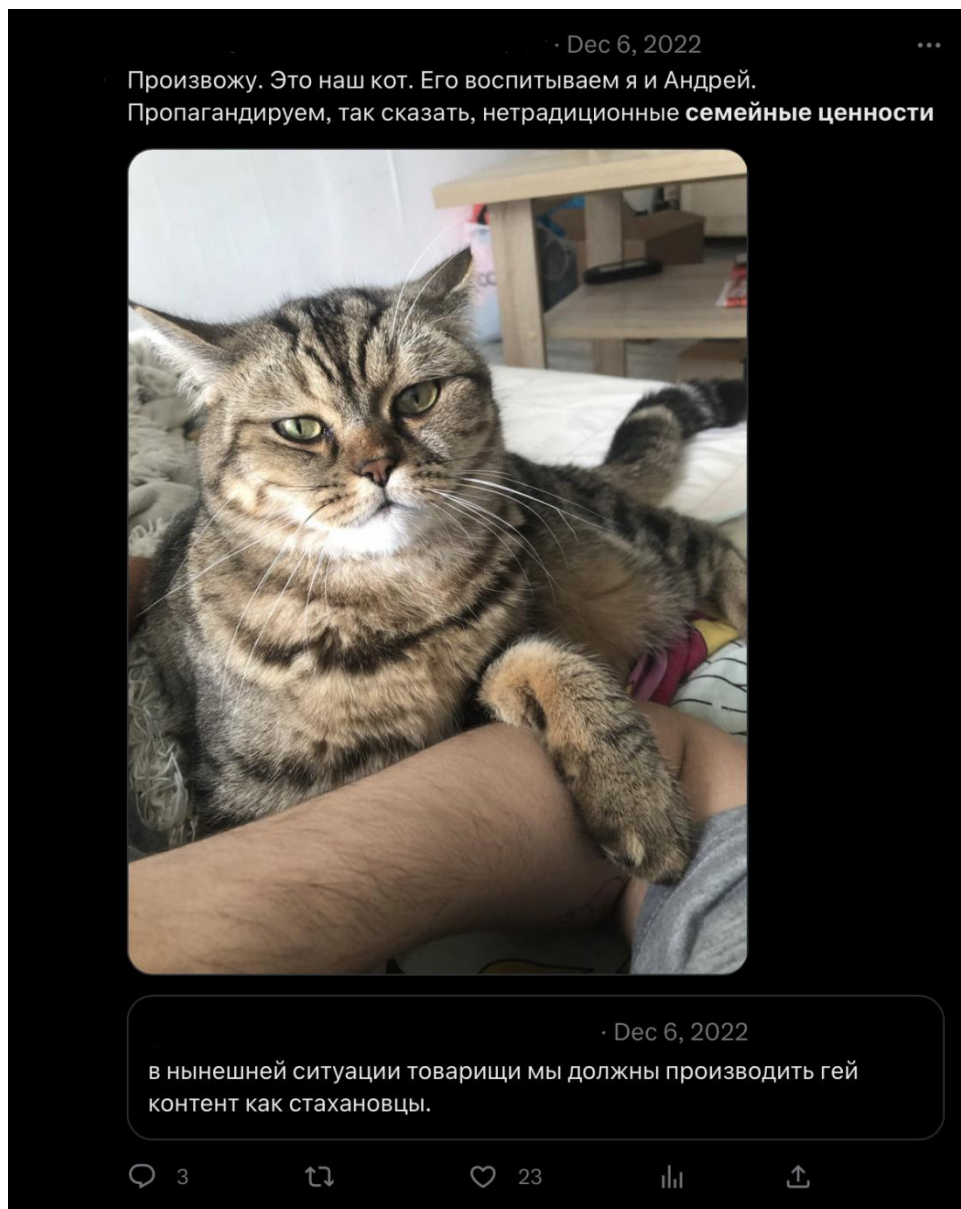
the transphobic bill in the summer of 2020 - there were vacations then too and there was no example of an emergency meeting.

(4/n) The last bill "did not survive" at least partly thanks to the letters. And now, in all honesty, are you ready to monitor the State Duma website, checking when it will go to the committee already working on the topic? Or is it easier to write there now?

(5/n) In his channel, Kochetkov actually writes that because the bill was not proposed by Volodin nor Khinstein, and not by the yedros [Edinaya Rossiya - United Russia, the ruling political party] at all, it will not pass. But more than once there were cannibalistic bills proposed not by edro. When the LDNR was "recognised", the bill of the Communist Party was adopted, despite there also being one from the edro.

(6/6) In short, write now, just because they are already actively working, both to Volodin and to the committees, see above. Not because they will definitely 146% listen and back away, but alas, this is a way to show indignation and not give up without a fight, as simply and safely as possible.

## Tweet 46



Producing. This is our cat. Andrey and I are raising him. Propagating, so to speak, non-traditional family values

[Quoted Tweet] in the current situation, comrades, we must produce gay content like Stakhanovites [at record-breaking rates]

## Tweet 47

 **виконт две шаурмы** @zhenyazhopa · Dec 5, 2022  
Семейные ценности!

 **Soc-Fem** @SocFemRu · Dec 5, 2022  
РОССИЯ ВОШЛА В ТОП-5 СТРАН ПО ЧИСЛУ НОВЫХ ЗАРАЖЕНИЙ ВИЧ

На первом месте в оказалась ЮАР — там обнаружили 14% заражений, на втором месте оказался Мозамбик — 6,5%, следом идут Нигерия (4,9%), Индия (4,2%) и Россия (3,9%).

Источник: [snob.ru/news/rossiya-v...](https://snob.ru/news/rossiya-v-...)  
[Show this thread](#)



**10 Countries Account for Almost Half of New HIV Infections**  
Countries with the highest estimated share of worldwide new HIV infections in 2021

New infections  
2000: 2,900,000  
2021: 1,500,000

Rest of the World 51.1%

- South Africa 14.0%
- Mozambique\* 6.5%
- Nigeria 4.9%
- India 4.2%
- Russia 3.9%
- Tanzania 3.6%
- Uganda 3.6%
- Brazil 3.3%
- Zambia 2.5%
- Kenya 2.3%

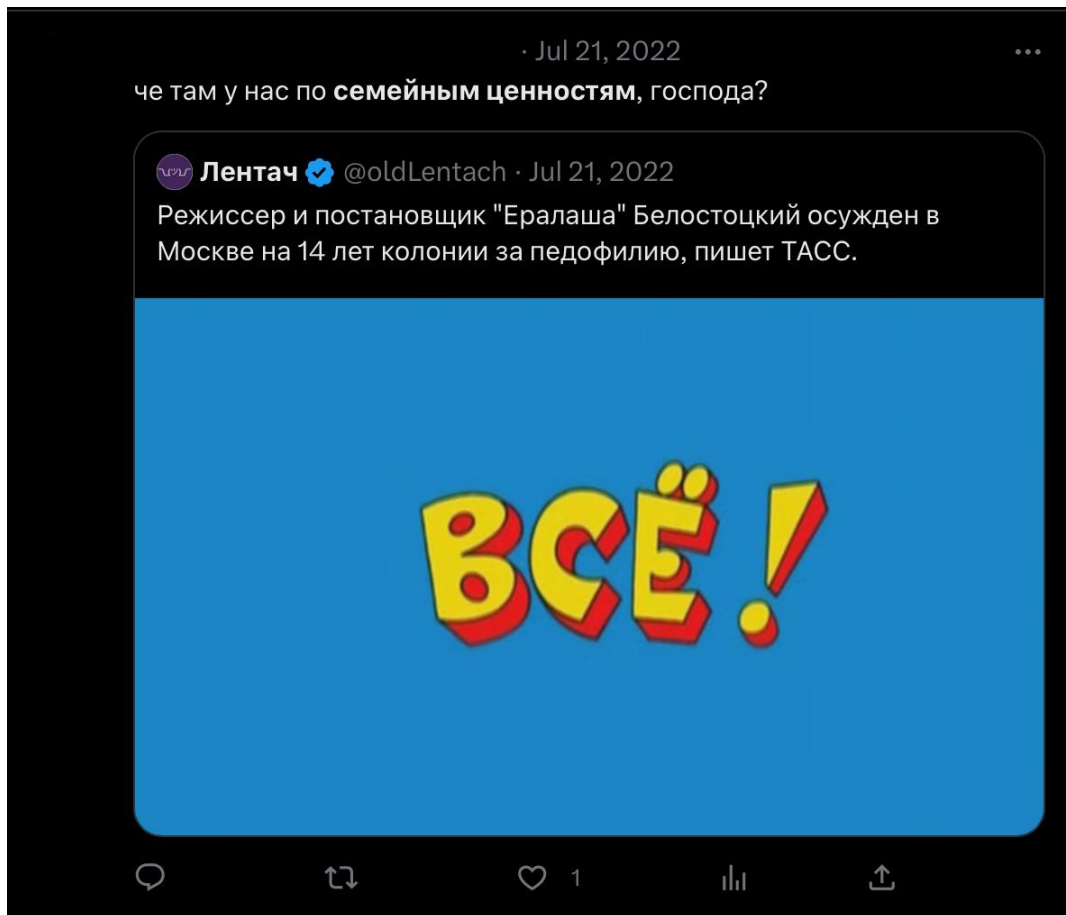
\* Mozambique estimate refers to 2020  
Sources: UNAIDS, ECDC

statista

Family values!

[Quoted Tweet] RUSSIA IS IN THE TOP-5 COUNTRIES BY THE NUMBER OF NEW HIV CASES

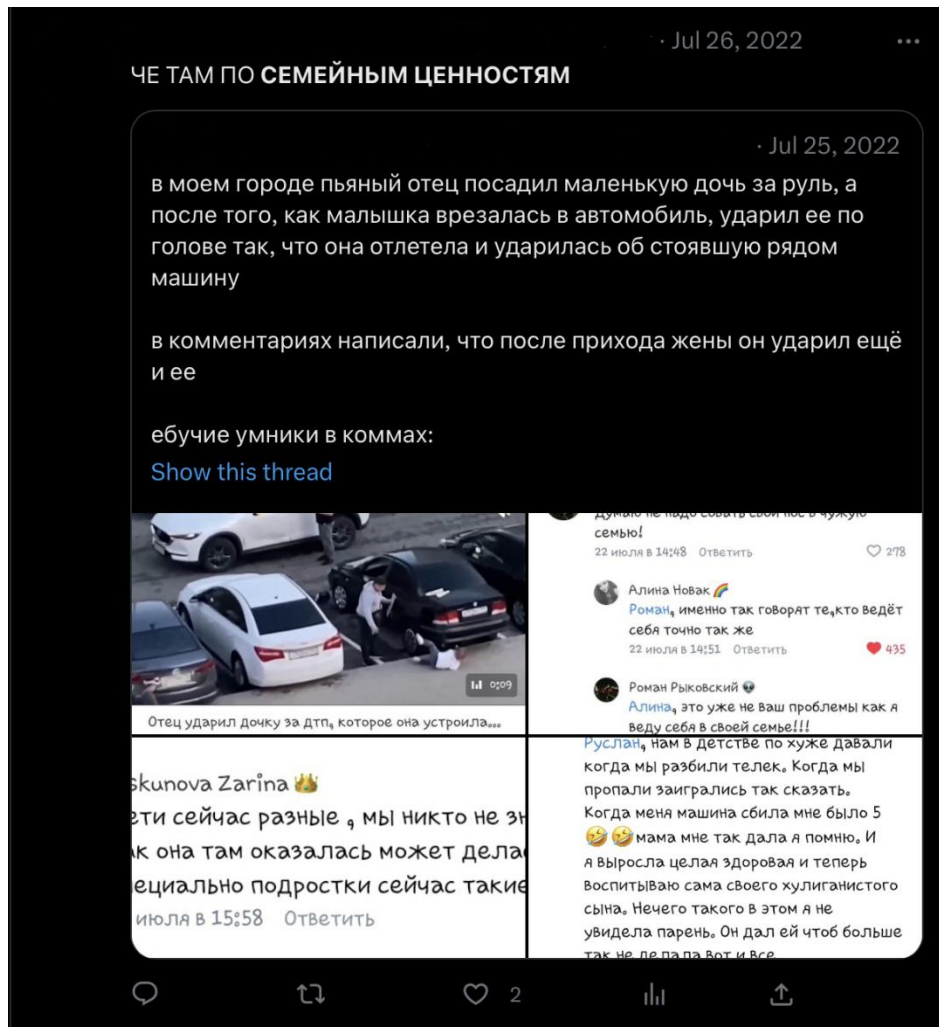
## Tweet 55



how are our traditional values doing, gentlemen?

[Quoted Tweet] The director of “Yeralash” [popular TV show with primarily child actors] Belostotsky was sentenced in Moscow to 14 years in prison for pedophilia, TASS reports.

## Tweet 56



## HOW ARE FAMILY VALUES DOING

[Quoted Tweet] in my city a drunk father put his little daughter behind the wheel, and then the little girl hit another car, hit her in the head so hard that she fell and hit a nearby car

## Appendix 2 from 'Silence in Court – What is NOT Said'

### Strategies for Cooperation

1) Direct communication  
Observes the CP

2) Some cooperation

Strategy for unclear answers  
Flout maxim of Manner or Relevance

3) Superfluous information  
Strategy to mislead – flout maxim of Quantity

4) Minimal response  
Potential to flout all maxims

5) Irrelevant utterances  
Provides cooperation to alter direction  
Discursive dominance

6) Opting out of communication  
Strategy for concealment or lack of knowledge

Can be intentional or unintentional  
Intentional can be considered as strategic

7) Silent implicature – meaning in silence  
Intentional silence – strategic

8) Remaining silent with blunt refusal to respond  
Strategic silence, violates cooperative principle.  
Potential for uncooperative implicatures

