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INDIVIDUAL SPEECH BEHAVIOR OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING PROSECUTORS IN THE 19-20TH CENTURIES: A CASE STUDY IN IMPLICIT PRAGMATICS

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Abstract: The article focuses on individual speech behavior of Russian-speaking prosecutors in implicit pragmalinguistics in the 19th-20th centuries. Speech signals of corresponding implicit strategies ("Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event", "Sure/Unsure speech behavior of an author", "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation") actualizing the senders' speech behavior in Russian are established. We count the frequency of the planes' actualisation, form and interpret the senders' speech portraits, diagnose individual features of speech behavior of prosecutors of Russian-speaking linguocultures.

Key words: implicit pragmalinguistics, implicit strategies, prosecutors, individual speech behavior, Russian-speaking linguocultural communities.

1. Introduction

The stylistic specificity of prosecution speeches is manifested in the use of different styles of a literary language: publicistic, official, scientific, and colloquial. However, the elements of the language styles are unevenly distributed in the speeches of public prosecutors: the signs of the publicistic style dominate in prosecution speeches before a trial by jury in the 19th century in Russia and in speeches of the Russian-speaking prosecutors before a professional trial in the 1920s to the 1940s (Zyubina 2011: 13).

Most of the representatives of the professional group of public prosecutors (Sutherland 1998) have such individual personal qualities as initiative, self-confidence, concentration on the objective side of things, and an ability to cooperate and to communicate with people. However, in the speech behavior of state prosecutors there is a tendency to express overconfidence and a pronounced pessimistic attitude towards life. The frequent actualisation of these specific personal traits is anchored in the nature of public prosecutor's professional duties.

Stereotyped verbal behavior of a group of public prosecutors was examined with the help of comparative analysis, taking into account the time periods (the end of the 19th century, the 1920s to the 1940s), addressees (professional court and trial by jury), and national-cultural specificity of addressers (Russian-speaking public prosecutors).

2. Theoretic basis, methods, and material

In our research we rely on the theoretic basis and methodology of the pragmalinguistics (Горло 2004; Зюбина & Тищенко 2018; Матвеева 1993; Мкртчян 2004; Чунахова 2006; Davydyuk & Panasenko 2016; Goffman 1971; Gulinov et al. 2018; Kravchenko 2017; Kravchenko & Pasternak 2018; Leech 1983; Pinich 2017; Tameryan et al. 2018a; 2018b; Zheltukhina et al. 2018; Zyubina 2018, etc.), psycholinguistics (Багдасарян 2005; Adcock 1964; Bobyрева et al. 2017; Foss & Hakes 1978; Mackenzie 1979; Ostriкова et al. 2018; Rowe 1989; Trope et al. 2007, etc.), and judicial discourse (Звягинцев 2001; Зюбина 2005; Михайловская & Одинцов 1981; Berman 1963; Zyubina 2011; Zyubina et al. 2017, etc.). The working hypothesis (Матвеева 1993: 54) is in the following: if a text contains emotive- and conative-oriented speech signals of speech behaviour of an author, it is possible to distinguish, and identify them, to calculate their occurrences, to determine and classify them, and consequently produce a pragmalinguistic speech portrait of an author (a sender of information). The speech portrait has the diagnostic power: an interpretation of speech portrait's elements allows an opportunity to correlate them with some individual features of an author (ibid.).

The **aim** of the article is to analyse the individual speech behaviour of Russian-speaking prosecutors of the late 19th and early 20th century from a pragmalinguistic perspective. The **objectives** of the article are to count the frequency of the planes' actualisation, to form and interpret the senders' speech portraits, to diagnose individual features of speech behaviour of prosecutors of Russian-speaking linguocultures. The texts of speeches of Russian-speaking prosecutors make the **material** of our research. The main **method** of our research is pragmalinguistic analysis based on modified content analysis (method of analyzing various grammatical categories that actualize implicit grammatical meanings and are markers of speech behavior of a text sender).

The investigation is carried out according to the following plan:

- 1) to prepare the list of speech signals of sender's speech behaviour in Russian;
- 2) to select of texts-speeches for prosecution;
- 3) to prepare the texts for analysis (dividing them into minor syntactic groups – MSG (minimal actualized predicative modal group);
- 4) to prepare table matrices in order to fill them with marks denoting the presence of a definite speech signal;
- 5) to make the analysis: to look for speech signals in a text and mark them in the table;
- 6) to count the frequency of the planes' actualisation, interpret the senders' speech portraits, make a diagnosis of their individual features.

3. Results and discussion

Let us consider in detail all the items of the plan of our research. In this part, we consider the requirements for the linguistic analysis of prosecutors' individual personal qualities in implicit pragmalinguistics and describe Russian-speaking prosecutors' speech behaviour in different periods of history before different addressees.

3.1 Requirements for linguistic analysis of prosecutors' individual personal qualities in Implicit Pragmalinguistics

A definite number of speech signals (markers) corresponds to each implicit speech strategy: 1) the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event", 2) the implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author", 3) the implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation". The following are the examples of such speech signals or markers.

3.1.1 The implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event"

This strategy is actualised in one of the three speech planes:

- 1) the plane of personal participation;
- 2) the plane of social participation;
- 3) the plane of objective participation.

3.1.1.1 The plane of personal participation

The plane of personal participation implies participation in a speech event of only a sender of communication or its addressee, and it is underlined that it must be only one person. In addition, this plane requires the following speech signals: exclusive personal pronouns (1), indirect forms of exclusive personal pronouns and respective possessive pronouns (2), nouns in the function of exclusive personal pronouns (3), and addresses (4):

(1) ***Я*** могу сделать это лишь в самом беглом очерке ... (Муравьев 1881) – [***I*** can do it only as a sketch] (examples hereinafter are in the authors' translation).

(2) ... что ***мое*** обвинение несколько разнится от того сознания ... (Кессель cit.: Кони 1968) – [... That ***my*** accusation somewhat differs from that consciousness ...].

(3) Перед ***государственным обвинением*** стоит сложная задача ... (Агапов 2002) – [Before ***the state prosecution*** there is a difficult task ...].

(4) ***Уважаемые присяжные заседатели!*** (Мельников 2002) – [***Dear jurors!***].

In the above examples (1-4), the authors actualise their participation in a speech event as either a sender or an addressee of communication.

The markers of the plane of personal participation are also forms of a verb in the passive voice with local and temporal determinations such as "here" and "now". Moreover, in an MSG, a participant is not expressed but one of the participants of a definite speech event is implied so it is clear who this person is:

(5) *Действия подсудимых по данному эпизоду **квалифицируются** по ст. 158 ч.3 п. "б" УК РФ* (Агапов 2002) – [*The actions of the defendants in this episode **are classified** under Art. 158, Part 3, subsection "b" of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation*].

Imperative exclusive forms of verbs are also markers of the plane of personal participation.

(6) ***Забудьте** хотя бы на некоторое время о своих проблемах и заботах...* (Труханов 1985b) – [***Forget** about your problems and concerns at least for some time...*].

Here the prosecutor directly addresses a trial by jury while actualising the plane of personal participation of the implicit speech strategy "Participation/nonparticipation of the members of communication in a speech event".

The markers of the plane of personal participation include verbal lexemes "seem", "look", and "appear" with the reference to one of the participants of a real speech event (7) and parenthetical words especially modal words and some adverbs denoting speaker's attitude (8):

(7) *Данное объяснение **представляется** наиболее обоснованным* (Мельников 2002) – [*This explanation **seems** the most reasonable one*].

(8) *К счастью...* (Plevako 1985) – [*Fortunately ...*].

In all of these examples, there is a personal attitude of the author to the speech event. The sender implicitly shows his own participation in the process of uttering.

3.1.1.2 The plane of social participation

Markers of *the plane of social participation* are inclusive personal pronouns (9), nouns in the function of inclusive personal pronouns (10):

(9) ... *пройти вместе с Вами* через лабиринт сомнений и неуверенности... (Труханов 1985b) – [... *to go along with you* through the maze of doubt and uncertainty ...].

(10) *Пролетарскому Суду* никогда за все семь с половиной лет революции не приходилось чинить суда над человеком ... (Кони 1967) – [*During all these seven and a half years of the revolution the Proletarian Court* had never to put on trial a man ...].

Regarding the kind of participation in which both a sender and an addressee take part, we can also judge according to the following markers: a form of a verb in the third person plural with a latent participant (11-12), an infinitive (13), indefinite and negative pronouns (15), lexemes with a sense of anthroponym such as "nation", "mankind", "people" and others (15), impersonal sentences (16):

(11) *Доказательства позволяют* воспроизвести истинную картину происшедшего (Сальников 2002) – [*The proofs make it possible* to reproduce the true picture of what happened].

(12) *Могут возникнуть* два обоснованных вопроса ... (Мельников 2002) – [*Two legitimate questions may arise ...*].

(13) *Наступило время **подвести** итоги, правильно **оценить** доказательства и **сделать** выводы* (Федоров 2002) – [*It is time to take stock, to properly assess the evidence and draw conclusions*].

(14) *Это ясно **любому*** (Труханов 1985b) – [*It is clear to **anyone***].

(15) *Еще на заре цивилизации **человечество** выработало заповедь...* (Абрамов 2002) – [*Even at the dawn of civilization **mankind** had a Commandment ...*].

(16) *Как видно...* (Абрамов 2002) – [*It can be seen ...*].

To the plane of social participation, we refer to a passive form of a verb with a latent participant. In such a case, this latent participant can be both a sender and an addressee, with a condition that this participant is not clear from the context but we can guess the definite participant on the assumption of the situation (Матвеева 1993: 155-156). More often, it is a passive form of a verb with a modal verb:

(17) *В судебном заседании **исследовались** также протоколы осмотра ножа и топора ...* (Козырь 2002) – [*At the court session the reports of inspection of the knife and the hatchet **were also examined** ...*].

Imperative inclusive forms of the verb (18) are also the signals of the plane of social participation:

(18) *Давайте еще раз вместе **проанализируем** доказательства по данному делу* (ibid.) – [*Let's **analyse** the evidence of the case once again*].

3.1.1.3 *The plane of objective participation*

The list of markers of *the plane of objective participation* includes the rest of the markers, which are not used for the plane of personal participation and the plane of social participation. For example, here one can see speech signals referring to an actor who is not a participant of the speech event (neither a sender nor an addressee) (19); a

passive form, which indicates a person or an object, or we can guess what they are, but which do not take part in a speech event (20):

(19) *Эта социальная группа отжила свой век...* (Крыленко 1964) – [*This social group outlived its time ...*].

(20) *Гражданин Будков задержан за особо тяжкое преступление...* (Труханов 1985a) – [*Budkov is arrested for a very serious crime ...*].

Neither the sender's nor the addressee's participations are actualised in these speech events. The authors draw our attention to the objective character of the processes in these speech events, and one should notice that it happens without any participation of senders and addressees.

We have examined speech signals actualising in the speech acts of Russian-speaking prosecutors on the planes of personal, social and objective participations of the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event". Now, let us study the signals of the next implicit speech strategy, "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author".

3.1.2 The implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author"

This strategy is actualised with the help of two speech planes: the first is a confident statement and the second is an unconfident statement of an author. For actualisation of a confident statement in the Russian language, one can distinguish the following speech signals: the combination of definite verbal categories – the present tense, the active voice, the imperfective aspect (21); the omitted form of the verb "to be" (22); indication of the actor in the passive voice (23); the combination in a verb of the categories of the future tense and perfective aspect (24); inclusion in lexical actualisators the meaning "demand", "persistence", and "insistence" in lexical actualisators (25); decisive and repeated negation (26); semes indicating the superlative degree or testifying to a "peculiarity" of something (27); indicators of a great amount, integrity, adherence to

one's principles, globalisation and profoundness (28); analytical and semantic intensifiers (29); recommendations and appeals (30), and addresses (31).

(21) Убийство не только **обрывает** жизнь, но и **приносит** глубокую скорбь для родных и близких погибшего (Абрамов 2002) – [*A murder does not only **take** someone's life, but it also **brings** deep sorrow for the nearest and dearest of a murdered person*].

(22) Форма эта – террор, пути – политические убийства, а средство – динамит и целая система взрывов и взрывчатых приспособлений (Муравьев 1881) – [*This form **(is)** terror, the ways **(are)** political assassinations, and the means **(are)** dynamite and the whole system of explosions and explosive devices*].

(23) ... в которых они **обвиняются следствием**... (Романов 2002) – [*... in which they **are accused by the judicial investigation** ...*].

(24) При назначении наказания председательствующий в любом случае **учтет** их несовершеннолетний возраст как смягчающее обстоятельство (Сальников 2002) – [*In any case in giving the judgement the presiding judge **will take into account** their being under age as a mitigating circumstance*].

(25) Я на этом **настаиваю**... (Покровский 1965) – [*I **insist** on it ...*].

(26) Этот интеллигент **не** верил в революцию, **не** верил партии, **не** верил в нашу власть (Кондрушкин 1965) – [*This intellectual **did not** believe in the revolution, **did not** believe the party, **did not** believe our power*].

(27) **Конкретнейший** из **конкретнейших** вопросов о "мужике" и был именно вопрос о том ... (Вышинский 1955) – [***The most specific of the most specific** issues about a "peasant" was the very question about ...*].

(28) Настоящий процесс дал **огромный** материал ... (Луначарский 1965) – [*This process gave **enormous/huge** material ...*].

(29) **Совершенно** очевидно ... (Покровский 1965) – [***Absolutely** obvious ...*].

(30) ... всех обвиняемых по этому делу **расстрелять!** (ibid.) – [*... **shoot** all the accused!*].

(31) **Милостивые государи** ... (Муравьев 1881) – [***Dear Sirs** ...*].

We can see an uncertain statement in the Russian language in the following signals: combination of verbal categories – the past tense, the active voice and the imperfective aspect (32); combinations with the semes of "doubt" (33); references, explanations, quotations (34); interrogative sentences (35); subordinate clause of condition (36); the conditional mood (37):

(32) *На очной ставке подсудимый **давал** признательные показания* (Махно 2002) – [*At the confrontation the defendant **was making** confession*].

(33) *Мне **почему-то** не думается ...* (Кони 1967) – [***For some reason** I do not think ...*]

(34) *Обязанность соблюдать законодательство о государственной тайне вытекает из общеправовой обязанности органов государственной власти, местного самоуправления, должностных лиц, граждан и их объединений соблюдать Конституцию Российской Федерации и законы (**статья 15, часть 2 Конституции РФ**)* (Кондаков 2001) – [*Obligation to comply with the state secrecy laws is derived from the common law duty of public authorities, local self-government, officials, citizens and their associations to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Russian Federation (**Article 15, Part 2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation**)*].

(35) *За что была лишена жизни молодая женщина?* (Труханов 1985а) – [*What has the young woman been deprived of life for?*].

(36) *Если он непричастен к преступлению ...* (Абрамов 2002) – [*If he is not involved in the crime ...*].

(37) *Мне **не было бы** надобности цитировать эти статьи ...* (Красиков 1965) – [*It **would not be** necessary for me to quote these articles ...*].

Now we will turn our attention to the third implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of the addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation".

3.1.3 The implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation"

The implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of the addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation" is actualised with the help of three speech planes. They are:

- 1) the plane of positive attitude;
- 2) the plane of neutral attitude;
- 3) the plane of negative attitude.

This strategy deals with such a concept as "appraisal of a speech event", closely connected to a definition "attitude". In linguistics, there are the following kinds of appraisal (Федорова 1991: 49-50):

- a) reproach, censure (*"Как тебе не стыдно!", "Ай-ай-ай!"*) [*"Shame on you!", "Ay-ay-ay!"*];
- b) praise, approval (*"Молодец!", "Хорошо!"*) [*"Well done!", "Good!"*];
- c) accusation (*"Это ты натворил!", "Ты неправ"*) [*"What have you done?", "You are wrong"*];
- d) defence, justification (*"Ты не виноват", "Ты правильно сделал"*) [*"You are not to blame", "You did the right thing"*].

They are mostly directed to the addressee's feelings and are based on the grounds of the generally accepted human moral criteria. The first two kinds, reproach/censure and praise/approval, apply to a moral-ethic sphere, and the last two, accusation and defence/justification, imply a social-legal sphere of behavioural valuation. The speech for the prosecution, which is under review, applies to a social-legal sphere of behavioural valuation – prosecution. Before turning to characterisation of the prosecutors' valuation, it will be reasonable to study its structure.

The structure of valuation consists of the following four components (ИВИН 1970: 27):

- 1) **A subject of valuation** means an estimating person.

- 2) **An object of valuation** is an object or a phenomenon, which is the purpose of the subject's attitude.
- 3) **A ground of valuation** is that position and those reasons, which make subjects praise, reproach or feel neutral attitude to different things and events.
- 4) **Character of valuation** implies positive or negative characteristics of a definite thing.

In our case, the subject of valuation is a complex formation, which includes the public prosecutor himself and his addressee – the audience, perceiving the prosecutor's speech. The main object of evaluation is the defendant's illegal actions, which have caused negative effects. The grounds of valuation refer to the rational point (evidence, facts, force of logic), and the character of evaluation to the emotional moment (positive or negative characteristics of the objects of evaluation).

Positive or negative evaluation can be expressed explicitly and implicitly. When there is an explicit evaluation of positive or negative attitude to the object, the meanings of linguistic units are used directly. Implicit evaluation is characterised by absence of an evaluative attitude of the speaker to denotatum in the structure of the semantics, expressed with the help of various connotations, contextual and other distributional characteristics of the object. Explicit expression of evaluation is more typical in speeches for the prosecution during the period of the so-called "building of socialism" in the former USSR. These speeches contain an open negative evaluation and are full of not only negative emotional-expressive vocabulary, but also invectives, which have the intention of insulting or humiliating the defendant.

The system of evaluative meanings is based on two main signs – "good" and "bad". These meanings good/bad are on the scale of evaluation where there are zones of positive and negative. There is a neutral zone between them where signs of good/bad are in a certain balance. Movement on this scale from good to bad is according to different parameters. The system of evaluative meanings is based on a combination of

social and individual, stereotypes of values and worldviews and the subjective attitude of the individual to the particular object based on the idea of pleasant/unpleasant, on what they like and dislike, and so on (Вольф 1986: 98-100).

As stated above, the signs of evaluation also depend on the worldview of the society. It is interesting to note that the words of political language have basically a polemical meaning. Such words as "a republic", "a class", "a legal state", "dictatorship", and the like are still unclear until it is known exactly who should be "struck", "beaten" or "subjected to denial" by such words. Each of the opponents using the same words puts an opposite meaning into them (Почепцов 2001: 218). Let us compare:

(38) *На Россию они стали смотреть не как на отечество, а как на объект социально-революционных мероприятий* (Муравьев 1881) – [*They began to look at Russia not as at their homeland but as an object of **social-revolutionary** activities*].

(39) *Наши учителя Маркс и Энгельс 50 лет назад предсказали, в какой роли должны будут выступить те или иные общественные группировки в период социальной революции* (Луначарский 1965) – [*Fifty years ago our teachers Marx and Engels predicted in what roles the certain social groups would act in the period of the **social revolution***].

Taking into account the socio-political situation at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in Russia, and the ideological position of public prosecutors of the respective periods, we can only conclude that in Example 38 the author creates the listeners' negative attitude to the speech event and in Example 39 forms the positive attitude.

Explicit evaluation expressed by a public prosecutor sometimes antagonises as a listener can feel that it is forcing their decision. Freedom, including freedom of decision-making, is one of the basic human values. That is why the task of the prosecutor at the trial is to force the listeners to receive an impression that their decision

has been made at their own will. Judges, especially jurors, as all people are different by nature and have their own values and models of behaviour. A professionally successful public prosecutor understands that they are not to rely only on themselves in the process of persuasive communication, but should be guided by the values and needs of their audience. Therefore, from the psychological point of view, a public prosecutor should satisfy any of the listener's requirements or needs for the successful influence on the addressee.

In psychology, the problem of needs began to be studied more and more in the 20th century. Presently, there are many definitions of "needs" based on explanation of their nature: as poverty (Узнадзе 1982); as lack of good, as value (Марун 1983; Maslow 1954a; 1954b; 1967); as a necessity (Додонов 1978; 1987; Леонтьев 1982; 1984; Ломов 1999), etc. We will study one of the most developed and diverse classifications of needs proposed by Maslow (1967: 93-127). According to this hierarchy, human needs fall into the following five areas.

1) **Biological and physiological needs** – air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, etc. These are biological needs and consist of needs for oxygen, food, water, and a relatively constant body temperature. They are the strongest needs because if a person were deprived of all of them, the physiological ones would come first in search for satisfaction. As a rule, this type of need for a modern person is satisfied. Therefore, public prosecutors in their implicit influence use more complex needs types. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century when in Russia devastation and hunger dominated everywhere, physiological needs came first and were intuitively used by state prosecutors. The following are examples from the speech of the public prosecutor Pokrovsky:

(40) *Осенью 1936 года враги оставили под снегом 7 тысяч гектаров хлеба. Весной этого года не досеяли 5 700 гектаров* (Покровский 1965) – [*In the autumn*

of 1936 the enemies left 7,000 hectares of grain in the snow. In the spring of this year they left 5,700 hectares without sowing].

(41) *Партия и правительство заботятся, чтобы у каждого колхозника была корова (ibid.) – [The party and the government take care that every collective farmer have a cow].*

(42) *Колхозы Курагинского района на основе последних решений правительства получили огромные льготы: списаны недоимки, снижены нормы хлебопоставок. 70 тысяч центнеров зерна дополнительно получают курагинские колхозники на свои трудодни. Страна уже в этом году добилась получения 7 миллиардов пудов хлеба (ibid.) – [Based on the latest government's decisions the collective farms of Kuraginskiy district got huge benefits: written off arrears, standards of bread delivery lowered. Kuraginskiy farmers additionally receive 70, 000 quintals of grain for their labour. The country has already made getting 7 billion tons of grain this year].*

The state prosecutor is forming a negative attitude toward the defendant using both the negative aspects of the methods of the so-called "wrecking work" ("вредительская работа" – "vreditel'skaya rabota") (40) and the positive aspects of the care of the Communist Party and government for the welfare of farmers (41, 42). We see that in all these examples the state prosecutor touches upon the physiological needs of his addressees for a successful influence in an implicit form.

2) **Safety needs** – protection from elements, security, order, law, limits, stability, etc. When all physiological needs are satisfied and are no longer controlling thoughts and behaviours, the needs for security can become active. Adults have little awareness of their security needs except in times of emergency or periods of disorganisation in the social structure (such as widespread rioting). Children often display the signs of insecurity and the need to be safe. This is the second kind of primary needs expressed in the desire to feel safe, to get rid of failures and fears. This kind of need is actual for all humankind and especially for Russia at all stages of its development. Russian people

have always felt need for stability, order, predictability of events. To meet security needs, a sense of fear as a target of influence is often intuitively used by public prosecutors, and can be attained with the help of exaggeration:

(43) *Материалы дела просто "кричат" о состоянии нашего общества* (Романов 2002) – [*The materials of the case are just "screaming" about the state of our society*].

(44) *Настоящий процесс дал огромный материал, охватить который в речи одного обвинителя нет возможности* (Луначарский 1965) – [*This process gave a huge amount of material, which is not possible to cover in the speech of the prosecutor*].

Presently, one can see exaggeration in almost every criminal trial in Russia. A prosecutor can use it when he sees weakness of the evidence and warns everybody that they will worry about their wives and children if the defendant is acquitted. In addition, to meet safety needs, judges will just have to protect society, and especially themselves, from the defendant.

3) Belongingness and love needs – work group, family, affection, relationships, etc. When the needs for safety and for physiological well-being are satisfied, the next class of needs for love, affection and belongingness can emerge. Maslow (1954b) states that people seek to overcome feelings of loneliness and alienation. This involves both giving and receiving love, affection and the sense of belonging.

These are secondary needs based on the sense of belonging to anything or anyone, on a sense of affection and support. We love and we are likely to be loved by people, who are like us, and on the contrary, we do not love and people, who so much differ from us, do not love us. Why is this so? Firstly, the higher the level of agreement, the easier it is to predict the behaviour of another person. Secondly, the more similar the setups of an addresser and an addressee are, the stronger feeling of reality and significance of their views, which is essential for maintaining self-confidence and improving self-

identity. Tension caused by differences of views creates discomfort, which a person tries to dispel by aligning their behaviour with that of another person. This basic motivation was named "the need for consensus", and is reflected in people trying to increase the significance of their views by aligning them with other people (Куницына et al. 2002: 203-204).

Audience at the trial consists of people who are not united by common interest before a process, so such an interest has to be created. Here, an experienced state prosecutor on unconscious level uses the needs of an addressee in social interaction actualising the inclusive "we" and its forms in his speech:

(45) *Мы рассмотрели с вами все обстоятельства* (Федоров 2002) – [*We have studied **together** all the circumstances*].

(46) *Эта статья подводит нас к статье 57 Уголовного кодекса* (Красиков 1965) – [*This article brings **us** to Article 57 of the Criminal Code*].

"We" expresses interaction between the speaker and his audience; it creates the effect of communication and personal contact between them. Thus, the state prosecutor invites the judges to the joint reflection, creates an atmosphere of relaxed conversation, and creates a sense of trust between the prosecutor and the court.

The addressee's trust can be caused by well-known (to the definite community) quotations, catchphrases, proverbs and sayings. It is easier for a speaker to create the necessary attitude to the object of evaluation on the grounds of such expressions:

(47) *Как черт от ладана, Бухарин бежит от признания своей вины* (Вышинский 1955) – [*Like the devil from holy water, Bukharin runs from acknowledging his guilt*].

(48) *Белыми нитками шиты все эти заявления о революционном героизме* (Муравьев 1881) – [*Every barber knows (in the Russian variant it sounds like: "It is*

sewed with a white thread", so this saying has the meaning "it is transparent, obvious, poorly disguised") all these statements are about revolutionary heroism].

Moreover, transformation of these expressions increases effecting influence and power of what has been said (Зюбина 2001: 203-206). Such transformed expressions cause surprise, which is the first act of cognition. People are surprised when they have to face not a new phenomenon but one, which they have mistakenly believed fully known. We will give some examples of such individual transformations:

(49) *Эта сумма – капля в море долгов и претензий* (Кони 1967) – [*This amount is a drop in the sea of debts and claims*].

(50) ... *министр иностранных дел без портфеля* рассказывал ... (Луначарский 1965) – [...*the Foreign Minister without portfolio told...*].

However, speaking about rare citations or quotations and poorly understood expressions, we can say that in contrast they cause irritation not only to jurors who are generally of low educational level (at least in Russia) but also to professional judges. In our opinion, it happens because in the context of common everyday circumstances of the trial case, such references often seem to be out of place and they will rather indicate the speaker's wish of using an occasion to show his eloquence and erudition. However, in no way they will cause sympathies of listeners and most importantly will not increase the number of supporters of his views (Романов 2001: 468).

Asking questions is another manifestation of social interaction between an addresser and an addressee. Questions stimulate thinking of a listener and make one listen to a speaker more attentively:

(51) *Действительно ли виновен Будков во взрыве? Или это сделал кто-нибудь другой из недругов Караичева?* (Труханов 1985b) – [*Is Budkov really guilty in the explosion? Or did someone else from the enemies of Karaichev do it?*].

Especially valuable for the influence on the listener is a rhetorical question that is a statement in the form of a question:

(52) *Разве получила бы мать Тищенко такие льготы? Но может ли тяжесть положения семьи Тищенко оправдать его действия?* (Мельников 2002) – [*Could Tischenko's mother have received such benefits? But can the plight of Tischenko's family justify his actions?*].

What is the secret of effectiveness when we are asking a rhetorical question? It is connected with the peculiarities of our hormonal system. When we say "yes" it means agreement, and it means the realisation that in the near future there will not be any confrontation with this person. Our body, orienting to the economical consumption of power, immediately relaxes with the help of adding endorphins to our blood, which are more often called "hormones of pleasure" (Шейнов 2001: 308). Thus, a state prosecutor with a few uses of "yes" makes the judge relax, and can significantly reduce their will to resist in the question of the defendant's guilt.

Social needs are also involved when a state prosecutor uses quotations from famous persons. People are flattered when they share something with great and famous people, even if it is only a common vision. Such references often do not relate to the subject matter. Especially often, we observe this phenomenon in speeches of public prosecutors of the beginning of the 20th century in the USSR. They use almost every opportunity to mention the classics of Marxism-Leninism:

(53) *Наши учителя Маркс и Энгельс пятьдесят лет назад предсказали ...* (Луначарский 1965) – [*Fifty years ago our teachers Marx and Engels predicted ...*].

Even just a single mention of these powerful names was enough for successful influence on audience.

4) **Esteem needs** – self-esteem, achievement, mastery, independence, status, dominance, prestige, managerial responsibility, etc. When the first three classes of needs are satisfied, the needs for esteem can become dominant. They involve needs for both self-esteem and for esteem a person gets from others. Humans have a need for a stable, firmly based, high level of self-respect, and respect from others. When these needs are satisfied, a person feels self-confident and appreciated. When these needs are frustrated, a person feels inferior, weak, helpless, and worthless.

Knowing that somebody likes us, turns out to be a kind of reward that increases our self-esteem. Even a mere expression of interest to an individual is a hidden compliment to this person: it is pleasant for everyone to feel confirmation of self-worth. Therefore, a state prosecutor often directly addresses the audience actualising in his speech an address to the audience, exclusive "you" and its forms, which, of course, implicitly affect the listener:

(54) *Товарищи судьи революционного трибунала!* (Красиков 1965) – [*Comrades Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal!*].

(55) *А теперь, с вашего позволения ...* (Мельников 2002) – [*And now with your permission ...*].

In addition, to be considered, as a kind of manifestation of respect for the judicial audience, is the use of documentary evidence (exact figures, results of various examinations, references to competent sources, testimony of witnesses). Whenever we see documentary evidence, we feel confidence in the material as a whole. By sharing this information, a public prosecutor persuades, showing respect for the intellectual capacity of the judicial audience. Use of numerical data is of great importance here. A few impressive figures can serve as a powerful argument, which will be very difficult to disprove, and the secret advantage is in the fact that it is rather difficult to verify such materials at the same time and [in the same] place. For the persuasiveness of the figures, one should read them aloud to leave no shadow of doubt in their authenticity.

The second way to use figures is radically opposite. It is based on the fact that a great number of figures is perceived badly, and is too difficult to understand. Therefore, some speakers throw onto a listener a waterfall of numbers with the aim of confusing an addressee and showing a "serious argumentation" (Шейнов 2001: 321). Here are some examples:

(56) *Если в 1991 г. было зарегистрировано 16 122 умышленных убийства, то в 1998 году таких преступлений было уже 29 551, а в 2001 г. – свыше 30 тыс ...* (Абрамов 2002) – [*If in 1991 there were 16,122 murders, in 1998 there were already 29,551 such crimes, and in 2001 – more than 30 thousand ...*].

(57) *За два года пребывания в районе вредители выжили из колхозов 1 326 колхозных дворов. На первое января 1936 года в районе было 8 114 рабочих лошадей. Из них осталось на первое января 1937 года только 6 652. Чудинов за один год погубил 512 голов скота, оставил под снегом 255 гектаров хлеба.* (Покровский 1965) – [*For the two years in the area the saboteurs got rid of 1,326 farm collective households. On the January 1, 1936 there were 8,114 working horses in the district. And only 6,652 of them remained on the 1st of January in 1937. Within one year Chudinov killed 512 head of cattle, and he left under snow 255 hectares of corn*].

This stream of figures only creates the impression of probative value of speech, but in fact, the addressee is not able to perceive and remember such information. Thus, the public prosecutor uses the magic of figures as a means of implicit control of his audience.

5) **Self-actualisation needs** – realising personal potential, self-fulfilment, seeking personal growth and peak experiences. When all of the foregoing needs are satisfied, then and only then are the needs for self-actualisation activated. Maslow (1954b) describes self-actualisation as a person's need to be and do that which they were "born to do". For example, a musician must make music, an artist must paint, and a poet must

write. These needs make themselves feel in signs of restlessness. A person feels on edge, tense, lacking something, in short, restless. If a person is hungry, unsafe, not loved, and not accepted or self-esteem is lacking, it is very easy to know what a person needs. It is not always clear what a person wants when there is a need for self-actualisation.

Self-actualisation is one of the most individualised needs. What is natural for one can be completely incomprehensible to someone else. This form of needs is the easiest way to influence an individual, but not for such a diverse audience as the judiciary, and especially not for the jurors. Nevertheless, one can still identify some general aspects/features concerning self-actualisation of a person. Self-actualisation is manifested in achievements (Шейнов 2001: 25). Therefore, a person is always pleased to receive any confirmation of their success, even if in the future:

(58) *Дело за вашим решением... Уверен, что оно будет объективным и справедливым* (Абрамов 2002) – [*It depends on your decision ... I am sure it will be objective and fair*].

In this example, the public prosecutor treats the jurors as unique individuals with high moral and intellectual qualities, and in most cases jurors are trying to live up to their trust. An experienced public prosecutor uses confidence in the abilities of the addressee in order to influence them latently. We see that considering the personal needs of the judges is an important factor in the implicit influence in the speech of a public prosecutor.

Thus, the markers of the planes of formation of positive and negative attitude to a speech event are explicit and implicit actualisation of lexical units containing a positive or negative evaluation. Markers of the plane of forming a neutral attitude to a speech event is the absence of evaluative lexical means (both explicit and implicit ones).

The next stage of the pragmalinguistic experiment is selection of public prosecutors' speeches. For the analysis, it is reasonable to use texts, which are as close in their content and structure as possible. In other words, texts must have the greatest possible number of common features in order to define differences under study. Since we are studying speech behaviour of an individual, an extremely subjective category, it is insufficient to have the same structure of the texts only, and an important condition for the selection is psychological and biological similarity between the authors, as well as similarity of their social experience.

In accordance with these requirements, we compared the texts that are relatively homogeneous taking into account the following:

- 1) one speech genre, that is the speech for the prosecution (and moreover, speeches concerning only criminal cases were analysed);
- 2) synchronous periods (public prosecutors' speeches of the end of the 19th century, and of the 1920s to the 1940s were studied separately);
- 3) nationality of the authors (Russian-speaking prosecutors);
- 4) gender of the authors (all state prosecutors are male);
- 5) addressees (speeches for professional judges and jurors were studied separately).

As a result, we have selected texts of speeches for the prosecution of:

- 1) seven Russian-speaking public prosecutors for the jury at the end of the 19th century;
- 2) seven Russian-speaking public prosecutors for the professional court in the 1920s to the 1940s.

For greater objectivity, we have studied the speech behaviour of a public prosecutor Trukhanov in the texts of different genres: a speech for the professional court, a speech for the jury, and an article on a criminal law theme for the newspaper *Vecherniy Rostov/Evening Rostov* (Труханов 1985a).

The next step was the preparation of the texts for the analysis. The chosen texts were divided into minor syntactic groups – MSG. The main criterion for dividing a text into MSGs is the presence of predicativity and modality in the utterance.

From the standpoint of Pragmalinguistics, predicativity and modality are the common features of any statement expressed by any sentence. A unit of Pragmalinguistic study is MSG, which in terms of Pragmatics is a syntactical actualisation of a speech act in a text, according to the model of a speech act, which is represented in the following scheme: the addresser – the message – the addressee (Матвеева et al. 2001: 190-197). An MSG is a basic unit of study in the pragmalinguistic experiment.

21 760 MSGs were analysed according to three implicit speech strategies: "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event", "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author", and "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation" (65 280 MSGs).

Table 1. The analysis of the sender's text according to the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event"

№ of MSG	the plane of participation	the plane of <i>social</i> participation	the plane of <i>objective</i> participation
1.	+		
2.		+	
3.			+

Table 2. The analysis of the sender's text according to the implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author"

№ of MSG	<i>certain</i> statement	<i>uncertain</i> statement
1.	+	
2.		+
3.	+	

Table 3. The analysis of the sender's text according to the implicit speech strategy
 "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation"

№ of MSG	the plane of <i>positive</i> attitude	the plane of <i>neutral</i> attitude	the plane of <i>negative</i> attitude
1.	+		
2.		+	
3.			+

The next phase is making the analysis. We looked for the speech signals in the text and fixed them in the above matrices, and a quantitative calculation of speech signals actualised by the authors was made, the frequency of which was counted according to the formula:

Σ MSG of the plane x 100 %

F of the plane = -----, where
 Σ MSG of the text

F of the plane is the frequency of the plane in %,

Σ is the sum of all the MSGs of a plane or a text (Матвеева 1993: 58).

Finally, for each strategy the average speech-genre index was calculated, deviations from which had a diagnosing nature. Basing on deviations from the average speech-genre index we are able to make an interpretation of the authors' speech portraits and to diagnose their personal qualities.

Now we will study the results of the pragmalinguistic experiment to identify individual features of the Russian-speaking public prosecutors and the stereotypical speech behaviour of these groups.

3.2 Russian-speaking prosecutors' speech behaviour before different addressees in different periods of history

3.2.1 Russian-speaking prosecutors' speech behaviour before a trial by jury at the end of the 19th century

Let us study the fragments of speech portraits of Russian-speaking public prosecutors speaking for the jury at the end of the 19th century, according to the three implicit speech strategies: "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event", "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author" and "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation." In accordance with these strategies, we have analysed 4 994 MSGs. Now we will identify some individual-personal features of the public prosecutors in accordance with the above mentioned strategies.

3.2.1.1 The implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event"

According to the study of the seven speeches for the prosecution, the average speech-genre index of the plane of personal participation is 12.4%. This is the average speech-genre index, and it is an indicator of the standard behaviour of the author in the genre of the speech for the prosecution at the end of the 19th century in Russia. However, the indicators diagnosing the individual-personal features of a personality will be higher or lower than this average speech-genre index.

Most frequently, Kessel (24%), Kazarinov (20.4%) and Urussov (17%) use the markers of the plane of personal participation. Frequent actualisation of this plane shows that the authors are the leaders by nature. They are active, initiative, resourceful, and sharp-witted. Moreover, they have some traits of authoritarianism and egocentrism. A high rate of the plane of personal participation reveals a person with high self-esteem, which, in its turn, indicates the tendency to "narcissism" (Дилте 2001: 48). Thus, for example, contemporaries remarked on the presence of hubristic pride in Kessel's character (Кони 1968: 84).

The indicators below the average speech-genre index of the plane of personal participation (12.4%) are observed in Koni's (7.2%) and Zhukov's (8.2%) speech behaviours, and the rate close to the average speech-genre index in Plevako's behaviour (10.5%). It indicates the authors' modesty, their desire not to put themselves first, and the absence of authoritarianism.

In this regard, it is interesting to recollect the words of Koni about Urussov and Plevako (Кони 1968: 123-124). He mentions that these two outstanding masters of lawyer's eloquence were completely different people. Urussov was a little arrogant, and, in the midst of the judicial debate, it seemed that he condescended to his opponent, and lit up the painful pages of the case with some kind of disgust. But Plevako was a "democrat-raznochinets" (a person not of noble birth) who knew life at all the levels of the Russian society. He was always a person of ready sympathy, kind-hearted, and unpretentious.

Regarding the actualisation of the plane of social participation, we should say that it can be correlated with the cooperative type of behaviour when an addressee is influenced by the automatic mechanism of convincing, which is based on a sense of imitation and psychological cooperation. The average speech-genre index of the plane of social participation is 7.6%, so indicators, which are higher or lower than the average speech-genre index, will be diagnosing.

More often, we find the markers of this plane in Kessel's (14.7%) and Muravyov's (12%) speeches for the prosecution. Such a high index of the social plane of Kessel, combined with even a higher level of the personal plane (see above), indicates unconscious desire to dominate the addressee. In contrast, the high index of the social plane in the speeches of Muravyov shows that the prosecutor can establish emotional contacts with various parties of communication, and has the ability to cooperate with different people. He is friendly and knows how to listen to his interlocutor. According to the memoirs of contemporaries, the speeches of Muravyov were impeccable – they were legally grounded, passionate, and always attracted the listeners. People often

came to the court with the only purpose to listen to the talented master of lawyer's eloquence (Звягинцев 2001: 174).

The indices of the other five addressers (Zhukov 7%; Kazarinov 7%; Koni 6.5%; Plevako 6%; Urussov 6%) did not differ substantially from the average index of the social plane (7.6%), and thus are not revealing.

Now we will study the data of the plane of objective participation, which significantly predominates in these texts. The average index of this plane is 80%, meaning that the public prosecutors automatically focused their attention on the objective sides of the criminal acts. Thus, the listeners feel confident in the given facts.

More often, the plane of objective participation is actualised in the texts of Koni (86.3%) and Zhukov (84.8%). They say that an important feature of Koni's speeches for the prosecution was a consistent and thorough review of evidence. His speeches were not limited to the narrow frames of a definite case. He usually, in one way or another, touched upon the problems of criminal or criminal-procedural law. Koni had a great wealth of knowledge, a keen and observant mind, strict logical thinking and a gift of broad generalisation of facts (Болк et al. 1966). The high rates of the plane of objective participation suggest that the authors had inherent tendency to concentrate on objective circumstances of the cases, on the very essence of the matter. These prosecutors had a clear logic, a talent for organisation and clarity of presentation at the court.

More rarely one can find the plane of objective participation in the texts of Kessel's (61.3%), Kazarinov's (72.6%) and Muravyov's (75%) speeches. To our mind, the main reason for this fact is that for these public prosecutors the factual side of the case is not as important as emotional-subjective manifestation, which will be described further.

3.2.1.2 The implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author"

This strategy is actualised in the texts with the help of two speech planes: the first is a certain statement and the second is an uncertain statement, which correlate with confident and unsure kinds of speech behaviour of the author respectively. Both sure and cautious statements have the goal of persuasion (Матвеева 1993: 201). In the process of convincing, the main factor is the authority of the speaker in the eyes of the listener. It consists of the sender's confidence in the success of his influence on the addressee.

As shown by the material of our study, the average speech-genre index of the plane of the certain statement in the court speech for the prosecution is 40.6%, and the indicators, which are higher or lower than this index, will enable diagnosing the personal traits of the prosecutors.

We can see the highest rates of the certain statement in the speeches of Kessel (60%) and Muravyov (56%). Frequent use of these plane's speech signals indicates such an individual personal trait as confidence in oneself and in one's own actions. A confident person has such personal qualities as initiative, self-reliance, independence, decisiveness, courage, perseverance, endurance and adherence to one's own principles (Рубинштейн 1999: 20), and Kessel's and Muravyov's characters probably had these qualities.

Low percentage of the certain statement (in the speeches of Koni it is 34.2% and in those of Urussov 35.1%), compared with the average speech-genre index (40.6%), and indicates the uncertainty and caution of the authors. Koni and Urussov have such an individual-personal quality as precaution. They are restrained in their manifestations, indecisive, often unsure. Such people are usually trying to plan their actions several steps ahead, to estimate the pros and cons before acting, as they feel very uncomfortable if they fail (Нужнова 2003: 85). Low actualisation of categorical data in the texts of these prosecutors delivering their speeches in court shows that their

speeches are ethically restrained – "they do not exacerbate the difficulties and misfortunes of people by public mockery" (Еникеев 1996: 274).

We cannot diagnose the personal qualities of other state prosecutors because the level of their categorical statement is almost identical to the average speech-genre index (the difference is only 0.8% to 1.1%).

3.2.1.3 The implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation"

This strategy is realised in a text through three speech planes. They are:

- a) the plane of positive attitude;
- b) the plane of neutral attitude;
- c) the plane of negative attitude.

Now we will analyse the proportions of speech signals, studying each plane of the implicit speech strategy "the sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation" and carry out the diagnosis of some individual personal qualities of public prosecutors of the end of the 19th century.

According to the results of the study, the average speech-genre index of this strategy (43%) is much higher than that of attitude (11%). Therefore, it will be more reasonable to start our analysis by considering the plane of forming the addressee's negative attitude to a speech event.

We can mark out a few public prosecutors in whose speeches the signals of this plane are found more often than in 50% of the texts. They are Kazarinov (55.9%), Muravyov (52.6%) and Koni (50.2%). These indices indicate pessimism in the worldview of the authors of the texts.

Pessimism is defined as emphasising or thinking of a bad side of a situation rather than a good one, or the feeling that bad things are more likely to happen than good ones. A

person in a dismal mood does not believe in future, tending to see only the unpleasant in everything (Ожегов & Шведова 2006: 515). On the other hand, pessimists are capable of deep empathy, emotional warmth, a responsive and kind attitude. Thus, according to the memoirs of contemporaries, Koni's main personal features were warmth, intimacy, subtle understanding of the movements of a human soul, and ability to give a correct analysis of human actions (Попубов 2001: 32).

Moreover, Koni actualises the signals of forming the positive attitude to a speech event by evaluation more often than many other public prosecutors form. Compared to the average speech-genre index of forming the positive attitude (11%) he actualises this plane in 14.8% of the cases. We can see an even higher index only in Kazarinov's speeches, at 21.9%. Of course, by such low rates of this plane, we cannot judge the optimism of these state prosecutors of the end of the 19th century, but we can conclude that in comparison with other authors they do not see only negative aspects of a crime.

According to contemporaries, in speeches for the prosecution Koni repeatedly drew attention of jurors to the need of mitigating a punishment for the defendants. Being a great humanist, he was always able to find warm heartfelt words and bright memorable explanations for deep human emotions. However, the Koni's humanity did not mean sentimentality and feebleness. His words resounded angrily when discussing events of great public importance (Волк et al. 1966). Such traits as emotional responsiveness, moral purity and constant desire to defend the truth were combined in Koni's character.

The lowest index of the positive attitude (5%) belongs to Kessel. His speeches for the prosecution seemed colourless, weak and watery (Кони 1968: 84). His index of neutral attitude (49.5%) is higher than the average speech-genre index (46 %). It was due to the fact that his speech was monotonous and mostly made up of dry abstract bookish expressions, and the greatest part of his speech dealt with studying the details of the crime and preparation for it (Михайловская & Одинцов 1981: 87).

What is more, Muravyov (5.4%) also rarely actualises the signals of the plane of positive attitude to the speech event by evaluation. This indicator, combined with a high amount of the signals of the plane of negative attitude to the speech event by evaluation (see above), indicates the strongly pronounced pessimistic mood of Muravyov.

Another example of an emotional fighter for truth was Plevako. Giving priority to the factors of psychological impact, he believed that logic is logic, but it is a human being in the court, and to prove does not mean to persuade (Речи известных русских юристов 1985: 5). The power of Plevako's speeches over the audience was infinite. He penetrated into the souls of people. According to the memoirs of contemporaries, Plevako was the most typical court speaker in Russia (Попубов 2001: 33). It is interesting to take note of the fact that Plevako, in all the three studied strategies, intuitively used sets of markers of the respective planes, which are close to the respective average speech-genre indices.

Here is a list of these correlations, indicating in parentheses the average speech-genre index:

- the plane of personal participation – 10.5% (12.4%);
- the plane of social participation – 6% (7.6%);
- the plane of objective participation – 83.5% (80%);
- the plane of certain statement – 41.4% (40.6%);
- the plane of uncertain statement – 58.6% (59.4%);
- the plane of positive attitude – 9.9% (11%);
- the plane of neutral attitude – 45.7% (46%);
- the plane of negative attitude – 44.4% (43%).

Thus, Plevako intuitively followed an unwritten stereotyped speech behaviour of the group of prosecutors of the 19th century, and it helped him to influence the jurors psychologically.

We have diagnosed some individual personal qualities of the public prosecutors of Russia at the end of the 19th century, studying their speech behaviour at the trial by jury. Let us turn to the next group of public prosecutors.

3.2.2 Russian-speaking prosecutors' speech behaviour before a professional trial in the USSR in the 1920s to the 1940s

Now we will study the fragments of Russian-speaking prosecutors' speech behaviour in the USSR in the 1920s to the 1940s before a professional trial, according to the three implicit speech strategies: "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event", "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author", and "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation". Let us now identify some individual-personal features of these public prosecutors. In accordance with these strategies, we have analysed 4,793 MSGs.

3.2.2.1 The implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event"

The average speech-genre index of the plane of personal participation is 10%. This is the average speech-genre index, the indicator of unwritten standard for the genre of speeches for the prosecution in the 1920s to the 1940s before a professional trial. However, the indicators diagnosing the individual-personal features of a personality are the indicators, higher or lower than the average speech-genre index.

The most frequent actualisation of the plane of personal participation can be seen in the speeches for the prosecution of Koni (22.1%) and Krylenko (17%). As is known, Krylenko had a high position in the government: he was the prosecutor of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialistic Republic), head of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the RSFSR and then of the Soviet Union. As a state prosecutor, Krylenko took part in all major political processes, as well as in some of the processes that were very important because of their social value or dealt with the fight against economic dislocation in the RSFSR (Ивакина 1995: 31). People who have a higher plane of

personal participation than the average speech-genre index (10%), such as Koni (22.1%) and Krylenko (17%) are distinguished by such individual personal traits as authoritarianism, courage, determination, and independence. What is more, Krylenko's contemporaries noted that he was a man of exuberant nature, principled, uncompromising, and straightforward (Зайцев 1977: 102).

The indicators less than the average speech-genre index (10%) are observed in the speeches for the prosecution of Lunacharsky (2.5%), Pokrovsky (4.5%) and Vyshinsky (5.6%). It indicates the low self-esteem of all these authors. That is why they do not seek or fear (taking into account the political situation in the USSR in that period) to show their individuality.

The average speech-genre index of the plane of social participation is 13.6%. We see the signals of this plane in the speeches for the prosecution of Krasikov (29.7%) and Lunacharsky (20%) more often than in the speeches of other addressers. The authors who have a high level of the social plane have a cooperative type of behaviour. These public prosecutors act in accordance with the idea familiar to entire generations of Soviet people: "Who is not with us is against us" (Вицин 1999:11). There is one thing to note, Krasikov also actualises his personal participation in a speech event, thus not pulling away from the facts given by him (his index of the plane of personal participation is 9.7%, so it is almost equal to the average speech-genre index of this plane, 10%). However, Lunacharsky on the contrary does not want to be morally responsible for his own words (his index of the plane of personal participation is very low in this case at 2.5%).

It should be noted that during the period under analysis, the so-called "revolutionary sense of justice" substituted for the set of laws. Decisions of the courts were not even subject to appeal (Михлин 1997: 35). The low levels of the social plane of the speeches made by Kondrushkin (6.9%) and Vyshinsky (7.9%) indicate that these prosecutors did not have any sense of collectivism. We cannot say that these authors have such

individual personal qualities as responsiveness and sympathy, friendliness, open-heartedness, cheerfulness, optimism, and carelessness (Hjelle & Ziegler 1997: 317).

Now we will turn to the plane of objective participation. The average speech-genre index of this plane is 76.4%. The predominance of the plane of objective participation in the speeches for the prosecution in this period is explained by the fact that in the Soviet state a criminal prosecution process was only a form of cover for the opponents' reprisal. The state prosecutors with high indices of objective participation (Pokrovsky – 87%; Vyshinsky – 86.5%; Kondrushkin – 86.3%) did not even consider it necessary to convince their listeners that they were right due to the lack of adversarial proceedings, listing only the "evil deeds" of the defendants, almost without expressing their personal attitude. From the psychological point of view, one can say that Pokrovsky, Vyshinsky and Kondrushkin are people characterised by the focus on inanimate objects. In psychology, such people are called "introverts" (Егорова 1997: 47). They are calm, assertive, reserved, closed. Introverts tend towards introspective reflection, do not laugh very often and have depressive tendencies. They never get bored with themselves, and they tend to be solitary (Куницына et al. 2002: 427).

3.2.2.2 The implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author"

The average speech-genre index of the plane of certain statement is 43.5%. The largest deviations upwards from the average speech-genre index are observed in the speeches of Krasikov (59.1%) and Vyshinsky (49.5%). A high level of a categorical judgment in the speeches for the prosecution is explained by the fact that these state prosecutors had to play at the trials as well as an actor acts out the play. Frequent use of the speech signals on the plane of certain statement by these state prosecutors is vivid proof that, the prosecutor was a tool of punishment, as well as security. Vyshinsky in his turn put forward a terrible theory "The avowal of guilt is the queen of all proofs" and it is widely known how these evidences were "beaten out" (Берия 2013) of all the arrested. Therefore, pleasing the authorities' so-called "strong belief" is based more on the famous theory of the presumption of guilt. This assumption is also proved by a high

rate of negative attitude to a speech event (see below), indicating pessimism of these authors.

Less commonly, the speech signals of the plane of certain statement are actualised in the speeches for the prosecution made by Pokrovsky (29.2%) and Koni (33.3%) compared with the average speech-genre index of 43.5%. It indicates low confidence level of their speech behaviour. These public prosecutors are not categorical in their opinions because of their shyness and hesitation, and have no such quality as courage. These people are very doubtful (Куницына et al. 2002: 426). Very often, unsure people have a low self-esteem and they often tend to reproach themselves and are sensitive to any criticism (Еникеев 2002: 491).

3.2.2.3 The implicit speech strategy "The sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation"

As is shown by the material of our study, the average speech-genre index of the plane of forming the addressee's positive attitude to a speech event by evaluation has significantly lower rates (14.3%) than the rates of forming the negative attitude (49.8%). The negative attitude prevails in court speeches for the prosecution of all the addressers.

Most often, Vyshinsky (64.8%) and Pokrovsky (57.4%) use the markers of the plane of forming the addressee's negative attitude to a speech event by evaluation with the high average speech-genre index at 49.8%. The speech behaviour of the public prosecutors of that time reflects the realities of the trial system in the 1920s to the 1940s, when the accusatory court tendency was manifested in automatic, mechanical speech behaviour of public prosecutors.

As has already been mentioned, Vyshinsky's emphasis in his speeches had to be not on the evidence, mainly because the verdict was already a foregone conclusion, but on rhetoric and pathos. This is not because "The Chief Inquisitor" Vyshinsky was a bad

lawyer, it was because it was necessary not so much to justify an established process but to prepare the ground for a future one (Звягинцев 2001: 82). Besides, such speeches were full of course, insulting statements, called "invectives."

From a psychological point of view, the high indices of negative attitude testify to pessimism of the above-mentioned speakers. In Vyshinsky's speeches, the same is conferred by the low level of the plane of personal participation and the high percentage of the plane of objective participation of the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event" (see above). Moreover, contemporary reports show that Vyshinsky delivered his speeches at the court emotionally and with great passion (Звягинцев 2001: 80), and it is shown by the lowest neutral evaluation (19% compared to the average speech-genre index of 35.9%).

An even greater pessimist is Pokrovsky, in whose speeches we see a combination of a high negative attitude to a speech event at 57.4% (the average speech-genre index is 49.8%), a low positive evaluation of 9.1% of the implicit studied strategy (the average speech-genre index is 14.3%), a low level of certain statement at 29.2% of the implicit speech strategy "Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author" (the average speech-genre index is 43.5%), and a low index of the plane of personal participation at 4.5% of the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event" (the average speech-genre index is 10%).

Overall, none of the seven public prosecutors during the 1920s to the 1940s, whose judicial speeches we have studied, is an optimist by nature, as the indicators of negative evaluation are significantly higher than the indicators of positive attitude. Considering the average speech-genre index of forming a positive attitude to a speech event by evaluation at 14.3%, more often we find the markers of this plane in the court speeches of Koni (21%) and Lunacharsky (18%). These authors try to arouse positive emotions in their listeners, or at least have minimum psychological intention of raising positive

emotions of addressees in the face of global condemnation, reflecting not only optimistic mood of these public prosecutors but also a certain humanity.

Thus, we have analysed individual speech behaviour of the public prosecutors of the USSR in the 1920s to the 1940s and have diagnosed some individual personal qualities of these prosecutors.

4. Conclusion

The Stylistic specificity of prosecution speeches is manifested in the use of different styles of a literary language: publicistic, official, scientific, and colloquial. However, the elements of the language styles are unevenly distributed in the speeches of public prosecutors: the signs of the publicistic style dominate in prosecution speeches before a trial by jury in the 19th century in Russia and in speeches of the Russian-speaking prosecutors before a professional trial in the 1920s to the 1940s.

Human speech as an important means of expression possesses a considerable psycho-diagnosing potential. It can reveal many interesting things about a person. Data obtained through the pragmalinguistic experiment proves this position, coinciding with the characteristics of the public prosecutors based on the memoirs of their contemporaries and on the results of psycho-diagnostic methods.

Most of the representatives of this professional group have such individual personal qualities as initiative, self-confidence, concentration on the objective side of things, and the ability to cooperate and to communicate with people. At the same time, in the speech behaviour of the state prosecutors there is a tendency to express overconfidence and pessimistic attitude towards life. The frequent actualisation of these personal qualities is a consequence of the specific nature of public prosecutor's professional duties.

As a result of our investigation, we have come to the following conclusion:

1. Speech behaviour of the Russian-speaking public prosecutors before the jury of the 20th century differs from the speech behaviour of the similar group of the 19th century in a more pronounced tendency to leadership and in less negative attitude.
2. Speech behaviour of the Russian-speaking public prosecutors before a professional tribunal in the 1920s to the 1940s is characterised by lower actualisation of the plane of personal participation in a speech event, and higher actualisation of the plane of social participation of the implicit speech strategy "Participation/Nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event". Modern public prosecutors differ in categorical speech behaviour and in the high index of the formation of addressee's negative attitude to a speech event by evaluation.

Completion of this work does not exhaust the topic under consideration. In the course of the study, important tasks were outlined, and they can be considered as a subject of future research. From the perspective of this work, a comparative analysis of speech behaviour in various linguistic cultures is of considerable scientific interest.

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Résumé

The article deals with individual speech behavior of prosecutors of Russian-speaking linguocultural communities in implicit pragmalinguistics. Public prosecutor's behavior in the speech genre of the speech for the prosecution differs by stylistic originality. The signs of the publicistic style dominate in the prosecution speeches before a trial by jury in the 19th-20th centuries in Russia and in the speeches of the Russian-speaking prosecutors before a professional trial in the 1920s to the 1940s. Speech signals of a sender's speech behavior in Russian are established. Most of the representatives of the professional group of public prosecutors have such individual personal qualities as initiative, self-confidence, concentration on the objective side of things, and the ability to cooperate and to communicate with people. We describe different implicit strategies. In the article, we count the frequency of the planes' actualisation, form and interpret the senders' speech portraits, diagnose individual features of speech behavior of prosecutors of Russian-speaking linguocultures. In the speech behavior of the state prosecutors, there is a tendency to express overconfidence and pronounced pessimistic attitude towards life. Stereotyped speech behavior of the group of public prosecutors was examined with the help of comparative analysis, taking into account certain periods (the end of the 19th century, the 1920s to the 1940s), addressees (professional court and trial by the jury), and national-cultural specificity of the addressers (Russian-speaking public prosecutors).

Key words: implicit pragmalinguistics, implicit strategies, prosecutors, individual speech behavior, Russian-speaking linguocultural communities.

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