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Strategies of Direct and Indirect Verbal Expression of Negative Evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese Political Discourse

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Abstract

The article examines strategies and tactics of verbal expression of negative evaluation frequently used in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse. The relevance of this research is underlined by the significant role of political discourse in societal and individual life, the lack of studies exploring pragmalinguistic aspects of Vietnamese political discourse, and the absence of comparative analysis of Russian and Vietnamese political discourse. The purpose of this work is to investigate the strategies and tactics of verbal expression of negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse, to delve into the tactics of implementing the main strategies, to identify similarities and differences in their application, and to explain the latter through politeness theory. The study is conducted on the material of parliamentary communication of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. Methods used include descriptive, comparative, classification, functional-pragmatic methods, as well as content analysis. The findings show that Russian and Vietnamese politicians employ two basic strategies – direct and indirect expression of negative evaluation, along two auxiliary strategies of mitigation and intensification. Each strategy has a set of tactics, frequency of application of which differs between the two political discourses, but still generally adhere to norms of institutional political communication and the principle of politeness. Thus, the use and combination of various strategies and tactics of expressing negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse not only serve to express the speaker's negative attitude towards the object of evaluation and to influence the listener's attitude towards this object, but also contribute to fulfilling parliamentary functions and maintaining communicators' "face".

Keywords: linguistic pragmatics; negative evaluation; speech act theory; political discourse; Vietnamese language; Russian language.

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Стратегии прямого и косвенного вербального выражения отрицательной оценки в российском и вьетнамском политическом дискурсе

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Резюме

В статье рассматриваются стратегии и тактики вербального выражения отрицательной оценки, часто применяемые в российском и вьетнамском политическом дискурсе. Актуальность исследования обусловлена важной ролью политического дискурса в жизни общества и индивидов, практическим отсутствием на момент проведения исследования трудов, раскрывающих прагматический аспект вьетнамского политического дискурса, а также трудов, сопоставляющих российский и вьетнамский политический дискурс. Целью настоящей статьи является изучение стратегий и тактик вербального выражения отрицательной оценки с точки зрения их функционирования в российском и вьетнамском политическом дискурсе, детальное рассмотрение тактик реализации основных стратегий, выявление сходств и отличий в их применении и объяснение последних с точки зрения теории вежливости. Материалом исследования служат данные парламентской коммуникации Национального Собрания Социалистической Республики Вьетнам и Совета Федерации Федерального Собрания Российской Федерации. Для анализа материала использовались такие методы, как описательный, сопоставительный, классификационный, функционально-прагматический, и контент-анализ. Результаты исследования показывают, что российскими и вьетнамскими политиками для выражения отрицательной оценки используются две основные стратегии – прямого и косвенного выражения отрицательной оценки, а также две вспомогательные стратегии – митигации и интенсификации отрицательной оценки. Каждая из стратегий располагает своим набором тактик реализации, частотность применения которых в российском и вьетнамском политическом дискурсе отличается, но демонстрирует общую тенденцию к соблюдению институциональности политической коммуникации и соблюдению принципа вежливости. Таким образом, в российском и вьетнамском политическом дискурсе применение и комбинация различных стратегий и тактик выражении отрицательной оценки не только служат цели сообщения о негативном отношении говорящего к объекту оценки, оказания влияния на отношение слушателя к этому объекту, но и нацелены на внесение вклада в исполнение функций парламента, а также на сохранение «лица» участников коммуникации.

Ключевые слова: лингвопрагматика; отрицательная оценка; теория речевых актов; политический дискурс; вьетнамский язык; русский язык.

Конфликт интересов: Автор декларирует отсутствие явных и потенциальных конфликтов интересов, связанных с публикацией настоящей статьи.

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Introduction

The development of linguistic pragmatics in the 1960s marked the emergence of

the speech act theory. The classical understanding of the term “speech act” implies its consideration within a single utterance [1,

2]. Modern researchers frequently adhere to the interpretation of “speech act” (hereinafter - SA) as “an act of speech consisting in the purposeful utterance of a sentence by the speaker in a situation of direct contact with the listener” [3]. We, however, adhere to the point of view according to which SA is a complex speech action consisting of one or several utterances, performed by the addresser towards the addressee in certain communicative circumstances with certain communicative intentions [4].

Thus the SA of negative evaluation (hereinafter - SAoNE) is a complex speech action consisting of one or several utterances, performed by the addresser towards the addressee under certain communicative circumstances, the key intentions of the addresser when performing this speech action being reporting a negative attitude towards some object and influencing the addressee's attitude towards this very object.

However, negative evaluation can be contained not only in the SAoNE proper, but also, for example, in the framework of disagreement. When SAoNE is combined with other SAs, hybrid SAs occur. Hybrid SAs are complex because they simultaneously accomplish two or more illocutionary goals [5]. For example, a hybrid SA of disagreement - negative evaluation, in addition to disagreement, can express negative evaluation of what the other communicator said earlier, negative evaluation of the communicator, negative evaluation of the object under discussion, etc.

In the present study, investigating negative evaluation both within the framework of SAoNE proper and within the framework of hybrid SAs containing negative evaluation, we pursue the goal of studying and comparing linguocultural features of verbal expression of negative evaluation in Vietnamese and Russian political discourse through the prism of linguopragmatics.

Materials and methods

The data of direct oral parliamentary communication were used as the research material. As the source of data, we used video recordings of meetings of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (hereinafter - Vietnam) and the Federation Council of the Russian Federation (hereinafter - Russia) from the Internet resource YouTube, which are uploaded there by the official media of Vietnam and Russia. The choice of the discourse of only one of the chambers of the Russian double-chambered parliament (the Federal Assembly), namely the discourse of the Federation Council, as the material of the discourse is explained by the fact that the functional nature of this chamber is as close as possible to the functions of Vietnam's National Assembly in terms of the dominance of the representative, legislative and regulatory functions over other functions of the parliament, for example, the struggle for power and its retention, which makes the comparison of the two discourses more appropriate.

Using the method of discourse analysis, communicative situations with the SAoNE were identified. A total of 71 videos of Vietnam's National Assembly meetings with a total duration of about 203 hours and 80 videos of Russia's Federal Council meetings with a total duration of 205 hours were analyzed.

Results

In the present study, we propose to understand by “communicative strategy” the general orientation of communicative actions aimed at fulfilling the communicative intentions of the speaker, as well as the set, plan and structure of realization of specific communicative actions developed by the speaker taking into account the communicative situation. Specific communicative tasks, directions, stages, techniques and means are

united in the concept of “communicative tactics”.

Based on the data obtained from the analysis of the material, we have identified 4 strategies and 24 tactics that members of Vietnam's National Assembly and Russia's Federal Council apply when expressing negative evaluation.

Four strategies for expressing negative evaluation in Vietnamese and Russian political discourse are direct expression of negative evaluation, indirect expression of negative evaluation, intensification of negative evaluation, and its mitigation (fig. 1). In this case, we consider the strategies of direct or indirect expression of negative evaluation as the basic ones, and the strategies of mitigation or intensification as auxiliary ones, since the latter seem to be “overlying” the negative evaluation expressed directly or indirectly and cannot function independently without the basic strategies.

Comparing the data on the frequency of use of the four strategies mentioned above in

Russian and Vietnamese political discourse, we can conclude that there are some specific features of verbal expression of negative evaluation in the political discourse of the two countries, namely: 1) negative evaluation is more often expressed by politicians indirectly than directly; 2) the strategy of intensification of negative evaluation, being an auxiliary strategy, still ranks first in terms of frequency of use by both Russian and Vietnamese politicians, accounting for almost 1/3 of the total number of all strategies used; 3) while in Russian political discourse intensification of negative evaluation is used almost 2.5 times more often in comparison with its mitigation, in Vietnamese political discourse this coefficient only equals to 2; 4) in general, Russian politicians implement auxiliary strategies for expressing negative evaluation less often (46.32%) than their Vietnamese colleagues (49.85%).

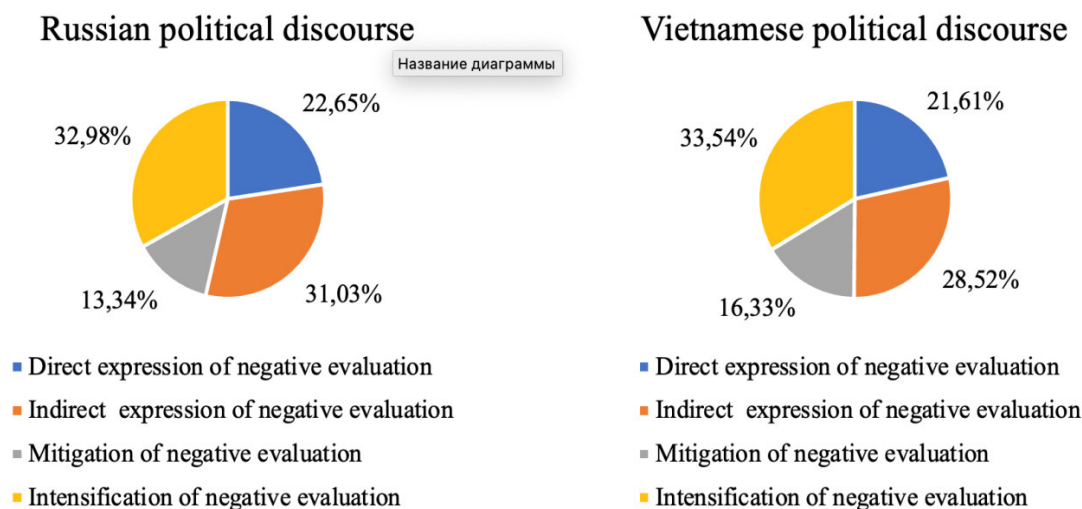


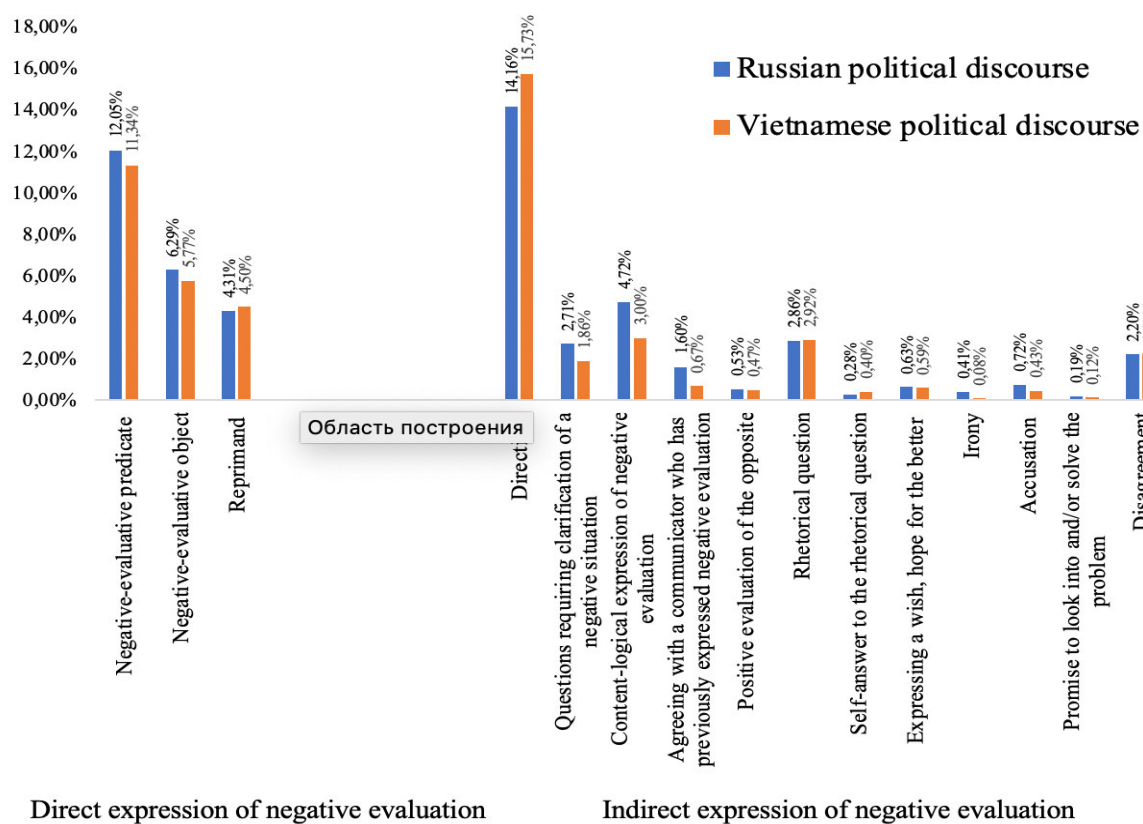
Fig. 1. Frequency of implementation of various strategies of verbal expression of negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse

While we have identified four strategies for expressing negative evaluation, only the basic strategies and tactics of their implemen-

tation will be discussed in detail in this paper due to word count limitations (table 1).

Table 1. Basic strategies and tactics of verbal expression of negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse

| Strategies | Tactics |
|--|---|
| Direct expression of negative evaluation | Reprimand |
| | Negative-evaluative predicate |
| | Negative-evaluative object |
| Indirect expression of negative evaluation | Directives |
| | Questions requiring clarification of a negative situation |
| | Content-logical expression of negative evaluation |
| | Agreeing with a communicator who has previously expressed negative evaluation |
| | Positive evaluation of the opposite |
| | Rhetorical question |
| | Self-answer to the rhetorical question |
| | Expressing a wish, hope for the better |
| | Irony |
| | Accusation |
| | Promise to look into and/or solve the problem |
| | Disagreement |

**Fig. 2.** Frequency of implementation of different tactics of verbal expression of negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse

Comparing the tactics related to the strategies of direct or indirect expression of negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse, one can observe both common features and differences (fig. 2).

Strategy of direct expression of negative evaluation

Negative evaluation is direct when it is expressed using the lexicon with negative evaluativity, regardless of the lexical units' position (predicative or not). The expression is defined as indirect when such lexicon is not used at all. The most frequent tactic of direct expression of negative evaluation in both Vietnamese and Russian political discourse is the use of negative-evaluative predicate (Example 1). The second and third places are occupied by the tactics of using negative-evaluative object (i.e. negative nomination of the object of evaluation) (Example 2) and reprimand (mainly expressed by negative-evaluative performatives) (Example 3).

Example 1: “Vấn đề thứ 2, cho rằng lấy thời gian để xét xử vụ án để đánh giá giá trị công lý tôi cho rằng **không toàn diện, không chính xác**. Không chỉ việc chúng ta lấy thời gian kéo dài một năm để xét xử vụ án cho rằng như thế là bảo vệ công lý tôi cho rằng hoàn toàn **không khách quan, không biện chứng**” (Secondly, I think that judging the value of justice by the timing of a case, I think it's **not comprehensive, not right**. Saying that a year-long case review is a guarantee of fairness, I think, is completely **biased, unproven**).

Example 2: “Bên cạnh đó là những **bất cập** về cải cách, về thay đổi chương trình và các mức học phí của các bậc học, **vấn đề** học phí và kinh phí đào tạo trong thời kỳ kinh tế hiện nay nói chung đang bất ổn từ nhiều khía cạnh, và được rất nhiều bậc phụ huynh hay nhân dân quan tâm” (In addition, there are also **inconsistencies** in reforms, changes in programs and tuition fees at different levels of education, the **problems** of tuition fees and education costs in the current economic environment which are generally not stable

and are of interest to many parents and people in general).

Example 3: “Cái gì khó khăn thì là đẩy ra cho tổ chức, cho người khác, cho bên ngoài. Mà cái biểu hiện rất rõ. Mà biểu hiện này là... **tôi phê bình** các vị đại biểu là chưa đọc Nghị quyết Trung ương 7 giữa nhiệm kỳ. Hôm qua chưa ai nói đến trung ương 7 là cái gì cả. Mà có một bài phát biểu quan trọng của đồng chí Tổng Bí thư nói rõ những biểu hiện này, thậm chí nói rõ hơn đại biểu quốc hội ở đây” (Everything that is difficult is shoved off to organizations, to other people, to the outside. And there are very clear manifestations [of such a trend]. Regarding such signs... **I criticize** members of parliament for not having read the Central Committee Resolution No. 7, which was issued in the middle of the current term. No one mentioned anything at all about Resolution No. 7 yesterday. But it contains a speech by comrade General Secretary, which clearly indicated these manifestations, even more clearly than it was said by some MPs present here).

It is worthy of note that there is disagreement among scholars as to whether descriptive meanings should be clearly distinguished from evaluative meanings. We adhere to the point of view of V.N. Telia, according to which both evaluative proper and descriptive lexicon which have developed evaluative connotations over time can possess evaluative meaning: the only difference is that in evaluative proper lexicon the evaluative meaning is primary in relation to the descriptive one [6]. It is also noteworthy that the analysis of both Russian and Vietnamese political discourse has shown that evaluative proper vocabulary is not often used to express negative evaluation in general. There was not a single case of the use of the lexemes “tốt” (good), “xấu”, “tệ” (bad) found in the Vietnamese material. The only identified evaluative proper lexeme, “tiêu cực” (negative), is not frequent (1.06%), being more frequent in the negative-evaluative object (0.8%) than in the negative-evaluative predicate (0.26%). The negative-evaluative

predicate is mostly expressed using descriptive vocabulary. Meanwhile, the Russian material showed some communicative situations with the use of evaluative proper vocabulary to express negative evaluation, however, their frequency is extremely low (0.25%). In general, for negative-evaluative predicates and objects, Russian parliamentarians, like their Vietnamese colleagues, prefer descriptive vocabulary. We are inclined to explain this fact by the fact that the evaluative proper vocabulary is much inferior to the descriptive lexicon in terms of its number in the languages.

Strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation

Avoiding direct expression of negative evaluation, i.e., choosing the strategy of its indirect expression, the members of Vietnam's National Assembly and senators of Russia's Federal Council choose between such tactics as: the use of directives; questions requiring explanation a negative situation (Example 4); content-logical expression of negative evaluation (Example 5); agreement with a communicator who has previously expressed negative evaluation (Example 6); positive evaluation of the opposite (Example 7); rhetorical question (Example 8); self-answer to rhetorical question (Example 9); expression of a wish, hope for the better (Example 10); irony (Example 11); accusation (Example 12); promise to look into and/or solve the problem (Example 13); mention of measures that have been or will be taken to solve the problem that received a negative evaluation (Example 14); and disagreement (Example 15).

It is worthy of note, that Russian and Vietnamese political discourse share the list of the least common tactics (in frequency descending order), including agreement with a communicator who has previously expressed a negative evaluation, expression of a wish, hope for the better, positive evaluation of the opposite, accusation, irony, self-answer to a rhetorical question, promise to look into, solve the problem.

Moreover, sets of means for implementation of tactics of using directives to indirectly express negative evaluation are highly differentiated. When using directives, MPs make proposals for taking certain actions (Example 16), preventing or stopping certain actions (Example 17), and may also suggest that the communicator better study the situation (Example 18).

Besides, disagreement classified as a tactic of avoiding negative evaluation, which is a part of the strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation, may obviously cause some doubt, because disagreement may not always contain negative-evaluative meaning, especially if its expression is only limited to use of lexical units with the meaning of disagreement or expression of a point of view that is opposite to the one expressed earlier by another communicator. We also acknowledge that disagreement differs from negative evaluation in that it (disagreement) as a speech act is reactive [7], while negative evaluation as a speech act does not necessarily require for its expression a communicative move made previously by another communicator. However, as it has already been said, the material of our study of negative evaluation included only those communicative situations where the complex speech act of disagreement-negative evaluation was expressed. In such communicative situations, the speaker usually disagrees with another communicant's evaluation of some object, expressing his disagreement by means of a negative evaluation of a previously positively evaluated object, a negative evaluation of another communicator's actions or statements, or a negative evaluation of another communicator.

It is also worth noting that politicians use different verbal means to implement different strategies and tactics, the frequency of use of which may differ significantly between the two mentioned parliamentary discourses; and sometimes a verbal means of expressing negative evaluation, which often appears in the parliamentary discourse of one country, may not be used at all in the

parliamentary discourse of the other. For example, while members of Russia's Federal Council can interrupt a communicator by expressing disagreement, which in turn is one of the tactics of indirect expression of negative evaluation, this means is not used by members of Vietnam's National Assembly. There were also no cases of Vietnamese politicians using such verbal means of expressing negative-evaluative meaning as refusal to comment, correction of what was said by another communicator, suggestion to agree-to-disagree, joke and threat.

Example 4: “Tình trạng ùn tắc của các tuyến cao tốc sẽ vẫn tiếp tục diễn ra, nếu như cầu Xương Giang chưa được mở rộng. Vậy đề nghị thủ tướng quan tâm, và *xin bộ trưởng cho biết trong nhiệm kỳ này 2 nút thắt trên liệu có giải quyết được không?*” (Congestion on highways will continue to occur if the Xuong Giang Bridge is not widened. So, I ask the Prime Minister to look at this problem and *I ask the minister to answer whether it will be possible to untie these two tightly tied loops during the current term of office?*).

Example 5: “Как мы знаем, в 2012 году был принят закон, в соответствии с которым единый налог на вмененный налог отменялся с 1 января 2018года, и предполагалось, что он будет заменен другими специальными налоговыми режимами, например патентной системой. *Однако этого не произошло, и единый налог на вмененный доход до настоящего времени остается очень востребованным среди субъектов малого бизнеса, и даже стали поступать обращения от предпринимателей с просьбой его не отменять*” (As we know, a law was passed in 2012, according to which the unified tax on imputed tax was abolished from January 1, 2018, and it was assumed that it would be replaced by other special tax regimes, such as the patent system. *However, this did not happen, and the single tax on imputed income is still very much in demand among small businesses, and there*

have even been appeals from entrepreneurs asking not to cancel it).

Example 6: “*Я бы поддержала аудитора Счетной палаты, полностью согласна с выводами*. Не надо вуалировать. Четкие показатели по годам – вот это программа. А если этого нет, то это набор благих пожеланий, за которые никто не будет отвечать, потому что отвечать не за что. Нет конкретных показателей – нет конкретных планов по их реализации и конкретных мер. Поэтому есть над чем работать” (*I would support the auditor of the Audit Chamber, I fully agree with the findings*. We can't veil it. Clear metrics by year - that's the program. And if there're none, then it's just a set of well-meaning wishes that no one will be held accountable for because there's nothing to be held accountable for. No concrete indicators mean no concrete plans for their implementation and no concrete measures. So, there's a lot to work on).

Example 7: “Tôi thấy chúng ta hay đặt ra những vấn đề chỉ tiêu về kế hoạch xét xử tháng chín hàng năm ở các cơ quan tư vấn. Và đặc biệt là tòa án kiểm sát thì hành án là thông thường là báo cáo về các cái việc thực hiện kế hoạch. Kế hoạch làm việc thì có, nhưng cái kế hoạch xét xử tôi nghĩ cần phải nghiên cứu lại. *Chúng ta xem là có những cái phiên tòa ở một số nước ấy người ta có thể kéo dài cả năm. Công lý vậy cơ mà!*” (I see we, in the courts, often, every September, raise the issue of the figures for the number of cases processed. Reports on the fulfilment of plans are particularly common in the prosecutor's supervision of the enforcement of sentences. The work plan is necessary, but regarding the plan for the number of cases handled, I think we need to reconsider that. *Just look at some countries where there are cases being processed by the court for years. That's what justice means!*).

Example 8: “К примеру, сегодня мы в очередной раз попытаемся обмануть себя совершенствованием законодательства в сфере борьбы с коррупцией, рассматри-

вая в том числе изменения в Федераль-
ный закон “О контроле за соответствием
расходов лиц, замещающих государ-
ственные должности, и иных лиц их до-
ходам”. *Кого мы обманываем? Испол-
нительная власть обманывает законо-
дательную или наоборот, или взаим-
но?”* (For example, today we will once
again try to deceive ourselves with the im-
provement of legislation in the field of com-
bating corruption, considering, among other
things, amendments to the Federal Law “On
control over the conformity of persons hold-
ing public office and other persons' expendi-
tures to their incomes”. *Who are we fool-
ing? Is the executive branch fooling the
legislative branch, or vice versa, or reciprocally?*).

Example 9: “Вà tỷ lệ oan sai này nó
liên quan đến một cái tỷ lệ rất quan trọng. Là
liệu có hay không có tỷ lệ công lý? Công lý
thì làm sao có tỉ lệ? *Công lý là một thứ gì đó
vĩ đại lắm, thiêng liêng, hoàn hảo lắm, tròn
trịa*. Làm sao có tỷ lệ công lý được? *Công lý
là công lý*” (This wrongful conviction rate is
related to another important factor. Is there a
target coefficient of justice/ fairness? How
can fairness have a coefficient? *Justice is
something so great, so sacred, so perfect, so
fulfilling*. Where would the fairness coeffi-
cient come from? *Justice is justice*).

Example 10: “*Мне хочется верить,
что это уже последняя донастройка в
плане часовых поясов*. Это первое. Вто-
рое – решения такие внесли регионы са-
ми, органы власти регионов. Ваши рас-
суждения справедливы, и *я надеюсь, что
это уже последние изменения и мы уж
успокоимся по этому поводу*” (*I would
like to believe that this is the last fine-
tuning in terms of time zones*. That's the
first thing. Secondly, these decisions were
made by the the regions themselves, the re-
gional authorities. And they say that the
people want it that way, the people demand
it. Your reasoning is valid, and *I hope this is
the last of the changes and we'll settle
down about it*).

Example 11: “Один из нашумевших
законов нынешнего года, который
власть подарила гражданам России, –
это закон о фейковых новостях. Те же си-
лы, что повышали пенсионный возраст,
вводили “мусорную” реформу, повышали
налоги, очень бояться критики в свой ад-
рес” (One of the sensational laws of this
year, which *the authorities gifted to Russi-
an citizens*, is the law on fake news. The
same forces that raised the retirement age,
introduced the “garbage” reform, and raised
taxes are very afraid of criticism of their
own).

Example 12: “[...] công bằng mà nói
*không thể không nói đến trách nhiệm của
ngành kiểm sát nhân dân và các viện
trưởng viện kiểm sát nhân dân*. Vì xét cho
cùng nếu có phẩm chất, có bản lĩnh chính trị,
pháp lý vững vàng thì vẫn có thể vượt qua
cửa ải khó khăn để gìn giữ và nâng cao vị
thế bằng công việc, tâm lực của mình” ([...] to be fair, *we can not ignore and say nothing about the responsibility of the people's prosecutor's office and the heads of its organs*. After all, at the end of the day, if you have good qualities and a strong political and legal position, you can still overcome challenges to maintain and strengthen your position through your own labor and dedication).

Example 13: “Валентина Ивановна, я
не знаю, ответил, не ответил на этот во-
прос. *Я буду заниматься глубоко этой
темой, я Вам обещаю*. И я человек сло-
ва, я точно Вам скажу, что ситуация там
изменится” (Valentina Ivanovna, I don't
know whether my answer to your question
was satisfactory. *I will deal with this topic
in depth, I promise you*. And I am a man of
my word, I am telling you for sure that the
situation there will change).

Example 14: “Мы, в свою очередь, в
течение всего этого периода на всех пло-
щадках, в том числе и на площадке Сове-
та Федерации, кстати сказать, с участием
депутатов Государственной Думы, *неод-
нократно предупреждали американ-
ские власти в том числе и о том, что,*

если они в практическом плане начнут это все производить, мы будем вынуждены принимать адекватные меры зеркального характера, что, собственно говоря, и было сделано буквально через несколько дней после того, как министерство юстиции Соединенных Штатов Америки такого рода меры применило. Не мы открывали это пространство для такого рода конфронтации, это было сделано в Вашингтоне. Вот те, кому что-то не нравится, пусть Вашингтон совестят” (For our part, during this entire period, *we have repeatedly warned the American* authorities at all forums, including on the level Federation Council, in between, with the participation of State Duma members, *that if they the States begin to produce all of that in practical terms, we will be forced to take adequate mirror measures*, which, in fact, was done just a few days after the United States Department of Justice applied such measures. We were not the one to open the space for such kind of confrontation, it was done by Washington. Those who don't like it, go and call for remorse from Washington).

Example 15: “И второе. Вы заявляете публично (у нас идет прямая трансляция): “Вы мне не предоставили, не дали возможность задать вопрос”. Людмила Борисовна, я что-то нарушила? Я строго по порядку предоставляла возможность задать вопрос. Но Регламент есть Регламент, я должна его соблюдать. Поэтому и такие заявления делать некорректно” (And secondly. You stated publicly (we have a live broadcast here): “You didn't give me the opportunity to ask a question”. Ludmila Borisovna, did I do anything wrong? I was acting strictly on a first-come, first-served basis when providing you with opportunity to ask questions. But rules are rules, I have to abide by them. Therefore, it is also incorrect to make such statements).

Пример 16: “Валерий Владимирович, я Вас очень прошу, *давайте еще раз посмотрим*. Если это право регионов, пусть делают регионы. *Пусть это будет*

на правах социального жилья до 30 лет (я не знаю, до какого лучше возраста, надо посоветоваться), чтобы детей не обманывали, чтобы это жилье было за ними. Надо пересмотреть эти условия, нормы” (Valery Vladimirovich, I ask you strongly, *let's take another look at this*. If it is the right of the regions, let the regions do it. *Let it be on social housing rights until age 30* (I don't know what is the best age, we should conduct consultations) so that the children are not cheated out of their housing. We need to revisit these conditions, the norm).

Example 17: “Cần tránh trường hợp việc thu hồi sách chỉ diễn ra cục bộ ở từng địa phương, từng bộ sách và tránh việc sử dụng học liệu thiếu tính nhất quán, cần phải có phương án dạy cho trẻ lớp một thống nhất tại các nhà trường trên toàn quốc” (We should not allow textbook revocation to be conducted only scatteredly, by individual textbooks, nor should we allow inconsistent use of teaching material, we should develop strategies for unified teaching of first grade students for the whole country).

Example 18: “*Tôi đề nghị đại biểu Diệm Thuý vừa phát biểu đọc lại luật giáo dục đại học*. [...] Chúng ta, những đại biểu Quốc hội, vừa mới thông qua luật giáo dục đại học, ở khoản 1 điều 20 quy định rất rõ ràng như vậy, *mà bây giờ cứ biện minh, thanh minh thanh nga* rằng là đây là là là có cơ sở pháp lý” (*I suggest that MP Zieu Thuy, who just gave a speech, reread the law on higher education*. [...] We, the deputies of the National Assembly, recently passed the Law on Higher Education, Article 20, paragraph 1 is so clear, and *now here you are, saying, justifying it in this and that way*, that this action [the debate is about the legality of removing the rector of one of the state universities in the SRV] has legal grounds).

Strategies and tactics for expressing negative evaluation can be combined. For instance, in Example 1, negative evaluation is expressed directly with a negative-evaluative predicate, but with mitigation in

the form of a combination of a negation marker and antonymous positive-evaluative predicates (“không toàn diện” – “not comprehensive”, “không chính xác” – “inaccurate”) that replace the negative-evaluative predicates (which could be “phiến diện” – “one-sided”, “sai” – “wrong”). Taking a look at Example 19, we can see that it combines the tactic of using a negative-evaluative object (which serves the strategy of direct expression of negative evaluation) and the tactic of rhetorical question (which serves the strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation).

Example 19: “Мне бы хотелось обратиться к Министерству финансов, к Правительству: после такой победы (Степан Михайлович рассказывал о том воодушевлении, которое мы испытывали) я вижу прямое неисполнение поручения Президента Российской Федерации. *Как можно реально говорить о движении вперед, когда поручения не выполняются?*” (I would like to address the Ministry of Finance and the Government: after such a victory (Stepan Mikhailovich spoke about the enthusiasm we felt), I see a direct failure to fulfill the order of the President of the Russian Federation. *How can you really talk about moving forward when the assignments are not being fulfilled?*).

Example 19 is also a good illustration of the reason why we distinguish direct/indirect expression of a negative evaluation from its explicit/implicit expression. According to V.Z. Demyankov, the explicitness/implicitness of any meanings expressed in speech should be judged on the basis of the following criteria: 1) mentioning something at least in a hint; 2) high clarity of boundaries in this mentioning; 3) degree of specificity; 4) direct naming of the subject of speech [8]. K.A. Dolinin considers the content of an utterance explicit if it is “directly expressed by the set of linguistic signs of which this utterance is composed” [9]. According to K.V. Panteeva [10], evaluation is explicit “if evaluative meanings are derived directly from the linguistic units of the text”.

Implicit is the content that is “guessed by the recipient” [11], “formed from the presupposition, context and implicature”¹. However, as it was mentioned earlier, the speech act of negative evaluation can be expressed not only by one, but also by several utterances, therefore, the explicitness of the expressed negative-evaluative meaning should be examined in a complex approach. For example, when considering a negative evaluation expressed in the form of a rhetorical question, if we limit the analysis to only one statement (i.e. the rhetorical question itself), then we would have an implicit expression of negative-evaluative meaning. In reality, however, politicians rarely limit themselves to a single utterance when verbally expressing the speech act of negative evaluation. A rhetorical question is often asked together with other statements explicitly expressing a negative attitude towards the object of evaluation. In such communicative situations, it is more appropriate to define the speech act of negative evaluation as explicit (Example 19).

Moreover, explicit negative evaluation can be expressed not only directly, for example, when using performatives with negative-evaluative meaning for reprimand (Example 3), but also indirectly, for example, when comparing the object of evaluation with another, positively evaluated object (Example 20) or when urging other communicators to express negative evaluation towards an object (Example 21).

Example 20: “Сербия – это анклав в центре Европы, где наше присутствие должно быть мощным в идеологическом, в любом плане. *Сегодня турки активно работают, заявили уже на телевидение сегодня в Белграде. Но мы ничего не*

¹ Akimova I. Ways of expressing implicit information of artistic discourse (based on the works of V. Nabokov): abstract of dis. ...cand. philol. sci. Moscow, 1997; Ermakova E. Implicitness in the artistic text (based on Russian and English prose of psychological and fantastic realism): abstract of dis. ... cand. philol. sci. Saratov, 2010.

делаем в этом плане. Я говорю это реально, потому что бываю там несколько раз в месяц и вижу, что происходит, и вопросы остаются как-то абсолютно нерешенными” (Serbia is an enclave in the center of Europe where we must be present powerfully in terms of ideology, in any terms. *The Turks are active today, they have already announced themselves on television today in Belgrade. But we, on the contrary, are not doing anything.* I say, this is a real matter, because I travel there several times a month and I see what is going on, and the issues remain somehow completely unresolved).

Example 21: “Совет Федерации Федерального Собрания Российской Федерации *призывает* Организацию Объединенных Наций, Организацию по безопасности и сотрудничеству в Европе, Бюро по демократическим институтам и правам человека, Парламентскую ассамблею ОБСЕ и парламенты государств – участников ОБСЕ, Парламентскую ассамблею Совета Европы и Европейский парламент *осудить действия властей Украины*, нарушающие избирательные права граждан Российской Федерации и общепризнанные нормы и принципы международного права” (The Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation *calls on* the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and parliaments of OSCE participating States, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament *to condemn the actions of the Ukrainian authorities* that violate the electoral rights of citizens of the Russian Federation and the universally recognized norms and principles of international law).

Thus, when analyzing verbal strategies and tactics of negative evaluation expression, it is more appropriate to divide strategies into direct or indirect ones, since they are connected directly with the formal plan of utterances, and to judge about explicitness

or implicitness on the basis of the illocutionary force created by the complex of utterances that constitute the speech act of negative evaluation.

It is worth noting that the most frequent tactic of expressing negative evaluation, i.e. making proposals for actions, belongs to the strategy of indirect expression of evaluation. According to R. Hare [12], it is the prescriptive function that distinguishes evaluative statements from factual ones, the prescriptive function being the next but optional step after descriptive characterization. For this reason, it is not surprising that in both Russian and Vietnamese parliamentary discourse, negative evaluation is often indirectly expressed through proposals to implement actions aimed at eliminating the existing negative situation. When making such proposals, Russian and Vietnamese politicians use the modality of obligation, underlining what should be done (Example 17).

The analysis of Russian and Vietnamese political discourse has shown that the strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation ranks first in terms of frequency of use in both Russian and Vietnamese political discourse. In our opinion, this is due to the collectivist feature, which Russian and Vietnamese cultures have in common [13, 14], thus attaching significance to the preservation of “face” in both cultures. By expressing a negative evaluation, politicians simultaneously pursue three goals – to express a negative evaluation of an object, to affect the hearer's attitude towards the object of evaluation, and to observe the rules of politeness to save their “face”. The latter is interpreted within the framework of traditional politeness theory as “negative face”, i.e. “the desire for autonomy, which gives the opportunity to realize one's intentions unhindered” [15]. However, it is worth noting that in Vietnamese linguoculture “face” is predominantly positive because it is associated not so much with a person's desire to preserve his autonomy and freedom of judgment, but with his desire to receive approval and positive evaluation from others [16]. In addition,

indirect expression of negative evaluation also helps Vietnamese politicians to preserve the “face” of other communication participants, both immediate and potential, who could relate to the object of negative evaluation, thus preserving their own “face”, because in Vietnamese linguoculture “face” is shared between the individual and the community he belongs to, i.e. it is their common property [16]. This statement could lead to the assumption that in Vietnamese political discourse the strategy of indirect expression of negative face should be used more often than in Russian political discourse, but the results of the analysis show the opposite: the frequency of indirect expression of negative evaluation in Vietnamese political discourse is 28.52%, while in Russian political discourse it is 31.03%. However, on the other hand, Vietnamese politicians more often apply tactics of mitigating negative evaluation, which precisely indicates their desire to avoid damaging their own “face” and the “face” of the interlocutor and/or other persons who could be potentially involved in the communicative situation.

Furthermore, not all of the most frequent tactics (negative-evaluative predicate, negative-evaluative object, and reprimand) serve the most frequent strategy – the strategy of indirect expression. In addition, although the strategy of direct expression of negative evaluation is less frequently used by politicians of both countries compared to the indirect strategy, the difference in the frequency of their use is not enormous: in Russian political discourse negative evaluation is expressed indirectly almost 1.4 times more often than directly, and in Vietnamese - 1.3 times more often. The fact of relatively frequent use of the strategy of direct expression of negative evaluation is explained by the functions of the parliament prescribed in the constitution of the countries, namely representative, legislative, financial and budgetary, as well as controlling functions [17]. In order to effectively fulfill these functions, parliamentary discourse requires clarity and absence of ambiguity, objectivity and impar-

tiality, which, in fact, corresponds to the direct expression of assessment.

Conclusion

In Russian and Vietnamese political discourse negative evaluation is expressed verbally with two basis strategies – direct or indirect, in addition to which auxiliary strategies of mitigating or intensifying negative evaluation are also used. The tactics of indirect expression of negative evaluation are more varied than those of the indirect strategy. Although both Russian and Vietnamese politicians prefer the strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation, of the five most common tactics for expressing negative evaluation, three belong to the strategy of direct expression of negativity (negative-evaluative predicate, negative-evaluative object, and reprimand), and only two serve the strategy of indirect expression of negative evaluation (directives and content-logical expression of negativity). The least frequent in Russian political discourse are the tactics self-answer to a rhetorical answer and promise to look into and/or solve the problem, while in Vietnamese political discourse the least frequent are the tactics of promise to look into and/or solve the problem and irony.

It should be taken into account that different strategies and tactics of expressing negative evaluation can be combined with each other, as well as with non-verbal elements, which should also be considered during the course of linguopragmatic analysis of discourse. Besides, we can only judge about the implicitness/explicitness of the SAoNE when analyzing this SA as a complex speech act consisting of several utterances.

In the present study, while considering mainly the verbal aspect of expressing negative evaluation, we are nevertheless aware of the fact that the category of evaluation is not exclusively linguistic. After all, evaluation is the attitude of the subject to the object of evaluation, i.e. the result of correlation of the object of evaluation with the value system. The subject may or may not express an

evaluation. If evaluation is not expressed, it remains “part of the process of cognition, a cognitive act that allows the subject to identify the value of the object and establish his/her attitude towards it” [18]. Even when evaluation is expressed, explicitly or implicitly, its expression can be nonverbal as well

as verbal. Having analyzed only the most frequently used verbal ways of expressing negative evaluation in Russian and Vietnamese political discourse, we fully understand the need to continue our research in relation to other strategies and tactics.

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