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V. SHEVCHENKO, S. TOMASCIKOVA

REPRESENTATION OF FOOD
IN MEDIA DISCOURSES:
COGNITIVE AND PRAGMATIC
ASPECTS

Monograph

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Edita Kominarecová

(University of Prešov, Slovakia)

Prof. Dr. of Philological Sciences Vladimir M. Savitsky

(Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education, Russia)

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Shevchenko, Viacheslav

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The monograph is based on a long-term joint research by the authors on food and its representation in contemporary media discourses. The authors investigate the pragmatic aspects in the corpus of media materials compiled by samples of American, British and Russian texts selected with the goal of analysing the cognitive models realized in the texts that reflect the structures of various situations connected with food and eating. The comparative analysis demonstrates that journalists in these countries tend to foreground certain components of the cognitive models with the intention of emphasising the elements of food interconnected with the foundation constituents of human existence and culture.

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INTRODUCTION

This monograph is devoted to the problem of representing food in American, British and Russian media discourses. Representations of food in the mass media of countries with different historical, cultural and socio-economic conditions can differ widely; these representations reflect the ideas, perceptions and attitudes to food which exist in the societies of these nations.

The problem of the role of food in human existence has attracted the attention of a great number of scholars. Specific representations of food in the media influence attitudes to food and food practices in society, a process which leads, in turn, to the emergence of new ideas and practices. As part of a trend in the investigation of various aspects of human existence, food has been the subject of numerous sociological, cultural, ethnographic, linguistic and philosophical studies; for example, in works by Fischler (1988), Ivantsova (2018), Olyanich (2015), Pozhidaeva and Karamalak (2018), Tresorukova (2018) and others. According to Tomaščíková, media play a crucial role in the signifying practices in postmodern societies, and media represent the most important channels of cultural mediation in contemporary society. She argues that consumer society offers food representations in numerous forms through its media – as a form of entertainment, education or information [Tomaščíková 2015].

The authors of this monograph investigate the cognitive and pragmatic aspects of food representation in American, British and Russian media discourses, with a particular focus on the cognitive models realized in media texts which reflect the structure of various situations connected with food and eating, both everyday and formal, as

well as the pragmatics of media texts referring to food. The research concentrates on media discourse with a specific focus on the ways in which the media in the USA, Britain and Russia represent food and food-related practices and influence the public perception of food and its role in social life. The authors aim to prove that specific representations of food in media discourse depend on the contemporary social, economic and political situation in the specific society and that the media try to influence the sphere of food consumption in each specific society by means of the cognitive models determined by journalists' pragmatic goals.

An investigation of the cognitive models found in media discourses can help to understand the peculiarities of food-related situations existing in American, British and Russian societies, and also to determine the ideas and attitudes of journalists to these situations which they attempt to instil into the social conscience by means of media discourse. An examination of the pragmatic aspects of food representation can help to analyse the pragmatic goals and intentions of journalists, their ideas determined by the prevalent conditions existing in each society and the position of the mass-media source.

The topicality of this theme is determined by the fact that food plays one of the main roles in the social, economic, cultural, political and other spheres of everyday life, and, therefore, an investigation of the cognitive and pragmatic aspects of food representation in the media can help to perceive and analyse the mechanisms of the formation of specific attitudes to food, eating and cooking in each society. Media discourse also plays a significant role in transforming the social conscience and triggering various changes in society; the research undertaken here can also help to understand the mechanisms of these processes as they relate to food, eating and cooking.

The novelty of the theme is determined by the fact that the undertaken research helps to identify and analyse various cognitive models represented in media discourses which demonstrate the patterns

and peculiarities of social and cultural behaviour referring to food in American, British and Russian society. A comparative analysis concerning the process of the cognitive models' realization in American, British and Russian media discourses is performed and the differences between these cognitive models are investigated. The novelty of the undertaken research also lies in the investigation of the specific pragmatic goals of journalists resulting in the specificity of food representations in media discourses.

The object of the investigation is comprised of media texts on food which represent American, British and Russian media discourses. The subject of the investigation includes the cognitive aspects of food representation in media discourses, i.e., the cognitive models realized in media texts as well as the pragmatic goals of journalists which influence the structure and constituents of the cognitive models and, as a consequence, the content, structure and language characteristics of the media texts.

The methodologies of cognitive model analysis, discourse analysis and pragmatic analysis are used during the course of the research. The methodology of cognitive model analysis is used to identify and analyze the cognitive models realized in the media texts. A cognitive model is viewed as a structured set of interconnected abstract mental elements which is stored in the consciousness and which contains generalized knowledge about the constituents of various life situations. A cognitive model is constantly changing; it acquires new elements, loses obsolete ones and updates the knowledge stored in other components, because the subject is constantly encountering new life situations. This process results in the reprocessing and changing of the cognitive models in his/her consciousness. The methodology used attempts to outline the constituents of a cognitive model, define the relations between them, and determine the dominant components of the cognitive model, i.e., those elements which play a significant role in a represented situation or set of similar situations. The methodology also

suggests the language means representing the components of the cognitive model and analyzes the connection between peculiarities of the meaning and form of a language unit and the corresponding element of a cognitive model.

The methodology of discourse analysis is used to identify social, economic, political, historical, cultural and other factors which exert a significant influence on journalists' pragmatic goals. This methodology allows the most significant factors which influence the representation of food in American, British and Russian media discourses in general and journalists' pragmatic goals in particular to be determined. The methodology of pragmatic analysis is applied to identify the pragmatic goals of journalists, their specifics and their connection with the cognitive models realized in the media texts.

During the investigation, the methodology of comparative analysis is also employed to study the differences between the realization of the cognitive models and journalists' pragmatic goals in American, British and Russian media discourses.

The research is conducted using a corpus of primary sources materials – texts taken from the press websites of *Newsweek* (USA), *The Guardian* (UK) and *Izvestiya* (Russia) in the period from 2015 to 2020. During the research, relevant media texts with the tags of “food”, “eating”, “diet” and “health” from the American, British and Russian press texts are analysed. The articles that represent typical items from the media discourse relevant to the research are selected from 800 identified press texts according to the following criteria: (a) topic (food and food consumption, eating, health, diet); (b) realization of an event cognitive model in a media text (a structured description of a particular event in an article); (c) the dominance of specific components within the cognitive model (realized by the specific use of language means); (d) a connection between the cognitive models and specific aspects of social reality. Because these selection criteria could not be transferred into any computerised corpus selection criteria, the corpus of primary materials was created manually.

The research undertaken here is aimed at investigating specific aspects such as positive and negative representations of food in media discourse, connections between food and other spheres of people's activities etc. This division is determined by the social, economic, historical and cultural situations in reference to food in the U.S., Britain and Russia. The peculiarities of the food situations in these countries (for example, the abundance of junk food, the percentage of overweight people, the rates of illness caused by unhealthy diets, the percentage of people eating healthy food and doing sports, the quantity and quality of restaurants offering fast food or exotic food, the attitude towards national and international cuisine etc.) influence the pragmatic goals of journalists, and this effect results in the publication of articles on specific topics and aspects connected with food and eating. The media materials analyzed in this study generally reflect the pragmatic goals of journalists which are aimed at the propagation of positive or negative representations of food in the respective media discourses.

The text of the monograph consists of an Introduction, five chapters, Conclusions and Bibliography. Chapter One gives a brief overview of various conceptions of cognitive modelling and pragmatics theory, providing an explanation of the factors accompanying communication within a particular socio-cultural context. Chapter Two addresses the problem of food representation in the media, presenting ideas of food representation of scholars from various countries. Chapters Three, Four and Five contain the results of the analysis of the cognitive and pragmatic aspects of food representation in American, British and Russian media discourses respectively.

The research presented in this monograph is still a work in progress and is partially supported by the VEGA project 1/0447/20 *The Global and the Local in Postmillennial Anglophone Literatures, Cultures and Media*. The partial conclusions are valid only for the scope offered in the text of the five chapters of this monograph.

CHAPTER 1

COGNITIVE MODELS AND PRAGMATICS IN THE HUMANITIES

According to Zinoviev et al., “the model of an object is any other object which imitates it and which is able to act as its substitute in the process of investigation” [Zinoviev et al. 1960: 83]. Shtoff notes the importance of analogy in a model:

[m]odels in all cases act as analogues. It means that a model and an object that it imitates are similar, but not identical. In other words, in one aspect a model is similar to a modelled system, in another aspect it is necessarily different from this system. Moreover, the presence of particular differences between a model and an original is a necessary condition for the model’s functions in cognition [Shtoff 1966; 49].

In discussing the sphere of modelling, Lotman mentions the element of abstraction which, he argues, plays a key role in cognition. In particular, he writes that

a model always reproduces not the whole object, but its specific features, functions and conditions and the act of selecting these aspects is a significant element of cognition. A complete and comprehensive reproduction is not a model and cannot be the means of cognition, because it loses the element of abstraction [...], which is necessary for cognition [Lotman 1994: 46].

Savitsky, having summarized various points of view on the problem of modelling, mentions the following categorial features of a model:

1. A model is a substitute of the studied object, a “quasi-object”, created in order to study the object.
2. A model is able to provide information about an object.
3. A model is analogous to its object.
4. A model, in comparison with a copy, gives an incomplete reproduction of an object – it reproduces an aspect (aspects) of an object.
5. A model possesses such features as compactability and clarity, it allows the creation of an overall mental picture of an object (its aspect) [Savitsky 1993: 7].

As with any other model, a cognitive model is viewed as a structured set of interconnected abstract mental elements which are stored in the consciousness and which contain generalized knowledge about the constituents of various life situations. Cognitive models may be realized in the form of texts, visual signs or actions (for example, a visit to a supermarket or a trip to another city). A cognitive model is a pattern that people follow in their everyday and professional lives; it is analogous to a set of similar life situations and reproduces such specific features of life situations as their structures (constituents, their combination and sequence) in an abstracted form.

The analysis of food-related cognitive models and their connection with particular aspects of social life undertaken in this study is based on theoretical works regarding cognitive modelling offered primarily by Western scholars. According to Lakoff (1987), knowledge is organized by means of structures called idealized cognitive models.

He argues that

in general, any element of a cognitive model can correspond to a conceptual category. To be more specific, suppose schema theory in the sense of Rumelhart (1975) were taken as characterizing propositional models. Each schema is a network of nodes and links. Every node in a schema would then correspond to a conceptual category. The properties of the category would depend on many factors: the role of that node in the given schema, its relationship to other nodes in the schema, the relationship of that schema to other schemas, and the overall interaction of that schema with other aspects of the conceptual system [Lakoff 1987:69-70].

According to Lakoff, if any element of a cognitive model can correspond to a conceptual category, then elements of the cognitive models such as *PLACE*, *TIME*, *EVENT*, *PARTICIPANTS* and others correspond to the conceptual categories of space, time, action, people and others. The realization of cognitive models in media texts results in a combination of these conceptual categories in the recipient's mind. Foregrounding the specific elements of cognitive models using language means leads to the underlining of particular ideas regarding food and food consumption in modern society as well as the actualization and combination of specific conceptual categories.

Food-related cognitive models realized in media texts imitate the patterns of typical food behaviours that exist in a particular culture, and with the help of new cognitive models journalists try to instil new patterns of food behaviour, actions and cultures, which are prompted by new conditions and situations in the society. Examples of this process include attempts to disseminate ideas about healthy eating or veganism in order to change the eating habits of the nation and improve the nation's state of health.

The research undertaken here is also based on Fillmore's frame semantics [cf. Fillmore 1982]. According to Fillmore, a word is able to

activate or evoke a frame of semantic knowledge relating to the specific concept to which it refers. Thus, the word ‘food’ is able to activate a great variety of frames, comprising such components as a source of food, a producer of food, the process of food production, consumers of food, the process of buying, cooking and eating food etc. The word ‘food’ can be used in various contexts and, consequently, evoke various frames referring to a multitude of life situations, each of which, in turn, possess different cognitive models. The cognitive models investigated in this study comprise frames referring to food and food consumption. The cognitive models, which possess the structure of scenarios due to the dynamic character of the represented situations, have a wider range than frames, and the language means used for the realization of the cognitive models activate the frames acting as the components of the cognitive models.

One of the most important concepts of frame semantics is the concept of prototypes [Ibid.]. Frames are understood as prototypical descriptions of scenes, and the scenes that the frames within the cognitive models describe are connected with food and food consumption. Fillmore’s frame semantics theory is similar to schema theory [cf. Rumelhart 1975], the theory of scripts [cf. Schank and Abelson 1977], and the theory of frames with defaults [cf. Minsky 1975]. According to Rumelhart [Rumelhart 1975], a schema is a generalized description or a conceptual system for understanding knowledge – how knowledge is represented and how it is used. Schank and Abelson conceptualize a script as a structured representation describing a stereotyped sequence of events in a particular context [Schank and Abelson 1977]. Minsky introduced the notion of frames, artificial intelligence data structures which are used to divide knowledge into substructures by representing ‘stereotyped situations’ [Minsky 1975]. The cognitive models analysed during this research also represent a structured set of interconnected abstract mental elements referring to various food-related situations and practices. The

ideas offered by the scholars allow us to draw the conclusion that the cognitive model of a situation consists of a number of elements. Some of these are foregrounded, underlined by journalists in order to promote particular ideas regarding food and food consumption in modern society.

The research presented in this monograph also employs Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces [Fauconnier 1985]. Fauconnier argues that

[m]ental spaces are very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They contain elements and are structured by frames and cognitive models. Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge, such as the frame for walking along a path, and to long-term specific knowledge, such as a memory of the time you climbed Mount Rainier in 2001. The mental space that includes you, Mount Rainier, the year 2001, and your climbing the mountain can be activated in many different ways and for many different purposes. "You climbed Mount Rainier in 2001" sets up the mental space in order to report a past event. "If you had climbed Mount Rainier in 2001" sets up the same mental space in order to examine a counterfactual situation and its consequences. "Max believes that you climbed Mount Rainier in 2001" sets it up again, but now for the purpose of stating what Max believes. "Here is a picture of you climbing Mount Rainier in 2001" evokes the same mental space in order to talk about the content of the picture. "This novel has you climbing Mount Rainier in 2001" reports the author's inclusion of a perhaps fictional scene in a novel.

Mental spaces are constructed and modified as thought and discourse unfolds and are connected to each other by various kinds of mappings, in particular identity and analogy mappings. It has been hypothesized that at the neural level, mental spaces are sets of activated neuronal assemblies and that the connections between elements correspond to coactivation-bindings. On this view, mental spaces operate in working memory but are built up partly by activating structures available from long-term memory [Fauconnier 2020: p.n.a.].

Journalists' ideas in the form of cognitive models constitute a mental space connected with food and food-related practices. Ideas and cognitive models of the reader constitute his/her mental space referring to food. Due to the fact that these mental spaces are connected to each other by various kinds of mappings, the journalist's mental space referring to food and food consumption is combined with the reader's mental space in the process of processing a media text, an effect which leads to the emergence of a new mental space structured by new food frames and cognitive models. Each cognitive model structures some type of mental space; for example, the cognitive models that are analysed in this monograph structure the mental spaces of food, consumption, danger, people, waste and others.

The representation of food in media discourse is a complex and multi-faceted process. The contemporary food conditions and situations in a society exert a significant influence on journalists which results in the emergence of specific pragmatic goals. In accordance with these pragmatic goals, journalists try to describe and assess the situations in their articles in which cognitive models with a number of dominant and non-dominant components are realized. The dominant components of the cognitive models are foregrounded through the use of language means in accordance with specific pragmatic goals. The reader is

expected to perceive, analyse and, ideally, accept the cognitive model, and he/she may follow this model in their everyday life, which may, in turn, result in changes in the food conditions and situation in a particular society. The increasing number of people who have adopted a healthy diet or decided to stop consuming particular kinds of food may serve as an example of these types of changes.

As was mentioned above, the realization of specific food-related cognitive models is determined by journalists' pragmatic goals. Media texts are produced in accordance with the requirements of the linguistic and discourse context (i.e., the rules and traditions for this type of texts, genre specifics, peculiarities of communication in this type of discourse, intentions of the participants etc.) and the broader extralinguistic context (including social, economic, political, cultural and historical conditions).

The creation of media texts containing cognitive models concerning food and food consumption follow the classical pragmatic postulates such as Gricean maxims. Grice offers the following maxims:

Quantity

Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).

Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality

(Supermaxim): Try to make your contribution one that is true.

(Submaxims):

Do not say what you believe to be false.

Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation

Be relevant.

Manner

(Supermaxim): Be perspicuous.

(Submaxims):

Avoid obscurity of expression.

Avoid ambiguity.

Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).

Be orderly [Grice 1975: 41-58].

In the process of the realization of food-related cognitive models in media discourse, journalists adhere to the following maxims as a rule:

- maxim of quantity: the cognitive models realized in media texts contain those components which provide essential information about relevant food and food practices and are thus necessary in achieving the journalist's pragmatic goal;
- maxim of quality: journalists provide adequate evidence for information concerning food and food practices contained in media texts in order to achieve the pragmatic goal;
- maxim of relation: media texts containing food-related cognitive models provide only relevant information which plays a significant role in the process of achieving the pragmatic goal.

The pragmatic goals of the communication participants are closely connected with their communicative intentions. Grice proposes the following characteristic properties of communicative intentions:

- they are always oriented towards some other agent – the addressee;
- they are overt, that is, they are intended to be recognized by the addressee;
- their satisfaction consists precisely in being recognized by the addressee [Grice 1989: 220].

The communicative intentions of journalists writing on food are oriented towards and intended to be recognized by the addressee,

because they correspond to the addressee's interests and intentions to learn about various aspects of food. According to Grice, "A meant something by *x*" is (roughly) equivalent to "A intended the utterance of *x* to produce some effect in an audience by means of the recognition of this intention" [Grice 1989: 220]. Food will always be an object of interest for the representatives of various social groups due to the significant role it plays in different spheres of people's activities. Grice argues that communicative intentions are intentions to produce some response on the part of the addressee. The response of addressees who are interested in food and health presupposes switching to healthier diets in order to improve their health.

As far as the audience's recognition of the speaker's communicative intention is concerned, Searle offers the notion of an 'illocutionary uptake', which is the only *new* mental state needed [cf. Searle 1969]. Searle argues that

[i]n the case of illocutionary acts we succeed in doing what we are trying to do by getting our audience to recognize what we are trying to do. But the 'effect' on the hearer is not a belief or a response, it consists simply in the hearer understanding the utterance of the speaker [Ibid.: 47].

Media texts on food are usually written in a clear and understandable manner in order to attract a wide audience whose eating habits can be transformed into healthier ones. This can be achieved if the journalist's intention is recognized and, consequently, the force of an utterance is understood:

The understanding of the force of an utterance in all cases involves recognizing what may be called broadly an audience-directed intention and recognizing it as wholly overt, as intended to be recognized [Strawson 1964: 459].

Media texts on food correspond to the cognitive system of the individuals due to the significant role of food in various spheres of life. The intentions and pragmatic goals of journalists are usually recognized by readers because media texts produced in accordance with these intentions are considered relevant, i.e., they correspond to their cognitive system. Sperber and Wilson offer the following principles of relevance:

First (cognitive) principle of relevance: Human cognition is geared towards the maximization of relevance (that is, to the achievement of as many contextual (cognitive) effects as possible for as little processing effort as possible).

Second (communicative) principle of relevance: Every act of ostensive communication (e.g. an utterance) communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance [Sperber and Wilson 2005: 468-501].

According to the first principle, communication participants are geared towards the maximization of relevance: the journalist tries to make his/her utterance relevant enough to be worthy of the addressee's attention. This results in the selection of relevant, significant and interesting facts on the topic of food and food practices. The second principle states that communication will be successful when the addressee recognizes these intentions.

Communicative intention makes an action communicative. According to the scholars mentioned above, the communicative intention has the following features:

- it is perlocutionary, i.e., it seeks a mental effect on the part of the addressee;
- it is overt, i.e., the journalist wants the addressee to recognize his/her communicative intention;
- the satisfaction of a communicative intention consists precisely in its recognition by the addressee.

The analysis of media texts demonstrates that the communicative intentions of journalists writing on food correspond to the above-mentioned features: they seek and receive a mental effect on the part of the addressee due to the significant role of food in life of a society; the journalist makes the addressee recognize his/her communicative intention by changing his/her eating habits. The communicative intention is recognized because the topic of food and healthy eating is of particular interest to the vast majority of readers, as is proved by the increasing amount of food-related content in the media and the high quality of its production.

CHAPTER 2

REPRESENTATIONS OF FOOD IN MEDIA

The media are closely connected with the reality which surrounds them since the main purpose of the mass media is to reflect events and phenomena from different areas of the this surrounding reality; media messages about these events and phenomena are aimed at convincing the recipient to accept the journalist's point of view. On these grounds, the media always offer an interpretation (or construction) of events that has a certain degree of bias since it is conditioned by the journalists' own views on politics, economics and society, as well as their views of the medium itself.

The peculiar situation of mass media lies in the fact that they are required to create a picture of the real world but, since the mass media cannot provide an objective view of events, it is unclear just how real the world presented in mass media actually is. A journalist may concentrate on a certain aspect of an event (for example, on its aftermath), but he/she may not specify its cause, information about which can have a significant impact on interpretation of an event; alternatively, he/she may highlight a specific event detail and leave other details in the background.

It should be noted that creative activities such as fiction writing create a fictional world which may, nonetheless, have a significant impact on the real world [cf. Eco 2005]. The mass media, in contrast, aim to reflect the real world; however, the mass media confronts people with a representation of the real world which, as a rule, is by no means an objective one. On the other hand, the media also have a significant impact on reality; for example, mass media products can influence the

assessment of an event by its recipient. Its interpretation leads to the emergence of a certain attitude which is a novel phenomenon of social reality; the transfer of media products such as articles, reports, photos, videos, commentary or reposts lead, as a rule, to a certain positive or negative reaction to them. Materials of a journalistic investigation may lead to an official investigation; a review of a vacation in a certain destination may attract more tourists to visit. Thus, reality determines the choice of themes and materials for mass media, and through the creation of a certain representation of an event, personality or phenomenon, mass media can influence reality by changing it; i.e., by constructing a new social reality [cf. Searle 1995].

Another important aspect in this context is the possible ‘non-influence’ of mass media on reality, when assumptions or forecasts based on previous events or conditions and presented in the media are not brought to fruition but still produce certain ideas and opinions that become embedded in the social conscience. Consequently, mass media turn out to be an intermediary between reality and a potential reality based upon it; the main means of mediating between the two types of reality is a wide range of media materials, not only in textual form but also in visual, audio or other types.

In the study of the relationship between reality and the media, works by philosophers who have addressed the problems of the philosophy of language are of particular relevance. Language and the world constitute the central concepts of the philosophy of Wittgenstein. In his *Logical Philosophical Treatise*, he presents them as a ‘mirror’ pair [Wittgenstein 1958], arguing that language reflects the world because the logical structure of language is identical to the ontological structure of the world. He also believed that the world consists of facts, not objects; the world is a whole set of existing facts that can be both simple and complex. According to Wittgenstein, language is a comprehensive description of everything that exists in the world; that is, of all the facts [Ibid.].

The logical structure of media products in general corresponds to the ontological structure of the events which they reflect; however, the representation of an event requires a transformation of the logical structure. For example, while a journalist concentrates on the event itself, his/her perception of the event, and the perception of event by society, the actual causes of events, previous events and situations are not reflected in media materials which possess their own particular logic, itself influenced by the author's pragmatic goal. The most significant idea which Wittgenstein has offered is the interpretation of language and the world as a 'mirror' pair, the two elements of which are inextricably linked with each other. The language of media materials is the primary means of describing the things which exist in the world; that is, all the facts. The world consists of the facts described by the mass media, meaning that the view of the world is constructed mainly by the media.

In the study of the relationship between reality and mass media, an important role is played by the philosophical ideas by Bakhtin, in particular, the idea of dialogue and polyphony – the intersection of a multitude of voices in the textual space [Bakhtin 1979; 1986]. Mass media and reality are in constant dialogue, exerting a mutual influence on each other, transforming and complementing each other. In addition, the media becomes a field for dialogue between different areas of life (for example, politics, economics, science, culture, sports, social life), intersecting with each other within the framework of media.

The main participants of media discourse are the journalist and the recipient; the two parties enter into a dialogue with each other and also into an indirect dialogue with the participants of the situations reflected in the media (for example, politicians, economists, athletes, scientists, artists and other participants of the events described). The polyphony of media discourse lies precisely in the dialogue between different areas and spheres of human life which is included into the dialogue between the journalist and the recipient.

The philosophical concepts of Derrida are also of interest for the study of relationship between the mass media and reality. While Derrida did not believe that language existed for the expression of philosophical ideas or as a basis for studying existence and also refused to believe that it had any connection with the external world, it is nonetheless the case that language creates ideas about the world [cf. Derrida 2000]. The language of mass media plays a leading role in creating ideas about the world due to the fact that it constantly confronts the world and the world constantly confronts the language of mass media. This confrontation of mass media with the world means that it processes the significant events and phenomena concerning food and food-related practices and then changes this sphere of life by introducing new ideas about food and food-related practices.

The representation of food in the media has attracted the attention of many scholars. Food and eating have been the subject of numerous studies from sociological, cultural, ethnographic, linguistic and philosophical and other approaches – Ivantsova (2018), Olyanich (2015), Pozhidaeva et al. (2018), Eddy (2019), Fischler (1988), Matrozi-Marin (2018), Tomaščíková (2012; 2019), evidence of the modern trend of investigating the various aspects of human existence related to food and its preparation and consumption.

In her monograph, Tomaščíková focuses on the problem of the interrelations between food cultures and everyday practices within postmillennial media [Tomaščíková 2020]. She argues that

[t]he food media identity which an individual adopts or acquires depends on many factors. The research presented in this monograph is intended to prove that media literacy enhanced by food literacy may contribute to the active functioning of hypermodern individuals in the 21st century consumer society; individuals who can then find their own place and role in the foodscapes of hypermediated discourses [Ibid.: 56].

Tomaščíková concludes that food is much more than a mere material or a source of nutrition and that hypermodern individuals use food as a link between themselves and everyday practices such as the evocation of memories or communication with relatives and friends in the hypermediated discourses [Ibid.].

Food plays a significant role in culture and in the process of preserving identity because food is an integral element of culture that distinguishes one nation from others. Having investigated the problem of food, culture and identity in multicultural societies, e.g., in Singapore, Reddy et al. come to the following conclusions:

[f]irstly, Singaporean women maintain food practices from their own cultural, ethnic, or racial backgrounds not only in the food preparation, food consumption, and food purchase for special social and cultural events, but also in their daily lives. Secondly, cross-cultural eating practices are a salient aspect of daily eating and food preparation practices in multicultural Singapore. This includes an exchange of practices between different Asian ethnic groups within Singapore and increasingly also the consumption of Western dishes. Thirdly, we posit that the cultural food practices prove important for participants because these are perceived to provide medicinal value [Reddy et al. 2020: 8-9].

The research undertaken by these scholars demonstrates that food remains one of the basic instruments for preserving cultural and ethnic identity in multicultural societies. In addition, food serves as a means of intercultural communication when the representatives of various ethnic groups exchange eating and food preparation practices within a multicultural society.

Another interesting phenomenon in this connection is the formation of a national food identity due to the integration of food

practices of several communities living in a single country. Ishak et al. have examined the problem of the influence of biculturalism/integration attributes on ethnic food identity formation [Ishak et al. 2019] through an investigation of the ways in which food knowledge, food in media and food in social events of the three primary nationalities of Malaysia (Malays, Chinese and Indian) have influenced the process of Malaysian food identity formation. The authors conclude that biculturalism/integration attributes such as knowledge about food, social events where various ethnic foods are a presence, and food media have influenced food adaptation among ethnic groups and contributed to ethnic food identity formation. Another valuable idea proposed in the study is that robust and harmonious social bonding will, in fact, allow each ethnic community to experience and understand the elements present in each ethnic culture and food. They suggest that food in particular plays a significant role in the broader economy and in nation construction [Ibid.].

Grimaldi et al. investigated the problem of interrelations between food, culture and identity, focusing on heritage as one aspect of these interrelations [Grimaldi et al. 2019]. They argue that the study of the urban gastronomic traditions should always start with the relationship between the city and the countryside. They also come to the conclusion that a dialogue between the rural and the urban environments allows the spatial-temporal rhythms of the countryside to be restored to the city, thereby permitting the return of reproductive and affective traits that sustainable and supportive food preserves for humanity [Ibid.].

The issues of food and its production, distribution and consumption are closely connected to the phenomenon of globalization. Mak et al. investigated the problem of globalization and food consumption in tourism [Mak et al. 2012]. The authors propose that globalization, often portrayed as a threat to local gastronomic identities, has an additional aspect – it can serve as an impetus that opens up new

opportunities for the reconstruction or reinvention of local gastronomic products, traditions and identities [Ibid.].

Hanus also concentrated on the impact of globalization on the food behaviour of consumers [Hanus 2018]. She sees globalization as a process which integrates national and regional markets into a single global market, one which has been perceived as one of the main factors contributing to the homogenization of consumption and, by extension, of the food behaviour of consumers. The assimilation process of food consumption has been influenced by many different factors, including easier mobility, technological progress, the development of the Internet, media, and also the expansion of international retail chains and the standardization of their product ranges. The author demonstrates that the impact of globalization on the food behaviour of consumers has been visible in types of behaviour such as buying nutritional products in supermarkets and hypermarkets, eating in fast food restaurants, seeking out comfort and convenience in eating, but also in new, unique experiences which become more important for them than material possessions. The author also notes that the globalization process has led to the creation of some moves and attitudes against globalization, such as a preference for domestic or ecological products, the emergence of new concept such as the “slow food” movement, or developments in the field of food safety etc. Hanus concludes that new trends in the food behaviour of consumers which then spread throughout the whole world due to the processes of globalization, have forced food producers to create new, individualized products which can satisfy their consumers’ needs, such as functional food, convenience food or organic food [Ibid.].

Despite the onset of globalization, local cuisine and some symbolic dishes continue to play a major role in preserving local cultures and identities. Abdelkarim et al. argue that “[e]verything people eat becomes a part of not only their biological being, but also represents and identifies a part of a community’s sociocultural fabric”

[Abdelkarim et al. 2016: 1]. Having undertaken research into the issue, the researchers conclude that mansaf, the national dish of Jordan, has changed greatly over the past decades but it nonetheless remains an important signifier of major occasions, offering a link to local heritage and forming a part of local and national identities [cf. Abdelkarim et al. 2016].

Food is also able to supply people with information about the history of specific nations and the history of relationships between various nations. Wall focused on the problem of international popular culture which continues to remediate and perpetuate the link between food and the idea of Italian identity [Wall 2016]. Focusing on London as a particular axis of both contemporary and historic Italian migrations to England and the UK, Wall's research utilizes selected small-medium food enterprises in the UK capital, and the personal narratives of migration they form part of, to reflect simultaneously upon the contemporary appeal of foodways read as Italian in Britain and the practical implications of the meanings ascribed to foodways by subjects identifying as Italian [Ibid.].

Some scholars dwell on the problem of the role of specific individuals in forming a specific mental perception and ideas about food in the collective identity of a nation. De Feo investigated the role of Paolo Mantegazza in the formation of specific ideas of Italian cuisine. The scholar argues that

[w]ith a blend of science and art, Mantegazza promotes an Italianness that is ahead of its time. However, Italy in many ways is not ready for his modernity. While his rational gluttony and his guidelines for better nourishment are novel and sound, the message could not feasibly reach enough of the population to have an immediate widespread effect. The task of nourishing the malnourished is far too great to be solved by food literature. Moreover, I believe

that Mantegazza's ideal of an aestheticized cuisine, of a dinner that reaches perfection when it demonstrates a symphonic harmony, is beyond the reach of too many during his period. Yet, the formation of an Italian taste, for the author, is also the formation of the sense of what it means to eat in conviviality and as well as possible. Whether the gastrosophic theories forwarded directly enter in the vocabulary of the masses is almost insignificant, because these theories draw attention to the art of food in a wholly unique way. As a result, we see the trickle down of certain paragons from the middle classes: as poor as a dish may be, even from the table of the peasant or the worker, it is shared with the utmost dignity and respect for what it represents and from where it comes. What the medic ultimately transmits is an art that everyone can afford at any epoch: the *sentimento del bello* (sentiment of beauty), as Mantegazza reminds us, is what makes a meal truly artful [De Feo 2016: 12].

The research results presented in this monograph can encourage researchers to investigate the issue of the role of particular historical figures or events in the formation of tastes, cuisines, symbolic dishes, culinary traditions etc., which belong to various different nations.

Sasahara has examined the issue of food identity in social media, reaching the valuable conclusion that food preferences not only originate from a person's dietary habits but also reflect their personal values and consumer awareness. The study undertaken by Sasahara addresses 'food identity' or the relationship between food preferences and personal attributes based on the concepts of individuals identifying as 'food left-wing' (e.g., vegetarians) or 'food right-wing' (e.g., fast-food lovers) by analysing social data using information entropy and networks. The author concludes that food identity extends beyond the

domain of food: the food left-wing has a strong interest in socio-environmental issues, while the food right-wing has a higher interest in large-scale shopping malls and politically conservative issues. Furthermore, the social interactions of food left-wing and right-wing factions show segregated structures, indicating different information consumption patterns. The author suggests that food identity may be applicable as a proxy for personal attributes and could offer insights into potential buying patterns [Sasahara 2019].

The media is the biggest and the most significant channel for distributing information and forming new knowledge about food; it is the main means for introducing new food practices into social life and assessing the past, present and future of food and food-practices. New media formats such as the Internet also play a significant role in exchanging information about food and distributing new ideas about food, cooking and food-related practices.

CHAPTER 3

COGNITIVE AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF FOOD REPRESENTATION IN AMERICAN MEDIA DISCOURSES

3.1. Negative representations of food

Media discourse is an attractive field of study for academics from many disciplines due to the highly significant role it plays in shaping ideas and attitudes in modern societies, including those related to food and food consumption. According to Tomaščíková, “[m]edia narratives have played a crucial role in the signifying practices in postmodern societies and, in contemporary society, the media represent the most important channels of cultural mediation” [Tomaščíková 2015: 50-51]. This subchapter analyses how food is represented in the form of information and education with a particular focus on the ways in which negative aspects of food consumption are presented in media discourse and the informative and educational values that these materials may possess.

One of the goals of American media discourse is the representation of various characteristics of food and aspects of food consumption. Some of the media concentrate on the negative effects that food and food consumption may cause, for instance, portraying food as a source of danger, or of illness and death in particular. Such media materials tend to actualize the specific cognitive models (scenarios) of situations (influenced by the pragmatic factors) in the recipient’s mind.

One of the cognitive scenarios realized in the American media discourse is the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ scenario, which can refer to various situations. The article entitled “Papaya Recall: As Salmonella Outbreak Spreads, Importer Urges Consumers to Stay Away” published on the *Newsweek* website [Newsweek, 07.27.2017] represents the following components of this scenario.

**Table 3.1.1 – FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’
Cognitive Model (Scenario)**

General components of the scenario (macrostructure)	Specific components of the scenario	Textual elements used to realize the components of the scenario
PLACE OF THE EVENT	U.S. (12 STATES)	Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Virginia
TIME OF THE EVENT	JULY, 2017	These fruits were distributed July 10 to July 19
REASON	INFECTED FOOD (PARTICULAR BRAND)	Caribeña brand Maradol papayas
EVENT	INFECTION	Salmonella outbreak that killed one person and sickened 46 others; Forty-seven people in 12 states have been sickened by salmonella-contaminated fruit, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Salmonella bacteria causes gastrointestinal symptoms including diarrhea, fever, and abdominal cramps. Separate scenario of the illness The illness usually lasts 4 to 7 days, and most people recover without treatment. In some people – especially children, elderly and immunocompromised – the bacteria can spread and infect the bloodstream and lead to death.

Continuation of table 3.1.1

		A severe infection swiftly treated with a course of antibiotics usually results in full recovery. According the CDC, 1.2 million illnesses from salmonella occur each year and there are as many as 450 deaths annually in the U.S.
PARTICIPANTS OF THE EVENT	FOOD DISTRIBUTOR, PEOPLE MADE ILL BY FRUIT, THE ADMINISTRATION, AGENCIES, PRESS ETC.	Grande Produce, the papaya distributor, Forty-seven people in 12 states have been sickened by salmonella-contaminated fruit, The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CONSEQUENCES (ACTIONS)	HOSPITALIZATION, DEATH	Twelve people have been hospitalized and one has died
	CONDUCTING AN ANALYSIS	Whole Genome Sequencing (WGS) analysis was conducted on ten patient samples in the outbreak, and all were related. This result indicates that the patients were likely sickened by the same type of food; Papaya samples from a Baltimore store tested positive for two specific strains of salmonella detected in people who were sick, which are Salmonella kiambu and Salmonella Thompson
	MEASURES TAKEN BY THE AUTHORITIES	The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) on Wednesday issued a nationwide recall of Caribeña brand Maradol papayas after a salmonella outbreak that killed one person and sickened 46 others; However, the FDA is continuing to advise consumers across the country to avoid all Caribeña brand Maradol papayas. The FDA also notes that there are illnesses in states where Grande

End of table 3.1.1

		Produce did not distribute papayas and is therefore continuing the investigation
	STATEMENT ON THE WEBSITE AND IN THE PRESS	“If anyone has these papayas in their home, they should dispose of them immediately. These can be identified by a red, green and yellow sticker shown here,” the FDA said in a statement on its website
	MEASURES TAKEN BY THE FOOD DISTRIBUTOR	On July 26, 2017, Grande Produce, the papaya distributor, notified consumers through a press release that it had conducted a limited recall of Caribeña brand Maradol papayas
	FUTURE ACTIONS	The FDA plans to update the public on the outbreak. “At this time, Caribeña brand papayas from Mexico have been identified as a brand linked to these illnesses, the agency said in a statement. “Additional brands will be announced as the information becomes available”

As was mentioned above, this cognitive model (or scenario) can refer to various situations, for instance, going to the supermarket, having a meal, calling an ambulance, going to the doctor’s, conducting an analysis, being in hospital etc., all of which, in their turn, have their own cognitive situational models [van Dijk 1989]. Thus, the cognitive model realized in media discourse has a generalized character because it embraces a set of cognitive models from a variety of different situations. The ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model is constructed in accordance with a more generalized cognitive model which can be referred to as a macrostructure.

The cognitive model, which is stored in the recipient’s mind, takes the following generalized linear structure:

INFECTED FOOD (*REASON*) DISTRIBUTED BY A COMPANY (*PARTICIPANT I*) → DELIVERING FOOD TO SPECIFIC PLACES – SUPERMARKETS (*ACTIONS OF THE PARTICIPANT*) → BUYING FOOD (*ACTION*) BY THE CUSTOMERS (*PARTICIPANT II*) → INFECTION (*EVENT*) → HOSPITALIZATION, DEATH (*CONSEQUENCES*) → STATEMENT ON THE WEBSITE AND IN THE PRESS (*ACTION*) → CONDUCTING AN ANALYSIS (*ACTION*) BY SPECIALISTS (*PARTICIPANT III*) → MEASURES (*ACTION*) TAKEN BY THE AUTHORITIES (*PARTICIPANT IV*), MEASURES TAKEN BY THE FOOD DISTRIBUTOR (*CONSEQUENCES*) → FUTURE ACTIONS (*CONSEQUENCES*).

Not all of the components of the cognitive model are indicated by the language means in the text of the article (e.g., actions of the participants such as DELIVERING FOOD TO SUPERMARKETS or BUYING FOOD BY THE CUSTOMERS etc.), but these components cannot be excluded from the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model as they are integral constituents of the situations that this model refers to (e.g., going to the supermarket, going to the hospital etc.).

According to Fulton et al., “in the discourse of news reporting, the linear chronology of events is typically obscured in order to emphasize the immediacy of what has happened – to make it seem more like news as it happens” [Fulton et al. 2005: 240]. The textual realization of the cognitive model differs from the linear one: the journalist begins his article with the representation of *CONSEQUENCES* (MEASURES TAKEN BY THE AUTHORITIES, HOSPITALIZATION, DEATH, CONDUCTING AN ANALYSIS), *REASON* (INFECTED FOOD), *EVENT* (INFECTION) and *PARTICIPANTS OF THE EVENT* (PEOPLE MADE ILL BY FRUIT), which corresponds to the requirements of a communicative situation within media discourse encouraging the journalist to provide the readers with the most

important information. By positioning these components at the beginning of the article using the language means, the journalist makes them the key components constituting the framework of the cognitive model from the point of view of the media discourse. The other components (*PLACE OF THE EVENT, FUTURE ACTIONS* etc.) are also important, but in this media article the journalist prefers to draw the readers' attention to the activities of the participants: she focuses on actions throughout the text, describing those taken by various participants: *issued a nationwide recall, twelve people have been hospitalized, Whole Genome Sequencing (WGS) analysis was conducted, Grande Produce, the papaya distributor, notified consumers, the FDA is continuing to advise consumers, they should dispose of them immediately, the FDA plans to update the public on the outbreak*. Actions are described from different angles: some actions are performed by the participants (in the Active Voice), while some are directed towards the participants and objects (in the Passive Voice); the author depicts acts of mass communication, acts of medical care and the process of analysis. The journalist's focus on actions engenders a sense of dynamism to the media text as it demonstrates the development of the main event (the infection) and related situations (hospitalization, conducting an analysis, measures taken by the participants etc.).

The *EVENT (INFECTION)* component of the cognitive model is foregrounded by means of a separate paragraph containing a separate cognitive scenario of 'ILLNESS' (as part of the more generalized 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' model):

Salmonella bacteria causes gastrointestinal symptoms including diarrhea, fever, and abdominal cramps. The illness usually lasts 4 to 7 days, and most people recover without treatment. In some people – especially children, elderly and immunocompromised – the bacteria can

spread and infect the bloodstream and lead to death. A severe infection swiftly treated with a course of antibiotics usually results in full recovery. According the CDC, 1.2 million illnesses from salmonella occur each year and there are as many as 450 deaths annually in the U.S. [Newsweek 07.27.2017].

The journalist focuses on the key components of the cognitive model due to her pragmatic factors: one of her tasks is to foreground the specific elements of the cognitive model in order to achieve the communicative goal which leads to a different realization of the cognitive model – the author begins with the elements that correspond to the logic of the media discourse. This type of linguistic presentation of the cognitive model is in accordance with Grice’s maxim of relation [Grice 1975]. According to the data presented above, the author of the media article concentrates on elements of the cognitive model such as *ACTIONS*, and the actions described in the text refer to infection and illness, the accompanying situations, their consequences etc. The linguistic realization of the cognitive model demonstrates that the author’s communicative goal is to present food as a source of danger and to raise people’s awareness of food’s potential dangers through the representation of actions associated with infection and illness. McLuhan argues that the newspaper page yields the inside story of the community in action and interaction [McLuhan 1964: 226]; a focus on action is aimed at instilling the dynamic image of an event in the recipient’s mind. In order to foreground the *infection* element of the cognitive model, the journalist uses a paragraph containing information about salmonella bacteria and the peculiarities of the illness. The presence of the terms such as *Salmonella bacteria, gastrointestinal symptoms, diarrhea, fever, abdominal cramps* or *antibiotics* introduces the traits of scientific discourse into the media text. This form of inhomogeneity of media discourse is aimed at persuading the reader:

the scientific data contained in the media text serve to support the journalist's ideas about food as a source of danger.

It should be mentioned that articles on food can be found in any section of journals in American media discourse, even in apparently unrelated fields such as technology & science, domestic news, culture and sports, which proves that the food theme has penetrated into every sphere of social life and become accepted as an important issue. The article by Teddy Cutler entitled "Serena Williams Eats Dog Food, Gets Sick, Wins Anyway" is taken from the 'Sports' section of *Newsweek* [Newsweek 05.13.2016]; it describes a humorous situation and is meant not only to inform, but also to entertain the reader:

"The dog ate my homework" is a common enough excuse among errant juveniles to have passed from cliché into pastiche. But I ate my dog's food before a crucial tennis match? That might be a new one. Serena Williams said she tried a "spoonful" of her mutt Chip's meal before she faced Christina McHale, her fellow American, at the Italian Open in Rome on Thursday [Newsweek 05.13.2016].

Although the article relates an untypical incident, it realizes the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model, which requires the presence of the following relevant components: *PARTICIPANT* (Serena Williams), *ACTION* (she tried a "spoonful" of her mutt Chip's meal; "I force-swallowed it," she said. "I don't know what they put in these dog foods, but Chip liked it), *REASON* for the *ACTION* ("I thought 'what the heck, I'm gonna try a piece, it looks good,'" she said), *CONSEQUENCES* ("Fast forward two hours, I just ran to the toilet like I thought I was going to pass out. It did taste weird. It tasted kind of like house cleaner"; "So now I feel really sick. It was just a spoonful, but I don't feel so good"; Williams put her dog's dinner behind her, however, as she beat McHale in straight sets).

These components are present almost in all texts realizing the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model, as the concept of danger presupposes the existence of an object (for example, a human being, an animal or a natural phenomenon) that can be affected by dangerous things; this object is represented by *PARTICIPANTS*. In the majority of the analyzed media texts, danger is represented by illness, a *CONSEQUENCE* of handling food improperly. A person can be exposed to danger via some interaction, and this requires the existence of the *ACTION* component in the cognitive model. Interactions are always caused by some factor, and this presupposes the inclusion of the *REASON* component.

Journalists foreground components such as *CONSEQUENCE* represented by language units with the meaning of illness due to their intention to demonstrate that eating improper food can affect people’s health, i.e., people’s inadequate actions can make the food dangerous.

The media text is considered to be one of the main instruments of identity formation: the media text reacts to and reflects the significant events in the life of a society; journalists’ attention – and their resulting texts – indicate a society’s approach (people’s preferences, interests, desires etc.) to events, processes and situations. The community finds media discourse interesting as long as it contains materials which are interesting to the community, i.e., those which denote its peculiarities and correlate with its identity. The positioning of news items in the media discourse also influences community interest. According to McLuhan, “... the daily communal exposure of multiple items in juxtaposition [...] gives the press its complex dimension of human interest” [McLuhan 1964: 225]. Thus, the ideas existing in the public consciousness are reflected, considered and processed by the media discourse. After being processed by the journalist, they acquire new meanings and reenter the community to influence the public consciousness and practices further. Consequently, media texts both

reflect a community's identity and also participate actively in sustaining and supporting it.

According to Tomaščíková, elements of food constitute the content of media narratives that serve as tools for the representation of various types of identities [Tomaščíková 2015]. The language means representing elements of food such as *papayas, salmonella-contaminated fruit, red, green and yellow stickers* and others participate in forming the narrative about the salmonella outbreak in the US, within the framework of which the cognitive model is realized. With language means used to represent the specific components of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model, the media text tends to reflect, process and (re)construct a specific identity: by means of the media discourse the American nation is portrayed as a food- and health-aware nation. The narratives found in the media discourse demonstrate that this feature of the American community is an aspect of everyday culture. These types of narratives are efficient tools for representing specific identities. This is a view which is shared by Tomaščíková, who claims that the messages food narratives convey have the potential to be read and received by a majority of audiences because food stories intertwine with the audiences' daily lives. The elemental nature of food and its connection with the body and identity forge a relationship between eating and identity [Ibid.: 56].

The reasons for constructing a particular identity lie in the nature of the consumer society: the apparent welfare and oversaturation issues lead to a greater focus on food that results in an elaborate representation of food as a source of danger. In accordance with the identity being constructed, the media discourse fills the 'danger' component of the cognitive model with meanings such as *illness* (more specifically the meaning *salmonella*) and *death* using particular language means.

Another article entitled "Don't Give Your Family the Gift of Foodborne Illness" [Newsweek 11.26.2015] by the same author, Jessica

Firger, contains the similar cognitive model of ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’:

Foodborne illness is a serious threat during the holiday season, especially when people who don't typically cook decide to try out their new "Master Chef" skills. So, unless one's intention is to do away with their mother-in-law before the new year, it's important to adhere to some basics of food safety when preparing meals for your family and friends. Each year, approximately one in six people in the U.S. (48 million) at some point pick up a foodborne illness, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Food poisoning sends 128,000 people to the hospital each year and approximately 3,000 die as a result of eating poorly prepared and contaminated food. Even some of the most sophisticated home cooks make common mistakes when it comes to food preparation that could potentially pose risk for illness from e. coli, salmonella, listeria and other types of germs that may develop if preparation and cooking is done improperly [Newsweek 11.26.2015].

Components of the model such as *PLACE OF THE EVENT* and *TIME OF THE EVENT* receive specific linguistic indications in the article as the journalist speaks about the possibility of infection in general. The place of the event is the U.S.A. in general (*approximately one in six people in **the U.S.** (48 million) at some point pick up a foodborne illness*). The journalist uses the Present Simple Tense, which marks the indefinite time of the event. The *EVENT*, *PARTICIPANTS OF THE EVENT* and *CONSEQUENCES* components coincide with the components of the model analyzed previously, as an illness may be picked up by any person: *Each year, approximately **one in six people***

in the U.S. (48 million) (PARTICIPANTS OF THE EVENT) at some point pick up a foodborne illness (EVENT), according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC); Food poisoning sends 128,000 people to the hospital each year and approximately 3,000 die as a result of eating poorly prepared and contaminated food (CONSEQUENCES).

As with the case mentioned above, this article also realizes the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model, but it concentrates on offering advice on how to avoid foodborne illnesses, and, consequently, the modified model of ‘AVOIDING DANGER OF FOODBORNE ILLNESS’ is found in the text of the article. The journalist introduces and concentrates on new components of the cognitive model such as *PREVENTIVE ACTIONS (PREVENTING FOODBORNE ILLNESS)*. This component is signified by various verbs which are used in the imperative mood to indicate various actions that a participant should take in order to prevent illness: the journalist offers advice about simple actions that may prevent any potential danger posed by infected food. Thus, the component (*PREVENTIVE ACTIONS*) is foregrounded by verbs describing actions such as:

- *defrosting (This is why it’s critical to thaw meat properly. You can let meat defrost overnight in the refrigerator and it can remain there before cooking, for up to one or two days. A turkey needs to thaw for 24 hours per five pounds of weight. So if you’ve purchased a 15-pound bird, get it out of the freezer at least three days before you plan to start cooking. Cold water thawing – in which you submerge a sealed package of meat or fish in a bowl of cold water – is also safe when done right. Change the water in the bowl every 30 minutes and never refreeze the meat after it’s completely defrosted. If you’re short on time or a bad planner, the*

microwave may be essential for meal preparation. If you choose to use a microwave for defrosting meat, you'll need to cook it right away because parts of the tissue may begin to warm and cook, which can introduce bacterial growth. It's also safe to cook meat in a frozen state, but it will need to stay in the oven at least 50 percent longer);

- ***checking the temperature of food being cooked*** (*Out of fear of food poisoning, many home chefs sacrifice the taste by overcooking poultry, fowl, red meat and fish. But there is no reason to do so. Many home cooks are led to believe they can tell when meat is done cooking by simply checking the color. You can (sort of) get away with this for something small, like boneless chicken breasts. However, it's not completely safe, especially when you're cooking a 15-pound turkey. The only surefire way to know your dish has been cooked all the way through is to check its temperature. Invest in a food thermometer; a basic one costs as little as \$10. Follow this handy chart provided by our federal health officials so you know how long to leave that rump roast in the oven. Some meats require time to rest before being served – not because they're tired but because the temperature, as it remains constant or rises, continues to kill bacteria and other germs);*
- ***using utensils properly*** (*Many home (and professional) chefs are guilty of cross-contamination. Don't use the same cutting board, plates or utensils for preparing fruits and vegetables as you do for meat. Real food safety sticklers (and the CDC) recommend keeping raw meats and fish bagged in the refrigerator and shopping cart to avoid cross-contamination with produce);*

- ***following hygiene rules*** (*Cross-contamination can also occur when you forget to wash your hands. Lather up your hands for at least 20 seconds, the amount of time it takes to sing “Happy Birthday”*) [Newsweek 11.26.2015].

The journalist gives a detailed description of actions (e.g., different types of defrosting etc.) in order to convince the reader of the need to process food properly in order to avoid contracting a foodborne illness. The verbs used by the journalist primarily describe the actions directed towards food (***defrosting, checking the temperature of food being cooked***). The journalist also writes about actions which, while not related to food directly (***using utensils properly, following hygiene rules***), are connected with the hygienic processing of food. This focus on actions directly and indirectly connected with food processing is intended to foreground the (***PREVENTIVE***) ***ACTIONS*** component within the cognitive model. Moreover, the verbs in the article demonstrate the dynamics of the situation, thereby constituting a narrative according to the generalized model of ***BUYING FOOD → PROCESSING FOOD → COOKING FOOD → EATING FOOD***. The article primarily makes use of elements of the narrative such as ***PROCESSING FOOD*** (*This is why it’s critical to thaw meat properly*) and ***COOKING FOOD*** (*However, it’s not completely safe, especially when you’re cooking a 15-pound turkey*), but other elements are also realized implicitly.

Some news items concentrate on other elements of the ‘***AVOIDING DANGER OF FOODBORNE ILLNESS***’ cognitive model, linking components which may lack cohesion in other cases. For example, in an article entitled “***FDA Updates Food Safety Rules, Taking Additional Steps to Address Foodborne Illness***” [Newsweek 11.13.2015] the journalist links the components of ***REASON*** (***INFECTED FOOD***), ***EVENT*** (***INFECTION***) and ***CONSEQUENCES***

(HOSPITALIZATION, DEATH) with PLACE (OF FOOD PRODUCTION): *More than half of produce eaten in the U.S. is grown abroad (PLACE). Fruits and vegetables are a common source of foodborne illness (REASON); With recent news about E. coli (EVENT) at Chipotle, death (CONSEQUENCES) by cucumbers (REASON), endless recalls of supermarket foods such as ground beef and top CEOs in the slammer for selling tainted nuts (CONSEQUENCES), it's hard to ignore the fact that your next meal (REASON) could make you terribly ill (EVENT); However, more than half of fresh fruit (52 percent) and nearly a quarter (22 percent) of vegetables eaten in the country are grown outside of the U.S. (PLACE), and are often the source of foodborne illnesses (REASON). Most recently, health officials traced an outbreak of salmonella poona (EVENT) that has killed four people and sickened 767 (CONSEQUENCES) to imported (PLACE) cucumbers (REASON); According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, one in six Americans gets sick (EVENT) each year from foodborne disease (EVENT), including E. coli, salmonella and listeria (EVENT). In the U.S., an estimated 128,000 people are hospitalized (CONSEQUENCES) and approximately 3,000 people die (CONSEQUENCES) each year from foodborne illness (EVENT)* [Newsweek 11.13.2015].

This linking of PLACE (OF FOOD PRODUCTION) with other components makes all of them the key elements within the cognitive model of the described situation regarding the consumption of food in the U.S.A. The PLACE (OF FOOD PRODUCTION) component is given priority and becomes one of the dominant components in the textual realization of the cognitive model because the author actually directly links PLACE (OF FOOD PRODUCTION) with REASON (INFECTED FOOD).

As in the previous example, the journalist also foregrounds the (PREVENTIVE) ACTIONS element of the cognitive model in addition to the above-mentioned components. One of the peculiarities of the

media text analyzed is that this element is represented by actions of a legal and financial type which are directed at preventing foodborne illnesses and the spread of subsequent infections in the U.S.A.:

- **legal actions** (*The agency says it is finalizing revisions of the Food Safety Modernization Act, which will establish an improved set of safety standards. These new guidelines specifically seek to address safety standards for produce farms and imported foods; The Product Safety rule establishes standards for growing, harvesting, packing and storing produce. It outlines criteria for water quality and hygiene and health standards for employees and animals. The Foreign Supplier Verification Programs rule will require foreign importers of food products to meet U.S. food production standards*);
- **financial actions** (*However, enforcing these new guidelines would require funding through the president's 2016 budget; money will be needed to train food safety staff and FDA employees, and to provide technical assistance to farmers and food businesses*) [Newsweek 11.13.2015].

Fulton et al. argue that “the various modes of news discourse are realized through a number of ‘angles’ that determine the narrative template” [Fulton et al. 2005: 233]. In particular, they distinguish the angle (format) in which an event is reported as a perceived threat to the social and/or moral order, with a view to invoking public concern (moral panic). According to the authors, “the narrative structure of the moral panic is that the social fabric is under stress in some way, implying that this threat needs to be resolved by various ‘rescues’ or official interventions...” [Ibid.: 234]. The news items under analysis

taken from American media discourse are presented in the moral panic format, as they contain lexical units pertaining to illness and death, warnings issued by the authorities, and the legal and financial actions taken etc. (*salmonella outbreak that killed one person and sickened 46 others; twelve people have been hospitalized and one has died, foodborne illness, The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) on Wednesday issued a nationwide recall* etc.), all of which exert a significant influence on the recipient. Media articles containing this specific cognitive model construct a view of a vulnerable society that can be affected by various diseases, thereby portraying American society as a food- and health-aware nation and creating a specific identity.

The journalist achieves his goal of representing identity by appealing to various properties of food and food ingredients (e.g., form, package, ingredients, dangerous elements, conditions of transportation and storage, production location etc.) and describing the course of events in the narrative. Other participants in the media discourse – the recipients – consume this identity by receiving and analyzing the ideas which have been processed by the journalist. Tomaščíková argues that individuals consume identity through food or food representations and constructions in media, and that they communicate their cultural and social experience through this consumption [Tomaščíková 2015]. The consumed identity renews the recipients' cognitive system because a new fragment of knowledge enters into and starts to interrelate with other elements of the cognitive system referring to sphere of connection between health and food. One possible method of communicating cultural and social experience is the recipients' feedback to the consumed identity, a process which results in the shaping of relatively new ideas and attitudes in modern communities. This feedback does not always have to be verbal: the recipient may indicate his reaction to the consumed identity by his actions, which serve as a sign of a certain cultural and social experience.

3.2. Negative representations of food-related activities

Media discourse has multiple goals related to the representation of food and, consequently, of the representation and construction of the specific identity of the American nation through various food narratives. The examples given above have demonstrated how media articles represent ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ or other related cognitive models. Some of the other articles analyzed in this study indicate an additional goal of American media discourse – when not food itself but food-related activities performed by people are portrayed as a source of potential danger to the well-being of society. Some media materials tend to represent people as the source of food-related problems:

An endless stream of reports from public health officials about foodborne illness has created often unwarranted fear around the dangers of tainted or spoiled food. We all want assurance that what we eat won't cause some sort of violent sickness. This may be why so many people are sticklers when it comes to tossing out an item from the fridge once it hits its "sell by" date. But this mindset has also resulted in a culture where throwing away food that's still highly edible is simply the norm – even though there are some 48.1 million people in the U.S. who live in food-insecure households. The amount of food wasted in 2010 alone could have provided 1,249 calories each day to pretty much everyone in the U.S. population for the entire year. A study published Thursday in PLOS One suggests Americans throw out approximately 80 billion pounds of food each year, and nearly half don't even realize food waste is actually a problem in the country [Newsweek 07.21.2016].

The media text uses such linguistic means such as *we, people, Americans* to foreground the *PARTICIPANTS* component in the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE’ cognitive model realized in the media text, a structure which is closely connected with the ‘AVOIDING DANGER OF FOODBORNE ILLNESS’ model via the *GOAL* component, referring to people’s aim to avoid contracting a foodborne illness, which presupposes the disposal of edible food that in the end becomes waste.

The analysis undertaken here also demonstrates that in addition to foregrounding the *PARTICIPANTS* component, the journalist concentrates on other components including *ACTIONS* (*This may be why so many people are sticklers when it comes to **tossing out** an item from the fridge once it hits its “sell by” date; But this mindset has also resulted in a culture where **throwing away** food that’s still highly edible is simply the norm – even though there are some 48.1 million people in the U.S. who live in food-insecure households; A study published Thursday in PLOS One suggests Americans **throw out** approximately 80 billion pounds of food each year, and nearly half don’t even realize food waste is actually a problem in the country; In fact, the researchers from Ohio State University found many people believe **tossing out** eggs and other items just a few days past their expiration date is actually beneficial for limiting the risk of getting sick; The researchers found 68 percent of respondents feel that **throwing away** food after the package date will spell the difference between health and sudden illness; But, in fact, the dates are used to provide information on when food is likely to taste its best, meaning what millions of people **throw out** each day is still actually safe to eat) and *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS (THEIR EMOTIONAL STATE)* causing the *ACTIONS* mentioned above (*An endless stream of reports from public health officials about foodborne illness has created often unwarranted **fear** around the dangers of tainted or spoiled food; Such an information initiative could be especially effective among high income households and females who**

waste food because of **health concerns**). This cause for the actions may also be interpreted as the *REASON* for actions. The *ACTIONS* taken by the *PARTICIPANTS* are foregrounded by the repetition of verbs (**throwing away, throwing out**) and their synonyms describing one act of disposing of food (**throwing away/out** vs. **tossing out**).

The emotional state of the *PARTICIPANTS* brought about by the *ACTIONS* refers to the *CONSEQUENCES* component of the cognitive model of the situation (*But a majority – 77 percent – of people surveyed say they **feel guilty** about the high volume of food waste, even though it goes without saying that no one is holding a gun to anyone’s head in the produce aisle; ... but strongly **feel guilty** about food waste at the same time*).

In another article by Elisabeth Perlman concerning the problem of wasting meals in the UK, the *PARTICIPANTS* component is also indicated via the pronoun *we* in order to demonstrate that this problem is relevant to the society as a whole:

*Almost 2 million tons of food is wasted in the U.K. grocery supply chain every year, according to a report published Tuesday by the Waste & Resources Action Programme (WRAP). The charity, which works to improve sustainability, also said that 1.1 million tons of this waste could be avoided. At present, for every 2 tons of food **we** eat, another ton is wasted [Newsweek 05.17.2016].*

The journalist uses other language means to indicate *PARTICIPANTS* such as a charity, food retailers, international companies, restaurant chains, the authorities and trade organizations:

*Spearheaded by **WRAP** on behalf of **the U.K. government** and **devolved administrations**, the Courtauld Commitment 2025 was launched in March 2016, a voluntary agreement*

to reduce food and drink waste by 20 per cent in the next 10 years. Over 100 major U.K. food retailers, including Aldi, Sainsbury's and Tesco; big brands like Coca Cola; popular restaurant chains like Pizza Hut; 23 local authorities; and trade organizations such as the British Retail Consortium are involved in the initiative. [Newsweek, 05.17.2016].

The use of figures (*2 million tons of food, 20 per cent in the next 10 years, over 100 major U.K. food retailers, 23 local authorities etc.*) and the indication of the large number of different participants is aimed at underlining the scope and seriousness of the problem that concerns almost every member of society, firms and companies involved in food industry and also the authorities.

In this article the *CONSEQUENCES* component refers to the past, present or, primarily, the future actions of the participants that will help to reduce food waste and its negative impact on society:

“Today’s report... gives us the clearest indication yet of where, and why, food surpluses and waste occur,” WRAP director Dr Richard Swannell said in a statement. “Through a combination of prevention, redistribution to people and diversion to animal feed, the grocery supply chain could, in the next 10 years, almost halve its avoidable food waste... This will significantly contribute to delivering the Courtauld 2025 food waste prevention target.” [...] “It highlighted that there is a huge amount of wasted food – up to 400 million meals a year could be provided for charity redistribution. However, I really believe that the Courtauld Agreement should include a target to give some of that unsold, edible food to charity, as well as cutting food waste in general. We have not

signed the Courtauld Commitment at present.” [...] “Both estimates show there is considerable scope for more food surplus to be redistributed to people,” a WRAP spokesperson tells Newsweek. [...] “Last year, a number of new initiatives were announced by individual retailers, making use of innovative software to link up with local charities. It won’t happen overnight, but by 2025, with the Courtauld Commitment, retailers and manufacturers could be redistributing 185,000 tons of surplus food – or more.” [Newsweek 05.17.2016].

The journalist mentions actions such as ***prevention, redistribution to people and diversion to animal feed, to give some of that unsold, edible food to charity, cutting food waste in general.*** These nouns, verbs and word combinations signify specific actions, but these actions are caused by the main food-related activity indicated in the media text – the wasting of food, and they can therefore be referred to as consequences.

In another article regarding the problem of food waste, the author – Zoë Schlanger – also pays specific attention to the *CONSEQUENCES* component of the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE’ cognitive model:

Worldwide, 1.3 billion tons of food per year is wasted or lost. This amounts to one-third of the world’s food, and it is enough to feed 2 billion people. Yet despite this waste, 795 million people are going hungry around the world. But food waste is also linked to climate change, because when food is lost, the potential to feed more people isn’t all that is wasted. Land, fertilizers, water, labor and the energy fuels used to make that food are also wasted. If food waste were its own country, for example, it would be the third-largest emitter of greenhouse gases. All those

emissions from farmwork are contributing to global warming, but the food associated with these emissions is feeding no one [Newsweek 04.07.2016].

The author mentions one of the most significant consequences of wasting food – the process of climate change, establishing a connection between throwing away food and a warming climate: *A new study published Thursday in the journal Environmental Science & Technology set out to quantify just how much the food we throw away translates into a warming climate* [Newsweek 04.07.2016].

In order to persuade the recipient, the journalist provides a detailed picture of the *CONSEQUENCES* component represented by information about the negative impact on the environment of throwing away food: she mentions the amount of CO₂ currently caused by food waste and also alludes to the increases in emissions in the future:

As the margin between how much food we produce and how much we actually eat grows larger, so does the contribution to climate change. By 2050, according to researchers at the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, food waste will amount to between 1.9 and 2.5 gigatons of CO₂ per year from the agriculture sector, compared with the 0.5 gigatons of CO₂ attributable to food waste now. By then, 14 percent of total agriculture emissions will come from making food that will feed no one [Newsweek 04.07.2016].

The whole article is dedicated to the *CONSEQUENCES* component of the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE’ model, but the journalist also discusses other consequences of food waste, including changing individual behavior and performing actions aimed at reducing food waste:

*“Avoiding food loss and waste would therefore avoid unnecessary greenhouse-gas emissions and help mitigate climate change,” co-author Prajal Pradhan said in a statement. “**Changing individual behavior** [to avoid food waste] could be one key towards mitigating the climate crisis.” For some in the international development community, that’s becoming a major focus. “We have enough production in the world to feed everybody. Hunger is the result of how our society is organized,” Barbara Ekwall, senior liaison officer to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, said at a meeting of environmental journalists in 2014. But thankfully, she added, “**our human behavior can be changed**. That is a huge source of optimism.” [Newsweek 04.07.2016].*

The media article contains information about the specific changes in human behavior which have been caused by the food waste problem; she mentions changes in the practices of supermarkets which could help to allieviate the situation: *France, for example, is already taking steps to change the flow of food. This year, it made it illegal for supermarkets to throw out food that is still edible. Now markets must donate excess food to food banks.*

The journalist uses the media text in an effort to influence society by changing the situation with food waste according to the following pattern:

FOOD WASTE → SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND OTHER PROBLEMS → MEDIA TEXTS INFLUENCING THE SOCIETY → CHANGING INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR → REDUCING FOOD WASTE → MITIGATING THE CLIMATE CRISIS

PARTICIPANTS, their *CHARACTERISTICS*, *ACTIONS* and *CONSEQUENCES* become dominant components in the cognitive

models realized in the analyzed media texts. The journalists' concentration on *ACTIONS* is quite logical, as their aim is to represent food-related activities in a negative light. The peculiarity of the cognitive models realized in these examples is determined by the fact that the media text fills the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components with information about the emotional state of the *PARTICIPANTS*, the impact of food waste on the environment and the actions caused by the food waste problem. The emotions of the *PARTICIPANTS* play a major role in the development of the situation as one emotion (*fear*) causes the specific *ACTION* (*throwing away food*); but this action, as a result, also causes other emotions such as *guilt*, which is demonstrated by the narrative that the media text constructs.

The media text constitutes a narrative according to the model BUYING FOOD → KEEPING FOOD → FEARING FOODBORNE ILLNESS → THROWING AWAY FOOD → FEELING GUILTY ABOUT FOOD WASTE. The THROWING AWAY FOOD and other elements of the narrative coincide with the *ACTIONS* and other components of the cognitive model.

Another article written by Suzanne Goldenberg is also dedicated to the problem of food waste and it contains the same *ACTION* component of the 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE' cognitive model:

Vast quantities of fresh produce grown in the U.S. are left in the field to rot, fed to livestock or hauled directly from the field to landfill, because of unrealistic and unyielding cosmetic standards, according to official data and interviews with dozens of farmers, packers, truckers, researchers, campaigners and government officials; Produce is lost in fields, warehouses, packaging, distribution, supermarkets, restaurants and fridges; By one government tally, about 60 million tons of produce

worth about \$160 billion, is wasted by retailers and consumers every year – one third of all foodstuffs

[Newsweek 07.13.2016].

However, in this article the journalist also employs richer and more varied language means to foreground the *ACTION* component of the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE’ cognitive model and therefore presents it in a variety of different modes. The language means describe various actions related to food:

- **wasting in general** (*throwing away, being sacrificed to retailers’ demand for unattainable perfection, being lost, wasting, being culled*);
- **actions that precede wasting food** (*getting rejected, turning down, not accepting product, sending back*);
- **specific methods of eliminating food** (*abandoning, being left to rot, being fed to cattle, being plowed over in the field, being dumped, being directed to landfill, feeding a significant share of his watermelon crop to cows, being consigned to the dump*).

In addition to the *ACTION* component, the journalist also pays specific attention to the *CONSEQUENCES* of wasting food by giving a detailed description of the harm that food waste can cause to society and the environment. This component of the model is elaborated by the author due to her intention to persuade the readers of the potential dangers of wasting food on a large scale. The journalist mentions the following consequences affecting various spheres of social life, social groups and also the environment:

- **social problems** (*Americans throw away almost as much food as they eat because of a “cult of perfection,” deepening hunger*

and poverty, and inflicting a heavy toll on the environment; That lost food is seen increasingly as a drag on household incomes – about \$1,600 a year for a family of four – and a direct challenge to global efforts to fight hunger, poverty and climate change);

- ***environmental pollution*** (*Food waste accounts for about 8 percent of global climate pollution, more than India or Russia; Food dumps are a rising source of methane, a far more powerful greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide. But experts readily acknowledge that they are only beginning to come to grips with the scale of the problem);*
- ***actions of government*** (*The Obama administration and the U.N. have pledged to halve avoidable food waste by 2030);*
- ***actions of businesspeople*** (*But Roger Gordon, who founded the Food Cowboy startup to rescue and reroute rejected produce, believes that the waste is built into the economics of food production. Fresh produce accounts for 15 percent of supermarket profits, he argued; Food producers, retail chains and campaign groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council have also vowed to reduce food loss in the ReFED initiative; Some supermarket chains and industry groups in the U.S. are pioneering ugly produce sections and actively campaigning to reduce such losses);*
- ***actions of producers and distributors*** (*But a number of producers and distributors claimed that some retailing giants were still using their power to reject produce on the basis of some ideal of perfection, and sometimes because of market conditions; The farmers and truckers interviewed said they had seen their produce rejected on flimsy grounds, but decided against challenging the ruling with the U.S. department of agriculture's dispute mechanism for fear of being boycotted by powerful supermarket giants. They also asked that their names not be used).*

As in the example mentioned above, another consequence of wasting food may be the emotional state of the *PARTICIPANTS*; in particular, the farmers and truckers. The media text indicates this component both implicitly and explicitly:

They will dig through 50 cases to find one bad head of lettuce and say: 'I am not taking your lettuce when that lettuce would pass a USDA inspection.' But as the farmer told you, there is nothing you can do, because if you use the Paca [Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act of 1930] on them, they are never going to buy from you again. Are you going to jeopardize \$5 million in sales over an \$8,000 load? [Newsweek 07.13.2016].

In this extract the author uses the rhetorical question to demonstrate the emotional state and attitude of one of the participants. This is an implicit way of informing the recipient of the text because the rhetorical question can be transformed into the statement that *You are not going to jeopardize \$5 million in sales over an \$8,000 load*, clearly indicating the participant's reluctance and negative attitude.

A word combination like *to be stuck* can be referred to as the implicit language means of indicating the emotional state of the *PARTICIPANT* as it describes the complicated situation in which a participant finds himself. Such a situation is meant to cause the negative emotional state of a person, but the reader of the media text can draw a conclusion about this emotional state himself/herself; the media text only demonstrates the antecedent of the negative emotional state: *And then you are stuck* → *You feel desperate*. The peculiarity of this example lies in the fact that the journalist uses the participant's quotation to give an implicit representation of his emotional state caused by the situation:

*“It’s all about blemish-free produce,” says Jay Johnson, who ships fresh fruit and vegetables from North Carolina and central Florida. “What happens in our business today is that it is either perfect, or it gets rejected. It is perfect to them, or they turn it down. **And then you are stuck.**” [Newsweek 07.13.2016].*

The journalist also indicates the emotional state of the *PARTICIPANTS* explicitly using the following language means:

*“These big growers do not want to piss off retailers. They don’t enforce Paca on Safeway, Wal-Mart or Costco,” said Ron Clark, who spent more than 20 years working with farmers and food banks before co-founding Imperfect Produce. “They are just not going to call because that will be the last order they will ever sell to them. That’s their **fear. They are really in a pickle**” [Newsweek 07.13.2016].*

The word *fear* and the idiom *to be in a pickle* are used to represent the high grade of the negative emotional state of some of the situation’s *PARTICIPANTS* explicitly. Thus, the *CONSEQUENCES* element also differs from the previous example, as consequences are viewed in a broader sense and include various aspects of social life, business activities, environmental pollution etc. in addition to the emotional state of the *PARTICIPANTS*.

In the article the journalist also draws the recipient’s attention to the *REASON* for *PARTICIPANTS’ ACTIONS* component of the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE’ cognitive model:

From the fields and orchards of California to the population centers of the East Coast, farmers and others

on the food distribution chain say high-value and nutritious food is being sacrificed to retailers' demand for unattainable perfection; In more than two dozen interviews, farmers, packers, wholesalers, truckers, food academics and campaigners described the waste that occurs "upstream": scarred vegetables regularly abandoned in the field to save the expense and labor involved in harvest. Or left to rot in a warehouse because of minor blemishes that do not necessarily affect freshness or quality; "Sunburnt" or darker-hued cauliflower was plowed over in the field. Table grapes that did not conform to a wedge shape were dumped. Entire crates of pre-cut orange wedges were directed to landfill. In June, Kirschenman wound up feeding a significant share of his watermelon crop to cows [Newsweek 07.13.2016].

The journalist uses the media text to fill the component of *REASON* with information about the high standards (regarding the appearance of produce) of supermarket chains, which refuse to accept unsuitable-looking food. This content is rendered by means of such words and word combinations as *unattainable perfection, minor blemishes, "sunburnt" or darker-hued cauliflower* and other lexical units, the meanings of which range from abstract notions of perfection to specific properties of food as shape and color. In comparison with the previous example, the media text under analysis modifies the 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE' cognitive model by changing the *REASON* component.

The media articles, realizing two analyzed cognitive models, differ from the pragmatic point of view. In realizing 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' and other relevant cognitive models, the texts tend to concentrate on the *ACTIONS* of *PARTICIPANTS*, *CONSEQUENCES* of the *ACTIONS* and some other components, such as *PLACE* of food

production, in order to demonstrate the dynamics of the represented situations and to place the reader within the situation. In this case, the journalist's goal is to focus on food itself and to demonstrate that food can become dangerous to people's health due to their own improper actions.

In realizing 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE' cognitive model, the texts also foreground such components as the *PARTICIPANTS*, their *CHARACTERISTICS* (e.g., emotional state), the *CONSEQUENCES* for the environment and society in addition to the *ACTIONS* component. In cases like this, the journalist focuses on people's characteristics that can cause improper actions and thereby lead to dangerous consequences. The journalists underline these and other related components (for example, the *REASON* for *PARTICIPANTS' ACTIONS* etc.), because their communicative goal is not to describe food as the source of danger, but to present people as the source of the food-related problems. The journalist, shifting the focus from food to the *PARTICIPANTS*, their *CHARACTERISTICS* (emotions, fears of spoiled food, high standards of the supermarket chains etc.) and their *ACTIONS* caused by emotions, represents the same identity of a food- and health-aware nation, as their emotional state, actions and their consequences refer to food and food-related problems.

The *CONSEQUENCES* component is found in both models because one of the aims of journalists is to predict the possible results of the actions and events represented. In the media texts under discussion we can discern the non-linear representation of the cognitive models' components; the journalist may start with representing, for instance, *CONSEQUENCES* and *ACTIONS* components due to the significant role they play in the process of representing the situation.

Some media articles tend to represent the customary, everyday actions connected with food in a negative light in order to construct a specific image of food in American media discourse and draw the

recipients' attention to food-related health problems. It should be noted that these types of articles transform the more typical views on food with the aim to change the usual approaches to the topic: *The U.S. Food and Drug Administration issued guidelines to reduce the amount of salt added to foods by about a third, a move that could have a wide-ranging impact on the processed food industry in the United States* [Newsweek 06.01.2016]. In this extract the standard process of adding salt to food is portrayed as negative due to the use of the noun *a third* in combination with the verb *to reduce*, which presents the amount of salt used in cooking as excessive.

The media text contains the 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF DANGEROUS FOOD' cognitive model, in which components such as *DANGEROUS INGREDIENTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* are dominant:

The FDA sets targets to help reduce sodium intake to 2,300 mg per day from a current average of about 3,400. Above, an order of Farfalle with Chicken and Roasted Garlic at a Cheesecake Factory restaurant in Boston in July 2014. The dish contains 1,370 mg of sodium, according to the nonprofit Center for Science in the Public Interest; Average sodium intake in the United States is about 3,400 mg per day. The guidelines set targets for the food industry to help reduce sodium intake to 2,300 mg per day, the regulator said [Newsweek 06.01.2016].

The *DANGEROUS INGREDIENTS* component is intimated by the indication of the average per capita sodium consumption in the US (*3,400 mg per day*). It should be mentioned that the media text does not express the meaning referring to this component explicitly. The conversational implicature "*3,400 mg of sodium per day is dangerous for health*" is actualized in the recipient's mind by means of the subsequent sentence indicating the desirable amount of sodium intake

[Grice 1975]. The second sentence, interacting with the preceding one, actualizes another implicature: “2,300 mg of sodium per day is less dangerous for health”. The implicatures are explicated only as a result of the juxtaposition and interaction of the sentences.

The dominant component of *CONSEQUENCES* is indicated in the media text using the following means: *When sodium intake increases, blood pressure rises, and high blood pressure is a major risk factor for heart disease and stroke – two leading causes of death in the United States, the FDA said.* By describing the *CONSEQUENCES*, the journalist draws the recipient’s attention to health problems caused by typical cooking practices in the US. It is in this type of way that media discourse is used to exercise social control: the everyday practice of cooking is controlled in order to reduce the negative effect of food on health (see below).

The author also foregrounds the *PARTICIPANTS* (*The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, food manufacturers, restaurant chains*) and *ACTIONS* components. The *ACTIONS* component is represented by verbs signifying preventive legal actions (*to issue guidelines*) and food-related actions such as cooking (*to add salt to foods*), which, in this text, are portrayed in a negative aspect by the journalist.

In the cognitive model the *DANGEROUS INGREDIENTS*, *CONSEQUENCES*, *PARTICIPANTS* and *ACTIONS* components are dominant because they correspond to the logic of the ‘PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF DANGEROUS FOOD’ cognitive model: the narrative in the media text informs the recipient of the people (*PARTICIPANTS*) adding specific ingredients to food (*ACTIONS*); an excessive amount of these ingredients (*DANGEROUS INGREDIENTS*) leads to problems with health (*CONSEQUENCES*). This remains a background story as the media text contains information about other participants performing preventive actions, the aim of which is to reduce the negative impact of dangerous ingredients in food on people’s health.

One can clearly see the process of the negative representation of food-related activities in this extract: the journalist's goal is to draw the recipient's attention to the problem of consuming dangerous food in the country. In this case, the journalist is trying to demonstrate that the actions of some people do make food dangerous and at the same time other actions performed by other people are aimed at reducing the negative impact of food ingredients on consumers' health.

By actualizing the cognitive models, prioritizing some meanings in the discourse, propagating the respective ideas, constructing and sustaining the identity of a food- and health-aware nation, the media exercises control over people's everyday behavior and practices. The specific realization of the cognitive models, i.e., foregrounding and concentrating on some of their components, has a direct pragmatic effect: for instance, by highlighting the consequences of events for society, people's health and the environment, the media attempts to change people's views and actions affecting these domains, thereby exercising a form of social control.

This begs the question as to whether the media itself exercises social control in this respect or whether it merely serves as a tool in a process which is ultimately controlled by the authorities. There are cases when the media has brought about social change by revealing some hard-hitting facts about, for example, corruption, crime or social inequality. In cases like this, the media tries to direct society's attention to social, political, ecological, racial and other problems. Media attention of this type can result in protests, investigations, murders, arrests, measures taken by the authorities, police and other official bodies, which may actually constitute social change. In this way, media discourse – including the people who disseminate texts, the contents of which are determined by specific communicative goals – can change the social, political situation in a community.

In this case, the media is used by the government to control food-related activities which result in health problems. This control is

realized in the negative representation of food-related activity on the one hand and in the enacting of legislation and guidelines concerning food-related activities on the other: *The U.S. Food and Drug Administration issued guidelines to reduce the amount of salt added to foods by about a third; The health agency also said the guidelines would apply to food served in restaurants; The much anticipated set of guidelines have been in the works since 2011* [Newsweek 06.01.2016]. The legislation and guidelines are not issued by the media, but the media plays a role in disseminating information concerning these food-related activities. The word *anticipated*, intensified by the adverb *much*, demonstrates the readiness of society for legal actions which are able to prevent negative consequences. The numeral *2011* indicates the duration of this process, proving that society has been waiting for these changes for a long time.

The analysis demonstrates that the authorities use the mass media as means for exercising social control in some cases: by producing a negative representation of some food-related activities, the media affects people's attitudes and actions and this is supposed to result in social change. Negative representations of this type are achieved in the media texts by the realization of two cognitive models 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE' and 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF DANGEROUS FOOD.' In both models, significant components, including *ACTIONS*, are clearly foregrounded. The *ACTIONS* component in the models signifies food-related actions such as *throwing away food* ('PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE') and *to add salt to foods* ('PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF DANGEROUS FOOD'). The mechanism for exercising social control lies in drawing the recipients' attention to "good" and "bad" actions connected with food. This is the function of foregrounding the *ACTIONS* component of the relevant cognitive models: the cognitive structures of the media texts encourage the recipients to follow the "good" actions and avoid the "bad" ones.

The food-related actions cannot be described without indicating other significant components, and thus *PARTICIPANTS*, *CHARACTERISTICS*, *CONSEQUENCES* and other elements closely connected with *ACTIONS* are given priority by the journalists. Through this approach, journalists attempt to produce a substantial, multi-aspect representation of the chosen phenomenon in order to renew and add new cognitive elements referring to food, its consumption and its effect on health in the cognitive system of a human being [cf. Kubryakova et al. 1997; Khomyakova 2004; Maturana 1980].

The negative representation of food-related activities in American media discourse also extends to other activities such as advertising. The peculiarity of American media discourse lies in the fact that this customary everyday phenomenon (which also belongs within media discourse) is represented in a negative aspect due to the intention of journalists to change the habitual behavior concerning food on the grounds of health concerns. In this case, the media also tries to exercise social control – it influences the recipients' minds, persuading them to change their customary food-related practices in order to alter the situation in society.

An article by Elisabeth Perlman discusses the problem of advertising junk food to children:

On Friday, the Committee of Advertising Practice (CAP), the body that sets advertising standards in the U.K., launched a public consultation on banning all junk food adverts aimed at children, in an effort to combat rising obesity levels. The body defines junk food as all products high in fat, salt or sugar (HFSS products). The move would see the current ban on TV adverts extended to all media platforms, including the web. Last year 96 per cent of 12 to 15-year-olds spent more time online than watching TV according to Ofcom, the U.K.'s communications regulator [Newsweek 05.13.2016].

Although the article is devoted to analyzing the situation with advertising junk food in the U.K., it is published in the American weekly Newsweek. By presenting the “British” food situation in American media discourse, the article still demonstrates the attitude to junk food in American society: the journalist has specifically chosen this topic because of the junk food problem in the U.S. The publication of the article corresponds to the journalist’s pragmatic goal aimed at offering a negative representation of food-related activities in media discourse. In this media text, a cognitive model of ‘JUNK FOOD ADVERTS AS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR OBESITY’ is realized with the aim of introducing changes into the individual behavior of the *PARTICIPANTS* (children). Food-related activities such as advertisements for food are represented in a negative aspect by using the attribute *junk* and the verb *to ban*, both of which portray the process of advertising unhealthy food as harmful for the community.

The media text is used to foreground the following components of the cognitive model: *PARTICIPANTS* (*children, the Committee of Advertising Practice, parents, schools, a wide range of public health professionals and regulatory bodies*), *their CHARACTERISTICS* (*age: 12 to 15-year-olds; interests: Last year 96 per cent of 12 to 15-year-olds spent more time online than watching TV according to Ofcom, the U.K.’s communications regulator*), *MEDIA* (*all media platforms, including the web*), *ACTION* (*public consultation on banning all junk food adverts aimed at children; The move would see the current ban on TV adverts extended to all media platforms*), *REASON for ACTION* (*rising obesity levels; Too many children in the U.K. are growing up overweight or even obese, potentially damaging their health in later life and imposing a high cost on society; Figures published by the Health and Social Care Information Centre for 2014-15 revealed that one in five children in England was obese by the end of primary school; Unhealthy food and drink is a leading cause of preventable deaths*),

GOAL of ACTION (to combat rising obesity levels, tackle this deep-seated public health challenge; In proposing new rules, our aim is to strike the right balance between protecting children and enabling businesses to continue advertising their products responsibly; It isn't about putting food and drink brands out of business but if we are going to promote products – let's promote the healthy stuff!). The author also mentions some *OBSTACLES to ACTION (However, health campaigners have criticized the consultation as vague and not ambitious enough; The government is still very influenced by the food industry; There are further loopholes and the potential for the food industry to get exemptions. It is still possible that brands will retain their celebrity endorsements and popular cartoon mascots. At this stage we are not confident that the end result will be the necessary leap forward public health advocates want to see).* The dominant character of these components is underlined by the repetition of language units (including synonyms) meaning **people, organizations, age, media, banning, obesity** etc.

The journalist represents these components as dominant in order to draw the recipients' attention and to focus any social activities on the most significant objects (*children's health, TV, internet* etc.) as well as the subjects (*the Committee of Advertising Practice, parents, schools, a wide range of public health professionals and regulatory bodies*), which would play a vital role in changing the situation regarding children's health in society. The author also foregrounds other components including *REASON, GOAL* and *OBSTACLES* in order to create a detailed picture of the issues that should be dealt with in order to change the situation with regard to children's health in British society. Consequently, from the pragmatic point of view the author's intention is to introduce changes into one of the most important aspects of societal life – the care of children's health; in order to exert a considerable impact on the recipients' minds he employs the military metaphor of **CHILDREN'S OBESITY IS AN**

ENEMY (*to combat rising obesity levels*), both of which exert a strong persuasive power.

As in some of the previous examples, while realizing the ‘JUNK FOOD ADVERTS AS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR OBESITY’ cognitive model, the journalist shifts the focus from food to the actions and characteristics of food-related participants in order to demonstrate the active role which participants can play in changing the situation in society.

3.3. Positive representations of food

The research undertaken in this study has identified several examples of the positive representation of food in American media discourse. This positive representation is influenced by a number of specific goals of journalists, and both negative and positive representations of food and food-related activities are determined by the media’s intention to construct and sustain the identity of a food- and health-aware nation.

The article “Controversial New U.S. Dietary Guidelines Suggest Not All Fats are Bad, But Sugar is Evil” by Jessica Firger [Newsweek 01.07.2016] displays the realization of the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model along with the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ model. The article concerns a series of new dietary guidelines which had been released by American health officials:

U.S. health officials on Thursday released much-anticipated – and controversial – new dietary guidelines. The research-based framework, meant to advise millions of Americans on what to eat, is formulated by a committee of government-appointed experts and updated every five years [Newsweek 01.07.2016].

In the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model realized in the media text, components such as *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* are dominant. *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* are the elements contained in food and *CONSEQUENCES* are the effects of eating healthy food. Another dominant component which is present in all cognitive models analyzed is *FOOD* itself, and it is represented by lexical units signifying various types of food:

*The 2015-2020 Dietary Guidelines, the eighth edition, recommend Americans stick with a **plant-based** diet rich in **fruits, vegetables and whole grains**, while limiting intake of refined sugars, sodium, and saturated and trans fats. Protein sources should come from **lean meats and seafood, low-fat or fat-free dairy, nuts and legumes***
[Newsweek 01.07.2016].

The journalist also mentions specific types of food such as eggs, sugar, red meat, lean beef, etc. The presence of lexical units signifying various types of food can be explained by the specifics of the guidelines issued by the U.S. Authorities, the aim of which is to provide clear instructions regarding the various types of food consumed by Americans. The guidelines underline the importance of variety of foods to be eaten by the American community: *The U.S. Department of Agriculture, which released the guidelines with HHS, said the new advice provides a flexible framework that encourages Americans to eat a variety of foods and is easily adaptable to individual taste preferences, cultures and a family's financial budgets* [Newsweek 01.07.2016].

The *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* dominant component is indicated by lexical units signifying the elements contained in food that exert a positive influence on health:

- *“Good” fats, such as those found in salmon, nuts and avocados, on the other hand, are relatively healthy.*
- *This change is good news for the egg industry – eggs are another example of a food containing these “good” monounsaturated and polyunsaturated fats, which actually have protective benefits when it comes to heart health. The Egg Nutrition Center, a research group funded by the American Egg Board, released a glowing press statement on Wednesday morning, commending the committee. “The removal of a daily dietary cholesterol limit and inclusion of eggs within all recommended healthy eating patterns supports regular consumption of eggs along with other nutrient-rich whole foods such as fruits, vegetables and whole grains,” the center said in a statement. “As an affordable, nutrient-rich source of high-quality protein, eggs can help Americans build healthful diets”.*
- *Lean beef is a wholesome, nutrient-rich food that helps us get back to the basics of healthy eating, providing many essential nutrients such as zinc, iron, protein and B vitamins, with fewer calories than many plant-based sources of protein [Newsweek 01.07.2016].*

The multitude of lexical units here indicates that this component of the cognitive model is considered to be dominant. The importance of the healthy properties of these elements is indicated by lexical units such as **good** (expressing a general evaluative characteristic), **protective** (expressing a functional characteristic), **high quality** (evaluating the level of quality), **nutrient-rich** (specifying a considerable amount of ingredients), **essential** (expressing the necessity of obtaining the ingredients), **fewer calories** (specifying the quantity of ingredients). The lexical units used in the function of the attributes serve to

foreground the *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* component of the cognitive model. The types of ingredients (*monounsaturated and polyunsaturated*) are indicated in order to give the reader a clear and detailed representation of the cognitive model and to introduce changes into his/her cognitive system [Maturana 1980].

Another dominant component in the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model is *CONSEQUENCES*:

- *“Protecting the health of the American public includes empowering them with the tools they need to **make healthy choices in their daily lives,**” said Secretary of U.S. Health and Human Services (HHS) Sylvia Burwell. “By focusing on small shifts in what we eat and drink, eating healthy becomes more manageable. The Dietary Guidelines provide science-based recommendations on food and nutrition so people can make decisions that may help **keep their weight under control, and prevent chronic conditions, like Type 2 diabetes, hypertension and heart disease**”;*
- *This change is good news for the egg industry – eggs are another example of a food containing these “good” monounsaturated and polyunsaturated fats, which actually have **protective benefits when it comes to heart health**;*
- *Though the guidelines recommend against high consumption of red meat, the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association instead took a positive spin, pointing out that the guidelines say lean meats should be a consistent food staple in the American diet, and red meat can be lean and therefore eaten in **healthy moderation**;*
- *“Numerous studies have shown **positive benefits** of lean beef in the diet, and I commonly encourage my patients to include beef in their diet to help them **maintain a***

healthy weight and get the nutrients they need to be physically active” [Newsweek 01.07.2016].

The language means in the media text enrich the *CONSEQUENCES* component with meanings such as “*preventing illnesses*”, “*protecting organs*”, “*bringing positive benefits for health*”, “*maintaining healthy weight*”, “*being physically active*”, drawing the readers’ attention to the particular benefits of eating healthy food and encouraging them to follow healthy diets.

Though the article is mostly dedicated to discussing the positive benefits of eating healthy food, the *DANGEROUS AMOUNT OF FOOD INGREDIENTS* component of the ‘*FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER*’ cognitive model can also be found in the text: *The new guidelines recommend that Americans get less than 10 percent of their calories from added sugars and saturated fats, and consume less than 2,300 milligrams of sodium each day. The guidelines published in 2000 didn’t specify exactly how much sugar is too much* [Newsweek 01.07.2016]. By indicating the desirable amount of some food and food ingredients with the help of *less than* word combinations, the author actualizes “*getting 10 percent or more of calories from added sugars and saturated fats and 2,300 milligrams or more of sodium each day is dangerous for health*” implicature, influencing the readers’ ideas concerning healthy eating.

A part of the article title – the clause *Sugar is Evil* – refers to the *CONSEQUENCES* component of the cognitive model, as it provides a general evaluation of consequences of sugar consumption. The author formulates a direct statement containing the evaluative and expressive word *evil* in order to formulate the idea that “unhealthy food is dangerous for health”; she equates the consequences of consuming sugar to the phenomenon of negativity viewed from the moral and religious points of view and the chosen language form exerts a strong influence on the recipient.

In this article the journalist assists the reader in making a choice between healthy and unhealthy food. From a pragmatic point of view, the journalist's goal is to encourage the reader to choose the option of healthy food consumption by foregrounding the *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components of the cognitive model.

The language means in the text of the article are also used to realize 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model, in which the *DANGEROUS AMOUNT OF FOOD INGREDIENTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components are foregrounded. The parallel realization of two opposing cognitive models encourages the reader to make a choice; the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' model receives a more elaborate and detailed realization, a feature which is determined by the journalist's goal of influencing the reader's point of view.

A further goal of the journalist is to inform the reader that the guidelines may have been influenced by some U.S.A. food industry associations; she proves this by discussing the controversy that the guidelines have caused:

- *Other U.S. food industry associations also responded to finalized guidelines. The Sugar Association said the advice to avoid "added sugar" is based on weak science. "We maintain these 'added sugars' recommendations will not withstand the scrutiny of a quality, impartial evaluation of the full body of scientific evidence," the association said in a statement. "As with past examples of dietary guidance not based on strong scientific evidence, such as eggs, the 'added sugars' guidance will eventually be reversed";*
- *Early in 2014, the committee's draft guidelines were met with widespread criticism from politicians and nutrition*

and health experts, who argued that the advice was not completely based on sufficient, relevant and up-to-date science. In June, Republican lawmakers claimed the committee had overstepped its boundaries, in particular by reviewing studies that examined how certain diets impact the environment [Newsweek 01.07.2016].

As was mentioned above, the author also mentions the positive evaluation of the guidelines by some of the food industry associations. By including both positive and negative evaluations of the guidelines by the American food associations, the journalist tries to demonstrate the existence of rivalry, conflicts of interest and the struggle for consumers in the American food industry and business spheres:

In September, BMJ published a scathing review of the methodology, arguing that the committee omitted research or chose to review poorly designed, and sometimes irrelevant, studies on critical topics such as different types of diets. The journal also suggested that many members of the advisory panel had undisclosed conflicts of interest such as one who received research funding from the California Walnut Commission and the Tree Nut Council, as well as vegetable oil companies Bunge and Unilever. Another committee member received more than \$10,000 from Luminari, which produces health-related multimedia content for General Mills, PepsiCo, Stonyfield Farm and Newman's Own [Newsweek 01.07.2016].

The author aims to provide a positive representation of food but focuses on a largely negative representation of food-related activities (issuing dietary guidelines) due to the discussions and problems which the guidelines have brought about.

Another article by Jessica Firger also concerns the problems caused by the U.S. Dietary Guidelines:

A new report published in BMJ on Wednesday suggests the latest U.S. dietary guidelines up for review are not based on sufficient and up-to-date scientific research of crucial topics, such as saturated fats and low-carbohydrate diets, and may even be fraught with industry biases. [...] The point behind government-recommended guidelines is to help millions of Americans wade through often confusing and conflicting research and hearsay when deciding what to throw in their shopping cart. But the BMJ suggests the panel ignored key pieces of new research in “a reluctance to depart from existing dietary recommendations” [Newsweek 09.24.2015].

This article provides a negative representation of food-related activities (the issuing of dietary guidelines), as the article is also aimed at demonstrating existence of rivalry, conflicts of interest and the struggle for consumers in the American food industry and business spheres: *According to Teicholz, the 2015 panel primarily relied on systematic reviews from health advocacy organizations, such as the American Heart Association and the American College of Cardiology. Organizations such as these receive funding from food and drug companies* [Newsweek 09.24.2015].

The negative representation of food-related activities is also achieved by demonstrating that the guidelines lack a sufficient basis in terms of scientific data:

- *The last time the committee members drew up guidelines – in 2010 – they used the Nutrition Evidence Library that was established by the USDA, which provides systematic*

*analyses of research on various nutrition subjects, such as sodium and sugar intake. But the committee that worked on the 2015 guidelines didn't use that system for more than 70 percent of the topics, including some of the most controversial, according to Nina Teicholz, a New York City-based journalist and author of *The Big Fat Surprise: Why Butter, Meat & Cheese Belong in a Healthy Diet*, who wrote the BMJ report.*

- *However, Teicholz says, the review of the science behind saturated fat consumption didn't include research from the last five years, including several notable papers that don't demonstrate a link between high saturated fat consumption and increased risk for heart attack and stroke.*
- *In the BMJ report, Teicholz says that in some instances, the committee based their conclusions on limited research or poorly designed studies, such as a single clinical trial of 180 people with metabolic syndrome, which found the Mediterranean diet was most effective for weight loss.*
- *With low-carbohydrate diets, the committee claimed to find "only limited evidence" that skipping bread could be beneficial to health. However, upon closer look, Teicholz found that more than 100 studies on low-carbohydrate diets have been conducted since 2000, and at least 70 were randomized controlled trials, nearly half of which lasted for more than six months. She says that volume of research should be sufficient to make a more definitive statement about this type of diet [Newsweek 09.24.2015].*

The negative representation of food-related activities is achieved by the realization of the 'FOOD-RELATED ACTIVITY AS A

SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model. The author underlines the *ACTION* component of the model by indicating the inefficient actions that led to the issuing of the controversial guidelines; for example, an inefficient use of systematic research analyses, the results of recent research being ignored, and conclusions based on limited research or poorly designed studies.

Food receives a specific form of representation in American media discourse. Journalists apply negative aspects of food and food-related activities to their texts and this fact is determined by their aim to construct the identity of food- and health-aware nation. The media texts on the topic of food contain cognitive models in which some components are foregrounded due to the author's intention to underline the most significant aspects associated with food and food consumption in American society. Thus, food becomes the central pole around which the other components of the cognitive models are grouped.

The media participate in a sophisticated process of changing societal attitudes to some objects and phenomena: due to the level of economic development that has shaped the views and habits in society, people perform actions that are assessed positively by the majority of that society. The media is able to influence public consciousness by representing some objects and phenomena from a particular angle and thereby transforming societal attitudes to these issues. This change can be executed by changing the individual behavior of people or by enacting official actions (such as the introduction of new legislation or issuing guidelines). Consequently, the media texts encourage their recipients to follow the socially accepted actions and avoid the actions disapproved of by society as a whole.

CHAPTER 4

COGNITIVE AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF FOOD REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH MEDIA DISCOURSES

4.1. Positive representations of food

According to Tomaščíková (2012), food-related content is one of the most commonly appearing types of narrative categories in media of the last decade. In her paper she focuses on media narratives and argues that “food appears in various narrative forms: documentaries about the history and present-day food and drink elements and ingredients; we find references to food in news programmes; there are cooking narratives on morning television; reality game shows focus on food; food and cooking reality shows present chefs, celebrities or ordinary people performing their favourite recipes; breaks within and between individual programmes include countless commercials for healthy and/or tasty eating and drinking” [Tomaščíková 2012: 102]. The concept of food as a significant aspect of people’s biological, social, cultural, business and other lives can determine the topics discussed in media discourse. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, journalists offer their views on the topic of food and food-related activities influenced by present-day circumstances and situations. Media materials are often aimed at changing individual behaviors or states of affairs relating to food and food-related activities.

In contrast to American media discourse where food and food-related activities are primarily represented from a negative point of

view, British media discourse offers a somewhat different view on food and food-related activities. In the analytical media texts published on *The Guardian* website, food is represented as a staple of leisure, entertainment, tourism and other fields. British journalists focus on the positive aspects of consuming food in British society. Food is not viewed as something that should be changed: journalists assess the characteristics of food and view it as a tool which can be used to perform different activities in various spheres.

One of the spheres in which activities are necessarily accompanied by food is tourism. An article by David Mitchell entitled “We Should Take Pride in Britain’s Acceptable Food” concerns the issue of assessing British food by foreigners:

A phrase really jumped out at me from a newspaper last week. The Times said a recent survey into Spanish attitudes to Britain, conducted by the tourism agency Visit Britain, “found that only 12% of Spaniards considered the UK to be the best place for food and drink”. That, I thought to myself, may be the most extraordinary use of the word “only” I have ever seen. Has its meaning recently flipped? Has it been warped by an internet hashtag or ironic usage by rappers? Is it like how “bad” or “wicked” can mean good, and actors receiving awards use the word “humbled” to mean “incredibly impressed with myself”? Because, if “only” still means what I think it means, the paper is implying it expected more than 12% of the people of Spain to think Britain was “the best place for food and drink”. That’s quite a slur on the Spanish. How delusional did it expect them to be? What percentage of them would it expect to think the world was flat? I know we’re moving into a post-truth age, but 12% of a culinarily renowned nation considering Britain, the land of the Pot

Noodle and the garage sandwich, to be the world's No 1 destination for food and drink is already a worrying enough finding for the Spanish education system to address. It would be vindictive to hope for more [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

On the one hand, the journalist admits that British food is by no means perfect; however, the goal of the journalist here is to persuade the reader that British food has changed over the last few years. In order to change the views on British food held around the world today the journalist aims at representing food in a positive aspect, realizing the ‘BRITISH FOOD AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE’ cognitive model which is reflected in the article’s title itself.

Table 4.1.1–‘**BRITISH FOOD AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE**’ Cognitive Model

General components of the model (macrostructure)	Specific components of the model	Textual elements used to realize the components of the model
PLACE	BRITAIN	This is all very jocular and a welcome distraction from Gibraltar, but I hope Visit Britain doesn’t get carried away with this food push. I really don’t think the 12% figure is one it should be disappointed with, even if, on closer examination of the survey, the respondents didn’t actually say they thought Britain was “the best place for food and drink”, just that sampling the food and drink would be a motivation for choosing the UK for a holiday.
PARTICIPANTS	FOREIGN TOURISTS, OFFICIALS, TV HOSTS, CHEFS, THE BRITISH PEOPLE	The Times said a recent survey into Spanish attitudes to Britain, conducted by the tourism agency Visit Britain, “found that only 12% of Spaniards considered the UK to be the best place for food and drink”;

Continuation of table 4.1.1

	<p>That's quite a slur on the Spanish; But it seems that's what Visit Britain and the Foreign Office are going for. Last week the British ambassador to Spain, Simon Manley, donned a union jack apron and went on the hit Spanish cookery programme El Comidista to advocate British cuisine and try to change the perceptions of the 88% of the Spanish population still currently in their right minds; It was his second appearance on the programme: the first was last year when he was "summoned" to explain Jamie Oliver's heretical addition of chorizo to paella; I think the host of El Comidista, Mikel López Iturriaga, got it about right when he said: "For many Spaniards, British food is the ultimate example of bad international cuisine..."; And our ambassador betrayed weaknesses in our cooking, even as he spoke up for it: "The idea is to combat the stereotype about British food and drink and promote the idea that we take ideas from around the world and we adapt them for this cosmopolitan cuisine we know today"; We proudly note how highly the restaurants of chefs like Heston Blumenthal come in international rankings even as we peel the film off our microwave dinners; We have an interesting country, an interesting past and we're an interesting people: no nastier than most and hard to ignore. And, for better or worse, what we are, what we have, and whatever it is that our culture represents, comes from centuries of working through lunch.</p>
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Continuation of table 4.1.1

OBJECT	FOOD	The Times said a recent survey into Spanish attitudes to Britain, conducted by the tourism agency Visit Britain, “found that only 12% of Spaniards considered the UK to be the best place for food and drink ”; Last week the British ambassador to Spain, Simon Manley, donned a union jack apron and went on the hit Spanish cookery programme El Comidista to advocate British cuisine and try to change the perceptions of the 88% of the Spanish population still currently in their right minds; He responded with a recipe for roast chicken with mustard .
CHARACTERISTICS (OF THE OBJECT)	NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT	A bit of academic interest, and the memory of a disappointing white ant egg soup or crispy tarantula, might really help soften the blow of a first baffled visit to the salad cart at a Harvester; “For many Spaniards, British food is the ultimate example of bad international cuisine...” – and there are many outlets on the Costa Del Sol that work tirelessly to recreate that flavour for British visitors.
REASON (FOR IMPROVEMENT)	AMBITION TO CORRESPOND TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS, COMPETITIVENESS	The fact that food has improved in Britain is a sign, not of a major change in those cultural priorities, but of two other factors: how international we’ve become and our competitive spirit . The food has been brought up to standard, for the same reasons that we’ve put in proper coffee machines and wifi – to show we’re keeping up .
CONSEQUENCES	IMPROVEMENT OF FOOD IN BRITAIN, POSITIVE ASSESSMENT	Food here is OK . Or rather, it’s sometimes terrible and sometimes delicious but usually neither and it averages out as fine . Lots of us are really fat now – that’s got to be a good sign; “...but I think that everything has

End of table 4.1.1

		<p>improved substantially in recent years, and today it is much easier to find decent food.” So decent food is now available; I’m sorry, and I almost certainly don’t mean you: there is, as I say, brilliant food to be had in Britain. There always has been, I suppose, but I’m sure there’s more of it now; The fact that food has improved in Britain is a sign, not of a major change in those cultural priorities, but of two other factors: how international we’ve become and our competitive spirit; The food has been brought up to standard; In food, as in cycling, Britain can now win.</p>
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These components are dominant within the framework of the cognitive model realized in the media text because the objects and people they refer to play a crucial part in changing international attitudes towards British food.

The *PARTICIPANTS* component is foregrounded by language means signifying foreign tourists, TV hosts, chefs and British officials. These language units make this component dominant as the foreign tourists are the primary participants in assessing British cuisine; TV hosts play an important role in informing the public of the peculiarities of food and cooking habits. Officials and ordinary British people may deal with foreigners; and the actions which can be taken to improve British food and cuisine depend on them.

The *CHARACTERISTICS* component is foregrounded by language means with an evaluative meaning; a negative assessment affects the recipient’s thinking and makes him focus on the object of assessment – food. The *REASON* and *CONSEQUENCES* components are foregrounded to demonstrate the evolution of the food industry in

Britain; this is also one of the subgoals that complies with the main pragmatic goal of the journalist (see below).

The author explains the relative absence of quality food in Britain by stating that this has never been a cultural priority; it is instead a feature which is part of the British national character and the British have many other things to be proud of: *As most Spaniards noted in the survey, there are better reasons to go to Britain than the food: the history, the castles, the stately homes, the museums, the countryside, the coastline, the concerts, the theatre, the cities* [The Guardian 07.30.2017]. In terms of food, the British public should be proud of the cuisine that they have, although British food has changed greatly over the last few years and its quality is much higher than in the past. The author places two states into opposition: the present (when the quality of food is high) and the past (when British food was considered to be bad by the foreigners):

The Past

*And our ambassador betrayed weaknesses in our cooking, even as he spoke up for it: "The idea is to combat the stereotype about British food and drink and promote the idea that we take ideas from around the world and we adapt them for this cosmopolitan cuisine we know today"; But the stereotype bemoaned by the ambassador has its basis in truth: delicious food **has never been** a cultural priority.*

The Present

*"...but I think that everything has improved substantially in **recent** years, and **today** it is much easier to find decent food." So decent food is **now** available; I'm sorry, and I almost certainly don't mean you: there is, as I say, brilliant food to be had in Britain. There always has been, I suppose, but I'm sure there's more of it **now**; In food, as in cycling, Britain can now **win**.*

The journalist's pragmatic goal is to change international attitudes to British food, to present Britain as an interesting and attractive country and to represent food as one of Britain's sources of pride: We

have an interesting country, an interesting past and we're an interesting people: no nastier than most and hard to ignore. And, for better or worse, what we are, what we have, and whatever it is that our culture represents, comes from centuries of working through lunch [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

In order to achieve his goal, the journalist underlines the components of the cognitive model. By imbuing the *REASON (FOR IMPROVEMENT)* and *CONSEQUENCES* components with new positive content, the author changes the cognitive model stored in the recipient's mind which thereby leads to a change in their attitude to British food. By changing the cognitive model, the journalist introduces changes into social reality (the corresponding aspects undergo changes in real life): in this case the 'BRITISH FOOD AS A PROBLEM FOR TOURISTS' model is transformed into the 'BRITISH FOOD AS THE SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE' model; the journalist clearly demonstrates how the *CHARACTERISTICS (OF THE OBJECT)* component (containing a negative assessment) influences the *REASON (FOR IMPROVEMENT)* component which then leads to positive *CONSEQUENCES*.

One major piece of information that the journalist uses to transform the cognitive model is that of assessment. This alteration is reflected in the media text: in order to transform the cognitive model, the journalist imbues the *CHARACTERISTICS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components with information about assessment: the negative assessment given to British food by foreigners becomes positive due to the description of the changes that have occurred in the sphere of the British catering industry.

Within the media text the journalist does not reveal the *ACTIONS* component that precedes *CONSEQUENCES* and includes the specific activities of the authorities and businesses involved in the catering industry aimed at raising the standard of food served in Britain. It is determined by the fact that the journalist does not intend to draw the

recipient's attention to the specific features of the food industry itself; he instead intends to emphasize the idea that food is only one part of the rich national culture of which the British are proud and, thus, change international attitudes to the British food. Consequently, particular attention is paid to the assessment of *CHARACTERISTICS* and *CONSEQUENCES*, but not *ACTIONS*. The main aspect which is worthy of the attention of the journalist and the readers in this example is food as an element of culture, a feature which is underlined through the negative and positive assessments given by foreigners and the journalist.

The new model is formed and becomes established in the recipient's mind because its components contain information confirmed by the data in the media text. The new model can only be fixed if a journalist manages to persuade the recipient using the factual data. The introduction and placement of a new cognitive model into the recipient's mind results in a change in their attitude towards British food. This can in fact be viewed as a change in social reality, i.e., in the construction of new social reality [cf. Searle 1995], because the recipient in this case acquires a new feature – a new specific attitude towards British food that affects their actions in real life. In this way, the journalist tries to construct a new cultural identity of the British nation in which food is represented as a source of national pride.

Another article written by Juliana Piskorz is also aimed at constructing a positive image of food in the media discourse:

Last summer we went to Pride in Margate: it was very quaint, there were about 15 people in the parade. Afterwards we stumbled upon the Cheesy Tiger, on the harbour wall. It's a little shack that does amazing fish, the music is lively and it's full of locals. Sitting outside gives the best view across the bay to Margate old town. We spent a lazy day catching up with friends over peppercorn

steak, burrata salad and calamari. Delicious, simple food, with a great atmosphere [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

By presenting a few reviews of renowned chefs, restaurateurs and food critics, the journalist aims at realizing the ‘EATING OUT AS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE’ cognitive model in which some components are foregrounded in accordance with the author’s pragmatic goal. As in the previous example, the journalist clearly indicates components of the cognitive model such as *PARTICIPANTS* (*Zoe Adjonyoh, Neil Rankin, Angela Hartnett, Russell Norman, Andi Oliver, Jay Rayner, Nieves Barragán Mohacho, Fergus Henderson*); she also supplies the reader with information about their *CHARACTERISTICS* (*chef-owner, co-owner, presenter, Observer restaurant critic*) in order to influence the readers’ actions by applying expert opinion.

The *FOOD* element of the cognitive model is given specific attention because *FOOD* is represented as a main object of the *PARTICIPANTS’ ACTIONS*:

- *It’s a little shack that does amazing **fish**, the music is lively and it’s full of locals.*
- *We spent a lazy day catching up with friends over **peppercorn steak, burrata salad and calamari**. Delicious, simple **food**, with a great atmosphere.*
- *The **wine** is fantastic.*
- *The tables are perched on a little veranda and it’s a lovely spot in which to sit back and have some **wine** and **Spanish tapas**.*
- *But you also get the freshest **fish**, straight off the boat and straight on to your plate. It’s worth going just for the **fish and chips**, which are superb – but there are also **juicy fish tacos** with **chillies** and beautiful **oysters**. It’s a proper **fish** restaurant with a big variety.*

- *The **food** is really simple and stripped back, you rarely find more than two ingredients on a plate and the menu changes on a regular basis. One of my favourite things to eat there, although it sounds ridiculous, is **peas in their pod**. There's nothing better than a big pile of **peas** in the sun.*
- *It's gorgeous, everyone has to bring **a dish of something** and my niece makes a gigantic **banoffee pie**. I pick all day at plates of **pulled pork, salads and Cajun meats and veg** while catching up with my loved ones.*
- *As soon as you enter you're instantly overwhelmed by the smell of **fresh shellfish** and lashings of **garlic butter**.*
- *The portions are large and the prices are fantastically cheap – you can get a bucket of **mussels** for around £6 and **a three-course meal** for under £25.*
- *You can sit outside on the terrace and order **a spread of tapas**, including **bocadillos** and **juicy octopus**.*
- *We sit on an unexcavated Pictish fort; **champagne** flows, interested seals and basking sharks pop up to see what's going on as **legs of lamb** are grilled on the barbecue. We wash down the **lamb** with **burgundy**, we feast on **cheese** and local **oatcakes**, and then we unleash The Growler: the largest flask I have ever seen, wielded by my friend Magnus, who pours gargantuan measures of **whisky** with a glint in his eye [The Guardian 07.30.2017].*

In the article the authors use recommendations and tips in which various dishes are enumerated; descriptions of the variety of dishes chosen by experts is one of the ways in which the journalist attempts to influence the reader's mind and persuade them to follow the experts' advice.

One of the most important means of underlining the *FOOD* component is realized by demonstrating its characteristics and assessing

them in the media texts. The authors give a positive evaluation of characteristics such as taste (*amazing fish; delicious, simple food; the wine is fantastic; It's worth going just for the fish and chips, which are superb; beautiful oysters; There's nothing better than a big pile of peas in the sun*), the size of portions (*my niece makes a gigantic banoffee pie; gargantuan measures of whisky*) and price (*the prices are fantastically cheap*). The meanings of some lexical units assess the taste positively (*delicious*); the meanings of other lexical units possess the highest degree of general positive evaluation (*amazing, fantastic, superb*). The indication of simplicity (*The food is really simple and stripped back; delicious, simple food*), the degree of freshness (*the freshest fish*) as well as the amount of food served (*The portions are large*) all provide a positive assessment of the food described in the article. The positive assessment demonstrates that food and eating out are viewed as a pleasure by the authors.

Another significant element in the 'EATING OUT AS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE' cognitive model is *PLACE*. It is significant for the authors, because their intention is to draw the reader's attention to eating out; eating in this case is also closely connected with such features as the atmosphere, communication, location, staff and other things that accompany the process of eating out and belong to a particular place. The authors mention characteristics of restaurants and cafés such as area size (*It's a little shack; a little bar on Cleveland Street in London's West End; the tables are perched on a little veranda; It's a little, unassuming place that used to be an old fisherman's shack*), the availability of entertainment (*the music is lively*), the exterior (*From the outside there is nothing fancy about it*), location (*Sitting outside gives the best view across the bay to Margate old town; a little bar on Cleveland Street in London's West End; it's on a back street which nobody really walks down; I absolutely love Rockfish restaurant in Brixham fish market. You sit right by the sea and look out as all the trawlers and boats come in, you can hear the*

*seagulls and be overwhelmed by the **pungent smell of the salt sea that's truly specific to the English Riviera**; Rochelle Canteen is a perfect place to go in the summer because it's so **secluded**. It's set in **an old primary school off Arnold Circus**; You have to ring a buzzer to get in through this gate and when you walk through you find yourself **in a lovely walled garden**. The wall blocks out noise from the main road so it's easy to forget you're in London; Every year we have a picnic in **Millfields Park**, near where I live in **Clapton**; we stumbled upon a restaurant **on the harbour front** called Oban Seafood Hut; I love to go to the **Ibérica restaurant in London's Canary Wharf** on a hot evening; You can sit outside on the terrace; The kitchen is open, so you can see the chefs and look on to the fountains of **Cabot Square** in the sun, and it makes you feel like you have been transported to Spain; I spend my birthday every year on a **Hebridean island**; We sit on an **unexcavated Pictish fort**), the characteristics of the clientele (*it's full of locals*), the characteristics of the owners and staff (*the guys who work there are the best hosts possible*; It was set up by **an old fisherman** called John Ogden, who **used to catch and cook the shellfish for his crewmates**), the atmosphere in the place (*delicious, simple food, with a great atmosphere*; It's one of those **simple, unpretentious** places that you don't get much any more).*

Detailed descriptions of restaurants and cafés of this type are necessary in order to persuade the reader to eat out. The examples given above demonstrate that the authors pay particular attention to location, explaining where the place is situated, what surrounds it, the features of the buildings, the nearby sights etc. The authors foreground the *PLACE* component using evaluative the lexical units of adjectives and verbs (*It's a lovely spot in which to sit back and have some wine and Spanish tapas*; It's a **proper** fish restaurant with a big variety; Rochelle Canteen is a **perfect** place to go in the summer; I absolutely **love** Rockfish restaurant in Brixham fish market; you can hear the seagulls and be **overwhelmed** by the pungent smell of the salt sea that's truly specific to

the English Riviera; You have to ring a buzzer to get in through this gate and when you walk through you find yourself in a lovely walled garden etc.). They evaluate the location and some of the features of the restaurants and cafés, because constructing or renewing the ‘EATING OUT AS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE’ cognitive model in recipient’s mind can be performed more efficiently using lexical units with positive connotative meanings.

The authors also use implicit evaluations in order to foreground the *PLACE* component in the cognitive model: *The kitchen is open, so you can see the chefs and look on to the fountains of Cabot Square in the sun, and it makes you feel like you have been transported to Spain.* The author does not use any lexical units with evaluative connotative meanings into this sentence, but the concept of staying in Spain is usually associated with activities such as sunbathing, swimming, relaxing or having fun. All of these activities generate positive emotions, and thus the imaginative placement of a subject in Spain by means of the subjunctive mood conveys the sense of the types of feelings that accompany being in Spain, which are usually evaluated positively: *being in Spain is great → it makes you feel like you have been transported to Spain → feeling like you have been transported to Spain is great.*

In another example the author also uses an implicit evaluation: *The island is covered in macca, the mix of wild flowers and herbs, and it means that you bounce home.* The author does not assess the place explicitly, but the presence of wild flowers and herbs in a location usually evokes a positive attitude with people; consequently, by demonstrating that the place where the author sometimes eats his favorite food is covered in a mix of wild flowers and herbs, the author creates a positive attitude associated with this place. Additionally, the author mentions the unusual process of going home (*it means that you bounce home*), which draws the reader’s attention to the author’s exciting activities on a Hebridean island. Activities like this also evoke

a positive attitude, so the place where these activities can be engaged in receives an implicit positive assessment.

The authors also underline the *ACTIONS* component of the cognitive model, representing actions associated with eating out such as being in a café, restaurant and other places (*Sitting outside gives the best view across the bay to Margate old town; it's a lovely spot in which to sit back and have some wine and Spanish tapas; You sit right by the sea; You can sit outside on the terrace; We sit on an unexcavated Pictish fort*), communicating with friends and relatives (*We spent a lazy day catching up with friends over peppercorn steak, burrata salad and calamari; I pick all day at plates of pulled pork, salads and Cajun meats and veg while catching up with my loved ones*), eating and drinking (*One of my favourite things to eat there, although it sounds ridiculous, is peas in their pod; I pick all day at plates of pulled pork, salads and Cajun meats and veg; There is no finesse: you eat with your fingers from polystyrene plates but that only adds to the magic; We wash down the lamb with burgundy, we feast on cheese and local oatcakes, and then we unleash The Growler: the largest flask I have ever seen, wielded by my friend Magnus, who pours gargantuan measures of whisky with a glint in his eye*). While representing the experience of being in a restaurant, the authors denote the usual position of visitors (*sitting*). The representation of various actions that people perform while eating out is aimed at providing a detailed description of activities like eating out and draw the reader's attention to it. The actions described in the media text help to achieve a positive representation of food in the media discourse as these actions include the action of communicating with friends and family in pleasant surroundings. The actions (eating, communicating etc.) are described positively in accordance with the author's intention to construct a positive representation of food in British media discourse.

The cognitive model components of *PARTICIPANTS*, *FOOD*, *PLACE* and *ACTIONS* are foregrounded in order to achieve the

pragmatic goal of the journalist, which is to draw the reader's attention to outdoor activities such as eating out with friends and family, or to specific places with good food and a unique atmosphere. The journalist tries to guide the reader's future actions in a particular direction by applying expert opinion. The experts, for example, name specific cafés, restaurants and their locations, allowing the reader to perceive the *PLACE* component as dominant. The readers' future choice of places for eating out is influenced by the expert opinion; in this case the *PLACE* component preserves its dominance in the cognitive model of a new event – the reader's visit to the specific places mentioned in the article. Many of the cognitive model's dominant components are underlined via assessment.

The media texts providing a positive representation of food and eating serve as tools for the construction of a new identity of the British nation – as a nation that loves good food and eating out. This new identity differs from the stereotypical opinion of British cuisine: food and the majority of restaurants in Britain have traditionally been appraised in a critical manner. This new identity is also fostered by numerous cooking shows, recipe books, culinary magazines, food programs on TV and radio and other media materials regarding food and eating.

The new identity constructed largely through the media also includes some health components: the British nation is also portrayed as a health-conscious nation whose health predominantly depends on the food consumed. In another article the journalist Felicity Cloake draws the reader's attention to a series of health issues; her article actualizes the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model:

When something makes it into the everyday story of country folk that is The Archers, it's safe to say that it has gone mainstream. So, hearing Tom Archer's plans for a kefir

empire was all the proof I needed that, as he said: “Fermented foods are the future!” As ever, where Gwyneth Paltrow leads, Ambridge follows [The Guardian 07.26.2017].

The author pays particular attention to the *FOOD* component of the cognitive model, which is realized by means of enumerating various foods and drinks renowned for their healthy qualities:

- *The health and wellness brigade have been fizzing over ferments for almost a decade; indeed, way back in 2011, Lindsay Lohan was said to have blamed a positive alcohol test while on probation on her fondness for **kombucha**, a fermented-tea drink. More pertinently, perhaps, Australian journalist and bestselling sugar-avoider Sarah Wilson urges anyone “with auto-immune issues, irritable bowel syndrome, bloating, sugar cravings or any kind of digestive or allergy issue” to give fermenting a go. The Hemsley sisters have called **sauerkraut** “our ultimate condiment for health”, while chef Gizzi Erskine loves **kimchi** – a punchy Korean speciality generally made from cabbage, chilli and garlic – so much that she named her cat after it. Not bad for what is, essentially, just some elderly cabbage.*
- *Live yoghurt is good, but **kefir**, a fermented milk drink that originated in the Caucasus, is better – according to Spector, it contains at least five times as many microbial varieties. **Kombucha** is another decent source, as are **raw milk cheeses, sauerkraut, pickles or kimchi**. **Natto**, Japanese fermented soya beans, may be an acquired taste, but **nutty Indonesian tempeh** is just like **tofu**, but nicer. Just make sure none of it has been heat-treated to increase its shelf life [The Guardian 07.26.2017].*

The *PARTICIPANTS* element of the cognitive model is represented by the names of famous people – actors, food writers, doctors, media personalities and others (*Tom Archer, Gwyneth Paltrow, Lindsay Lohan, Sarah Wilson, The Hemsley sisters, Gizzi Erskine, Michael Pollan, Sandor Katz*), all of whom have been chosen by the journalist to bolster the importance of the information in the text on food and persuade the readers to eat healthy (fermented) foods.

In order to persuade the reader, the journalist also explains the mechanism of fermentation, underlining components of the cognitive model such as the *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* of fermented foods:

*In simple terms, fermentation involves the use of **micro-organisms** to transform food from one state to another – sort of like cooking, but without the application of heat. In the right conditions, **bacteria and yeasts will start to convert the natural sugars in foods into other compounds, such as alcohol or lactic acid**. This not only inhibits the growth of other potentially more harmful bacteria, but also changes the flavour of the food concerned – the distinctive tang of yoghurt, for example, is produced by microbes feeding on the lactose in milk. It also, helpfully, slows the spoiling process [The Guardian 07.26.2017].*

The journalist provides a clear picture of the fermentation process by demonstrating the role of micro-organisms in transforming food from one state to another and the immediate consequences and benefits of this process for food and for the organism.

Another significant component of the cognitive model realized in the media text under analysis is that of *CONSEQUENCES*. This component plays an important role in the process of persuading

readers to change their eating practices. By foregrounding this component, the journalist encourages readers to choose healthy eating practices. The journalist mentions the *CONSEQUENCES* of eating fermented and other healthy foods such as encouraging beneficial bacteria growth (*One way of **boosting your natural gut flora** is to eat more of the kind of foods they thrive on – which, according to the British Dietetic Association, include onions, garlic, asparagus, artichoke, chicory and banana. These prebiotics, as they are known, will **encourage microbe growth**. The other way, which is what concerns us here, is the use of so-called probiotics, foods or supplements containing **beneficial bacteria** that, if they make it as far as our guts, **will take up residence there. Fermented foods, or at least live fermented foods (beware pasteurised pickles, for example), are generally considered to be an excellent source of these desirable microbes**), preventing illnesses (*NHS Choices reckons there is good evidence probiotics can **prevent children on antibiotics developing diarrhoea**; and some evidence that they can **shorten an episode caused by a stomach bug** by up to a day; they may help **relieve the symptoms of irritable bowel syndrome and lactose intolerance, too**), the positive effect on people's health in general (*these foods can be very, very **powerful and healing**, they can **potentially improve digestion and nutrient assimilation, immune function and mental health and more**. Those are benefits that we all can enjoy and that's not the same as curing any particular disease – their place is in the context of a rich and very varied diet*). This method of demonstrating the wide range of benefits of eating fermented foods is a powerful tool for persuading readers as it implies the use of scientific data.**

The journalist also proves the significance of fermented foods for society by demonstrating that some measures have been taken officially, e.g., an open-source science project has been established:

Fortunately, as microbes seem to be the current buzz topic within the scientific community, more such research is likely to be forthcoming: Spector has already been instrumental in the establishment of British Gut, the UK's largest open-source science project, which is investigating the microbial diversity of the human gut, running in tandem with a similar project in the US. For about £350, you get an expert interpretation of your microbiome – and scientists get the benefit of your data [The Guardian 07.26.2017].

The journalist also advises the readers to choose fermented foods and prepare them at home:

In the long term, however, you might be better off preparing your own. Like many other ferments, kimchi is surprisingly easy to make at home with little more than a sturdy jar and a bit of patience. Mosley's recent findings in an episode of BBC2's Trust Me, I'm a Doctor suggest that homemade ferments often contain a more diverse range of microbes than their shop-bought equivalents; some of the commercial products he looked at contained barely any. And, of course, doing it yourself means you can expand your range beyond cabbage, which may well be welcome after a few weeks of fragrant kimchi – I would recommend kefir as a foolproof place to start. We are only just beginning to understand the influence of the trillions of tiny hitchhikers inside each of us, so the true importance, or otherwise, of live foods to our diets may be a while in coming. As Spector puts it: "We're still in the dark ages as to how these amazing things work, but we know they do." And, well, if it's good enough for Tom Archer ... [The Guardian 07.26.2017].

In foregrounding the specific elements of the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model, the journalist is able to achieve her pragmatic goal of drawing the readers’ attention to healthy (fermented) foods. The journalist also aims to create a positive representation of food in British media discourse and portray the British as a health-conscious nation. This way the journalist constructs a new identity for the British nation.

4.2. Connecting food with other spheres

The media also try to construct a positive image of food and eating by associating them with pleasant activities such as being on holiday. This corresponds to the trend of viewing holidays as a combination of travelling, engaging in typical holiday activities, spending time with family and enjoying good meals, and journalists utilize these connections to represent food and eating as an integral part of a holiday. Therefore, food is again represented in this case not as a means of satisfying a basic physiological need, but rather as one way of experiencing positive emotions. This point is given particular focus in an article by Stephen Bush in which the ‘COOKING AND FOOD AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF LEISURE’ cognitive model is realized.

In his article the journalist foregrounds components of the model such as *FOOD* and *DRINK*:

- *If you are travelling abroad, bring **tea** with you. If you are travelling to France, bring **milk**, too.*
- *Casanova used to pack **fresh loaves of bread, butter and cold meats** so that he could breakfast in the style to which he had become accustomed, regardless of where and with whom he woke up.*

- *Always assume that any **spices** you want to buy will be unavailable wherever you are staying.*
- *If you are buying **ingredients** in a language other than your own, taste them before you begin cooking. You may think you have successfully bought **carrots**. It may look as if you have bought **carrots**.*
- *In the absence of a roasting dish, you can achieve the same effect by wrapping **meat** or **fish** in tinfoil or baking paper.*
- *Even if you are not planning to use the restaurants, towns with good places to eat tend to sell good **ingredients**, so stay there.*
- *The **food** lacked flavour and even now, I suspect they are still preparing our “**early breakfast**” before our walk to Westward Ho!*
- *Don't learn to drive, as it only leads to unnecessary trips to procure unnecessary **ingredients** and unwanted sobriety [The Guardian 07.28.2017].*

The significance of these components is understandable, because food and drink have become key constituents of an individual's lifestyle; they serve, among others, as indicators of a person's wealth, taste or background.

The *TIME* and *PLACE* components of the cognitive model are important in this respect, because one of the journalist's goals is to demonstrate the dependence of cooking practices on location and timing:

- *Organised religion may be on the retreat **in the United Kingdom**, but it is alive and well **across the continent**. Always prepare for the possibility that you will not be able to buy anything **on Sunday**.*

- If you are **travelling abroad**, bring tea with you. If you are **travelling to France**, bring milk, too.
- If you are buying ingredients **in a language other than your own**, taste them before you begin cooking.
- If it can be found **in the house you are renting**, assume that the landlords have found it useless, and that is why it is available to their hapless guests.
- Experimentation is for a **lazy weekend at home**.
- Never trust a **holiday destination** where all the hotels are run by the same company. I may be wronging the good **village of Clovelly**, but when I visited, all the hotels and eateries were owned by the same family, and I found them, without exception, awful [The Guardian 07.28.2017].

The journalist links these components to cooking practices in order to show that cooking, just like any other activity, is strongly influenced by location and timing; for example, the choice of ingredients for cooking a meal depends on location; timing (for example, the lack of time, having plenty of time, leisure time, or typical time) also strongly influences the process of cooking. *TIME* and *PLACE* become the dominant components because the journalist is writing about a holiday – a special period of time which may be spent in another place; his emphasis on changes in cooking and eating practices while on holiday proves that they form an integral part of leisure time.

The journalist also foregrounds the following components of the cognitive model: *COOKING UTENSILS AND EQUIPMENT* (Do the same by always bringing a **tin opener** and a **corkscrew** with you on holiday; If the kitchen you're staying in has a working **hob**, a **saucepan** and a **colander**, you'll basically be OK; On the subject of **hobs**: **induction hobs** are better than **gas ones**, as there is less to go wrong,

*and you have to work a lot harder to lose an eyebrow; All **induction hobs** should be treated as if they are on at the highest possible setting until proven otherwise. All **gas hobs** will, of course, keep you awake half the night as you sniff the air, convinced you have left one of them on; In the absence of a **roasting dish**, you can achieve the same effect by wrapping meat or fish in **tin foil** or **baking paper** ... Close to the same effect. Closeish. Look – if you care that much, pack your own **roasting tray**; **Measuring scales** that are not your own should be treated with suspicion; No kitchen ever has enough **Tupperware containers**; Holiday lets are a good test of whether or not you need to buy a new **gadget**; **Dishwashers** make everything better. If you do not have a **dishwasher**, and you are travelling in a party with more than two adults and the children are not old enough to serve as galley slaves, agree a fixed rota on the first evening; Never trust any of the following: tour guides with fezzes; **gas hobs**; or TripAdvisor restaurant reviews, or people who write lists), **COOKERY BOOKS** (*The works of Elizabeth David* are available in travel-friendly paperback size. Invest in some), **COOKING** (*In the absence of a roasting dish, you can achieve the same effect by wrapping meat or fish in tin foil or baking paper*; **Experimentation** is for a lazy weekend at home. No one wants to be a guinea pig on holiday), **ACTIONS ACCOMPANYING COOKING** (*When you arrive: before you do anything, have a thorough rummage in the kitchen you are renting, for two reasons: the first is to draw broad and unfair judgements about the owner; the second is so you know what you can and cannot cook*), **EATING OUT** (*Remember, you can always eat out. When choosing where to eat out, remember that democracy makes everyone unhappy eventually. Impose a restaurant and a time on the rest of the party, and they'll thank you. One day*), **PEOPLE AND TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH RESTAURANTS** (*Never trust any of the following: tour guides with fezzes; gas hobs; or TripAdvisor restaurant reviews, or people who write lists*).*

The author uses a variety of means to foreground the components of the cognitive model. For example, he gives a detailed description of the different utensils and items of equipment used for cooking as well as a positive assessment of these objects: *If the kitchen you're staying in has a working **hob**, a **saucepan** and a **colander**, you'll basically be **OK**; On the subject of **hobs**: **induction hobs** are **better** than **gas ones**, as there is less to go wrong, and you have to work a lot harder to lose an eyebrow; **Dishwashers** make everything **better**. The journalist also gives a negative assessment of some objects and people (***Never trust any of the following: tour guides with fezzes; gas hobs; or TripAdvisor restaurant reviews, or people who write lists***) in order to persuade the reader that a person should act independently and rely primarily on their own experience.*

The journalist also uses the imperative mood as a linguistic means of foregrounding some of the components: he underlines the importance of an action or an object by telling a reader to perform a specific action or an action associated with a particular object: *If you are travelling abroad, **bring** tea with you; If you are buying ingredients in a language other than your own, **taste** them before you begin cooking; Even if you are not planning to use the restaurants, towns with good places to eat tend to sell good ingredients, so **stay** there; Always **prepare** for the possibility that you will not be able to buy anything on Sunday; **Never trust** a holiday destination where all the hotels are run by the same company; **Do the same** by always bringing a tin opener and a corkscrew with you on holiday; Look – if you care that much, **pack** your own roasting tray* [The Guardian 07.28.2017]. The actions ascribed to the reader are associated with *FOOD* and *COOKING UTENSILS* components of the cognitive model.

The 'COOKING AND FOOD AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF LEISURE' cognitive model is realized in the media text because, in addition to the *FOOD* and *DRINK* components, the journalist pays particular attention to components such as *TIME*, *PLACE*, *EATING*

OUT and *PEOPLE AND TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH RESTAURANTS*, thereby associating food and cooking with leisure, which often presupposes a change in location, going to restaurants and cafés, communicating with tour guides or waiters etc.

The journalist also pays particular attention to components such as *COOKING UTENSILS AND EQUIPMENT* and *COOKERY BOOKS*, because his intention is to underline the importance of the cooking process itself, equating it to a leisure activity that provides pleasure and fun, just like any other holiday activity. The foregrounding of these components of the cognitive model is determined by the author's pragmatic goal of shifting social attention to the domain of leisure. The journalist aims to change the concept of leisure which is typically associated with passive activities; he intends to demonstrate an individual's active role in leisure: a modern human being is no longer represented as a passive consumer of objects associated with leisure activities (including food), but rather as an active performer who expresses himself or herself through the process of cooking and who allows cooking to become a part of their holiday activities.

In addition to the description of the active role of an individual, the journalist also mentions the peculiarities of eating out, demonstrating that a person can also perform the usual holiday activities – having a meal at a café or a restaurant without cooking himself/herself. This allows the author to foreground the *FOOD* component as an integral part of leisure. The journalist's advice proves that a person is able to play an active role in the process of choosing a restaurant (*Remember, you can always eat out; Never trust a holiday destination where all the hotels are run by the same company. I may be wronging the good village of Clovelly, but when I visited, all the hotels and eateries were owned by the same family, and I found them, without exception, awful*). In this way, the journalist proves that a person is free to do what he/she wants during their holiday.

In media texts, journalists express their opinion on phenomena which are familiar to everybody. This is a process of the objectivation of the author's ideas concerning various events and phenomena of social, political, cultural and other spheres of life represented in the media. The author's specific ideas which are determined by his cognitive system and beliefs are objectivized in the media texts and this process leads to the objectivation of new ideas in the society. The representation of an object or action in the media produces a contrast between the reader's and the journalist's cognitive systems; the novelty of information about an object or action and an expert opinion about it tend to persuade the reader and renew his cognitive system by introducing a new fragment of knowledge into it. According to Tomaščíková, "food narratives in cooking shows not only have the potential to change consumers' cooking practices, but they may also persuade them to become more active consumers of foodways – food products, food services, food preparation tools; in other words, they can manipulate consumers to buy and use foodways products" [Tomaščíková 2019: 263]. This also can be related to media texts on food. An item of knowledge which is introduced is a new cognitive model that can change the reader's cognitive system and consequently their behavior; for example, he or she may begin to view cooking as one of their leisure activities.

In the media, cooking can also be represented as an entertainment activity. Tomaščíková argues that "in order to attract large numbers of potential television viewers/consumers, food narratives are presented as a form of entertainment. The chefs who host the shows perform the preparation of the food as a pleasurable, fun and entertaining activity, the outcome of which is remarkable food which represents care for the invited guests, themselves the consumers of the food" [Ibid.: 269-270]. One article related to this issue is that written by Sam Jones is about the appearance of the UK ambassador on a Spanish cooking TV show:

With Boris Johnson busy comparing traditional Māori greetings to Glaswegian pub fights and Liam Fox venturing into the chlorinated henhouse, the task of restoring the reputation of Britain’s diplomacy and cuisine fell to the UK’s ambassador to Madrid. Simon Manley hit on a novel solution: why not build bridges by meddling with that most sacred of Spanish dishes, the tortilla de patatas (Spanish omelette), on Spanish TV? After all, things had not gone so badly for Jamie Oliver that time he decided to add chorizo to paella, had they? Appearing on the late-night Spanish cooking programme El Comidista, Manley, 49, boldly dismissed suggestions that some formulas should never be messed with. The show’s host, Mikel Iturriaga, who had entered the ambassador’s residence “on a diplomatic mission to defend Spanish omelette”, was having none of it. “You do some pretty awful things with Spanish omelette over there,” he said. “And it’s an emblematic dish for us.” Not for the first time, the worst transgressors were deemed to be Oliver and those who “commit atrocities” by adding chorizo, cheese, raw onion and, perhaps most egregiously, coriander [The Guardian 07.27.2017].

The connection of these two quite different activities in the media – diplomacy and cooking – serves to emphasize the importance of food in contemporary society; its significance is underlined by connecting it to the figure of an official representative of the state. The media thereby serves as a field in which ideas, activities, personalities or objects can intersect and interact. The contrast between different objects intersected in one media space results in their specific representation: the recipient pays closer attention to these objects due to the contrast between them.

At the same time, two objects juxtaposed in one media space can interact and influence each other: for example, the ambassador is represented as a cook and cooking is represented as an activity that interests everybody, even senior officials. In this case, the media change the cognitive system of a person: they view a senior official within the context of everyday, ordinary life. TV programs of this type also portray food as a bridge connecting various spheres of life: thus, the mental space of everyday cooking and the mental space of diplomacy are connected via food. Consequently, food, as it has been mentioned above, is not represented in the media as means of satisfying a basic physiological need; it is represented as a symbol of a particular culture (*paella, pizza, sushi, Yorkshire pudding, ratatouille* etc.) and an element that is able to build connections between various nations and cultures.

The ‘COOKING AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model is realized in the article, with the following elements being dominant: *FOOD* and *DRINK* (*Simon Manley hit on a novel solution: why not build bridges by meddling with that most sacred of Spanish dishes, the tortilla de patatas (Spanish omelette), on Spanish TV?; Not for the first time, the worst transgressors were deemed to be Oliver and those who “commit atrocities” by adding chorizo, cheese, raw onion and, perhaps most egregiously, coriander; Before he could get through the door, however, he was politely force-fed a selection of premium cheddars washed down with beer from Cornwall and Suffolk; Al contrario, replied the ambassador, without missing a beat. “Thanks to climate change and some important investment, we’ve got some really great wines right now, especially sparkling wines,” he said; Potatoes were sliced, eggs gently cracked into a bowl and a terrifying quantity of extra virgin olive oil decanted into a frying pan. A few minutes later, Iturriaga turned out a perfect, pale golden tortilla; And then, out of nowhere, came the bombshell. “I’ve made a tortilla too,” declared Manley. “A British tortilla using the recipe*

from our famous Jamie Oliver”; With that, they adjourned to the dining room to solicit the opinion of a Spanish chef who managed to spot the difference between the two men’s efforts in a millisecond: “One’s a **cake** and one’s a **Spanish omelette**”; The only truly awkward moment in the episode had come moments earlier when Iturriaga stressed the importance of slicing some of the **potatoes** more thinly than others), **COOKING** (Potatoes **were sliced**, eggs **gently cracked into a bowl** and a terrifying quantity of extra virgin olive oil **decanted into a frying pan**. A few minutes later, Iturriaga **turned out** a perfect, pale golden tortilla). The **FOOD** and **DRINK** elements of the cognitive model are made dominant by enumerating various dishes, drinks and ingredients (**tortilla de patatas, chorizo, cheese, raw onion, coriander, cheddars, beer, wines etc.**), which refer the article to the topic of food.

Another dominant element in the cognitive model realized is that of **ENTERTAINMENT**. The journalist mentions many of the jokes which were told in the show in order to represent cooking as a relaxing and pleasant activity and thereby arouse the reader’s interest in it:

- *To settle the matter, Iturriaga offered to cook Manley a tortilla in the ambassador’s kitchen. Before he could get through the door, however, he was politely force-fed a selection of premium cheddars washed down with beer from Cornwall and Suffolk. “Don’t worry,” said the ambassador, “the beers aren’t really warm”. **In what only a cynic could imagine was a scripted remark, Iturriaga posited that beer was being served because there was no decent wine in the UK.** Al contrario, replied the ambassador, without missing a beat. “**Thanks to climate change and some important investment, we’ve got some really great wines right now, especially sparkling wines,**” he said.*

- *Once finally in the kitchen and issued with a regulation union flag apron – “revenge for the Spanish Armada?” wondered Iturriaga – the demonstration began.*
- *And then, out of nowhere, came the bombshell. “I’ve made a tortilla too,” declared Manley. “A **British tortilla** using the recipe from our famous Jamie Oliver.” The Spaniard’s eyes fell on the edible interloper with all the enthusiasm of a foreign visitor being pressed to try Marmite for the first time. Iturriaga’s hand flew, reflexively, to his brow.*
- *The only truly awkward moment in the episode had come moments earlier when Iturriaga stressed the importance of slicing some of the potatoes more thinly than others. “That’s easier if you have a mandolin,” said the Spaniard. “I bet the French embassy has a mandolin [The Guardian 07.27.2017].*

The participants in the show use food jokes to build connections between spheres such as economics, climate change and history. The journalist selects these jokes for his article as a means of representing food as a medium for connecting various spheres of life. Besides, a word combination like *a British tortilla* is also used as a joke, but at the same time the combination of the adjective and noun in this linguistic unit demonstrates the intersection of culinary traditions in a single dish; consequently, food is represented as a medium for connecting and interrelating different cultures.

Referring to the Slovak context, Tomaščíková notes that “food programmes can introduce elements of Slovak culture to the surface of food discourses and evoke present-day meanings for their audiences through memories, traditions, landscapes, heritage elements, etc.” [Tomaščíková 2019: 274]. The narrative of the TV cooking show also introduces elements of culture (*union flag apron*), history (*the Spanish*

Armada) economy (*important investment*), environment (*climate change*) and other spheres into the fragment of media discourse connected with food, thereby adding a new meaning to the typical everyday act of cooking: in the narrative these actions become connected with economics, climate change, history and culture.

The *PARTICIPANTS* component of the cognitive model is foregrounded by the language means signifying a Spanish TV host (*Mikel Iturriaga*) and a British ambassador (*Simon Manley*). This component is quite significant within the cognitive model because it is represented by a celebrity and a senior official, who are shown to be engaged in cooking. Consequently, cooking is represented as a significant activity by the means of ascribing it to people of important status in society.

The media text about the TV cooking show is constructed in the form of a narrative to show the process of cooking as an event that unfolds in accordance with a certain inner logic and rules. According to Eco, “a narrative is the description of particular actions; this description comprises participants, their intentions, some condition, a particular change that has a reason and a goal as well as mental conditions, emotions and circumstances” [Eco 2005: 58]. A cooking narrative refers to a series of actions accompanied by specific language units, demonstrating the sequence and peculiarities of the cooking process: *invitation to start the process of cooking* (*To settle the matter, Iturriaga offered to cook Manley a tortilla in the ambassador’s kitchen*) → *series of actions constituting the process and the result of cooking* (*Potatoes were sliced, eggs gently cracked into a bowl and a terrifying quantity of extra virgin olive oil decanted into a frying pan. A few minutes later, Iturriaga turned out a perfect, pale golden tortilla*) → *tasting the dish being cooked* (*Iturriaga glanced at the camera to deliver an extraordinarily non-committal “very tasty”*) → *getting an expert’s opinion* (*With that, they adjourned to the dining room to solicit the opinion of a Spanish chef who managed to spot the difference*

between the two men's efforts in a millisecond: "One's a cake and one's a Spanish omelette") etc.

One of the rules of a cooking narrative is the presence of a "conflict" or several "conflicts" that should be resolved by a series of actions accompanied by the specific elements of conversation during the show. The "conflict" is usually over a problem arising from the act of cooking (for example, something should be cooked according to a certain recipe; specific ingredients or utensils should be used; the help of an expert should be sought; somebody should be taught how to cook a certain dish). This "conflict" may involve several parties: for example, the cook vs. the audience in the studio and the TV audience; two cooks vs. the audience; a cook/several cooks vs. a person/people including the audience who should be taught cooking a certain dish.

In the media text under analysis here, the "conflict" concerns the problem of a British individual cooking a traditional Spanish dish (*The show's host, Mikel Iturriaga, who had entered the ambassador's residence "on a diplomatic mission to defend Spanish omelette", was having none of it. "You do some pretty awful things with Spanish omelette over there," he said. "And it's an emblematic dish for us." Not for the first time, the worst transgressors were deemed to be Oliver and those who "commit atrocities" by adding chorizo, cheese, raw onion and, perhaps most egregiously, coriander. To settle the matter, Iturriaga offered to cook Manley a tortilla in the ambassador's kitchen*). The "conflict" between the two parties including the British ambassador and the show's host is marked by the specific language units used in their conversation, which possesses the metaphoric meanings of conflict and crime (*to defend, the worst transgressors, commit atrocities*) or even accusations (*You do some pretty awful things with Spanish omelette over there*). The offer to cook a tortilla is presented in the media text as a challenge and the show itself can be viewed as a competition between rivals, a

sense which is confirmed by the use of language units with the metaphorical meanings of conflict or accusations. The narrative also contains an element that presupposes the resolution of the conflict (**To settle the matter**, *Iturriaga offered to cook Manley a tortilla in the ambassador's kitchen*). This form of resolution is an essential and integral part of a cooking narrative.

As was mentioned above, a narrative may be comprised of several accompanying conflicts that also should be resolved. The narrative in the media text analyzed here informs the reader of other conflicts (*In what only a cynic could imagine was a scripted remark, Iturriaga posited that beer was being served because **there was no decent wine in the UK***), that is instantly resolved by the ambassador's parry (*Al contrario, replied the ambassador, without missing a beat. **"Thanks to climate change and some important investment, we've got some really great wines right now, especially sparkling wines,"** he said*).

The end of the show is marked by the resolution of the conflict as both sides agree on the success of the dish (**"Tasty, no?"** said Manley. *Iturriaga glanced at the camera to deliver an extraordinarily non-committal **"very tasty"***) and use a joke as a sign of this resolution (*The only truly awkward moment in the episode had come moments earlier when Iturriaga stressed the importance of slicing some of the potatoes more thinly than others. "That's easier if you have a mandolin," said the Spaniard. "I bet the French embassy has a mandolin"*). The joke turns the whole process preceding it into an entertaining activity, which proves that the media text is used to realize the 'COOKING AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' cognitive model.

The foregrounding of the *FOOD* and *DRINK, ENTERTAINMENT*, and *PARTICIPANTS* components of the cognitive model is determined by the author's pragmatic goal to represent food and cooking as a significant object and activity that play an important role in social, cultural and even political life and which are able to unite various people and fields of activity. The journalist underlines the

ENTERTAINMENT component of the cognitive model in order to demonstrate that food and cooking are also able to entertain and give pleasure to people engaged in various activities. Food and cooking are contrasted with two other important activities – the worlds of diplomacy and the entertainment industry – and are represented as a medium for connecting these spheres. By these means, food and cooking are granted a specific focus of attention in the media.

As has been mentioned above, food and eating are represented by the mass media as phenomena which have penetrated into almost all spheres of life. One activity which is also connected with food and eating is the sphere of sport. A healthy balanced diet is as significant for a sports person as exercising or participating in competitions. However, in some cases the mass media in Britain try to build a different connection between food and sports; the journalist Brian Oliver, for instance, tries to portray sports as a medium for propagating a healthy diet:

At 3pm next Saturday the world's first and only vegan football club will make sporting history when they play in the Football League for the first time. Forest Green Rovers, who were founded in the 19th century by a man named Peach, and play in green at the appropriately named New Lawn, take on Barnet – the Bees – in their first fixture in League Two. They will use their new status to spread the message of veganism around the sporting world. “We’re having a big impact because we’re counterintuitive,” said Dale Vince, the multimillionaire who owns the club, the green energy company Ecotricity, and is a big donor to the Labour party. “Spreading the vegan word through the world of football – what could be more counterintuitive than that?” [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

In this case, the center of attention is not food, but sportsmen and women who use their status and characteristics to propagate the idea of a vegan diet. This approach is shown through the fact that lexical units denoting food and drink are virtually absent in the text. In his article, the journalist constructs a specific model in which it is not food which is necessary for sports, but rather that sports are necessary for a certain kind of food; by using this type of pattern to represent facts in the text, the journalist helps to portray food as a significant object in social life. The journalist therefore uses the media text to realize the ‘SPORTSPEOPLE AS A MEDIUM FOR PROPAGATING A HEALTHY DIET’ cognitive model, in which some of the components are dominant in accordance with the author’s intention.

One of the main components of the cognitive model is that of *PARTICIPANTS*; the journalist pays particular attention to the people who have played an active role in disseminating ideas about a vegan diet. This component is foregrounded by various language units which the author uses to establish an image of people who promote a healthy lifestyle and sports activities: *Vince, who ensures that only plant-based food is available to players and spectators at the stadium in Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, is not alone. Famous athletes in a wide range of sports are forsaking meat and appear to be having a big impact on the number of people trying a plant-based diet.* In this extract the journalist uses the personal name of a businessman and a word combination denoting well-known representatives of the sports sphere to foreground the *PARTICIPANTS* component of the cognitive model realized in the media text. The feature rendered by the adjective *famous* characterizes the participants and encourages the reader to pay particular attention to this component. In the following extract the journalist indicates the personal names of famous sportspeople and the sports in which they are engaged in order to underline the *PARTICIPANTS* component: *Some of the world’s leading footballers, including Barcelona’s Lionel Messi and Manchester City’s Sergio*

Agüero, do not eat meat during the playing season, while England striker **Jermaine Defoe** has gone a big step further by taking up a vegan diet. Wimbledon finalist **Venus Williams**, an Italian rugby international, a US Olympic weightlifter, a number of hulking American football players, former heavyweight world champion **David Haye**, two snooker world champions and several top Australian cricketers are also on the vegan list. Other sports with top-level vegans are wrestling, surfing, cycling, ice hockey, parkour – the “extreme gymnastics” sport that may be added to the Olympic programme – squash, bobsleigh, mixed martial arts fighting and ultra-running; An aristocratic real tennis player who won a silver medal at the London 1908 Olympic Games was an early promoter of vegetarianism in Britain. **Eustace Miles**, a philanthropist, wrote *Health Without Meat*, which was a bestseller for years after it was published in 1915; A few years later **Paavo Nurmi**, the Finn who was a vegetarian from boyhood, would establish himself as the greatest middle- and long-distance runner of the 20th century. He won nine Olympic golds; The Australian swimmer **Murray Rose**, nicknamed “the seaweed streak” because he ate a lot of seaweed in his vegan diet, was 17 when he won three Olympic golds in 1956; In the television age **Ed Moses**, unbeaten for eight years at the 400m hurdles, and 100m world record holder **Leroy Burrell** were vegetarian, and the biggest name by far to adopt a vegan diet was **Carl Lewis**, the world’s most famous sprinter before the chicken-nugget lover **Usain Bolt** came along. The notorious boxer **Mike Tyson** also adopted a plant-based diet after he quit the ring; **Jason Gillespie**, one of Australian cricket’s great bowlers until he retired in 2006, became a vegan during his highly successful five-year stint as coach of Yorkshire [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

The *PARTICIPANTS* component of the cognitive model realized here also includes people who promote ideas about the benefits of a vegan diet (the primary source) and they “use” the famous sportspeople for this purpose. The information about these *PARTICIPANTS* is

indicated by the language means denoting a representative of the Vegan Society: *But Dominika Piasecka, media officer for the Vegan Society, welcomed the sporting newcomers and predicted there would be more* [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

The research undertaken here has demonstrated that the most manifold component of the cognitive model is the *PARTICIPANTS* component – it also includes ordinary people who choose to follow a plant-based diet:

The England-based Vegan Society, founded in 1944 when the movement began, is overseeing “the fastest-growing lifestyle movement of the 21st century”. Its researchers put the number of vegans in Britain at 542,000 – up 260% in 10 years – and estimate that about 1% of the population in Britain, Germany and the US is vegan. “It is very likely that we will see an increase in the number of vegan sportspeople because more of them are starting to realise the benefits of a vegan diet,” Piasecka said. Forest Green Rovers are “breaking stereotypes and helping people to associate veganism with health, fitness and wellbeing” [The Guardian 07.30.2017].

The the widespread use of the *PARTICIPANTS* component can be explained by the complex process of disseminating ideas about a vegan diet and the role of various people who are participating in this dissemination, a relationship which can be illustrated by the following scheme:

PARTICIPANTS

People who wish to disseminate ideas (the primary source of ideas) → sportspeople (medium) → ordinary people who choose to follow a vegan diet (object of influence)

Along with the *PARTICIPANTS* component, the journalist also actualizes the *CHARACTERISTICS* component of the cognitive model through the use of language means that indicate their nationalities (*England, Italian, US, American, Australian*), names of clubs (*Barcelona, Manchester City*), the names of the famous sports events (*Wimbledon, Olympic*), their present and past sports titles and achievements (*finalist, former heavyweight world champion, two snooker world champions, a silver medal, Olympic golds, one of Australian cricket's great bowlers*), their social status (*an aristocratic real tennis player*). Some of the adjectives and nouns used by the author demonstrate their significant place in the world of sports (*leading, top, great, the greatest, unbeaten, the biggest name, the world's most famous*).

The extensive use of these features is important in introducing a new model into the reader's cognitive system and the purpose of this introduction is to persuade the reader to follow a healthy lifestyle. This purpose is efficiently achieved by appealing to the characteristics of some of the foremost representatives of the sports sphere who support healthy eating. The journalist demonstrates that specific *CHARACTERISTICS* of *PARTICIPANTS* help them to disseminate the veganism message (*They will use their new status to spread the message of veganism around the sporting world; Forest Green Rovers are "breaking stereotypes and helping people to associate veganism with health, fitness and wellbeing"*).

The journalist also demonstrates *PARTICIPANTS* with opposing *CHARACTERISTICS*, i.e., sportspeople who occasionally follow a plant-based diet:

- *Venus Williams is widely seen, even by herself, as a "cheagan", a cheating vegan who does not stick strictly to the lifestyle. A blogger on the ecorazzi website criticized Hays for using veganism as "nothing but a*

*vessel for self-promotion and adulation. For the sake of the animals ... we should pay no attention, nor give any credence to the positions of these athletes **who are interested in nothing but their own careers**".*

- *"I get concerned about the people who simply follow this behaviour because their favourite athlete or celebrity has done so. Unfortunately, people who choose to 'go vegan', which often equates to merely eating plant-based, **for selfish reasons such as performance benefits or weight loss, tend to be the ones who fall off the wagon and go back to eating animal products later**".*
- *The strongest sporting voice against uncommitted plant-eaters is Neil Robinson, who became the first vegan footballer in Britain, and, he thinks, the world. He played for Everton, Swansea and others in a 16-year career from 1974, and says football is still "in the stone age" for vegans. He is critical of "**cheagans**" and **fad dieters** [The Guardian 07.30.2017].*

The *CHARACTERISTICS* component is also multi-faceted: true vegans are portrayed as being opposed to occasional vegans. By representing the opposing features of the *PARTICIPANTS*, the journalist underlines the *CHARACTERISTICS* component within the framework of the cognitive model realized in the media text. The *CHARACTERISTICS* component is important, because it is one of the main tools for implementing the main activity in this cognitive model – propagating ideas about healthy lifestyles. The *CHARACTERISTICS* of the *PARTICIPANTS* are placed in opposition in order to show the contrast between them and this contrast is then used to persuade the reader to follow a healthy lifestyle.

In the cognitive model realized in the article, priority is given to the *PARTICIPANTS* and their *CHARACTERISTICS* rather than to food

itself. *PARTICIPANTS* and *CHARACTERISTICS* are the most dominant components within this cognitive model due to their multiple representation in the media text. The journalist foregrounds these components because they force the reader to draw comparisons between their own features and the specific *CHARACTERISTICS* of the *PARTICIPANTS* (for example, their present and past sports titles and achievements, high social status, or their significant place in the world of sports) thereby helping persuade the reader to adopt a vegan diet.

Another dominant component in the cognitive model realized in the media text is *ACTIONS*. The journalist describes the specific steps which sportspeople and businesspeople take in order to disseminate ideas about a healthy vegan diet. This component includes actions such as providing plant-based food at a stadium (*Vince, who ensures that only plant-based food is available to players and spectators at the stadium in Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, is not alone; No animal products are on sale at the stadium*), refusing to eat meat either entirely or for a limited period of time (*Famous athletes in a wide range of sports are forsaking meat and appear to be having a big impact on the number of people trying a plant-based diet; Some of the world's leading footballers, including Barcelona's Lionel Messi and Manchester City's Sergio Agüero, do not eat meat during the playing season, while England striker Jermaine Defoe has gone a big step further by taking up a vegan diet; The players are not vegan, they simply have to eat plant-based meals at matches and training; While Vince and the Vegan Society welcome the new wave of plant-powered sports stars, others are less happy because many are giving up meat for personal performance benefits, not because they are in tune with the vegan lifestyle and compassion for animals*), changing their diets, disseminating information about diets which can affect various representatives of the sports sphere (*"We don't check up on them away from the club but we hear that players are changing their approach [to their diet], and it happens with fans too," said Vince. "Just doing*

these things and talking about it has an effect on everybody – players, fans, even the media”; *The sports stars’ influence “has definitely helped to further the cause of veganism,” she said. “People really do take notice, especially if they’re a fan of the person”*; *Forest Green Rovers are “breaking stereotypes and helping people to associate veganism with health, fitness and wellbeing”*). The *ACTIONS* component is significant for the journalist, because the various activities of some of the *PARTICIPANTS* (sportspeople, businesspeople, vegans, media officers and others) within the cognitive model realized various activities serve as an example which could be emulated by ordinary people who may themselves choose to follow a healthy lifestyle.

In the ‘SPORTSPEOPLE AS A MEDIUM FOR PROPAGATING A HEALTHY DIET’ cognitive model, the components *PARTICIPANTS*, their *CHARACTERISTICS* and *ACTIONS* play the major role in the process of associating veganism with health, fitness and wellbeing. This process is viewed as the ultimate goal of people involved in this sphere. By foregrounding these specific components, the journalist can achieve his pragmatic goal of persuading the reader to adopt a vegan diet because the reader is influenced by the particular features of the *PARTICIPANTS*, i.e., following a vegan diet, that are demonstrated in the media text.

A further goal of the journalist coincides with the goal analyzed in the previous example – the representation of food and healthy eating as a significant object that plays an important role in social life and which is able to unite various people and fields of activity. The author demonstrates that healthy eating (the adoption of a vegan diet in particular) can connect different spheres of life; for example, through the sphere of professional sports the concept can penetrate into and transform an aspect of everyday life such as the diet of the general public. By these means, British media discourse represents healthy food and eating as significant objects that are an integral part of the social,

cultural, political and sporting spheres and play an important role in the functioning of these spheres.

In comparison with American media discourse, British media discourse tries to construct a positive representation of food and cooking. This type of representation is determined by various pragmatic goals of journalists in creating a new media reality referring to food and cooking. Journalists' pragmatic goals result in the realization of specific cognitive models within British media discourse.

By changing the cognitive models that exist in the recipient's mind, the journalist introduces changes into social reality: some cognitive models undergo transformation; the introduction and placement of a renewed (transformed) cognitive model into the recipient's mind results in a transformation in their attitude towards British food, i.e., a new social reality is constructed. The recipient in this case acquires a new feature: a new specific attitude towards British food that affects their actions in real life. In this way the journalist tries to construct a new cultural identity of the British nation in which food is represented as a source of national pride.

Moreover, British media discourse represents healthy food and eating as significant objects that are an integral part of social, cultural, political and sporting spheres and play an important role in the functioning of these spheres. The media try to exercise social control by publishing media texts on healthy food and representing food, eating out with friends and family (going to cafés, restaurants) and eating in general in a positive aspect. In this way, the media attempt to change the readers' eating practices, portray eating out as a pleasant way of spending free time and persuade them to eat healthy foods. This attempt corresponds to the general idea that health is one of the most valuable possessions of people. It also proves that society pays particular attention to health problems caused by unhealthy eating habits and is trying to exert control over this sphere.

British and American discourses use different strategies in the promotion of ideas about food and healthy eating. British media discourse tries to underline the importance of food and healthy eating for society through positive representations of food and eating out or by associating food and cooking with entertainment, leisure and sports. In order to guide society towards healthy diets and lifestyles, American media discourse uses a different strategy: it mostly concentrates on the negative effects of unhealthy food and eating and attempts to influence the reader on this basis.

CHAPTER 5

COGNITIVE AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF FOOD REPRESENTATION IN RUSSIAN MEDIA DISCOURSES

5.1. Positive representations of food

Russian media discourse also focuses on food and cooking, although Russian journalists tend to focus largely on the most essential features of food. The specificity of Russian media texts on food depends on the genre of the articles and the journalist's intention to inform and to persuade the reader to accept his/her point of view. Russian media texts also contain cognitive models, the realization of which is determined by the journalists' pragmatic goals aimed at constructing a specific picture of food and cooking in the recipient's mind. This picture is multi-faceted and is determined by the following aspects:

- Russia has its own unique cuisine which has formed over the years and which is strongly influenced by peculiarities of the Soviet era as well as by European and Eastern cuisines;
- lifestyles and, consequently, the selection of food consumed in Russia have undergone considerable transformations over the last 30 years due to the radical social, political and economic changes which the country has undergone;
- in Russia there are about 190 nationalities, many of which boast their own unique cuisines, a feature which has led to combinations and interrelations between these various cuisines;

- Russian citizens, especially those living in big cities, can choose to eat in a multitude of restaurants, cafés, food courts, kiosks etc. offering a wide variety of Russian, European, Mediterranean and other dishes;
- Russian society is becoming increasingly concerned about healthy food, sports and healthy lifestyles in general.

One of the topics covered by Russian media texts on food is that of street food. An article by Anastasia Chepovskaya is about the most popular type of street food in Russia:

Всего за несколько лет шаурма из недорогого перекуса, часто сомнительного качества, превратилось в культовое блюдо. Ценители мяса в лаваше объединились в многотысячное сообщество, в котором помогают найти «ту самую» шаурму среди сотен посредственных. Для этого созданы многочисленные карты, рейтинги и обзоры лучших киосков, которые набирают миллионы просмотров на YouTube [Izvestiya 08.08.2019].

The journalist tries to draw the reader’s attention to street food and uses the article to realize the ‘KEBAB AS THE MOST POPULAR STREET FOOD IN RUSSIA’ cognitive model:

Table 5.1.1 – ‘**KEBAB AS THE MOST POPULAR STREET FOOD IN RUSSIA**’ Cognitive Model

General components of the model (macrostructure)	Specific components of the model	Textual elements used to realize the components of the model
PLACE	RUSSIA, CITIES AND STREETS, CITY EATERIES, CLUBS	Мы берем это на улицах : как шаурма стала любимым фастфудом в России ; При этом экспериментальные и соответственно более дорогие вариации донеров в России

Continuation of table 5.1.1

		<p>пока приживаются плохо; Чтобы найти лучшую шаурму в Даниловском районе Москвы, корреспондент «Известий» воспользовалась популярным приложением «Где шаверма», в котором тысячи точек с донерами рассортированы по количеству положительных отзывов; В фудкортах и гастромаркетах это блюдо появилось из-за высокого спроса: люди ищут понятную и привычную для них еду; Именно поэтому понятную и похожую еду начали продавать в фудтраках и на гастромаркетах; В свое время шаурму продавали в клубе Gipsy, в заведении для золотой молодежи – это было достаточно смелое решение</p>
<p>PARTICIPANTS, THEIR CHARACTERISTICS</p>	<p>GENERAL PUBLIC, KEBAB SELLER, FANS OF KEBAB, BUSINESSPEOPLE, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCH, BLOGGERS, CHEFS, NUTRITION EXPERTS</p>	<p>Почему россияне перестали бояться отравлений и придумали культ мяса в лаваше; В очереди за шаурмой стояла работница коммунальных служб в оранжевом жилете, мужчина в деловом костюме, парень спортивного телосложения и интеллигентный седовласый мужчина в очках в тонкой оправе; По его словам, мужчин за шаурмой приходит немного больше, чем женщин; Шаурма – блюдо, которое затронуло все социальные слои, а в гастромаркеты ходят люди совершенно разного возраста и дохода: и хипстеры, и студенты, и бизнесмены. Люди часто берут еду, которую они знают, благодаря сформировавшейся привычке; Шаурмист, представившийся Аббасом, работает в этой точке</p>

Continuation of table 5.1.1

		<p>примерно пять месяцев; Ценители мяса в лаваше объединились в многотысячное сообщество, в котором помогают найти «ту самую» шаурму среди сотен посредственных; Благодаря стартаперам шаурма у молодого поколения перестала вызывать скверные ассоциации, как это было десяток лет назад; Пытаясь обыграть трепетное отношение потребителей к мясу в лаваше, владелица пермского кафе навлекла на себя гнев местной епархии, которая пожаловалась на оскорбление чувств верующих в рекламе заведения. На постере изображена полуобнаженная модель в образе святой, а вместо крыльев у нее шаурма. В епархии заявили, что решили обратиться в полицию из-за шквала звонков от возмущенных людей; О шаурме говорили и во время «прямой линии» с президентом, когда блогер Амиран Сардаров пригласил Владимира Путина в свою лавку и пообещал назвать донер в его честь; шеф мясных концепций фудмаркета «Вокруг света» Максим Кузнецов; По мнению диетолога Сергея Обложко, шаурма сочетает в себе все элементы, необходимые организму; врач-диетолог, кандидат медицинских наук Маргарита Королева</p>
ОБЪЕСТ	КЕВАВ	<p>В 1990-е шаурма была обычной едой вокзалов и вещевых рынков; Фактически это блюдо всегда продавало себя само: маркетинговая активность вокруг шаурмы набрала обороты лишь с появлением</p>

Continuation of table 5.1.1

		соцсетей и была инициирована скорее потребителями, чем продавцами
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT	INGREDIENTS	Как отмечает диетолог, овощи, куриное мясо и некалорийные соусы являются хорошим способом перекусить в ритме большого города; Свежие овощи, понятный соус, тонкая лепешка – это более чем нормальная и не слишком калорийная еда; На сегодняшний день для большинства шеф-поваров, которые пытаются сделать из шавермы что-то кулинарно значимое, это по-прежнему лаваш со спорного качества соусами, в который что-то завернуто внутри
	POSITIVE ASSESSMENT	В мае о полезности шаурмы спорили врачи. По мнению диетолога Сергея Обложко, шаурма сочетает в себе все элементы, необходимые организму . Как отмечает диетолог, овощи, куриное мясо и некалорийные соусы являются хорошим способом перекусить в ритме большого города; Шаурма снискала популярность благодаря низкой цене . В 1990-х и начале нулевых годов это был самый доступный стритфуд после хот-догов, которые продавались возле станций метро и в местах массового скопления людей. Именно поэтому понятную и похожую еду начали продавать в фудтраках и на гастромаркетах, рассказал в беседе с «Известиями» шеф мясных концепций фудмаркета «Вокруг света» Максим Кузнецов; Благодаря стартаперам шаурма у молодого поколения перестала вызывать

Continuation of table 5.1.1

		<p>скверные ассоциации, как это было десяток лет назад. Несмотря на то, что многие шаурму ругают, практически каждый ее ел, иногда втихаря. На сегодняшний день это, наверно, самый популярный российский стритфуд, даже несмотря на то что это блюдо турецкой кухни, родившееся в Германии; Популярность шаурмы среди прочего он связывает с удобством: ее легко есть на ходу, а за 120-150 рублей трудно найти другое блюдо, которым можно наесться; Бургеры выходят чуть дороже, американский фастфуд приелся, а шаурма в целом достаточно безвредное блюдо; Свежие овощи, понятный соус, тонкая лепешка – это более чем нормальная и не слишком калорийная еда; В фудкортах и гастромаркетах это блюдо появилось из-за высокого спроса: люди ищут понятную и привычную для них еду; Разве что где-то бывает невкусно, хотя в Москве очень много мест с прекрасной шаурмой</p>
	NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT	<p>Однако есть две проблемы, мешающие считать шаурму диетическим блюдом: большое количество масла и тесто на концах шаурмы. Другой врач-диетолог, кандидат медицинских наук Маргарита Королева, напротив, призвала не покупать шаурму в городских киосках, а приготовить ее самостоятельно или отдать предпочтение фруктам</p>
ACTION	PROCESS OF COOKING KEBAB	«В день я готовлю от 20 до 70 лавашей с мясом . Устаю, конечно,

End of table 5.1.1

		сильно, бывает, что весь день не присесть. Смена у нас по 12 часов каждый день, выходных нет. Работаем круглосуточно. Я прихожу к 9 утра, а мой сменщик вечером и работает всю ночь. Раньше я и сам работал по ночам», – рассказал Аббас; Жарить на гриле – это самый безопасный способ приготовления, потому что нет прямого контакта с маслом
NEW FEATURES	USING AN APP	Чтобы найти лучшую шаурму в Даниловском районе Москвы, корреспондент «Известий» воспользовалась популярным приложением «Где шаверма» , в котором тысячи точек с донерами рассортированы по количеству положительных отзывов

The journalist uses the media text to realize the ‘KEBAB AS THE MOST POPULAR STREET FOOD IN RUSSIA’ cognitive model. This model refers to the positive representation of food and street food in particular in Russian media discourse as the journalist tries to emphasize its simplicity, convenience and low price, aspects which are usually assessed positively by people.

The cognitive model realized in the text has some dominant components which play a major role in instilling the new cognitive model or renewing existing models in the reader’s mind. The journalist uses various language means to underline these components while introducing the cognitive model. The *PLACE* component is foregrounded by means of the proper names denoting the country (*Россия*), various cities of Russia (*Москва, Краснодар*) or a city district (*Даниловский район Москвы*). The journalist also mentions objects such as the integral parts or infrastructure of cities (*улицы*) and

city eateries (*фудкорты, фудтраки, гастромаркеты*), all which are the main locations for the sale and consumption of kebabs. The author also includes information about a chic night club in which kebabs are sold (*В свое время шаурму продавали в клубе Gipsy, в заведении для золотой молодежи – это было достаточно смелое решение*); in this case, the foregrounding of the *PLACE* component serves to emphasize the popularity of the dish among representatives of different social strata.

The naming of various places in Russia is important in connecting the objects of space and food: the journalist associates a particular kind of street food with a particular space. Although the kebab did not originate in Russia, it is a popular dish across the country, a fact which is proven by the data in the text. The journalist also mentions foreign cuisine and other places in the world (*это блюдо турецкой кухни, родившееся в Германии*) in order to inform the reader about the origins of the kebab and its popularity in other countries.

Another dominant component within the cognitive model is that of *PARTICIPANTS* which is represented by lexical units denoting various people engaged in the process of cooking, consuming and disseminating information about kebabs: members of the general public including men and women who often eat kebab (*россияне, мужчины, женщины, люди*), a kebab seller who cooks kebabs (*шаурмист*), fans of the kebab (*ценители мяса в лаваше*), businesspeople engaged in the catering industry (*владелица пермского кафе, стартаперы*), a blogger who participated in a television question-and-answer session with the President (*блогер Амиран Сардаров*), a chef (*шеф мясных концепций фудмаркета «Вокруг света» Максим Кузнецов*), and nutritionists (*диетолог Сергей Обложко, врач-диетолог, кандидат медицинских наук Маргарита Королева*). The *PARTICIPANTS* component also includes representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church eparchy (*епархия*) who denounced kebab advertisements that employed religious symbols. This event

demonstrates the popularity of kebab as street food in Russia, a phenomenon which is able to unite people of various social, cultural and professional backgrounds. It also proves that food can unite different fields of activity and that this unity often occurs in the media space, which serves as a model of the world in which some objects (for example, food) are dominant.

The journalist foregrounds the *PARTICIPANTS* component by indicating many people engaged in various activities. A wide range of different *PARTICIPANTS* are indicated in order to show the popularity of the kebab among different people and to show that many people with different characteristics are engaged in the production and consumption of kebabs.

The journalist also underlines the *CHARACTERISTICS* of the *PARTICIPANTS* component of the cognitive model, concentrating primarily on the features of people who enjoy eating kebabs. The journalist mentions specific *CHARACTERISTICS* of the *PARTICIPANTS* including their occupation and even their membership of a particular subculture (*работница коммунальных служб, хипстеры, студенты, бизнесмены*), clothes (*в оранжевом жилете, мужчина в деловом костюме*), appearance (*интеллигентный седовласый мужчина в очках в тонкой оправе*), social strata (*все социальные слои*), age (*люди совершенно разного возраста*) and income (*совершенно разного дохода*). The journalist clearly demonstrates the different and even seemingly contradictory *CHARACTERISTICS* of the *PARTICIPANTS* in order to persuade the reader that kebabs are consumed by various people and it is on these grounds that it has gained such a level of popularity in Russia.

The journalist also foregrounds the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (KEBAB)* component of the cognitive model to explain the popularity of the kebab in Russia, including the ingredients of the dish (*овощи, куриное мясо и некалорийные соусы, свежие овощи,*

соус, тонкая лепешка, лаваш). This allows the journalist to stress the important characteristics of the kebab – its simplicity and nutritious value.

The *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT* component also includes both positive and negative features as emphasized by the journalist. Assessment is an efficient means of underlining certain components of the cognitive models realized in the media texts. The journalist gives a positive assessment of *CHARACTERISTICS* of the kebab such as its health benefits (*полезность шаурмы, шаурма сочетает в себе все элементы, необходимые организму, шаурма в целом достаточно безвредное блюдо, более чем нормальная и не слишком калорийная еда*), the convenience of eating it in different conditions in the city (*овощи, куриное мясо и некалорийные соусы являются хорошим способом перекусить в ритме большого города, популярность шаурмы среди прочего он связывает с удобством: ее легко есть на ходу*) and its low price (*Шаурма снискала популярность благодаря низкой цене, самый доступный стритфуд, за 120-150 рублей трудно найти другое блюдо, которым можно наестся*). The journalist also offers a positive assessment of the kebab, mentioning its ubiquity and popularity (*именно поэтому понятную и похожую еду начали продавать в фудтраках и на гастромаркетах, люди ищут понятную и привычную для них еду, несмотря на то, что многие шаурму ругают, практически каждый ее ел, иногда втихаря, самый популярный российский стритфуд*) and the interest of entrepreneurs in kebabs (*Благодаря стартаперам шаурма у молодого поколения перестала вызывать скверные ассоциации*). In order to provide a general evaluation of the kebab, the journalist uses a word possessing the highest degree of positive assessment (*в Москве очень много мест с прекрасной шаурмой*).

The journalist also offers a contrastingly negative assessment to some *CHARACTERISTICS* of the kebab, thereby foregrounding this

component of the cognitive model. The negative assessment refers to specific features of the kebab including the presence of unhealthy ingredients (*Однако есть две проблемы, мешающие считать шаурму диетическим блюдом: большое количество масла и тесто на концах шаурмы*), the problematic conditions in which kebabs are often prepared (*В подмосковных Люберцах оперативники обнаружили подпольный цех по заготовке мяса для шаурмы. На производстве использовалась просроченная курятина, а работниками были в основном нелегальные мигранты, не имевшие медицинских книжек; По результатам рейда, проведенного Роспотребнадзором осенью 2018 года, выяснилось, что в 251 проверенной торговой точке нарушаются санитарно-эпидемиологические правила; Впрочем, ни случаи отравлений, ни обнаружение цехов заготовки мяса без соблюдения санитарных условий практически никак не отражаются на популярности этого блюда*) and the negative opinions of nutritionists about the kebab (*Маргарита Королева, напротив, призвала не покупать шаурму в городских киосках, а приготовить ее самостоятельно или отдать предпочтение фруктам*). The journalist includes a negative assessment of some of the kebab's *CHARACTERISTICS* in the media text in order to present all points of view on the kebab and let the reader draw their own conclusions on the topic.

Another dominant component within the cognitive model is that of *ACTION*, which is represented by language units signifying the process of preparing kebabs in general (*В день я готовлю от 20 до 70 лавашей с мясом*) and in specific methods of preparing kebabs (*жарить на гриле – это самый безопасный способ приготовления*). The journalist also elucidates some features of this process; for example, the quantity of kebabs cooked and sold during the day (*от 20 до 70 лавашей с мясом*), the fatigue suffered by kebab sellers (*Устаю, конечно, сильно, бывает, что весь день не присесть*), the duration of work shifts and the absence of days off (*Смена у нас по*

12 часов каждый день, выходных нет) and safe methods of grilling kebabs (*Жарить на гриле – это самый безопасный способ приготовления, потому что нет прямого контакта с маслом*). The features of the *ACTION* component are referred to in the media text in order to prove the popularity of this dish among the representatives of various social classes and also of the relevant health benefits.

The journalist also mentions a new feature that accompanies the process of producing and consuming kebabs – using an app to find the best kebab in the city (*Чтобы найти лучшую шаурму в Даниловском районе Москвы, корреспондент «Известий» воспользовалась популярным приложением «Где шаверма»*). In mentioning an app that customers can use to find kebabs, the journalist combines the spheres of IT and food within the text, a contrast which leads to changes in the reader's cognitive system: food becomes closely associated with IT and this connection is subsequently used by the recipient to guide and control their actions connected with food; for example, recipients can choose a restaurant, café or kiosk using an app, and the consumption of food is accompanied by the use of new IT technologies that assist the recipient in this process. Due to its presence in the media, this model becomes fixed in the reader's cognitive system: they start associating and using IT when performing everyday actions.

The journalist represents the *PLACE*, *PARTICIPANTS*, *OBJECT*, *CHARACTERISTICS*, *ACTION* and *NEW FEATURES* components of the cognitive model as dominant because they refer to important elements of the process of consuming kebabs in the following scheme: *the producer – the process of cooking – the product – the consumer – place*. This arrangement initially actualizes a more generalized 'CONSUMING STREET FOOD' cognitive model in the reader's mind which the journalist goes on to renew by integrating the *FOOD* component with information about the *KEBAB*. In addition to

actualizing the ‘CONSUMING STREET FOOD’ cognitive model the journalist also introduces a new cognitive model concentrated exclusively on the concept of the *KEBAB* as the most popular street food in Russia. In this case, the *KEBAB* effectively functions as a linking element between two cognitive models:

‘CONSUMING STREET FOOD’ ↔ *KEBAB* ↔ ‘*KEBAB AS THE MOST POPULAR STREET FOOD IN RUSSIA*’

The foregrounding of specific components of the cognitive model(s) is determined by the journalist’s pragmatic goal of demonstrating the convenience and nutritious qualities of the kebab as the most popular type of street food in Russia. The author does not intend to advertise this particular dish, but she aims instead to emphasize the peculiarities of consuming street food in Russia in general (for example, the convenience of consumption, its good taste, low price or health benefits) and represents the kebab as a type of food that fulfils all of these requirements. The journalist also intends to demonstrate the simplicity and convenience of the kebab and that it meets the requirements of people from various social strata. In the media text, the kebab is represented as a medium uniting various people, activities and countries (*Russia, Turkey, Germany*), businesses (*street kiosks, restaurants, clubs* etc.). The journalist’s pragmatic goal corresponds to the idea that simple and convenient objects are necessary for a human being’s existence. Consequently, the journalist creates a positive representation of the kebab as street food in media discourse due to her concentration on its positive features, although the media text does contain some level of negative assessment of some of the *CHARACTERISTICS* of the kebab.

Many articles in Russian media discourse serve to realize the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model, emphasizing the healthy *CHARACTERISTICS* of some foods offered in

Russia and constructing their positive representation in the media discourse. One such article is that published on the website of *Izvestiya* newspaper about the types of sausage sold in Russia:

На прилавках российских магазинов продается только качественная и безопасная колбаса, утверждает исполнительный директор Национального союза производителей мяса и мясных продуктов Алексей Горбатов [Izvestiya 08.13.2019].

Sausages do not actually belong within the category of healthy food, but the executive director cited in the article argues that the type of sausage sold in Russia does not contain any harmful ingredients (*только качественная и безопасная колбаса; Колбаса вредной в принципе быть не может, если она произведена по документации. Достаточно посмотреть на состав и понять, хотите вы это или нет*). This fact proves that the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model is realized in this article, and that the sausage as a type of food is generally represented positively within Russian media discourse.

For the journalist, the *PARTICIPANTS* component of the cognitive model is also of significance, allowing the component to be supplemented by information about specific *PARTICIPANTS* such as the executive director/expert (*исполнительный директор Национального союза производителей мяса и мясных продуктов; Эксперт добавил, что также нужно обратить внимание на производителя продукта – он должен быть «нормальным», а не подпольным*) and the producers of sausages including farmers and private companies of various sizes (*Эксперт добавил, что также нужно обратить внимание на производителя продукта – он должен быть «нормальным», а не подпольным; При этом Горбатов отметил, что нет поводов больше доверять продукции*

от фермеров или небольших частных компаний, поскольку проверить качество их колбасы гораздо сложнее; Вся Германия покупает именно такие вот продукты мелких производителей, и они дороже, чем у крупных). The PARTICIPANTS component is important because the main CHARACTERISTICS of the sausage (for example, quality ingredients and taste) depend entirely on the producer. The journalist contrasts some CHARACTERISTICS of the producers (both official and unofficial) to persuade the reader to buy sausages from official producers: Эксперт добавил, что также нужно обратить внимание на производителя продукта – он должен быть «нормальным», а не подпольным. The journalist also mentions the fact that small-scale producers of sausage in Germany are given the opposite CHARACTERISTICS than those in Russia – the sausage they produce is considered to be of better quality: «Вся Германия покупает именно такие вот продукты мелких производителей, и они дороже, чем у крупных. Они считаются лучше. Но у нас это еще пока не очень развито», – объяснил он.

In another article about sausages, the journalist foregrounds the CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD) component in order to inform the reader of the properties of a quality sausage and thereby persuade them to choose quality products: Эксперты Роскачества рассказали о правилах выбора качественной и натуральной колбасы, изготовленной по ГОСТу. В ведомстве раскрыли значение добавок, начинающихся с буквы «Е» (Izvestiya, 08.13.2019).

The CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD) component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the properties of a quality sausage: the colour (Цвет вареной колбасы должен быть от розового до светло-розового, у нее не должно быть полостей, комочков и цветowych пятен), information on the label (Информация на этикетке должна содержать данные по составу, пищевой ценности, дате изготовления и сроке годности, условий хранения), ingredients («Вареная колбаса, произведенная по

*ГОСТу, должна иметь следующий ингредиентный состав: свинина, говядина, вода, яйца куриные или меланж яичный, молоко коровье сухое цельное или обезжиренное, соль поваренная пищевая, сахар-песок, пряности (орех мускатный или кардамон)», – приводит 13 августа «РИА Новости» сообщение Роскачества), the content of additives (В частности, производителям разрешен **фиксатор окраски (нитрит натрия) E250, антиокислители E300 – аскорбиновая кислота, E331 (лимонная кислота), E262, E325, E326, E330** помогают предотвращать развитие нежелательной микрофлоры, **стабилизаторы и регуляторы кислотности E339, E451, E450, E452** повышают вязкость и плотность фарша, в списке и **усилитель вкуса и аромата E621**. К нежелательным добавкам относятся **E120 и E252**), and the conditions in which the sausage should be stored («Температура в холодильнике должна быть от 0 до 6 градусов Цельсия включительно», – подчеркнула она. **Упакованный без вакуума продукт имеет меньший срок годности**, добавила Викулова). The media text is quite informative because the journalist supplies the reader with precise information about the additives which are used in sausages. The journalist foregrounds the *CHARACTERISTICS* component in order to inform the reader of the properties of a quality sausage. The *CONSEQUENCES* component is filled with information about the effect of some additives on human health and sausage texture (*E262, E325, E326, E330* помогают **предотвращать развитие нежелательной микрофлоры, стабилизаторы и регуляторы кислотности E339, E451, E450, E452** повышают вязкость и плотность фарша).*

The aim of foregrounding the *PARTICIPANTS* component is to persuade the reader to buy quality sausages, an aim which corresponds to the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model. This dominant component is marked by lexical units denoting experts who analyze sausage structure and ingredients:

*Эксперты Роскачества рассказали о правилах выбора качественной и натуральной колбасы, изготовленной по ГОСТу. В ведомстве раскрыли значение добавок, начинающихся с буквы «Е»; По словам **директора департамента исследований ведомства Людмилы Викуловой**, при выборе товара надо сверить реальные условия хранения с допустимыми [Izvestiya 08.13.2019].*

The opinion given by experts and represented in the media text helps to persuade the reader to choose sausages with specific characteristics, an approach which corresponds to the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model, i.e., sausages do not pose a danger to human health.

Some media texts realizing the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model refer to particular dishes or types of food (see the examples regarding sausages above) which corresponds to the journalist’s pragmatic goal of making readers change their everyday eating practices and adopt a healthier lifestyle. One such article is a piece in Izvestiya devoted to porridge, a perennially popular dish in Russia: *Диетолог-эндокринолог Альбина Комиссарова 6 августа в своем Instagram рассказала о правилах выбора хорошей овсянки, а также развеяла несколько мифов об этой крупе [Izvestiya 08.07.2019].* In the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model, journalists, as a rule, try to underline the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component, because information referring to this element plays a major role in persuading the reader to adopt a healthy diet and, consequently, a healthy lifestyle. In this media text, the journalist foregrounds this component by using lexical units denoting characteristics such as the presence of previously unprocessed flakes and healthy substances in porridge:

По ее словам, лучше выбирать ту кашу, время варки которой начинается от 15 минут и выше. Это обусловлено тем, что такие хлопья делают из цельного зерна, которое до этого не подвергали обработке. В таком продукте будет содержаться большое количество клетчатки и витаминов группы В; Комиссарова рекомендовала уделить особое внимание количеству клетчатки, ведь чем больше ее в составе, тем полезнее крупа [Izvestiya 08.07.2019].

The *CHARACTERISTICS* component also contains information about the beneficial absence of harmful ingredients in porridge which makes it such a healthy dish (*Помимо этого в составе хлопьев не должны значиться сахар, сироп и другие подсластители*).

The 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model usually contains the *CONSEQUENCES* component because it is also effective in persuading the reader to choose a healthy lifestyle. In this media text, the component is supplemented by information about the negative consequences of eating porridge (mainly the risk of calcium deficiency), but the journalist cites a specialist who offers an efficient way of correcting this issue: *Что касается устоявшихся мифов об овсянке, то один из самых главных – это вымывание кальция из организма. По словам специалиста, этот эффект присутствует, однако «потерянный» кальций полностью восполняется столовой ложкой молока [Izvestiya 08.07.2019].*

As far as the *ACTION* component is concerned, the journalist cites a specialist who speaks about the frequency of eating porridge and the quantity that should be eaten at a time: *Комиссарова также не рекомендовала есть овсяную кашу каждый день, потому что для поддержания здоровья желудка рацион должен быть разнообразным. При этом диетолог посоветовала за раз съесть*

в среднем около 50 грамм крупы [Izvestiya 08.07.2019]. The journalist uses the specialist's advice about the frequency due to his pragmatic goal of persuading readers to change their eating habits and, consequently, improve the nation's state of health.

In some articles in which the same cognitive model of 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' is realized, we can see a focus on several foods that possess specific characteristics; for example, foods which can prevent the occurrence of certain diseases or improve specific aspects of a person's physical condition by helping resist fatigue or stress.

In one such article, the journalist also foregrounds the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component because it is this component that leads to the main result of the model – the healthy condition of the *PARTICIPANTS*; in this case, the people who took part in the experiment described in the article:

*Американские ученые из Университета Брауна рассказали, какая еда поможет снизить риск возникновения рака кожи. Об этом сообщило издание Focus. В первом случае ученые в течение 28 лет наблюдали за здоровьем **121 700 женщин**, а во втором на протяжении 26 лет – за **51 529 мужчинами**. У 123 тыс. участников эксперимента была светлая кожа, которая подвержена онкологическому заболеванию [Izvestiya 08.10.2019].*

Naturally, one of the most significant components of the cognitive model is *FOOD* itself; it is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting fruits and vegetables which contain vitamin A: *«Участники исследования получали его (витамин) преимущественно из фруктов и овощей. Особенно много витамина А содержится в кудрявой капусте, моркови и батате»*, – говорится в материале [Izvestiya 08.10.2019].

In the analyzed media text the journalist supplements the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component of the cognitive model with information about the presence of a healthy substance, vitamin A, that can prevent the occurrence of cancer (*Выяснилось, что пища, богатая витамином А, может сократить риск возникновения плоскоклеточной карциномы, которая является вторым по частоте возникновения вида рака кожи; В итоге, за весь период наблюдения раком кожи заболели около 3% участников эксперимента, при этом риск возникновения онкологического заболевания у группы, предпочитавшей продукты с большим содержанием витамина, был ниже примерно на 17%*).

Another significant component in the cognitive model realized in the media text is that of *CONSEQUENCES*; it has been found in all of the relevant cognitive models realized in American, British and Russian media discourses investigated in this study. This is quite understandable because journalists tend to concentrate in general on the positive effects of eating healthy foods. In this case, the main consequence is the lower risk of cancer for people who have been eating food containing larger doses of vitamin A: *Испытуемые вели анкеты, куда вносили информацию о своем питании. В итоге, за весь период наблюдения раком кожи заболели около 3% участников эксперимента, при этом риск возникновения онкологического заболевания у группы, предпочитавшей продукты с большим содержанием витамина, был ниже примерно на 17%* [Izvestiya 08.10.2019].

The foregrounding of the *PARTICIPANTS*, *CHARACTERISTICS*, *FOOD* and *CONSEQUENCES* components of the cognitive model is connected with the journalist's pragmatic goal of improving the nation's state of health. Owing to this goal, the journalists introduce health-related cognitive models into the media text and persuade the readers in this manner to change their lifestyle, especially the aspects connected with food and eating. By underlining *CHARACTERISTICS*

of food such as the availability of healthy ingredients, they represent food as one of the major tools for improving public health.

Another article discusses types of food which can help to alleviate fatigue: *Начальник управления государственной инспекции по качеству питания Нина Зайцева рассказала о продуктах, которые помогут снять усталость. Об этом 24 июля сообщает «РИА Новости» [Izvestiya 07.24.2019].*

The dominant components within the cognitive model are those of *FOOD*, *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and *CONSEQUENCES*. As in the other articles in which the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE’ cognitive model is realized, the journalist foregrounds these components in order to persuade the reader to follow a healthy diet and improve his or her state of health. The journalist usually names specific foods that the reader is supposed to include into his/her diet, before describing the features of the food, which usually refer to the healthy substances contained in these foods, before outlining the effect of these foods on health. This scheme appears to be a simple and efficient means of persuading the reader because it concentrates on the most significant components of the model.

The journalist fills the *FOOD* component with information about lettuce, which can help to alleviate fatigue: *По ее словам, лучше всего с этим справляются салаты с горьким привкусом; «В сочетании с витамином С и каротином салат укрепляет стенки кровеносных сосудов, полезен при гипертонии, предупреждает атеросклероз», – отметила Зайцева [Izvestiya 07.24.2019].* The journalist specifies only a single vegetable because this is determined by the article genre: his communicative goal is to give precise and brief information about the necessary objects that can be of interest to the readers.

In the media text, the journalist pays particular attention to the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component, which includes:

- **taste** (*По ее словам, лучшие всего с этим справляются салаты с горьким привкусом*). The adjective *горький* (bitter) denotes a taste which many people would find offputting, but the journalist uses it to inform the readers of the peculiarities of lettuce, thereby giving them a detailed representation of the vegetable;
- **healthy substances** (*Благодаря гликозиду и лактуцину в своем составе они прекрасно возбуждают аппетит, освежают, а также успокаивают и снимают усталость; «В сочетании с витамином С и каротином салат укрепляет стенки кровеносных сосудов, полезен при гипертонии, предупреждает атеросклероз», – отметила Зайцева*);
- **colour, cleanliness and shape of the lettuce leaves** (*Она отметила, что при выборе салата стоит особое внимание обратить на листья, которые должны быть чистыми, а их форма должна соответствовать сорту; «Не следует выбирать салат с увядшими и пожелтевшими листьями, с наличием ржавых точек или пятен у основания листьев и жилок, с признаками гнили», – предупредила эксперт*).

Another dominant component in the model is that of *CONSEQUENCES*, the significance of which refers to the effects of lettuce on the human body. The journalist mentions effects such as the impact on appetite, on the physical and emotional state of individuals, the effect which the vegetable has on fatigue (*Благодаря гликозиду и лактуцину в своем составе они прекрасно возбуждают аппетит, освежают, а также успокаивают и снимают усталость*), its impact on blood vessels and its ability to prevent blood vessel diseases (*«В сочетании с витамином С и каротином салат укрепляет стенки кровеносных сосудов, полезен при гипертонии, предупреждает атеросклероз», – отметила Зайцева*).

As was noted in the previous example, the foregrounding of the *FOOD*, *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and *CONSEQUENCES* components of the cognitive model is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of persuading readers to change their lifestyle and its aspects connected with food and eating. By means of the cognitive model and especially its *CONSEQUENCES* component, food is represented as a medium for improving the physical condition of a person.

Journalists tend to foreground the same components of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model in various media texts about foods that possess specific characteristics. One such article is that devoted to the ability of some food to fight stress and prevent some illnesses: *Употребление в пищу свежего зеленого горошка способствует укреплению мышечной ткани и повышает сопротивляемость организма различным заболеваниям. Об этом рассказала главный диетолог депздрава Москвы Антонина Стародубова [Izvestiya 07.22.2019].*

As in the other articles realizing this cognitive model, the journalist foregrounds the following dominant components:

- **FOOD** (*Употребление в пищу свежего зеленого горошка способствует укреплению мышечной ткани и повышает сопротивляемость организма различным заболеваниям; Специалист напомнила, что лето – самое подходящее время для повышения иммунитета с помощью свежих трав. Она призвала есть салат, петрушку, укроп, зеленый лук, кинзу и сельдерей, поскольку они приносят огромную пользу человеческому организму; «В петрушке содержание витамина С в четыре раза превышает его количество в лимоне, есть в свежей зелени также бета-каротин, витамины А, Е, фолаты, витамины группы В; минералы» – пояснила диетолог; По ее словам, включение свежей зелени в состав блюд позволит сократить*

употребление **соли**, что способствует снижению рисков возникновения заболеваний сердца и сосудов; Также среди других летних продуктов Стародубова отметила пользу **кабачков**, особенно для тех, кто старается поддерживать вес в норме; «Кроме зрелых и молодых **кабачков** в пищу хорошо использовать **цветы и побеги растения**. Их можно запекать, добавлять в супы и даже в **овощные и фруктовые салаты**», – подытожила специалист).

The journalist also mentions a type of unhealthy food (**соль**) in order to contrast healthy and unhealthy foods and underline the *FOOD* component, which is supplemented by information about healthy foods such as green peas, lettuce, parsley, fennel, spring onion, coriander and celery.

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT** (Употребление в пищу **свежего** зеленого горошка способствует укреплению мышечной ткани и повышает сопротивляемость организма различным заболеваниям; Специалист напомнила, что лето – самое подходящее время для повышения иммунитета с помощью **свежих трав**; Кроме **зрелых и молодых** кабачков в пищу хорошо использовать **цветы и побеги растения** Благодаря высокому содержанию **витаминов группы В и магния** горошек оказывает благотворное влияние на нервную систему, повышает устойчивость к стрессу; В петрушке содержание **витамина С** в четыре раза превышает его количество в лимоне, есть в свежей зелени также **бета-каротин, витамины А, Е, фолаты, витамины группы В; минералы**; Высокой оценки диетолога они удостоились за обильное содержание **клетчатки, витаминов группы В, С, фосфора, марганца, кальция и калия**).

The journalist underlines characteristics such as the freshness of food products and their healthy elements in order to persuade the reader to choose foods with these characteristics.

- **CONSEQUENCES** (*Употребление в пищу свежего зеленого горошка способствует укреплению мышечной ткани и повышает сопротивляемость организма различным заболеваниям; Благодаря высокому содержанию витаминов группы В и магния горошек оказывает благотворное влияние на нервную систему, повышает устойчивость к стрессу; Она призвала есть салат, петрушку, укроп, зеленый лук, кинзу и сельдерей, поскольку они приносят огромную пользу человеческому организму; По ее словам, включение свежей зелени в состав блюд позволит сократить употребление соли, что поспособствует снижению рисков возникновения заболеваний сердца и сосудов; Также среди других летних продуктов Стародубова отметила пользу кабачков, особенно для тех, кто старается поддерживать вес в норме).*

This component is significant, because it contains information about the impact of healthy foods on people's health; consequently, it plays a major role in the process of persuading the reader to implement these foods into their diet. The journalist mentions CONSEQUENCES such as the general impact on human health, resistance to illnesses and stress and potential weight loss.

- **PARTICIPANTS** (*Об этом рассказала главный диетолог депздрава Москвы Антонина Стародубова).*

The journalist introduces and underlines this component because the participant's status and occupation also play a significant role in persuading the reader to choose healthy foods.

A further article is devoted to the **CHARACTERISTICS** of some foods which are able to improve aspects of a person's physical state as a means of preserving their youthfulness: *Правильно подобранный рацион питания может не только улучшить состояние*

организма, но и замедлить появление видимых признаков старения, пишет Медикфорум [Izvestiya 05.27.2019].

The journalist lists a series of foods possessing these *CHARACTERISTICS*, thereby foregrounding the *FOOD* component of the cognitive model; these foods include yogurt, fruits, vegetables, berries, fish, almonds, walnuts and porridge: *Так, специалисты советуют желающим продлить молодость включить в меню натуральный йогурт и арбузы; Также важно употреблять не менее двух порций жирной рыбы в неделю; Рекомендуется включить в рацион богатую антиоксидантами чернику и естественный источник коллагена – апельсины; Кроме того, в рационе должны быть авокадо, богатые жирными кислотами – олеиновой и омега-9, брокколи, способствующие выработке коллагена и богатые витамином С, такие орехи, как миндаль и грецкие (содержат омега-3, протеин и витамин Е) и овсянка, содержащая кремний и способная затормозить появление морщин.* This type of listing allows the journalist to construct a detailed picture of various foods possessing a specific feature.

The journalist also foregrounds the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component by means of lexical units denoting healthy substances contained in particular foods in order to persuade the reader: *Арбузы, в свою очередь, являются богатым источником ликопина – антиоксиданта, помогающего сохранить здоровье и молодость кожи; Рекомендуется включить в рацион богатую антиоксидантами чернику и естественный источник коллагена – апельсины; Кроме того, в рационе должны быть авокадо, богатые жирными кислотами – олеиновой и омега-9, брокколи, способствующие выработке коллагена и богатые витамином С, такие орехи, как миндаль и грецкие (содержат омега-3, протеин и витамин Е) и овсянка, содержащая кремний и способная затормозить появление морщин.*

CONSEQUENCES is the dominant component here, and it plays a major role in the process of persuading the reader due to the fact that the journalist adds further information about the effect on human health, an aspect which is of particular interest to the reader. The journalist also constructs a detailed picture of the *CONSEQUENCES* of eating foods containing healthy substances that affect the process of preserving youth. This picture includes the following positive effects:

- *the positive effect on the gut flora and immunity* (Первый помогает оздоровить микрофлору кишечника, укрепить иммунитет);
- *protection of cells from ageing* (защитить клетки организма от повреждений, способствующих старению);
- *the positive anti-ageing effect on human skin* (Арбузы, в свою очередь, являются богатым источником ликопина – антиоксиданта, помогающего сохранить здоровье и молодость кожи; От концентрации этих веществ в организме зависит молодость кожи; овсянка, содержащая кремний и способная затормозить появление морщин);
- *the positive effect on human cognitive abilities, which can deteriorate with age* (Также важно употреблять не менее двух порций жирной рыбы в неделю. Это снизит риск когнитивных нарушений).

In another article the journalist cites American dieticians who have developed a series of recommendations for healthy eating: *Американские специалисты разработали ряд диетических рекомендаций, которые помогут постепенно перейти на правильное питание. Советы опубликованы на Medicalxpress [Izvestiya 07.03.2019].*

The main component within the cognitive model is that of *FOOD*. This approach is certainly a logical one, because the article is devoted

to healthy eating in general, and therefore the journalist cites the dieticians who suggest substituting habitual foods for healthier ones. In the article the journalist contrasts common, everyday foods that people are accustomed to with their equivalents which the dieticians consider to be healthier:

- *Так, в первую очередь медики советуют экономить на продуктах из переработанного мяса (сосиски, колбаса, ветчина) и хотя бы один-два раза в неделю заменять красное мясо на фасоль.*
- *Чтобы безболезненно уменьшить потребление соли, нужно перейти от обычных консервированных супов и овощей до консервов с низким содержанием натрия, а соленые орехи предпочесть несоленым.*
- *Сливочное масло диетологи рекомендуют заменить оливковым. Его и другие растительные масла можно использовать вместо сливочных и майонезных заправок.*
- *Количество последних также можно уменьшить, если готовить соусы не на основе молока и сливок, а используя, например, томатное пюре и травы.*
- *Также врачи советуют заменить белый хлеб на цельнозерновой, молоко жирностью 2% на однопроцентное, картофельные чипсы на попкорн, пиццу пепперони на овощную, картошку фри на жареные кусочки тыквы, а сливки в кофейных напитках на молочную пену [Izvestiya 07.03.2019].*

The journalist offers the following opposition that may serve to change the readers' eating practices:

unhealthy foods vs. their healthy equivalents

According to this scheme, a person should not reduce the amount of food they consume, the typical requirement of weight loss programs; instead they should substitute the habitual consumption of unhealthy foods with their healthy equivalents.

Another dominant component in the cognitive model realized in the media text is that of the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)*, which is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the healthy elements contained in the equivalents offered by the specialists: *Они достаточно схожи по содержанию белка, витаминов и микроэлементов; Это позволит увеличить количество ненасыщенных жиров в вашем рационе при одновременном снижении насыщенных; Так вы сможете получить больше питательных веществ с меньшим количеством калорий и насыщенных жиров* [Izvestiya 07.03.2019].

The journalist pays particular attention to the *ACTION* component of the cognitive model, supplementing this element with information about the actions that precede the act of eating; for example, opening a fridge, going to a supermarket or making an order at a restaurant: *Делать это следует каждый раз, когда вы открываете холодильник, ходите в магазин за продуктами или заказываете еду в ресторане* [Izvestiya 07.03.2019]. These actions are considered to be important by the journalist because he connects them with the task of substituting habitual unhealthy foods for their healthy equivalents and argues that these actions should be guided by this task (*Как отмечают медики, нужно всегда искать больше возможностей вносить небольшие изменения в свой рацион, подобные этим. Делать это следует каждый раз, когда вы открываете холодильник*).

The *CONSEQUENCES* component is also represented in the media text to persuade the readers to adopt a healthier diet. For

example, the journalist argues that beans can help to make a figure slimmer (*При этом от бобовых больше пользы для фигуры*).

In the article containing recommendations for healthy eating given by the Russian dieticians, the components *FOOD* and *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* are foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting healthy foods that should be consumed every day and the healthy elements which they contain. The journalist lists foods of this type, including fruit and vegetables (*Так, ежедневно надо съесть как минимум 400 г овощей и фруктов, помимо картофеля и крахмалсодержащих корнеплодов*) and foods containing healthy fats (*Вторая рекомендация: полезные жиры должны составлять не более 30% от общего количества калорий. Это три столовые ложки масла, два авокадо, 100 г арахиса или 100-140 г соевых бобов; В целом желательно заменять обе эти группы жиров на ненасыщенные*).

The *FOOD* and *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* components are also supplemented with information about unhealthy foods and substances, the consumption of which should be avoided or reduced to improve the nation's state of health: *Что касается насыщенных (твердых) жиров, то их количество не должно превышать 10%. Потребление трансжиров, которые традиционно входят в состав майонеза, маргарина, кетчупа и кондитерских изделий, следует свести к 1% или вовсе исключить; Потребление свободных сахаров, которые присутствуют в меде, сиропах, соках, также нужно уменьшить до 10%; Это 50 г сахара; От алкоголя советуют отказаться вовсе либо значительно уменьшить его количество* [Izvestiya 07.23.2019]. Using lexical units denoting healthy and unhealthy foods and the substances contained in them, the journalist foregrounds these components of the cognitive model. The contrast which the text draws between healthy and unhealthy foods and substances persuades the reader to choose healthy foods and substances.

The journalist also pays particular attention to the quantity of food that should be consumed in order to stay healthy. The quantity is indicated in grams (*Так, ежедневно надо съесть как минимум 400 г овощей и фруктов; 100 г арахиса или 100-140 г соевых бобов; Это 50 г сахара; Соль в пищу предпочтительно добавлять йодированную, менее 5 г в день – это чайная ложка без верха*), number of spoons or fruits (*три столовые ложки масла, 12 чайных ложек без верха*) для человека с нормальным весом, *два авокадо*) and the percentage of substances contained in foods (*Что касается насыщенных (твердых) жиров, то их количество не должно превышать 10%. Потребление трансжиров, которые традиционно входят в состав майонеза, маргарина, кетчупа и кондитерских изделий, следует свести к 1% или вовсе исключить; Потребление свободных сахаров, которые присутствуют в меде, сиропах, соках, также нужно уменьшить до 10%; Примечательно, что снижение до 5% обеспечивает дополнительные преимущества для здоровья*). The journalist uses this approach in an effort create a multi-faceted picture of the type of diet that readers should follow in order to improve their health. This picture not only includes the healthy foods, substances and the quantities that should be consumed, but also mentions the foods that should be avoided.

The *CONSEQUENCES* component is indicated by means of lexical units denoting the overall impact of a healthy diet on human health: *Специалисты Роспотребнадзора разработали список принципов здорового питания, которого необходимо придерживаться всем россиянам для сохранения и укрепления здоровья* [Izvestiya 07.23.2019].

The foregrounding of the *FOOD, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD), ACTION* and *CONSEQUENCES* components is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of persuading readers to change their eating habits by adopting a healthier diet and thereby contribute towards the betterment of the nation's state of health. The

media text about the recommendations of the Russian dietitians foregrounds virtually all of the same components of the cognitive model. The recommendations refer to various types of foods, their characteristics and their impact on human health. In this case the journalist's goal is to present the reader with information about the choice and quantity of foods which can be beneficial for health. As has been mentioned above, this scheme is an efficient means of persuading readers to adopt a healthy diet as they only perceive the basic elements of a healthy diet which can help them preserve or improve their health.

Another article addresses the health benefits of canned fish:

Врач-диетолог Федерального исследовательского центра питания, биотехнологии и безопасности пищи Татьяна Солнцева рассказала о пользе рыбных консервов. По ее словам, при правильном употреблении данный продукт является источником незаменимых жирных кислот, витаминов и микроэлементов [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].

In this media text the journalist foregrounds the same components of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model that we have found in the other media texts in order to persuade the reader to choose healthy foods and change their lifestyles:

- **FOOD:** *Специалист рассказала, что в **рыбных консервах** в больших количествах содержится белок. Особенно, по ее словам, в этом плане примечателен **тунец**; При этом чемпионом по содержанию витамина D и омега-3 жирных кислот является **печень трески** [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The journalist mentions canned fish, a popular product in Russia, suggesting that it can improve the health of consumers if included into

their diet. At the same time the journalist quotes a specialist who mentions canned fish in a negative light, indicating that the dressing in which the fish is prepared (typically tomato sauce or sunflower oil) can cause harm to people's health: *Специалист уточнила, что лучше не покупать консервы в томатном соусе или масле*. In this way the journalist tries to build a substantial, multi-faceted picture of a specific type of food (in this case canned fish) in the reader's cognitive system in order to form a positive attitude to this type of food;

- **PARTICIPANTS:** *Врач-диетолог Федерального исследовательского центра питания, биотехнологии и безопасности пищи Татьяна Солнцева рассказала о пользе рыбных консервов; Специалист рассказала, что в рыбных консервах в больших количествах содержится белок [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The indication of the specialist's status helps to persuade the reader to adopt a healthy diet. The author also mentions other **PARTICIPANTS**, who should avoid consuming some types of canned fish (*При этом она отметила, что данная рыба и другие хищные рыбы (например, акула, рыба-меч, марлин) могут накапливать ртуть, в связи с чем их не рекомендуется употреблять беременным и детям*):

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD):** *По ее словам, при правильном употреблении данный продукт является источником незаменимых жирных кислот, витаминов и микроэлементов; Специалист рассказала, что в рыбных консервах в больших количествах содержится белок; При этом чемпионом по содержанию витамина D и омега-3 жирных кислот является печень трески [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The author underlines *CHARACTERISTICS* of *FOOD* such as the healthy ingredients which can have a positive effect on people's health. The author also mentions the recommended portions of these healthy ingredients as well as the negative effect of exceeding these limits (*По ее словам, для организма крайне важно правильное соотношение омега-3 и омега-6 (от 1:1 до 1:5). Однако в подсолнечном масле в десятки раз больше омега-6, что негативно сказывается на метаболизме холестерина и на здоровье сердца и сосудов*). The journalist also informs the reader of the unhealthy substances which may be present in canned fish: *При этом она отметила, что данная рыба и другие хищные рыбы (например, акула, рыба-меч, марлин) могут накапливать ртуть; Также Солнцева не рекомендует использовать рыбные консервы в ежедневном рационе из-за большого содержания в них соли. «К сожалению, одна банка консервов может содержать почти суточную норму соли. Поэтому если вы готовите салат, то лучше его не солить»* [Izvestiya 11.03.2019]. The presence of information about both the healthy and unhealthy ingredients of the food makes the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component dominant within the framework of the cognitive model realized in the media text. The dominant character of this component is also determined by the reader's interest in the effect of healthy and unhealthy substances on people's health:

- *CONSEQUENCES: Однако в подсолнечном масле в десятки раз больше омега-6, что негативно сказывается на метаболизме холестерина и на здоровье сердца и сосудов* [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].

The journalist mentions *CONSEQUENCES* such as the effect of healthy ingredients on particular physiological processes (*метаболизм холестерина*) and on the state of health of several vital organs

(*здоровье сердца и сосудов*). This component is foregrounded by the journalist because the effect of eating particular foods on health is of primary importance to people; therefore, the *CONSEQUENCES* component also plays a major role in the process of persuading the reader to adopt a healthy diet.

Russian media discourse also contains an article in which a journalist makes a connection between cooking and the sphere of entertainment, but instead of the ‘COOKING AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model, the ‘ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF COOKING’ model is realized instead:

Уже в ноябре этого года на прилавках появится кулинарная книга с рецептами блюд из киноэпопеи «Звездные войны». Об этом 5 августа сообщило издание The Hollywood Reporter. Отмечается, что сборник написан от лица одного из персонажей – бывшего шеф-повара из замка королевы пиратов Маз Канаты Строно Таггса. Теперь фанаты фильма смогут изучить межгалактическую кухню и приготовить знаменитые блюда. Над проектом работали издательство Insight Editions, кинокомпания Disney, кулинарный обозреватель Челси Монро-Кассель и автор комиксов Марк Сумерак [Izvestiya 08.07.2019].

In this case it is not cooking which serves as a source of inspiration for a TV program, but rather an American epic space-opera media franchise serves as a source of inspiration for cooks.

As in British media discourse, the journalist uses the media space to connect two quite different activities in the media – cinema and cooking. The journalist connects these two spheres in order to emphasize the importance of food and cooking in contemporary

society. Food and cooking in this case are given importance via cinema, which also plays an important role in contemporary society.

The dominant component foregrounded by the journalist within the 'ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF COOKING' cognitive model is that of *PARTICIPANTS*. This component is dominant because the journalist pays particular attention to the process of cooking, in which the major role is played by the individual; the individual in this case becomes the subject of all significant actions which can influence the reader. This component is underlined by means of lexical units denoting participants such as a movie character (*Отмечается, что сборник написан от лица одного из персонажей – бывшего шеф-повара из замка королевы пиратов Маз Канаты Строни Таггса*), film fans (*Теперь фанаты фильма смогут изучить межгалактическую кухню и приготовить знаменитые блюда*), representatives of the publishing house (*издательство Insight Editions*), a film company (*кинокомпания Disney*), a food writer (*кулинарный обозреватель Челси Монро-Кассель*) and a comic book-writer (*автор комиксов Марк Сумерак*). The *PARTICIPANTS* component includes representatives from the film, publishing and culinary spheres. Such a wide representation of the *PARTICIPANTS* component proves the significance of food and cooking for people engaged in various fields of activity. This significance also helps to popularize new ideas about food and cooking among younger members of society: the involvement of so many different *PARTICIPANTS* into the production of the cookbook and their connection with the famous film sequel serve as means to attract the readers, especially young film fans, to cooking.

The *FOOD* component is not foregrounded within the media text, although it is nonetheless dominant because the text is about the publication of a cookbook with recipes of dishes from the "Star Wars" film franchise (*Уже в ноябре этого года на прилавках появится кулинарная книга с рецептами блюд из киноэпопеи «Звездные войны»*).

Another dominant component within the cognitive model is that of *CONSEQUENCES*. This component is supplemented by information about the intended result of publishing the cookbook – cooking the dishes from the film epic by the fans (*Теперь фанаты фильма смогут изучить межгалактическую кухню и приготовить знаменитые блюда*). According to Eco, some literary works can be ascribed a predictive function in which they describe something that only comes into existence afterwards [Eco 2005: 409]. In this case, the cultural influence of the *Star Wars* films is used to introduce new dishes and, consequently, change the existing sphere of food and cooking. The situations connected with cooking in the real world are inspired by situations from the imaginary world of cinema; these interrelations between imaginary and real worlds in terms of food and cooking, underline their importance in contemporary society. Consequently, the journalist's pragmatic goal in this case is to represent food and cooking as significant objects and activities that play an important role in social and cultural life and which are able to unite various people and fields of activity.

In another article the journalist also demonstrates how food-related events described in an animated sitcom, *The Simpsons* (Matt Groening, 1989 – to date), can occur in real life:

Туристки из Швейцарии покадрово повторили похождения героя мультсериала «Симпсоны» Гомера Симпсона. Девушки посетили все 23 знаменитые закусовые Нового Орлеана, где в 17 серии 29-го сезона побывал мультгерой [Izvestiya 08.31.2019].

The short article is accompanied by a video showing the scenes from the sitcom episode and tourists' visits to the New Orleans cafés and pubs featured in the episode. The tourists imitate Homer Simpson's movements and consume dishes in the same manner.

This short article is used to realize the ‘ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF EATING OUT’ cognitive model, because in this case the cafés and bars described in an animated sitcom inspire people to visit them in real life. The article is quite short, but it is used to realize a cognitive model in accordance with the journalist’s pragmatic goal.

The journalist foregrounds the following dominant components of ‘ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF EATING OUT’ cognitive model:

- ***PARTICIPANTS***: *Туристки из Швейцарии* покадрово повторили похождения героя мультсериала «Симпсоны» Гомера Симпсона. *Девушки посетили все 23 знаменитые закусочные Нового Орлеана, где в 17 серии 29-го сезона побывал мультгерой* [Izvestiya 08.31.2019].

The ***PARTICIPANTS*** component is underlined by means of lexical units denoting Swiss tourists (*туристки из Швейцарии*) and the famous animated cartoon character (*Гомер Симпсон*). The real and imaginary ***PARTICIPANTS*** are united by the same ***ACTIONS*** within a single media space and these ***ACTIONS*** refer to eating out. ***PARTICIPANTS*** is the most dominant component within the cognitive model because it refers to interrelations between the imaginary and real worlds: real people perform the same actions as the imaginary character and this information is used to persuade the readers to do the same;

- ***PLACE***: *Девушки посетили все 23 знаменитые закусочные Нового Орлеана, где в 17 серии 29-го сезона побывал мультгерой* [Izvestiya 08.31.2019].

This component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the eateries located in New Orleans (***23 знаменитые закусочные Нового Орлеана***). The journalist mentions the quantity of eateries (***23***) and uses the epithet (***знаменитые***) to underline this component. The ***PLACE*** component is also foregrounded in order to arouse the reader’s interest in the famous bars and cafés of New Orleans and to persuade the readers to visit them or even just to eat out in general;

- **ACTIONS:** *Туристки из Швейцарии покадрово повторили похождения героя мультсериала «Симпсоны» Гомера Симпсона. Девушки посетили все 23 знаменитые закусочные Нового Орлеана, где в 17 серии 29-го сезона побывал мультгерой [Izvestiya 08.31.2019].*

The journalist also foregrounds this component in order to inspire people to visit the famous New Orleans eateries which were mentioned in an episode of *The Simpsons*.

The *FOOD* component is not mentioned in the article, but it is included in the *PLACE* component, which is supplemented by information about the places where people can eat and relax. This component is also realized in the video which accompanies the text of the article, as it demonstrates various dishes consumed by both Homer Simpson and subsequently by the tourists.

The journalist's pragmatic goal in this case is to represent food and cooking as significant objects which play an important role in social and cultural life. Using the cultural influence of the famous American animated sitcom, the journalist also aims to inspire people to attend famous New Orleans cafés and bars and eat out there.

Another article also draws a connection between the spheres of food and entertainment:

Фестиваль пельменей в течение месяца будет проходить в Южно-Сахалинске. В течение месяца жители города смогут попробовать блюда разных народов в рамках гастрономического марафона [Izvestiya 11.01.2019].

The journalist uses the media text to realize the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' cognitive model, in which the following components are dominant:

- **FOOD:** *Фестиваль пельменей в течение месяца будет проходить в Южно-Сахалинске; В течение месяца жители города смогут попробовать блюда разных народов в рамках гастрономического марафона; Жители города смогут попробовать классические пельмени, ravioli, димсамы, хинкали и вареники с различными начинками и необычными сочетаниями вкусов; Одновременно с фестивалем на сайте городской администрации начался опрос населения «Самые вкусные пельмени сахалинского производителя»; Подведение итогов фестиваля состоится на Дне пельменя, который отмечают 14 декабря [Izvestiya 11.01.2019].*

The *FOOD* component is underlined by means of lexical units denoting the specific kind of food, pelmeni or meat dumplings (*пельмени*), that the article is devoted to. During the festival that will be held in the Russian city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, city dwellers can try different types of meat dumplings as prepared by various ethnic groups (*классические пельмени, ravioli, димсамы, хинкали и вареники с различными начинками и необычными сочетаниями вкусов*). The use of lexical units referring to the various types of meat dumplings serves to underline the dominant component within the cognitive model and demonstrate that *FOOD* can unite different peoples: by trying the dishes of other peoples, the *PARTICIPANTS* in the festival can learn about other countries' and ethnic groups' culinary traditions and cultures. In this case *FOOD* becomes a unique object that, in addition to providing nourishment physically, can also provide them with information about other peoples' cuisines;

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD):** *Жители города смогут попробовать классические пельмени, ravioli, димсамы, хинкали и вареники с различными начинками и*

необычными сочетаниями вкусов. Стоимость блюда, предлагаемого в рамках марафона, не будет превышать 350 рублей, сообщает ИА SakhalinMedia. Одновременно с фестивалем на сайте городской администрации начался опрос населения «Самые вкусные пельмени сахалинского производителя» [Izvestiya 11.01.2019].

The journalist foregrounds this component by means of lexical units denoting *CHARACTERISTICS* such as ingredients (*различные начинки*), taste (*самые вкусные*), combinations of tastes (*необычные сочетания вкусов*) and price (*350 рублей*). This component is also underlined via the epithet (*необычные*), which is used to ascribe aesthetic value to the food;

- **PLACE:** *Фестиваль пельменей в течение месяца будет проходить в Южно-Сахалинске.* The festival takes place in the remote Russian city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, and the journalist underlines this component in order to demonstrate the importance of *FOOD*, a feature which can be used as a source of *ENTERTAINMENT* in any place;
- **ENTERTAINMENT:** *Фестиваль пельменей в течение месяца будет проходить в Южно-Сахалинске; К фестивалю присоединились 12 заведений общественного питания; Подведение итогов фестиваля состоится на Дне пельменя, который отметят 14 декабря; Со 2 по 4 ноября в России пройдет восемь больших фестивалей, которые приурочены к Дню народного единства; Каждый год тематика праздников распределяется между федеральными округами* [Izvestiya 11.01.2019].

The *ENTERTAINMENT* component is foregrounded by means of lexical units such as *фестиваль* and *праздник*, which presuppose the

fun and entertaining activities. The word combination *День пельменя* also refers to a festival;

- **PARTICIPANTS:** *В течение месяца жители города смогут попробовать блюда разных народов в рамках гастрономического марафона; К фестивалю присоединились 12 заведений общественного питания; Жители города смогут пробовать классические пельмени, ravioli, димсамы, хинкали и вареники с различными начинками и необычными сочетаниями вкусов [Izvestiya 11.01.2019].*

This component is underlined by means of lexical units denoting the possible involvement of all city dwellers (*жители города*) and some businesses (*12 заведений общественного питания*) in the festival.

The foregrounding of the dominant components within the structure of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' cognitive model is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of demonstrating that *FOOD* is an essential object accompanying people in various situations, including leisure, entertainment and holiday activities. In this case the journalist represents *FOOD* as an object that becomes the source of *ENTERTAINMENT* for people: meat dumplings (pelmeni) are selected to be the main theme of a festival, thereby giving people the opportunity to relax and enjoy themselves with the particular dish to which the festival is devoted. In this case *FOOD* becomes a unique object that, in addition to providing nourishment physically, can also provide the festival's *PARTICIPANTS* with information about other peoples' cuisines.

The theme of various food festivals is often covered in the Russian media. One such article is that devoted to a festival in which a 19th century menu that was used on sea voyages will be reconstructed:

В Севастополе проведут общештотскую конференцию по питанию. Ее приурочат к международному Дню повара. Организаторы обещают реконструировать меню середины XIX века, времен первой обороны Севастополя [Izvestiya 10.15.2019].

As in the other articles, in which the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model is realized, the following dominant components are foregrounded in the media text:

- **FOOD AND DRINK:** *Для приготовления исторических блюд специалистам пришлось изучить документальные материалы. Именно по ним и было воссоздано корабельное меню. Особенностью тех лет было то, что на корабле не было условий хранения продуктов при низких температурах, поэтому ингредиенты сохраняли в просоленном или засушенном состоянии. Опреснительных установок тоже не было, вода на борту была дефицитом, на приготовление пищи ее использовали гораздо меньше, чем сейчас. Участникам конференции предоставят возможность поучаствовать в мастер-классах по приготовлению национальных блюд и выпечке хлеба, исходя из норм продовольственных пайков [Izvestiya 10.15.2019].*

The author of the text does not specify the types of food or dishes which were included in the ship menu, and this is done in order to arouse the reader’s interest in this event. However, *FOOD* remains the dominant component and it is foregrounded by means of an interest in history: the journalist appeals to aspects of history such as the types of food which were consumed on board ships in the 19th century;

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD):** *Особенностью тех лет было то, что на корабле не было условий хранения продуктов при низких температурах, поэтому ингредиенты сохраняли в **просоленном** или **засушенном состоянии**; Опреснительных установок тоже не было, вода на борту была дефицитом, на приготовление пищи ее использовали **гораздо меньше**, чем сейчас [Izvestiya 10.15.2019].*

The journalist mentions the following characteristics referring to *FOOD* and *DRINK*: the condition of food which was stored (*просоленное, засушенное состояние*) and the quantity (*гораздо меньше*) which was consumed on board ships in the 19th century. Historical information of this type is used in order to arouse the reader's interest in various aspects of food consumption in specific maritime conditions;

- **UTENSILS:** *Как сообщает онлайн-издание «Новый Севастополь» со ссылкой на пресс-службу Черноморского флота, столы во время дегустации в рамках общевфлотской конференции будут сервированы также с использованием **посуды и приборов того времени**, чтобы можно было сравнить с **сервировкой наших дней** [Izvestiya 10.15.2019].*

This component is underlined in order to immerse the reader in the culinary atmosphere of the past. This way the journalist also creates the contrast between the two epochs: the word combinations ***посуда и приборы того времени*** and ***сервировка наших дней*** actualize relevant knowledge referring to the *UTENSILS* of both the 19th century and the present day. The contrast between *UTENSILS* belonging to different epochs foregrounds the dominant component and arouses the reader's interest in the event:

- **ENTERTAINMENT:** Ее приурочат к *международному Дню повара*; Участникам конференции предоставят возможность *поучаствовать в мастер-классах по приготовлению национальных блюд и выпечке хлеба*, исходя из норм продовольственных пайков [Izvestiya 10.15.2019].

The *ENTERTAINMENT* component of the cognitive model is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the international holiday (*международный День повара*) and masterclasses in which national dishes and bread can be cooked using the 19th century dietary norms (*мастер-классы по приготовлению национальных блюд и выпечке хлеба*). People entertain themselves by participating in masterclasses, trying menu items from the past and immersing themselves in the atmosphere of the past. This component is dominant because the media text is used to connect the spheres of *ENTERTAINMENT* and *FOOD*. In this case the journalist demonstrates that food is an essential element of various activities and can perform different functions (entertaining, uniting, informing etc.) in addition to its primary purpose of nourishment.

As in the previous example, the dominant components are foregrounded in accordance with the same pragmatic goal of the journalist: to demonstrate that *FOOD* is an essential object which accompanies people in various situations, including *ENTERTAINMENT*, and that *FOOD* itself can become the source of *ENTERTAINMENT*. In this case the pragmatic goal is also to persuade the reader that people are able to satisfy one of their basic needs and get pleasure not only via consuming food, but also by immersing themselves in the culinary atmosphere of the past by cooking and consuming dishes with the use of recipes, norms and utensils from history. This allows people to come into almost direct contact with the past and enrich their knowledge and practical skills connected to *FOOD* and *COOKING*. In such a case

FOOD becomes a practical means of investigating the past and, consequently, of entertaining people.

The article “Гастрофестиваль состоится в День Тулы и Тульской области” concerns the food festival that will be held in the Russian city of Tula during City Day:

В Туле 7 сентября пройдет гастрофестиваль. В этот день отмечается День города и региона. В шатрах на Крестовоздвиженской площади устроят дегустации чебуреков с картофелем и разных блюд с печеным картофелем, там же можно будет выпить кофе по-тульски [Izvestiya 09.02.2019].

The journalist foregrounds the same components as in the other articles in which ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model is realized:

- ***FOOD AND DRINK:*** *В шатрах на Крестовоздвиженской площади устроят дегустации чебуреков с картофелем и разных блюд с печеным картофелем, там же можно будет выпить кофе по-тульски; На улице Менделеевской пройдут презентации-дегустации мясных изделий, чая, пряников и пастилы, кофе со сгущенкой, пишет ИА «Тульские известия»; В рамках городского чаепития на улице Металлистов гостям предложат отведать картофель, печенный со сливками, и угоститься открытыми пирогами, пирожками с разными начинками, выпить чая из самовара с конфетами [Izvestiya 09.02.2019].*

The *FOOD* component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting various types of foods, including street food (*чебуреки с картофелем, разные блюда с печеным картофелем, мясные*

изделия, картофель, печенный со сливками, открытые пироги, пирожки с разными начинками), confectionery (пряники и пастила, конфеты) and drinks (кофе по-тульски, чай, кофе со сгущенкой). The journalist mentions foods and dishes that have become emblematic of the Tula region. In this case some foods and dishes have become associated with a particular region; food becomes a source of information about a particular region and the region becomes associated with particular foods;

- **PLACE:** *В Туле 7 сентября пройдет гастрофестиваль; В шатрах на **Крестовоздвиженской площади** устроят дегустации чебуреков с картофелем и разных блюд с печеным картофелем, там же можно будет выпить кофе по-тульски; На **улице Менделеевской** пройдут презентации-дегустации мясных изделий, чая, пряников и пастилы, кофе со сгущенкой, пишет ИА «Тульские известия»; В рамках городского чаепития на **улице Металлистов** гостям предложат отведать картофель, печенный со сливками, и угоститься открытыми пирогами, пирожками с разными начинками, выпить чая из самовара с конфетами [Izvestiya 09.02.2019].*

This component is underlined by means of lexical units denoting various places in the city: the streets and the main square. The journalist foregrounds the *PLACE* component in order to demonstrate the scale of the food festival and its impact on the local inhabitants;

- **ENTERTAINMENT:** *В Туле 7 сентября пройдет гастрофестиваль. В этот день отмечается **День города и региона.***

The journalist mentions the food festival which will be celebrated during the City Day. The festival activities include tasting of food,

which proves that food has become an integral part and means of entertaining people and satisfying their emotional needs. The media text analyzed is aimed at realizing the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model, but to be more specific, *FOOD* is represented in this example as a means of *ENTERTAINMENT*, as it accompanies the actions of City Day and is only one of the themes of the City Day festival. In the article *FOOD* is associated with the City Day festival, thus, specific varieties of *FOOD* and *DRINK* (for example, potato and meat dishes, local gingerbread, pies, fruit candy and coffee) become associated with a particular city in the reader’s consciousness.

The foregrounding of the dominant components within the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model is determined by the journalist’s pragmatic goal of demonstrating that food not only accompanies people in various situations, including those of *ENTERTAINMENT*, but can also become an emblem of a particular region or city, a symbol that can make this region or city famous. As in the previous example, food also becomes a means of investigating the present: tasting foods that have become the region’s trademark allows people to learn about the region’s culture, economy and agriculture as reflected in its culinary traditions.

5.2. Negative representations of food

Russian media discourse also portrays negative aspects associated with consuming food in order to give a detailed and substantial picture of the role that food plays in social life in Russia.

An article published on the website of the *Izvestiya* newspaper informs the readers of the negative consequences of eating fast food such as food poisoning:

*В Москве судебные приставы опечатали на 90 дней вендинговые автоматы **Healthy Food** по продаже еды в бизнес-центре Lotte и офисном центре ООО «СИБУР» в связи с серией отравлений. Об этом в среду, 14 августа, рассказали ТАСС в пресс-службе управления ФССП по Москве [Izvestiya 08.14.2019].*

This article is used by the journalist to realize the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model, which refers to the situation of stopping the operation of vending machines due to the outbreak of food poisoning. This model also has dominant components which are foregrounded by the journalist through the use of specific language means in accordance with their pragmatic goal. The names of the specific products that caused the food poisoning are not mentioned in the media text; the journalist uses some lexical units with the general meaning of food (*еда, продукты питания*), but the *FOOD* component is foregrounded by using the name of the vending machines selling food that caused the poisoning (*Healthy Food*). The contradiction between the name of the vending machines and the fact of the food poisoning described in the media text foregrounds the main components of the cognitive models of *FOOD* and *DANGER*, supplementing the *DANGER* component with the meaning “food poisoning”. Along with *FOOD* another significant component is *MACHINES*, represented here by lexical units denoting vending machines for selling food (*вендинговые автоматы Healthy Food по продаже еды*).

The *PARTICIPANTS* component is represented by language means denoting people who contracted food poisoning (*3 августа сообщалось, что число людей, отравившихся в Москве продуктами питания из вендинговых автоматов Healthy Food, достигло 99*), their occupations (*С 16 июля едой из вендинговых автоматов Healthy Food отравились несколько десятков офисных работников*), the company that owned the

vending machines (**ООО «До луны и обратно»** после массовых отравлений едой из вендинговых автоматов *Healthy Food*), its director (**Глава компании Дмитрий Пронин**), the officials who undertook legal action against the company, attesting witnesses (**В Москве судебные приставы** опечатали на 90 дней вендинговые автоматы *Healthy Food* по продаже еды в бизнес-центре Lotte и офисном центре **ООО «СИБУР»** в связи с серией отравлений; **ООО «До луны и обратно»** после массовых отравлений едой из вендинговых автоматов *Healthy Food* было признано **Гагаринским районным судом Москвы** виновным в совершении административного правонарушения; Уточняется, что аппараты опечатали в присутствии **понятых**), and other clients of the company (**После случившегося от услуг компании отказались 9% клиентов**). The examples taken from the media text demonstrate that such a wide representation of the *PARTICIPANTS* component makes it dominant within the framework of the ‘FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER’ cognitive model. The journalist foregrounds the *PARTICIPANTS* component in order to inform the reader of the entire scope of individuals who were engaged in the sale and consumption of food from vending machines as well as the representatives of the legal sphere who undertook legal proceedings against the company that sold this type of food. This component is dominant in virtually all of the cognitive models analyzed, a correlation which can be explained by the fact that journalists primarily attempt to draw readers’ attention to people engaged in various social, cultural and political and other processes connected with food.

The *EVENT* component of the cognitive model refers to the food poisoning incident – the main event described in the text which affected dozens of people, mainly office workers (**серия отравлений, массовые отравления, 3 августа сообщалось, что число людей, отравившихся в Москве продуктами питания из вендинговых автоматов *Healthy Food*, достигло 99**).

The *ACTION* component is also significant for the journalist because he wants to emphasize the actions taken by the officials after the *EVENT*, and therefore this component can also be referred to as one of the *CONSEQUENCES* of the *EVENT*. The component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting mainly legal actions (*В Москве судебные приставы опечатали на 90 дней вендинговые автоматы Healthy Food по продаже еды в бизнес-центре Lotte и офисном центре ООО «СИБУР» в связи с серией отравлений; «ООО «До луны и обратно» после массовых отравлений едой из вендинговых автоматов Healthy Food было признано Гагаринским районным судом Москвы виновным в совершении административного правонарушения, предусмотренного ст. 6.6 КоАП РФ («Нарушение санитарно-эпидемиологических требований к организации питания населения»); 1 августа Гагаринский суд Москвы на три месяца запретил компании Healthy Food торговать едой*) and the company's actions aimed at suspending the production of food (*Глава компании Дмитрий Пронин в своем Facebook сообщил о приостановке производства еды под маркой Healthy Food*).

The results of the research undertaken here demonstrate that the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model realized in American, British and Russian media discourses all tend to contain *PARTICIPANTS*, *EVENT* and *CONSEQUENCES/ACTION* components, as the journalist always informs the reader of dangerous event(s) connected with food that, especially those which have affected a large number of people. In the media texts containing this cognitive model, specific attention is paid to the *CONSEQUENCES* of the event, which include both consequences for people's health and actions aimed at eliminating the phenomena caused by dangerous food.

The foregrounding of some components of the cognitive model is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of exercising social control aimed at preventing food poisoning in the sphere of fast food

consumption and to draw the reader's attention to the potential negative aspects of consuming fast food.

The results of the research undertaken here demonstrate that journalists write about specific problems which correspond to the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model. This is also the case in an article dedicated to the discovery of E.coli bacteria in dairy products:

Эксперты «Росконтроля» проверили ряженку с массовой долей жира 4% и обнаружили в одном из образцов бактерии группы кишечной палочки, а также повышенное содержание дрожжей и плесеней. Результаты исследования были опубликованы во вторник, 6 августа, на сайте организации [Izvestiya 08.06.2019].

The cognitive model realized in the media text has dominant components which are foregrounded in accordance with the journalist's pragmatic goal. The dominant *FOOD* component is represented by means of lexical units denoting fermented baked milk sold under various trademarks in Russia: *Всего экспертизу прошла продукция семи брендов: «Вкусноеево», «Коровка из Кореновки», «Белый город», «Вологжанка», «Большая кружка», «Козельская» и «Ряженка из молока нашей дойки» [Izvestiya 08.06.2019].*

The dominant *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component refers to such features of fermented baked milk as:

- *the abundance of some elements* (Лучшей была признана ряженка «Вкусноеево», единственной претензией к которой стало нехарактерное для натуральных молочных продуктов содержание **кальция и фосфора** (последнего существенно больше). По словам специалистов, это

- может говорить о наличии в составе продукции или используемого сырья добавленных **фосфатов**);
- **the amount of fat** (Замыкает тройку лидеров продукция «Вологжанка» – массовая доля **жира** в ряженке оказалась **на 0,1% ниже указанной в маркировке**, что, по словам специалистов, допустимо с учетом погрешности);
 - **taste** (Продукция «Большая кружка», «Коровка из Кореновки» и «Козельская» также вызвала у специалистов нарекания по **вкусовым показателям**);
 - **the presence of dangerous bacteria** (В ней были выявлены **бактерии группы кишечной палочки**, а содержание **плесеней и дрожжей** превысило допустимые техническим регламентом значения).

Another dominant component within the cognitive model is that of **PARTICIPANTS**, which is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the experts who analyzed the dairy products and the organizations which they represent:

- **Эксперты «Росконтроля»** проверили ряженку с массовой долей **жира 4%** и обнаружили в одном из образцов **бактерии группы кишечной палочки**, а также **повышенное содержание дрожжей и плесеней**; **«Росконтроль» – частная организация**, не имеющая отношения к государственной системе контроля качества [Izvestiya 08.06.2019].

As in the other examples, this component plays one of the major roles in the process of persuading the reader to choose some foods more carefully in order to avoid contracting food poisoning. The journalist indicates the status of the participants (**experts**) to demonstrate that the analysis was conducted by specialists who proved that **FOOD** with

CHARACTERISTICS such as the presence of dangerous bacteria can pose a risk to people's health.

The journalist's pragmatic goal in this case coincides with the goal analyzed in the previous example, which is to exercise social control aimed at preventing food poisoning. However, the social control is exercised not in the sphere of fast food and street food consumption, but in the sphere of people's everyday life and routines: the reader is expected to pay attention to the *CHARACTERISTICS* of *FOOD* in the process of choosing and purchasing it.

Another article in which the author writes about the harm that dry breakfast cereals can cause is also used to realize the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model:

Эксперты Роскачества провели исследование готовых сухих завтраков и обнаружили, что они не несут пользы для здоровья. Об этом говорится в пресс-релизе системы мониторинга, поступившем в редакцию «Известий» в среду, 7 августа [Izvestiya 08.07.2019].

The *FOOD* component of the cognitive model refers to dry breakfast cereals, including chocolate balls (*Программа испытаний включила в себя 14 наиболее популярных на рынке производителей шоколадных шариков, которые проверили на содержание посторонних примесей, пестицидов, группы бактерий кишечной палочки, калия, кальция и витаминов, массовую долю клетчатки, цвет, вкус и запах*).

The journalist pays particular attention to the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component which is supplemented by information about the abundance of ingredients in breakfast cereals which may be harmful for children's health (*Кроме того, выяснилось, что в более чем половине проверенной продукции массовая доля*

сахарозы превышала суточную норму сахара в два раза), the presence of carbohydrates which lead to a fast digestion and the reappearance of hunger (*В ходе технологической переработки углеводов, содержащиеся в сухих завтраках, переходят в категорию «быстрых», поэтому после такого приема пищи ребенок проголодается уже через час*). This component is foregrounded to encourage the reader to pay attention to the presence of harmful substances in popular dry breakfast cereals.

The *PARTICIPANTS* component is also significant within the cognitive model, because in addition to the consumers (*данный параметр позволяет сделать вывод о пользе готового завтрака в том числе для детей*) it also includes information about the experts who have analyzed dry breakfast cereals (*Эксперты Роскачества провели исследование готовых сухих завтраков и обнаружили, что они не несут пользы для здоровья; заместитель руководителя Роскачества Елена Саратцева*) and it helps the journalist to persuade the reader to refrain from buying popular dry breakfast cereals.

The *CONSEQUENCES* component also plays an important role in the process of influencing the reader and it is foregrounded by means of language units signifying a sense of hunger that reappears shortly after eating dry breakfast cereals (*В ходе технологической переработки углеводов, содержащиеся в сухих завтраках, переходят в категорию «быстрых», поэтому после такого приема пищи ребенок проголодается уже через час*) and illnesses that occur as a result of eating this type of food (*Более того, систематическое употребление готовых сухих завтраков может привести к нарушению обмена веществ и ожирению*).

The *FOOD, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD), PARTICIPANTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components dominate within the cognitive model in accordance with the journalist's pragmatic goal of persuading the reader to follow a healthy lifestyle, avoid food containing harmful substances and, as a result, change their practice of

buying popular dry breakfast cereals. The most efficient components that help the journalist achieve his pragmatic goal are those of the *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and the *CONSEQUENCES*, because they contain information about the harmful substances contained in this type of food and their effect on children's health.

The same components are foregrounded in an article about food consumed by people before going to bed:

Худшим вариантом перекуса были названы жареные блюда, содержащие канцерогены. Отмечается, что жареные яйца или мясо, приготовленные на масле, могут содержать опасные вещества и способствуют возникновению злокачественных опухолей [Izvestiya 08.04.2019].

The *PARTICIPANTS* component includes information about the experts who are presenting the results of their research; it is an effective means of persuading the reader who may be influenced by this expert opinion on food and eating (*Эксперты рассказали, чего точно не стоит есть на ночь глядя*).

The *FOOD* component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting such different types of food including eggs and meat (*Отмечается, что жареные **яйца** или **мясо**, приготовленные на масле, могут содержать опасные вещества и способствуют возникновению злокачественных опухолей*), beans and chocolate (*Также необходимо избегать на ночь **бобовых продуктов** и **шоколада***), spicy food and whole grains cooked with milk (*Не стоит есть также **острую пищу**, ведь она заставит ваш желудок работать всю ночь и может привести к ухудшению его деятельности. **Молочная каша** не подойдет в связи с содержанием в ней сахара, пишет портал «МедикФорум»*), and

fruits (*А вот лучшим перекусом эксперты назвали **фрукты**. Правда, при этом стоит избегать **яблок**, которые перегружают поджелудочную железу. Заменить их всегда можно **апельсинами** или **киви***). The journalist also mentions the method used for cooking some of the dishes that should be avoided before going to bed (***жареные яйца** или **мясо, приготовленные на масле***). The journalist indicates both healthy and unhealthy foods to underline the *FOOD* component within the cognitive model, thereby proving that *FOOD* is the central element in all of the investigated media articles regarding food and cooking due to its importance for various spheres of human activity.

The *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* component is also foregrounded within the cognitive model because this allows the journalist to inform readers about the harmful substances contained in foods that should be avoided. This component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting the cancer-causing chemicals (*Худшим вариантов перекуса были названы жареные блюда, содержащие **канцерогены**. Отмечается, что жареные яйца или мясо, приготовленные на масле, могут содержать **опасные вещества***) and sugar (*Молочная каша не подойдет в связи с содержанием в ней **сахара**, пишет портал «МедикФорум»*).

The dominant *CONSEQUENCES* component is supplemented by information about the impact that eating some foods before sleep has on health. The journalist mentions *CONSEQUENCES* such as the appearance of tumors (*Отмечается, что жареные яйца или мясо, приготовленные на масле, могут содержать опасные вещества и способствуют **возникновению злокачественных опухолей***), problems with metabolism (*Впрочем, мясо лучше не употреблять на ночь ни в каком виде, так как из-за него может быть **нарушен холестерин** обмен*), problems with the normal functioning of the stomach (*Не стоит есть также острую пищу, ведь она заставит ваш **желудок работать всю ночь** и может*

привести к ухудшению его деятельности), and the negative impact of some fruits on the pancreas (Правда, при этом стоит избегать яблок, которые перегружают поджелудочную железу).

The journalist foregrounds the *PARTICIPANTS*, *FOOD*, *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and *CONSEQUENCES* components in accordance with his pragmatic goal of persuading the reader to follow a healthy lifestyle, change their eating habits and avoid eating certain foods which may cause harm before sleep. As in the previous example, the most efficient components within the cognitive model are those of *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and *CONSEQUENCES*, because they contain information about harmful substances and their effect on people's health.

Another article in which the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model is realized addresses the issue of foods that increase the risk of early death:

Ученые Университета Восточной Финляндии выявили связь между рационом питания и риском ранней смерти. Результаты их исследования были опубликованы в American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, пишем Zentrum [Izvestiya 11.06.2019].

In this article the journalist foregrounds the same components of the cognitive model that we have seen in the other media texts on this topic:

- **FOOD and PARTICIPANTS:** *По словам специалистов, люди, употреблявшие более 200 г мяса в день ежедневно, имели на 23% более высокий риск смерти; По результатам исследования специалисты посоветовали употреблять не более 100 г мяса в день и включить в свой*

рацион фасоль, чечевицу, орехи и другие источники растительного белка; Ранее в октябре ученые назвали наиболее вредный продукт для окружающей среды и человека. По словам специалистов, самое негативное влияние оказывает мясо [Izvestiya 11.06.2019].

The journalist pays particular attention to this component and supplements it with information about specific types of food (*мясо*), the dangerous characteristics of which have been proven by specialists (*PARTICIPANTS*) who have conducted research in this field: *Специалисты на протяжении 22 лет следили за жизнью 2641 человека в возрасте от 42 до 60 лет. Исследователи пришли к выводу, что на риск ранней смерти больше всего влияло частое употребление животного белка [Izvestiya 11.06.2019].* The *PARTICIPANTS* component is foregrounded in order to persuade the reader to choose healthy foods in their diet. He also indicates the amount that should not be exceeded in order to avoid harm to people's health (*не более 100 г мяса в день*). Information about healthy foods that can be substituted for meat (*фасоль, чечевица, орехи*) is also used to foreground the *FOOD* component within the cognitive model and consequently persuade the reader to choose a healthy diet;

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD):**
Исследователи пришли к выводу, что на риск ранней смерти больше всего влияло частое употребление животного белка; При этом любители продуктов, содержащих растительный белок, напротив, имели лучшее здоровье и большую продолжительность жизни [Izvestiya 11.06.2019].

The journalist contrasts dangerous and healthy substances contained in foods in order to draw the reader's attention to foods containing healthy substances;

- **CONSEQUENCES:** По словам специалистов, люди, употреблявшие более 200 г мяса в день ежедневно, имели на 23% более **высокий риск смерти**; При этом любители продуктов, содержащих растительный белок, напротив, имели **лучшее здоровье и большую продолжительность жизни** [Izvestiya 11.06.2019].

The journalist mentions the main *CONSEQUENCES* of eating healthy and unhealthy foods including their impact on life expectancy; he also mentions the positive *CONSEQUENCES* of improved health and longer life expectancy (**лучшее здоровье и большая продолжительность жизни**) and contrasts them with the negative ones such as the risk of early death.

The abilities of some foods to have an impact on a particular aspect of an individual's health or mood are often given specific attention in Russian media discourse. This approach allows journalists to inform their readers of the dangerous *CHARACTERISTICS* of some foods that can damage people's physical and emotional health; journalists also use media texts to guide people towards a healthier diet and lifestyle. One such article is that devoted to foods which can have a negative effect on an individual's emotional state:

Врач-диетолог Елена Соломатина назвала продукты, которые не стоит употреблять, чтобы не ухудшить себе настроение. По ее словам, в первую очередь следует исключить из рациона алкоголь [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].

In this media text the journalist also foregrounds the dominant components of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model, supplementing the *DANGER* component with information about the negative effects of some foods on people's mood:

- **FOOD AND DRINK:** *«Спиртное вначале повышает настроение, потом наступает интоксикация, обезвоживание, самочувствие и настроение падают», – рассказала врач «Вечерней Москве» в воскресенье, 3 ноября; Специалист также предостерегла от употребления **сладкого** на голодный желудок; По словам диетолога, нежелательно и употребление **соленой пищи**, так как из-за нее ухудшается кровообращение и наступает упадок сил; По этой же причине не рекомендовано употребление **колбас, бекона и других видов обработанного мяса, а также майонеза**; При этом улучшить эмоциональное состояние помогут **фрукты**, в том числе **цитрусовые**, а также **грибы вешенки**; Также на помощь может прийти **темный шоколад, морковь, йогурт, орехи, паста с морепродуктами и жирная рыба** [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The journalist mentions specific types of food and drink which can either harm or improve a person's emotional state and constructs and changes an extensive field within the human cognitive system which relates food to various aspects of life, including health, mood, family, rest, entertainment and relationships;

- **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD):** *Специалист также предостерегла от употребления **сладкого** на голодный желудок; По ее словам, в таком случае уровень **глюкозы** в крови резко повысится, а потом столь же резко упадет; По словам диетолога, нежелательно и употребление **соленой** пищи, так как из-за нее ухудшается кровообращение и наступает упадок сил [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The *CHARACTERISTICS* component is foregrounded by means of lexical units denoting features of food and drink such as taste (*сладкое, соленое*) and ingredients (*глюкоза*). The journalist makes this component dominant in order to construct a multi-faceted picture of foods that can damage a person's emotional state;

- **CONSEQUENCES:** *«Спиртное вначале повышает настроение, потом наступает интоксикация, обезвоживание, самочувствие и настроение падают», – рассказала врач «Вечерней Москве» в воскресенье, 3 ноября; Специалист также предостерегла от употребления сладкого на голодный желудок. По ее словам, в таком случае уровень глюкозы в крови резко повысится, а потом столь же резко упадет. В результате на смену легкой эйфории придут усталость и раздражительность; По словам диетолога, нежелательно и употребление соленой пищи, так как из-за нее ухудшается кровообращение и наступает упадок сил [Izvestiya 11.03.2019].*

The journalist provides a detailed description of the physiological *CONSEQUENCES* (*интоксикация, обезвоживание, уровень глюкозы в крови резко повысится, а потом столь же резко упадет, ухудшается кровообращение и наступает упадок сил*) and the effect of some foods and drinks on mood which can themselves be a result of the physiological *CONSEQUENCES* (*самочувствие и настроение падают, на смену легкой эйфории придут усталость и раздражительность*). The journalist also mentions other *CONSEQUENCES* including the amelioration of people's mood due to the effect of some foods (*При этом улучшит эмоциональное состояние помогут фрукты, в том числе цитрусовые, а также грибы вешенки*).

The analysis undertaken here has demonstrated that journalists generally try to foreground the same components of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' cognitive model as realized in the media texts; in this case, the recipient perceives the most significant pieces of information about the harmful effect of some foods and applies them to the food cognitive models stored in their consciousness. The foregrounding of specific elements of the cognitive model influences the recipient, who can then transform the cognitive model components by, for example, supplementing the *FOOD* component with new information about healthy food. The *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT (FOOD)* and *CONSEQUENCES* components are also supplemented with new information about the positive *CHARACTERISTICS* and *CONSEQUENCES* for people's health. After reading media texts in which this cognitive model is realized, the recipient understands that some foods can be dangerous, and this type of transformation can result in changes in the reader's eating practices. Due to this change, the cognitive model is converted into the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' model, because the reader may start to consume healthy food. The realization of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' and 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive models is determined by the same pragmatic goal of the journalist – to persuade the reader to change their eating habits, choose healthy foods for his/her diet and consequently adopt a healthy lifestyle, a transformation which may contribute to a change in the nation's state of health. In both models the same components are foregrounded.

In Russian media discourse different types of food are represented in various aspects. Particular attention is paid to foods that people consume every day; for example, street food, food bought in supermarkets, food ordered in food courts, cafés or restaurants. The

representation of these foods presupposes the realization of specific cognitive models, which can change the attitude and behavior of the readers. The journalists use the media texts to realize the cognitive models and to foreground some of the elements of the models which refer to the most significant components of situations connected with the consumption of food and its consequences for the health, social, cultural and even political life of society.

Some of the articles are devoted to several foods that possess specific characteristics; for example, some of these foods can prevent the occurrence of certain diseases or improve particular aspects of a person's physical state, e.g., fight fatigue, stress etc. In such cases the journalist usually names specific foods that the reader is supposed to integrate into their diet, then proceeds to concentrate on their features, which usually refer to the healthy substances contained in these foods, and finally the effect of eating these foods on health is demonstrated. This scheme appears to be a simple and efficient method of persuading the reader because it concentrates on the most significant components of the model which can help the reader to preserve or improve their health.

Russian media discourse also makes a connection between cooking and the sphere of entertainment. The media space is used to connect quite different activities; for example, cinema and cooking. These two spheres are connected in the media to emphasize the importance of food and cooking in contemporary society. Food and cooking in this case are emphasized through cinema, which also plays an important role in life of modern society. The journalist's pragmatic goal is to represent food and cooking as significant objects and activities which play an important role in social and cultural life and which are able to unite various people and fields of activity.

Food also becomes a means of investigating the present: by tasting the foods that have become symbolic for a region, people have the

opportunity to learn about the region's culture, economy and agriculture as reflected in its culinary traditions.

The variety and diversity of the cognitive models aimed at the positive representation of various aspects connected with food and eating proves that journalists try to achieve their pragmatic goals by concentrating on the positive aspects of consuming healthy food, the concept of food as a source of entertainment, the organizing of food festivals and many more. The forging of connections between food and the spheres of health and entertainment is determined by the consumerist nature of Russian society; in this case, food is represented not as a means for improving physical or mental health, but as an object which is necessary for entertaining, enjoying pleasure, or exploring the cultures of other peoples.

CONCLUSION

Food receives specific and varying representations in American, British and Russian media discourses. The reasons for this lie in the specific attitudes to food and eating, and the historical, cultural, political, economic and social conditions existing in these societies. Also playing a role are the peculiarities of the respective media discourses, for example, the prevailing traditions or political structures existing in these countries.

The results of the research undertaken in this monograph demonstrate that journalists in American media discourse typically appeal to the negative aspects of food and food-related activities, a tendency which is determined by their goal of constructing the identity of food- and health-conscious nation. Consequently, media texts on the topic of food contain an extensive realization of cognitive models such as 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' and 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE', in which the journalists foreground the following components of the models: *ACTIONS*, *PARTICIPANTS*, *CONSEQUENCES*, *CHARACTERISTICS* of *PARTICIPANTS* and *DANGEROUS INGREDIENTS*. These components refer to the elements of the situations, which play the most significant role in the development of events.

The authors of the articles in which the 'PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF FOOD WASTE' cognitive model is realized focus on the characteristics of individuals that can cause inappropriate actions which lead, in turn, to dangerous consequences. In such cases, their communicative goal is not to describe food as a source of danger, but rather to present people themselves as the source of food-related

problems. The *CONSEQUENCES* component is found in both models because the journalists attempt to predict the possible results of the represented actions and events. The authors also pay particular attention to the *ACTIONS* component because their aim is to demonstrate that some socially accepted actions can cause serious social, environmental, economic and other problems. In American media discourse one can discern a sophisticated process of changing societal attitudes to some objects and phenomena; the media is able to influence public consciousness by representing some objects and phenomena from a particular angle or perspective and thus change societal attitudes to them.

In American media discourse the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model is also realized in order to represent food in a different aspect and produce a multi-faceted image of food and food-related practices. In this cognitive model the *HEALTHY INGREDIENTS* and *CONSEQUENCES* components are foregrounded to demonstrate the cause and effect of healthy eating. In some cases, models referring to negative aspects of food and food-related activities and those referring to positive aspects are realized simultaneously, because the journalist's aim is to assist the reader in making a choice between healthy and unhealthy food.

In comparison with American media discourse, British media discourse tries to construct a generally positive representation of food and cooking. British journalists' pragmatic goals result in the realization of specific cognitive models within British media discourse, including 'BRITISH FOOD AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE', 'EATING OUT AS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE', 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE', 'COOKING AND FOOD AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF LEISURE', 'COOKING AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT', and 'SPORTSPEOPLE AS A MEDIUM FOR PROPAGATING A HEALTHY DIET'. The variety and diversity of the cognitive models realized in British media discourse is determined

by the significant role played by food in the social, cultural, economic, political and other spheres of life. In these cognitive models, the journalists foreground dominant components such as *FOOD*, *DRINK*, *CHARACTERISTICS*, *CONSEQUENCES*, *PARTICIPANTS*, *PLACE*, *ACTIONS* and *ENTERTAINMENT*, all of which play a crucial role in constructing positive representations of food in the media discourse. The dominant components are usually underlined via assessment. In British media discourse, considerable attention is paid to the *CHARACTERISTICS* of food, because positive representation of food and food-related activities requires an assessment of food and food-related activities. Cognitive models which refer to the negative aspects of eating and food were not been found in the analyzed selection of texts from British media discourse.

The realization of diverse cognitive models with their dominant components is connected with various pragmatic goals. For instance, the realization of the 'BRITISH FOOD AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE' cognitive model is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of changing international attitudes to British food, of presenting Britain as an interesting and attractive country and of representing food as a source of pride for Britain. Journalists often aim to change the cognitive models that exist in the recipient's mind and thereby introduce changes into the social reality. The introduction and placement of a renewed (transformed) cognitive model into the recipient's mind results in the construction a new social reality; for example, a new cultural identity of the British nation.

The 'EATING OUT AS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE' model is realized in accordance with the pragmatic goal of drawing the reader's attention to eating out with friends and family or to specific places with good food and a unique atmosphere. The foregrounding of specific elements of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model allows the journalist to achieve the pragmatic goal of drawing the readers' attention to healthy foods. The realization of the

‘COOKING AND FOOD AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF LEISURE’ cognitive model is determined by the author’s pragmatic goal of shifting social attention to the domain of leisure. By means of this new cognitive model the journalist changes the concept of leisure, integrating the idea that cooking has become part of holiday activities and that the individual plays an active role in this process.

The ‘COOKING AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT’ cognitive model is connected with the author’s pragmatic goal of representing food and cooking as significant objects which play an important role in the social, cultural and even political life of society and which can unite various people and fields of activity. The ‘SPORTSPEOPLE AS A MEDIUM FOR PROPAGATING A HEALTHY DIET’ cognitive model refers to the pragmatic goal of persuading the reader to adopt a healthy diet.

The media attempt to exercise social control by publishing texts on healthy food and by representing food, eating out with friends and family and eating in general in a positive light. The analyzed media texts providing a positive representation of food and eating serve as tools for the construction of a new identity of the British nation as a nation that loves good food and eating out. The journalists also aim to portray the British as a health-conscious nation.

The British and American discourses use different strategies to propagate ideas about food and healthy eating. British media discourse tries to underline the importance of food and healthy eating for society through positive representations of food and eating out, and by associating food and cooking with entertainment, leisure and sports. In order to guide society towards healthier foods and lifestyles, American media discourse uses a different strategy: it primarily concentrates on the negative effects of unhealthy food and eating and attempts to influence the reader by these means.

Food is represented in both positive and negative aspects in Russian media discourse. Russian journalists also use media texts to

realize the cognitive models and foreground some elements of the models which refer to the most significant components of situations connected with consuming food and its consequences for the health of society and its social, cultural and political life.

The following cognitive models were identified in Russian media discourse: 'KEBAB AS THE MOST POPULAR STREET FOOD IN RUSSIA', 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE', 'ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF COOKING', 'ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF EATING OUT', 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' and 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER'. In these models journalists underline components such as *PLACE*, *PARTICIPANTS*, *FOOD*, *CHARACTERISTICS*, *ACTION*, *NEW FEATURES*, *CONSEQUENCES* and *ENTERTAINMENT*. Journalists use the media texts to realize models which are in accordance with their pragmatic goals referring to various spheres of life. In the case of articles about street food, the journalist's pragmatic goal is to demonstrate the convenience and nutritional qualities of the kebab as the most popular type of street food in Russia, to emphasize the unique features of consuming street food in Russia in general and to represent the kebab as a type of food that meets all of these requirements.

The 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive model refers to the journalist's pragmatic goal of improving the nation's state of health. By means of the cognitive model, and especially through its *CONSEQUENCES* component, food is represented as a medium for improving an individual's physical condition. Some articles in which this model is realized are devoted to several types of food that possess specific characteristics; for example, they are able to prevent the appearance of certain diseases or improve particular aspects of an individual's physical condition such as fatigue or stress. In such cases, the journalist usually names specific foods that the reader should integrate into their diet, then proceeds to focus on their specific

features, usually with reference to the healthy elements contained in these foods, before finally demonstrating the effect of eating these foods on health.

The realization of the 'ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF COOKING', 'ENTERTAINMENT AS A SOURCE OF EATING OUT', 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' cognitive models is determined by the journalist's pragmatic goal of representing food and cooking as a significant object that plays an important role in social and cultural life and which is able to unite various people and fields of activity. The journalist's goal also includes demonstrating that *FOOD* is an essential object which accompanies people in various situations, including leisure, entertainment and holiday activities. The articles in which the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF ENTERTAINMENT' cognitive models are realized are used by journalists to persuade the reader that *FOOD* can become a means of investigating the past and, consequently, of entertaining people who are interested in the culinary traditions of the past. Another pragmatic goal is to demonstrate that food can become a means of investigating the present: by trying foods that have become a region's emblem, people have the opportunity to learn about the region's culture, economy and agriculture as reflected in its culinary traditions.

The results of our research demonstrate that Russian media discourse concentrates on the positive features of food and draws a connection between food and the physical and mental health of people; the journalists also connect food with the spheres of entertainment and everyday life.

The realization of the 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF DANGER' and 'FOOD AS A SOURCE OF HEALTHY LIFE' cognitive models is determined by the same pragmatic goal of the journalist – to persuade the reader to change their eating practices, integrate healthier foods into their diet and, consequently, follow a healthier lifestyle, all of which will contribute to a transformation of the nation's state of health.

The presence of both positive and negative representations of food in Russian media discourse can be explained by the fact that it tries to create a multi-faceted picture of the role of food in the life of Russian society. The *CONSEQUENCES* component is present in all of the relevant cognitive models realized in the American, British and Russian media discourses because the journalists tend to concentrate on the positive effects of eating healthy food and on the negative effects of eating unhealthy food.

In the American, British and Russian media discourses, journalists tend to foreground the same components of the cognitive models because their intention is to demonstrate that food is interconnected with and inseparable from such constituents of human existence as people, space, substance, action, pleasure, pain, culture and technology; they also want to indicate that food is a means of both preserving and developing these constituent elements.

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*Shevchenko Viacheslav,
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