Author's Accepted Manuscript

Think small. The construction of imagined tradition
in German "Land"-magazines

Gertrud Reershemius, Carol Marley

Cite this article as: Gertrud Reershemius and Carol Marley, Think small. The
construction of imagined tradition in German "Land"-magazines, *Discourse,
Context and Media,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2016.10.002

This is a PDF file of an unedited manuscript that has been accepted for
publication. As a service to our customers we are providing this early version of
the manuscript. The manuscript will undergo copyediting, typesetting, and
review of the resulting galley proof before it is published in its final citable form.
Please note that during the production process errors may be discovered which
could affect the content, and all legal disclaimers that apply to the journal pertain.

Title:

Think small. The construction of imagined tradition in German "Land"-magazines

Authors:
Professor Gertrud Reershemius (corresponding author)
Aston University – School of Languages and Social Sciences
GB - Birmingham B4 7ET
Tel: ++44-121-2043787
Email: g.k.reershemius@aston.ac.uk

Dr Carol Marley
Aston University – School of Languages and Social Sciences
GB - Birmingham B4 7ET
Tel: ++44-121-2043808
Email: c.n.marley@aston.ac.uk

Think small. The construction of imagined tradition in German "Land"-magazines

Abstract

This article is the first linguistic analysis of a new category of lifestyle magazines in the German speaking countries, based on methods of corpus linguistics and multimodal discourse analysis. Since the launch of the magazine *LandLust* in Germany in 2005, more than twenty publications of so called "land magazines" have appeared on the market, attracting millions of readers. Our research analyses land magazines as discursive events. We examine the specific combination of discourses land magazines are serving or creating by looking at the semiotic practices - writing and images – they manifest themselves by. Our results show that the magazine under scrutiny does not simply provide new forms of escapism but also positions itself politically in subtle ways as part of the traditional-conservative spectrum by reacting to metalinguistic discourses such as purism and feminist criticism.

Key words: Land magazines, discourse, corpus linguistics, multimodal analysis

1. Introduction: "Land-magazines" as discursive events

In November 2015, the English version of the popular German lifestyle magazine *LandLust* (literally 'country pleasure') was launched in the UK, ten years after its first appearance and surprise success on the German print media market. Since its launch it has led to the development of a new category of lifestyle magazines, the so called "Land-magazines" (LMs), read by millions and currently dominating the displays of newsagents in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Since 2012, Germany-based multinational publishers such as Burda and Bauer have started to design similar titles for the UK market.[1] With the English version of *LandLust,*

---

[1] Two multinational publishers based in Germany launched LMs for the English market three years ago: Burda Media's contribution is called *LandLove*, introduced to the UK market in 2012. In the same year, Bauer Publishers also launched their LM *LandScape* in the UK. According to the Guardian (29.3.2012), *LandScape* supposedly markets itself as "a haven from the pressures of modern living, a chance to slow down and a reminder of the good things in life."

Landwirtschaftsverlag, the publisher of the magazine that started the trend of land magazines ten years ago in Germany, is now following suit. While the success of LMs in English remains to be seen, they have turned into a major trend in the German-speaking countries with millions of copies sold at a time when the print media market generally is facing major challenges (see for example Milewski 2009).

The success of LMs indicates that their discursive representations of the social world currently have a strong appeal to consumer audiences (Matheson 2005). In this article we therefore analyse the specific set or formation of discourses that constitute LMs in the German-speaking context. For our analysis we focus on the magazine *LandLust*, the market leader and originator of the LM trend in Germany in order to identify its discursive formation and discuss its appeal to consumer audiences in the German speaking societies at the beginning of the 21st century. Our approach to discourse analysis is a post-structuralist one. Based on Foucault (1989, 1991) we define discourse as a complex system of all things being communicated semiotically in a particular context or on a specific topic which are as discourses part of a network of relations of power and identity constructions (Matheson 2005:10, Warnke 2008:39).

More recent theoretical discussions in sociolinguistics underline the complexity of social contexts in which semiotic practices occur. Blommaert (2007) therefore suggests applying the concept of *polycentrism*, which views any semiotic manifestation as the result of communicative processes of evaluation, directed by various different centres, for example institutions, peer groups, or influential individuals such as parents, teachers, partners etc. For the context of LMs we can assume accordingly that their discourses are not homogeneous entities but directed by a number of centres within the magazine, such as for example the general editorial approach, the department of advertising and merchandising, the department that invites news about events from outside institutions. These centres within LL are projecting and promoting different discourses, as we will

show below. As with discourse in general, these can be partly intended by the producers of the magazine, but to a certain extent they might be also unintentional, as they are part of a wider discursive network that currently represents social realities.

While LMs contribute to and create discourses, they are at the same time semiotic products: they are generated by a team of media producers in order to reach their target audience – consumers - and sell copies. We focus on the linguistic practices underlying LMs as products and as communicative practices, based in social contexts.[2] In addition, media discourses are always multimodal, and we therefore need to examine how media - in this case the LMs - "use language and images to construct meaning in society" (Smith & Bell 2015:406).

LandLust (LL), the magazine we focus on in this article, was launched with 70000 printed copies in 2005 by *Landwirtschaftsverlag Münster*, a publisher that had thus far concentrated on professional magazines for farmers such as *Top Agrar*, *Milchrind* or *Land & Forst*. The original target audience was farming families. However, it soon became apparent that the magazine was a huge success and that its appeal was significantly broader than the farming communities originally envisaged as its main audience at a time when most German print media were in a state of crisis (Milewski 2009). Since 2005, the number of LL-copies sold has steadily increased and has long passed the one million threshold: during the third quarter of 2013, LL sold 1,041069 copies per issue (AWA 2013). Each copy sold, however, is read by multiple readers, so each issue of LL was actually read by 3.75 million people in 2013, increasing to 4.46 million per issue in 2015 (AWA 2015). LL appears six times a year and its audience consists predominantly of women (75 per cent), a majority of them 40-59 years old (AWA 2013). In 2008, 85 per cent of its buyers were exclusive readers, which means that they did not consume any other comparable magazines (Milewski 2009 on the basis of data from GfK Roper Consumer Styles). Only 15 per cent of LL's current readership belong to the originally intended target audience of farming families. The majority of LL readers own their houses, have a garden, live in places with fewer

---

[2] For the interplay between text, context and discourse see for example Auer, 1995, or Blommaert, 2005: 39-67.

than 20,000 inhabitants and earn slightly more than the average income in Germany (Statistica 2014). The magazine's success shows that the concepts underlying LL seem to have hit a nerve and to have been new for German readers.[3] LL also triggered a trend in the German print media markets: in the wake of LL's success, more than twenty other LMs have been launched over the last ten years, although none of them has been as successful as LL. Adding up the audiences of all LMs we can assume that five to seven million readers in the German speaking countries read LMs on a regular basis.

The question arises why since 2005 increasing numbers of readers in industrialised societies of late modernity are drawn to LMs. Journalists in almost all major German language newspapers have raised this question at some point over the last ten years, partly on the look-out for remedies for the ever decreasing print media market, partly in order to analyse the zeitgeist. Amann et al (2012) for example underline that the rural idylls evoked in LMs have nothing to do with reality of life in the countryside. Most commentators agree that reading LMs is a form of escapism and that the countryside has become a projection screen for those who feel disenchanted with the promises and pace of modern life (see also Riehl 2010, Seifert 2010, Stock 2011, Sauerbrey 2012, Brämer 2014, Haffner 2015, Meier 2015).

The research we present in this article contributes insights which allow us to add new aspects to both the questions and the answers raised above: we see the success of LMs as a discursive event that combines a specific set or formation of discourses at a specific point in time (Foucault 1989). The aim of our research is to describe this formation and its semiotic manifestations – writing and images – which constitute LL.

The main research questions we address are:

• Which specific formation of discourses can be identified in the LM analysed?

• How do these discourses manifest themselves semiotically in the writing and the images of the magazine?

---

[3] Since the 1990s several so called "Country Magazines" following British examples such as *Country Life* were published in Germany but were not nearly as successful as the LMs. *Country Life* for example targets a different, more upper middle class audience.

• Do the discourses identified contribute to current political debates?

In order to answer these questions we apply an approach that combines corpus assisted and multimodal discourse analysis, thus ensuring that the multimodal discourse analysis is built on a quantitative basis. The following section 2 is dedicated to data and methodology, followed by the corpus analysis in section 3. In section 4 we examine typical examples of the visual aspects of the magazine, in section 5 we discuss our findings.

2. Data and methodology

The basis of our analysis is an electronic corpus of all texts published in a year's cycle of LL. On the basis of frequency lists and collocations – frequent patterns of co-occurring lexical choices – we establish dominant topics and identify underlying discourses. We thus follow the methodological approach of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) (see, for example, Mautner 2007, Partington 2004, 2006, Stubbs 2001). CADS adds a quantitative dimension to discourse analysis by not only uncovering patterns of linguistic practices that might otherwise have been overlooked but also by indicating the frequency of their occurrences. CADS focuses on lexical choices: in order to signify a specific concept, media producers for example have a large repository of words at their disposal. Their choice of certain words and collocations over others contributes to a particular representation of the content they are communicating. Van Dijk (1995:259) famously gives the example of the choice between the words 'terrorist' versus 'freedom fighter' for an extremist activist, depending on the ideological stance of the media producer. Words that seem to be neutral can transport ideology when put into specific discursive patterns or when co-occurring with certain other words as collocations: "Collocations are especially interesting to investigate, as they can point to the salient ideas associated with a particular phenomenon. In doing so, they can provide indications as to how the phenomenon is frequently framed in discourse" (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012:406). Collocations are normally widely shared within linguistic communities of practice (Stubbs 2001:35), so that frequent words and collocations can be seen as directly connected to underlying discourse patterns

(Baker 2006: 47-69; Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011: 36). Thus, corpus linguistics analyses language as a collection of discourse data resulting from communication with language, particularly in the area of media analysis, for example on issues such as the media representation of feminism (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012), climate change (Grundmann and Krishnamurthy 2010), homosexuality (Baker 2004), refugees (Baker and McEnery 1996, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008) or Islam (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery 2013, Törnberg & Törnberg, in press).[4] However, in this article we follow a different route: rather than looking for the representation of normally ideologically highly loaded terms in media discourse, we examine the discursive impact of a media genre – Land Magazines. In order to do so, the corpus we base our research on consists of a whole year's cycle of all written elements within LL.

Firstly, this corpus will be examined by applying the corpus analysis software AntConc (Anthony 2011) in order to establish frequencies and collocations. Word frequencies are the first step of analysis which allows words and collocations representing salient ideas within LL to be identified. They will then be examined in their specific lexical and discursive contexts, technologically supported by the software's ability to display concordances (Baker 2006). Our approach is thus 'corpus-driven' in as far as its starting points are not hypotheses built on first impressions from reading the magazine. Rather, the building of hypotheses is the result of frequency and collocation analysis (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2006; Tognini-Bonelli 2001).

Secondly, the visual data examples for analysis are then selected on the basis of the significant lexical patterns identified by the corpus analysis. Pentzold et al (in press) show how complementary verbal and visual aspects of media coverage work in concert to construct frames. In our data too, these two aspects largely complement each other, allowing us to make a robustly motivated selection of visuals for analysis. To this end, the discussion of visuals that we present is underpinned by a comprehensive manual analysis of the illustrations occurring

---

[4] For a detailed discussion of methodological synergies between corpus analysis and discourse studies see for example Baker et al. 2008.

in a whole single issue of LL. This analysis was based on two main thematic strands of the corpus analytical results, and reveals both the expected complementary visual-verbal patterns and some points of apparent tension for exploration.

Since its inception, multimodal analysis has dramatically extended the range of theories, practices and modes it encompasses (see, for example, Jewitt 2009a, 2009b and Scollon & Scollon 2003, 2009). However, given the print medium nature of our data, we are here mainly following the social semiotic model first proposed in *Reading Images* by Kress & van Leeuwen in 1996 (now in its third edition), as it was designed to capture the kind of social discursive construction of meaning in which we are interested here, and provides a relatively comprehensive and widely known toolkit based on the social semiotic approach of Halliday (1978). Although typography (van Leeuwen, 2005) and texture (Caldas-Coulthard & van Leeuwen, 2001) are important aspects of multimodal meaning in print media, the focus in the following analysis will be mainly on the interplay between text and pictorial images in a complex system of semiotic representation. Taking our cue from the central concerns highlighted by the computer assisted stage of our analysis allows us to counter the accusations of lack of academic rigour and 'cherry-picking' (Toernberg & Toernberg, 2016) which have sometimes been levelled at those qualitative (C)DA studies which are not underpinned by a foundation in CL. Thus we have chosen those writing-image combinations which we consider as representative on the basis of lexical frequency analysis, and have cross-checked the reliability of the observations we draw against a manual coding of all pictorial images in a single complete issue of LL (see 4.2 below).

3. Analysis of "Landlust"-corpus

The electronic corpus consists of all written texts from LL which were published between May 2013 and April 2014, consisting of 221951 words or 'text tokens'.[5]

---

[5] Advertisements, which account for between 45 to 66 pages per issue, were not included in the corpus. All elements of self-advertisement, for example invitations to subscribe to LL or to buy LL products via the magazine's website, or for products introduced as part of product placement were included as they form part of the magazine's overall formation of discourses.

The corpus is thus an example of a small specialized corpus (Ooi 2001, Baker et al 2008: 275-276). An issue of LL normally consists of approximately 200 pages, containing an average of 35000 text tokens. In comparison, a daily newspaper consists normally of 65-70000 text tokens per issue (Scherer 2006:54), which underlines the importance and space a magazine such as LL dedicates to images. The journalistic genres used in LL comprise editorials, letters to the editor, features, reports, columns, recipes and do-it-yourself instructions. Some sections are dedicated to product placement, where short texts are combined with images and details on how to order the products. In features and reports, short texts summarizing factual information are in some cases presented in text boxes.

The following overall analysis of frequency examines all words that appear more than fifty times in the LL corpus, apart from function words.[6] Frequency analysis shines light both on thematic foci in the magazine and on the specific linguistic practices they are carried out in. Table 1 shows all nouns that appear 50 times and more, sorted thematically. Where concordance analysis has shown that nouns can belong to more than one category they are listed in brackets. Frequency of use is decreasing so that the most frequent words appear at the top of the table.

Table 1: Noun frequency (>50)

Garden / Nature	House / Home	Time	Recipes	People	General description of objects	Miscellaneous
Garten/Gärten (476)	Haus (164)	Jahr(e/n) (561)	Salz (195)	Familie (149)	Seite(n) (241)	Landlust (354)
Wasser (251)	Schloss (98)	Zeit (240)	Zucker (178)	Besucher (110)	Form (137)	Farbe(n) (145)
Pflanze(n_ (239)	Fenster (90)	Tag(e/n) (175)	Pfeffer (153)	Kinder (101)	Stück(e) (130)	Ausstellung (130)
Blüte(n) (235)	Küche (80)	Minuten (170)	Butter (128)	Goethe (93)	Ende (117)	Platz (105)

---

[6] Frequency analysis of function words is not normally relevant for discourse analysis (see for example Baker 2006: 51-56). They can, however, indicate stylistic categories, for example when a specialized corpus is compared with a substantially larger reference corpus (see for example Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998).

Boden (156)	Bad (62)	Jahrhundert(s) (140)	Mehl (99)	Hand[7] (81)	Bild (102)	(Leben) (99)
Blätter (154)	Hof (62)	Winter (127)	Backofen (94)	Menschen (78)	Meter (101)	Blick (90)
Holz (147)	(Scheiben) (59)	Sommer (102)	Sahne (94)	Personen (77)	Zentimeter (87)	Licht (75)
Baum/Bäume (142)		(Geschichte) (94)	Eier (81)	Kopf (59)	Mitte (86)	Kunst (74)
Natur (134)		Herbst (88)	Öl (76)	Künstler (58)	Höhe (79)	Arbeit (73)
Art(en) 134		Frühjahr (86)	(Saft) (66)	Mann (51)	Teil (65)	Beitrag (70)
Sorten (126)		Stunde(n) (75)	(Salat) (61)		Masse (63)	Weimar (67)
(Zwiebel(n)) (111)		Woche(n) (74)	Teig (58)			(Glas) (63)
Tiere (98)		August (65)	Rezepte (51)			Papier (63)
Samen (90)		Mai (58)				Insel (61)
Früchte (87)		(Alter) (51)				Welt (60)
Gemüse (84)		Anfang (51)				Material (57)
Erde (73)						Anleitung (56)
Art (72)						Stadt (56)
Sorte (65)						(Weg) (52)
Wald (63)						
Rinde (62)						
Zweige (59)						
Knospen (58)						
Stauden(54)						
Hühner (53)						
Bete (52)						
Pferde (52)						
Basilikum(51)						
Total: 3380	Total: 615	Total: 2157	Total: 1334	Total: 857	Total: 1208	Total: 1759

3.1. Concreteness and polycentrism

---

[7] 'Hand' is included in the category of 'people' because of the metonymous relationship between the two concepts, with the latter often used to stand for the former linguistically (e.g. in idiomatic expressions such as 'an old hand' or 'all hands on deck'). As will become apparent in Section 4 below, it is not only significant in terms of its lexical frequency, but is also central to LL's visual discourse.

Even at a first glance the table reveals the concreteness of the most frequently used nouns: apart from 16 nouns under the category *Time*, they refer to things rather than abstract concepts. This also applies to the most frequently used verbs which signify actions a person does by using their body (or material and behavioural processes, in systemic functional terms), and mainly using their hands, itself an entity occuring 81 times: They are *stehen* 'stand' (267), *kommen* 'come' (187), *machen* 'make' (156), *say* 'sagen' (145), *schneiden* 'cut' (137), *waschen* 'wash' (134), *liegen* ' lie' (117), *geben* ' give' (110), *finden* 'find' (102), *sehen* 'see' (100), *gehen* 'go' (97), *stellen* 'put' (91), *schälen* 'peel' (89), *ziehen* 'pull' (85), *arbeiten* 'work' (84), *bieten* 'offer' (81); *erhalten* 'preserve / get' (77), *halten* 'hold' (74), *wachsen* 'grow'(74), *backen* 'bake' (68).

The frequency analysis confirms the thematic foci of LL: the column for *Garden / Nature* contains most items, followed by *Time* (see below), and then *Recipes*, underlining the emphasis the magazine puts on home cooking and baking. *Family* (149) and *Children* (101) reveal the general focus the magazine puts on family life. Families are portrayed in many of the feature articles and readers are often addressed directly as family members. These results show clear similarities to those sections of professional agricultural magazines such as *Land & Forst* or *Top Agrar* , both from the same publisher as LL, that are addressed to women: they also celebrate nature and rural regions, contain recipes and focus on their readers as members of a family. The main difference, however, is the fact that the professional magazines also report problems, such as for example lack of child care in rural areas or the tensions which can arise when three generations of one family live under the same roof. LL concentrates explicitly on *die schönen Seiten des Landlebens* 'the nice sides of country life', as it states in its German sub-title.[8]

A rather more surprising result of the frequency analysis is the noun *Schloss* 'castle, manor house' which occurs 98 times. First impressions from reading LL do not suggest an orientation towards the landed gentry living in castles. Concordance analysis then shows that the noun *Schloss* mainly appears in the

---

[8] The English version opts for "Spirit of the countryside" here.

calendar of events, six to eight pages towards the end of each issue where garden parties or fairs are advertised which tend to take place in locations such as castles or manor houses (Figure 1).[9]

Figure 1: Extract from the concordance of *Schloss*

Hit	KWIC	File
1	og sie in das niederlaendische westfriesland nach *schloss* waltha, wo sic	Landlust_alles-
2	ile werden wieder sorgsam zusammengesetzt und das *schloss* wird festgezog	Landlust_alles-
3	en in lauschigen ecken ein. als jaeger und angler *schloss* sich christoph	Landlust_alles-
4	einer befreundeten floristin eine ausstellung auf *schloss* zinzendorf in	Landlust_alles-
5	ihren sommer aufenthalt unter schattigen baeumen. *schloss* und park pilln	Landlust_alles-
6	beratung: matthias riedel, fotos: marion nickig, *schloss* pillnitz ( ) m	Landlust_alles-
7	rogramm zaehlen u. a. ein kunsthandwerkermarkt im *schloss*- innenhof, ein	Landlust_alles-
8	kt buergerhaus amoeneburg- mardorf ostereiermarkt *schloss* friedenstein g	Landlust_alles-
9	ischer garten berlin- dahlem, berlin t stilbluete *schloss* luentenbeck ga	Landlust_alles-
10	am kiekeberg rosengarten- ehestorf narzissenfest *schloss* ippenburg bad	Landlust_alles-
11	im grugapark essen internationaler ostereiermarkt *schloss* schwetzingen f	Landlust_alles-
12	reiermarkt buergerhaus amoeneburg- ostereiermarkt *schloss* friedenstein g	Landlust_alles-
13	rendorf landgestuet, celle lenzrosen & ostermarkt *schloss* weingartsgreut	Landlust_alles-
14	hloss weingartsgreuth wachenroth fruehlingszauber *schloss* wolfsburg berl	Landlust_alles-
15	anischer garten berlin- dahlem, berlin stilbluete *schloss* luentenbeck wu	Landlust_alles-
16	am kiekeberg rosengarten- ehestorf narzissenfest *schloss* ippenburg bad	Landlust_alles-
17	ntage orangerie im grugapark essen ostereiermarkt *schloss* schwetzingen f	Landlust_alles-
18	ker zum sattessen land & lecker das gartencafe im *schloss* bedheim erdbee	Landlust_alles-
19	n der strasse sind der markante kirchturm und das *schloss* zu sehen. das	Landlust_alles-
20	im besitz der schlossanlage ist. zuvor wurde das *schloss* unter dem vorb	Landlust alles-

Other frequent nouns mainly used in this part of LL are *Besucher* 'visitor', *Ausstellung* 'exhibition', *Farben* ' colours', *Licht* 'light', *Blick* 'view', *Kunst* 'art', *Künstler* 'artist'. Concordance analysis also shows that the main collocation for Kunst 'art' is Handwerk 'craft', either as a lexical collocation or as semantic preference , where the notion of craft is implicit rather than lexically explicit, for example here in *die Kunst des Köhlers* ' the art of the charcoal burner' (see Table 3):

Figure 2: Extract from the concordance of *Kunst*

---

[9] The extracts from concordances are illustrations of our arguments. They might show repetitions and include some lines that go against the overall gist that we summarise here. Any repetitions were excluded from the totals we report.

Hit	KWIC	File
24	d vergaenglichkeit gehoeren zur konzeption dieser kunst. _ fast jede hue	Landlust_alles-Letz
25	narbauernhof der stiftung oekologie & landbau . . kunst & textil kunstwe	Landlust_alles-Letz
26	chte beleuchten, was das textile fuer die moderne kunst bis heute bedeut	Landlust_alles-Letz
27	straktion wichtige impulse aus der verbindung von kunst und kunsthandwer	Landlust_alles-Letz
28	r und designer der arbeitsgemeinschaft angewandte kunst koeln (akk) ihre	Landlust_alles-Letz
29	eingeladen zu einem bummel zwischen zeitgemaesser kunst und handwerk, zw	Landlust_alles-Letz
30	cher ostereiermarkt gemeindezentrum juemme filsum kunst op schaal intern	Landlust_alles-Letz
31	rmarkt fischerund webermuseum wunstorf- steinhude kunst rund ums ei geme	Landlust_alles-Letz
32	cher ostereiermarkt gemeindezentrum juemme filsum kunst op schaal intern	Landlust_alles-Letz
33	rmarkt fischerund webermuseum wunstorf- steinhude kunst rund ums ei geme	Landlust_alles-Letz
34	einem seiner stilbildenden elemente. kontakt glas kunst handwerk meister	Landlust_alles-Letz
35	enn sie ihre bilder malt und gestaltet. natur und kunst sich neugierieg	Landlust_alles-Letz
36	rfuellte sich schliesslich ihren traum, natur und kunst im leben und in	Landlust_alles-Letz
37	hsenen erzaehlt sie maerchen. die technik und die kunst des freien erzae	Landlust_alles-Letz
38	rtskern und umgebung, verschiedene obsthoefe jork kunst im gut ueber kue	Landlust_alles-Letz
39	densten bereichen der ange- wandten und bildenden kunst, praesentieren s	Landlust_alles-Letz
40	fswaesche hat hier ihren platz. zugleich wird der kunst- und gartenmarkt	Landlust_alles-Letz
41	t von ludwig x.) eine stimmungsvolle kulisse fuer kunst und handwerk. im	Landlust_alles-Letz
42	ommerakademie etwa zu den bereichen der bildenden kunst (z. b. holzbildh	Landlust_alles-Letz
43	einkohle verloren sie ihre bedeutung und auch die kunst des koehlers, in	Landlust_alles-Letz
44	te die umgebende landschaft auf. das spektrum der kunst reicht von raumg	Landlust_alles-Letz

The calendar of events column in LL thus presents a different focus and serves distinct discourses from the rest of the magazine, indicating the polycentrism of discourses within LL: the magazine consists of a specific combination of different discourses which in themselves are created by distinct linguistic and semantic practices. The calendar of events serves predominantly advertising purposes for arts and craft events such as fairs and markets which take place in castles, manor houses or museums.

3.2 The LL-representation of time

Fifteen of the most frequent nouns in LL refer to the semantic field of time. This is partly due to the seasonal structure of LL, which focuses on the annual cycle (*Sommer* 'summer', *Herbst* 'autumn', *Winter* 'winter', *Frühjahr* 'spring', *August* 'August', *Mai* 'May'). Cluster analysis of the noun *Jahr* 'year' shows that in many cases specific years in history are referred to, typically as part of historic reports (Figure 3).[10]

Figure 3: Extract from concordance of *Jahr*

---

[10] As preparation for the electronic corpus all numbers were deleted from the LL-texts; thus, lines 6,7,8,10,12,16,19,20 in table 4, which refer to specific years in history, do not show the numbers.

Hit	KWIC	File
1	allen lesern ein gesundes und gluecklishes neues jahr. wir danken fuer	Landlust_alle:
2	denke, was wolltest du nicht alles zaubern uebers jahr? zu lesen, dass e	Landlust_alle:
3	besitze eine trakehner stute und habe im letzten jahr das ehemalige ges	Landlust_alle:
4	ibt ein stecknadelkopfgrosses knoellchen zurueck. jahr um jahr wird es g	Landlust_alle:
5	stecknadelkopfgrosses knoellchen zurueck. jahr um jahr wird es groesser.	Landlust_alle:
6	s junge paar wohnte zunaechst in frankfurt, wo im jahr auch ihre erste t	Landlust_alle:
7	ochter dorothea maria henrietta brachte merian im jahr ein neues grosses	Landlust_alle:
8	anerkannt nach dem tod ihrer mutter zog merian im jahr mit ihren beiden	Landlust_alle:
9	icht mehr geduengt. soll die pflanze im naechsten jahr wieder bluehen, w	Landlust_alle:
10	in einem franzoesischen gaertnerhandbuch aus dem jahr gefunden. die gar	Landlust_alle:
11	chte und fangfrischer fisch finden sich das ganze jahr ueber auf der kle	Landlust_alle:
12	hren gekauft hatten. das alte bauernhaus wurde im jahr erbaut und von de	Landlust_alle:
13	, , landlust wandkalender mit landlust durch das jahr. den neuen jahres	Landlust_alle:
14	lust.de lesefreude mit landlust sechs ausgaben im jahr fuer , echter wol	Landlust_alle:
15	kinderaugen. schild. jahre wurde jim knopf dieses jahr alt. ralphi der s	Landlust_alle:
16	an, sagt juergen marschall. das doppelte urmel im jahr hat er die werkst	Landlust_alle:
17	vorstellungen zeigt die augsburger puppenkiste im jahr, weitere vorstell	Landlust_alle:
18	n wird, sooft es geht, gebrannt (etwa bis -mal im jahr). eine bestellung	Landlust_alle:
19	geburtsstunde der fotografie gilt jedoch erst das jahr . viele pioniere	Landlust_alle:
20	vielfaeltigen flora und fauna steht sie seit dem jahr unter naturschutz	Landlust_alle:

Articles with references to history are relatively dominant in LL, some of which concentrate on historical topics such as "Goethe's gardens" (Issue 4/2013). Other texts contain historical background information, for example a description of how a plant has been introduced to European gardens at some stage in the past, or features such as *Fenster nach historischem Vorbild* 'windows constructed to historic blueprints'. Another semantic context of use of the noun *Jahr* 'year' is connected to the notion of recurring time - *jedes Jahr* 'each year', *Jahr um Jahr / Jahr für Jahr* 'year after year'. Only twice in the whole corpus does *Jahr* refer to the next year and only once to a recent year. Here we can conclude cautiously that the underlying concept of time in LL is focused on the past or on time as something recurring in the annual cycle, but not on present or future events.

3.3 Product placement and LL-advertisements

The second most frequent noun used in the LL corpus after *Garten/Gärten* 'garden(s)' is *LandLust* (345), the magazine's name. It appears not only in the editorial and the publishers' details, but is distributed all over the magazine in elements of advertisements which sell special LL-branded merchandise such as postcards, posters, recipe collections, children's books, music CDs, clothes, tools etc. which can be ordered via the internet in what is called the *LandLust-Shop*. This shows LL as a lifestyle magazine that not only invites its readers to read and follow recipes or DIY suggestions but to buy products which are specifically designed for its audience. In an interview with the Evangelische Zeitung

(12.2.2014) the magazines' managing director offers an explanation of LL's success by stressing it as an alternative approach to modern fast-moving consumer culture. Our analysis of the magazine's advertisements and product placement strategies, however, shows that it is itself very much part of consumer culture, although the modernity of its practice is perhaps to some extent camouflaged by the resolutely traditional appearance of the products it sells.

3.4 Anglicisms

Thus far the analysis has focused on words frequently used in LL. A corpus analysis, however, can also show what is not or hardly ever used (see for example Partington 2014). The frequency list of the LL-corpus shows that anglicisms are relatively rare which is in contrast to the high level of English elements that can be observed in the majority of German life style magazines (see for example O'Halloran 2002 or Spitzmüller 2005). The most frequently used anglicism *Workshop* appears only 26 times in the LL corpus. Like the German-English hybrid compound word *Gartenfestival* (13) it appears predominantly in the calendar of events towards the end of each issue of LL. It has already been observed that this particular part is dominated by discourses markedly different from the rest of the magazine. Otherwise, anglicisms only appear in advertisements for LL itself, either in order to invite subscriptions or to invite readers buy LL-products.

These findings are relevant in two ways: firstly, they underline yet again, that the magazine serves not one but various discourses, some of which contradict each other. Frequency and concordance analysis show that the calendar of events, where anglicisms do appear, constructs a form of heritage discourse in which nouns such as *Kunst*, *Kunsthandwerk*, *Schloss*, *Schlossgarten* dominate and which has primarily an advertising function. The ostentatious avoidance of anglicisms in the rest of the magazine can be seen as a linguistic practice which is a reaction to metalinguistic discourses during the 1990s when a very public debate took place between linguists, purist institutions, the media and members of the general public: an argument over whether the German language was becoming irreversibly changed and spoiled by English influence (see for example Androutsopoulos 2007, Moraldo 2008, Spitzmüller 2005). A purist discourse

prevailed, leading to individuals, institutions and parts of the media consciously avoiding anglicisms, particularly in the more traditional cultural spectrum of the German-speaking societies. Avoiding anglicisms seems to be a concept generally underlying LL, which is, nevertheless, undermined in those parts of the magazine that are dedicated to advertising.

4. Multimodal analysis

The CAD analysis in the previous sections, then, highlights several key linguistic discursive constructions of the LL readership, as being a polycentric constellation of concrete, domestic activity refracted through a socio-temporal lens which focuses on the historical traditions of German culture. We now turn to analysis of the discursive work done by visual aspects of LL which operate in concert with the verbal patterns we have identified, and which are, in a magazine such as this, so crucial for its impact and appeal.

In the following we will firstly examine an LL editorial (4.1) and secondly look at the concepts underlying the images in LL (4.2).

4.1. LL-editorials

In the following we examine the visual-verbal interplay within a 'single text' which encapsulates the LL ethos, by analyzing the relationship between writing and images in a LL-editorial (issue 2/2014; see extract 1). Based on Bucher (2007:58) we initially approach this page of the magazine as an interactive process between reader and media product. On the third page of every issue, the magazine's editor addresses her readers. She does so by using the addressing formula *Liebe Leser!* 'dear readers', a plural which supposedly includes male and female readers although it uses only the masculine form. This practice has come under scrutiny from feminist linguists and campaigners (see for example Schoenthal 1989 and 1998) since the 1980s and has led to new practices whereby female plural forms are explicitly listed, so that the address would read for example *Liebe Leserinnen und Leser*. This more inclusive phrasing, however, has been criticised by more traditional readers and writers as 'ugly' or 'clunky'. Considering that 75% of the magazine's audience are female readers it is a clear statement that the editor here chooses the traditional, pre-feminist form. As with

the practice of avoiding anglicisms (see 3.4) the magazine reacts to politically motivated discourses that manifest themselves linguistically and chooses to adhere to the traditional and more conservative linguistic practices.

Extract 1: Translation of editorial.[11]

Dear readers,

Our columnist writes that the inspiration for this week's column hit her as she was doing her ironing. As it happens, as writers, many of our best ideas come when we're away from our desks. Often, we are most creative when we go about our daily routines, doing chores. The reason for this phenomenon lies within our bodies. According to evolutionary medicine, the human body evolved in the distant past and has yet to adapt to our modern lifestyle. We carry out mental work in a body that evolved in the Stone Age when our ancestors were hunters and gatherers before they settled down and began to farm. Evolution programmed our bodies for physical activity – that hasn't changed. Our genes push us to be physically engaged even when we do mental work. Our ancestors experienced the resulting physical tension as a flight or fight response whereas today, we spend our days in front of our computers and this tension settles in our

---

[11] Liebe Leser!
Beim Bügeln, so schreibt uns die Kolumnistin dieser Ausgabe, kam ihr der ersehnte Geistesblitz. Kein Wunder, die besten Gedanken hat man bekanntlich, wenn man nicht am Schreibtisch sitzt. Beim Wirken und Werken kommen oft wie von selbst neue Ideen. Unser Körper liefert die Begründung dafür. Wir Menschen sind von gestern und für den Lebensstil von heute eigentlich nicht gemacht, sagen uns die Evolutionsmediziner. Bei Kopfarbeit stecken wir in einem Körper, der ursprünglich aus der Steinzeit stammt. Unsere Vorfahren waren Jäger und Sammler, bevor sie sesshaft wurden und Landwirtschaft betrieben. Die Natur hat den Menschen auf Körpereinsatz programmiert, daran hat sich bis heute nichts geändert. Unsere Gene wollen, dass wir Kopfarbeit körperlich ausleben, und erzeugen Spannkraft, die unsere Vorderen noch zum Flüchten oder Kämpfen nutzten. Uns bleibt die geistige Anspannung am Schreibtisch stattdessen meist im Nacken sitzen und blockiert die Gedanken, wenn wir nicht den Absprung schaffen. Mit unserer Frühjahrsausgabe möchten wir Ihnen erneut kleine Fluchten organisieren. Freuen Sie sich darauf: Es geht wieder in den Garten!

necks and blocks our creative juices unless we shake things up to let them flow. With our spring edition we would like to organize small escapes for you. Rejoice! It's off into the garden again!

The use of fonts in the written parts of this page presents a combination of typefaces. The majority of them – for the body text, caption and most of the running header – are clearly print forms, regular, orderly and relatively impersonal and conformist in effect. In addition, a more informal, sloping, expansive and irregular style reminiscent of handwriting, is used for the greeting - *Liebe Leser!* / 'Dear Readers' – and also for the 'Lust' element of the title of LL. The latter style carries overtones of a friendly, personal, optimistic and creative spontaneity (van Leeuwen, 2005, 2006; Machin, 2007), which chimes with the opening sentence of the editorial, where we learn that the guest columnist for this issue had her long-awaited moment of inspiration whilst ironing.

The text of the full editorial consists of 166 words. In its first and last sentence, the use of the personal pronouns is exclusive: 'the columnist writes to <u>us</u>' (=the editorial team); '<u>we</u> would like to organize small escapes for <u>you</u>' (=the editorial team for the readers). Throughout the rest of the text, personal pronouns *wir* 'we' and *uns* 'us' are inclusive and refer to all people who - according to the logic of the text - are prevented from being creative by the inappropriate demands of modern working life. The text is structured around two opposites: on the one hand it refers to human beings as creatures of nature and of the past, on the other hand it describes what are perceived as the demands of modern life. In between these two opposites it positions ideas, innovative thoughts, intellectual creativity.

Thus, the text evokes problems many readers (*wir Menschen* 'we as human beings') might face in modern day professional life (*Kopfarbeit, Anspannung, Schreibtisch* 'office work, tension, desk'). It also provides an analysis - human beings are creatures of nature and not made for this kind of work – and a solution: small escapes, gardening. This discourse of alienation fails to mention that at least in the German speaking countries most people these days live lives

of hitherto unprecedented levels of health and material well-being. A vague concept of the past and the garden as refuge are stylized here as spaces for recovery for those readers who seek a break from the present and its demands.

The photo responds to this message and complements it, albeit in a somewhat ambivalent fashion. It shows the magazine's editor Ute Frieling-Huchzermeyer wearing jeans with a fashionable belt, a light blue blouse and a jacket in Bavarian folklore style. This combination is not random since it mixes comfortable, casual-smart and traditional and would be appropriate outside as well as indoors.

Figure 4: Editorial photo

The editor is photographed in a medium distance shot, legs crossed and resting her back casually against a gnarled old tree trunk, up which ivy grows, and which leans over the edge of a lake or pond. Her full physique is visible apart from her feet and lower legs, construing a sociable, but not close, personal relationship with the reader. Her gaze nevertheless meets the reader's eye with a friendly smile, and her body is positioned full-on to the camera, in an open pose which apparently demands a response of friendly recognition from the reader (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 117-8). A special focus is on her hands, which rest casually on her thighs, thumbs hooked in the pockets of her jeans. It is certainly intentional that this picture does not show just the editor's head or head and shoulders, in the customary editorial pose widely seen in other publications aimed primarily at women. For example, in current editions of Grazia, OK, Best,

Now!, The People's Friend and Closer, the editorial shot construes an intimate relationship with the editor via a head and shoulders shot (upper body, too, in the case of Closer), torso angled slightly away from the camera, but head turned specifically to gaze at the viewer, against a neutral, blank backdrop with artificial lighting. This lack of contextualization creates a generic image in these cases (Machin, 2004), designed to allow the appeal of the gaze to apply to any reader in any situation, urban or rural, domestic or office.

In the present case, however, not only is the editor's whole body effectively visible, but the picture was taken outdoors, against a background which is articulated in considerable detail. The tree trunk on which the editor is leaning is only partially visible, partly because of the relative closeness of the shot but also because of the stems and leaves of ivy covering it. The lake or pond with water lilies acts as a mirror for more trees, reflected in apparently natural sunlight. On closer inspection, however, the considerable artifice of the image is revealed. Whereas her position under a large tree might be expected to cast her in shade, the editor's face and especially forehead are brightly illuminated from high on the left, an angle which is clearly different from the light source creating the shadows and reflections on the water.

Nature, then, is intended to be part of the picture, but this is neither an urban front garden nor a rural vegetable plot; nor do the outdoor clothes bear any realistic sign of suitability for garden activity, other perhaps than garden-visiting. Rather, the extract of landscape depicted here reminds the viewer of a fairy tale setting - the old pond with water lilies, the old tree trunk, both clearly visible but not brightly exposed. The pragmatics of the picture, the communicative act of it, can be summarized as an expressive act of imagery (Schmitz 2007). Interaction with the viewer works simultaneously via different modes of communication (Bucher 2007): the picture offers a solution to the dilemma described in the text which refers to the magazine's readers as creatures of nature who have been forced to do office work. The editor has already taken the necessary step, she is out in the open, although this particular open is idealized and only partly recognizable, leaving room for imagination and interpretation.

4.2 Concreteness and materiality: a visual reflex of LL's discursive thematic foci

The corpus based frequency analysis of LL revealed the magazine's concentration on concrete things, rather than abstract concepts. No more than a cursory glance at the magazine's illustrations is needed to detect that the vast majority of the illustrations are photographic representations of 'real' things, rather than the abstracted line drawings or diagrams that Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) propose would encode a scientific projected worldview, or the non-naturalistic representations of ideas associated with, for example, abstract art. Even at such an impressionistic level, it is also apparent from examining an issue of LL that many of the photographs depict nature, gardens, houses / homes and the cooked dishes that result from following the recipes provided.

Surprisingly though, given that nouns referring to people constitute one of the categories to emerge from the frequency analysis, there appears to be relatively little representation of people in the multitude of illustrations. This is the more notable when combined with our earlier observation that the discursive focus on concrete things appeared to be complemented by material processes, with the most frequently occurring verbs being those that signify actions performed by using the body, and especially the hands.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) propose a major division between types of visual representation, which can be taken as an equivalent of the linguistic difference between nouns and verbs, in their categories of 'narrative' and 'conceptual' images. Narrative representations depict participants as being involved in unfolding events, action or change (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 59) and are identifiable by the presence of a vector. Conceptual representations, on the other hand, lack vectors and depict participants "in terms of their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence"(Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 79). Narrative mode thus represents a relationship of doing or happening between participants and in this sense may be thought of as more concrete than Conceptual mode, which portrays participants more abstractly.

In order to be able to refine our analysis of the visual discursive practices in LL, and explore the patterns of visual representation that accompany the text and co-produce its semiosis, a complete single issue (3/2014)[12] was analysed for narrative versus conceptual representations and for representations of human agency within the narrative images. The 167 pages analysed contained a total of 493 separate illustrations, of which only 138 (or 28%) included a visible representation of (part of) a human participant. Categorised the other way, of the total of 493 illustrations, just under 70% were conceptual images, depicting participants not as agents in any kind of action process, but in terms of their general being, or timeless essence.

Two possible connections seem immediately inviting at this point. The first is that it might therefore be suggested that the visual aspects of LL bear out its avowed aim of affording its readers respite from the hurly-burly and demands of modern day life by de-emphasising activity in its depiction of 'small escapes'. The second is that the neatness with which the two totals for narrative images (30%) and representation of human participants (28%) overlap almost perfectly might reflect the linguistic focus on actions performed by human bodies. As Table 2 (a&b) below shows, however, while this generalization may tell part of the story, it leaves some significant aspects of the visual character of LL obscured.

---

[12] As with the textual corpus analysis advertisements other than for LL products were excluded.

Table 2a – Conceptual representations

Conceptual				Total
Thing	Person			
	Female	Male	Both	
323	7	1	7	338*
95.6%	2.1%	0.3%	2.1%	

* In addition, there were three instances of hands (gender indeterminate) represented

conceptually

Table 2b – Narrative representations

Narrative							Total
Thing 21.1%	Person					78.9%	
	Hands only	42		Whole body	78		
	Female	Male	Indeterminate	Female	Male	Both	
32	23	6	13	25	31	22	152
21.1%	15.1%	3.9%	8.6%	16.4%	20.4%	14.5%	

While Table 2a does indeed confirm that inanimate things are overwhelmingly more likely to be represented conceptually than are humans, it also indicates that women are more likely than men to be so represented, as is reflected in the editorial photo already discussed. Although women (56%) are more likely than men (44%) to be represented in action, via narrative images, their narrative representations are more likely to be metonymic and on a small scale than involving their whole bodies. Instead, their hands form the focus of a close up image, which usually depicts an indoor, domestic activity, such as preparing food (in photos accompanying recipes) or the various crafts which feature in the frequency analysis (such as pottery or making decorative objects for the home). While men are seen in full body shots, mowing grass on tractor-like machines, and shearing sheep, photos of women are severely cropped, focusing on their less active, visibly manual activities, such as painting house window frames and stitching up the holes in the shorn fleeces.

In short, and in line with the traditionally gendered discourses of the past which are evoked linguistically, visual female activity centres in minute detail on the domesticity of food and bygone décor. A similar echo of the past is found in the representation of children and family. Although family-related lexis provided one of the categories to emerge from the linguistic corpus analysis, children are perhaps surprisingly invisible. Only two articles in the whole of the issue considered for visual analysis include any representation of children. One of them is a feature on bird watching whilst navigating waterways by canoe; the other is devoted to snail racing (and decorating) as children's entertainment. In neither are these anachronistic leisure activities – in which the children appear intently absorbed – threatened by any visible sign of the mobile phones or electronic devices which are more likely to provide their entertainment in the modern world from which LL ostensibly provides respite.

4.3 Focus on the detail

The imagery of LL can be summarized by the terms extract and detail. The majority of photographs show a 'small' close-up extract from a larger whole, such as a plant or an arrangement, but are often blown up to fill a whole page.

For example, in issue 2/2014, the whole of p. 91 shows a detail from a flower arrangement in a shallow terracotta pot (see Figure 6) at such close proximity that less than a quarter of the circumference of the pot's rim is visible. Only two complete flower heads are visible, another is partially cut off; and stems and foliage spill beyond all four edges of the photo, truncated by the extreme cropping.

On one level, such images speak realistically to the viewer, apparently depicting things as they appear, albeit in unusually close up detail. The highly detailed representation of the focal flowers and of the visibly damaged rim of their rustic terracotta pot appears to show the kind of real world wear and tear that would be detectable on any relatively careful inspection of this flower arrangement. The naturalistic seeming range of different colours, and their accompanying variation in brightness values, along with a realistic sense of every-day depth or perspective, all seem initially to contribute to a sense of this just being a transparent photographic record, capturing the otherwise hidden moment in which this small part of the world contained this flower display.

Figure 5: Flower arrangement

As with the photo of the editor, however, artifice plays an important role in creating the powerfully expressive point of view which, for her as editor, characterises LL's themes and motifs. The highly detailed close-up and cropping of the photo so that it shows only quite a small part of the overall subject leads to a relative decontextualisation: there is no setting visible in the background, and even the plants that form the remainder of the arrangement are blurred, so that the focus is truly on a tiny proportion of the whole. Within this microcosm, highly modulated colour creates a practically palpable sense of floral texture: one can almost feel the downiness of grey-green strap-like leaves and the satin sheen of the pink peony petals. All these aspects of this photo are typical of LL, along with its characteristic preference for often highly saturated colour and for illumination that creates highlights where the light falls, but minimises what would normally be the resultant shadows. Together these qualities create what Kress & van Leeuwen (2006:165) describe as a sensory coding orientation, "used in contexts in which the pleasure principle is allowed to be the dominant" and which often characterises art: the real becomes hyperreal in a primary appeal to aesthetic sensibilities. And here it is no coincidence again that the focus is on the detail in these ways: the high degree of detail visible in LL illustrations is not the view afforded by a casual glance, but by close engagement with and careful scrutiny of the beautiful things depicted. From this close up, the viewer is not just able to see the beauty, but is effectively immersed in it, while the lack of contextualisation represents a holding at bay of reality. The real world of the modern, urban reader is absent even in the form of being able to see the wider setting or backdrop against which the beauty is placed, in another form of 'small escape'.

In short, the imagery of LL quite consistently corresponds to the concept of the magazine's content since the selection of topics and their medial transposition focuses on small details of life in the countryside. The only context these extracts

and details are put into are a vague concept of tradition.

5. Conclusion: The discursive formation of LandLust

Nature or gardens as a refuge for those tired of civilization is a motif presumably as old as civilization itself: authors from antiquity such as Pliny or Horace hailed life in the countryside as a more authentic alternative to the stressful metropolis. As today, those projections had little to do with the realities of rural life (Weeber 2012). Taking this into account the popularity of LMs as such is not unusual. The question, however, remains what a magazine such as LL offers its audiences in terms of discourses which seem to pinpoint the zeitgeist that have made it so successful since its first appearance in 2005. Figure 6 summarizes the findings of the two previous sections of this article:

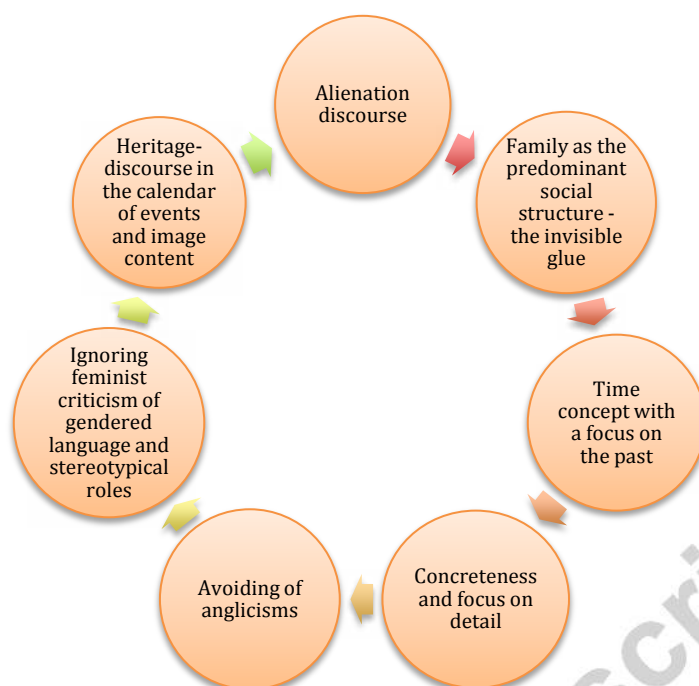Figure 6: The discursive formation of LandLust

Figure 6 illustrates that we are not looking at a single, homogeneous LL-discourse. Rather, the magazine serves a polycentric formation of discourses. Firstly, LL serves a discourse of alienation as the analysis of the editorial has shown: people are forced to do office work for which they are supposedly not made by nature. Garden, nature and an active lifestyle indoors as well as outdoors are presented as an alternative. In the texts of the magazine this is semiotically transposed by a focus on concreteness and a lack of abstract lexical concepts, as the corpus analysis has shown. The analysis of the magazine's imagery has revealed the clear focus that is put on the detail while at the same time larger contexts are ignored, thus reducing complexity at all levels. This manipulation of focal length of camera shots thus serves as one of the ways in which the artifice of visual composition serves to reinforce and complement the linguistically construed alternative to the alienation of modern life. Corpus analysis has underlined that the dominant social structure emphasized in the magazine is the family, although this remains largely implicit in the visuals. It also shows that the implicit concept of time in the magazine refers to the past or to time as something recurring. Here again, visual artifice complements linguistic

discursive work: whether by lighting effects that highlight the 'fairy-tale past' setting of the editor's portrait, or by cropped, hyperreal close-ups that create the sensory illusion of losing oneself in the present beauty of the everyday objects depicted. In addition, corpus analysis has revealed that the magazine avoids anglicisms, and the globalized world they reflect, in the majority of its texts, very likely as a conscious reaction to metalinguistic debates since the late 1990s. Finally, the analysis of the editorial in section 3 has also revealed that the magazine reacts programmatically to another metalinguistic debate: although the majority of its readers are women, LL chooses to ignore the more inclusive plural forms as suggested by feminist linguistics. This resistance to feminist politics finds its reflex in the visual representations of women as being engaged primarily in the minutiae of domesticity and home-making.

How are these different aspects connected? The magazine's discursive formation works on two different levels. The first level is made explicit by the production team behind LL, for example in interviews or in LL texts such as the editorial analysed in section 3.The magazine offers via its images, writing, do-it-yourself instructions and a consistent focus on only the 'beautiful parts of country life' escape from professional daily life which is increasingly dominated by work in offices and in front of computer screens. Modern communication technology, which more than ever dominates life, is not mentioned at all in LL apart from where readers can put in orders for products advertised by LL.

While this first level of interpretation is consistent with the overt aims of the LL editorial team, we might legitimately ask how exactly it addresses the interests of its target audience. After all, a reader belonging to a farming community as originally targeted by LL's publishers, would seem unlikely to consider gardening and immersion in the countryside as a form of escape. In fact, as statistics show and as we noted at the outset, the more likely typical reader is a woman of 40-59 years of age, living in a relatively small town in a household of above average income. While this is not a positively rural, agrarian context, nor is it a stereotypically fast-moving metropolitan maelstrom from which retreat to the garden or the countryside, or time spent on home decoration and

domesticity would provide respite. Rather, it would seem that many of the values projected in the polycentric discourse of LL serve more covertly to endorse the sociocultural values of the readership, providing a positive revaluation that there is no need to aspire beyond their current circumstance. Beauty is to be found in the very detail of everyday life, small scale domestic activities and horizons are aesthetically revalued in affirmation of a traditionally conservative lifestyle.

Nor is such an interpretation inconsistent with a second, more hidden discursive level which is revealed by both the corpus analysis and multimodal examination of an annual cycle of the magazine. LL not only chooses not to mention the not so beautiful parts of country life, it also excludes the present to a large extent. The focus of the magazine is on an idealized perception of the past and on time as something ever recurring. The present only plays a role as long as it can project the two dominant concepts of time, and the future is hardly ever mentioned. This is a marked difference from for example professional agricultural magazines such as *Land & Forst*, in which prognoses and the future solutions of problems - mainly by technology – play quite a prominent role. The almost complete avoiding of anglicisms apart from in self-advertisements is conspicuous and shows LL as a conservative / traditional alternative to other lifestyle magazines in the German-speaking print media market. The use of anglicisms would indicate among other things that there is a larger intertextual context outside the German-speaking countries, the rapidly globalising world of which English is currently the dominant language (see for example Blommaert 2010, Piller 2001). This context is widely and consciously disregarded. Avoiding anglicisms is also a reaction to metalinguistic discourses which show the German language as potentially endangered by the corrupting influences of English. As in connection with feminist metadiscourses, LL's response is a conceptual reference to language that can be perceived as pre-feminist and pre-globalisation. The concept underlying the imagery of the magazine as well as its choice of topics follows the same tendency: concentration on detail while more complex contexts are disregarded. Mental and aesthetic relaxation is found in all things small, detailed and the imagined tradition of a largely timeless past.

The specific set of discourses which constitute LL has created a new and unique style which serves as a blueprint for other LMs which were launched after the success of LL became apparent. It transports more traditional, conservative values by focusing on minute details of country life while consistently excluding all forms of wider social contexts as well as most parts of present or future life.

6. References

Amann, S., Brauk, M., Kühn, A., 2012. Flucht in die Idylle. Der Spiegel. 29.10.2012.

Androutsopoulos, J., 2007. Ethnolekte in der Mediengesellschaft. Stilisierung und Sprachideologie in Performance, Fiktion und Metasprachdiskurs, in: Fandrych, C., Salverda, R. (Eds.), Standard, Variation und Sprachwandel in germanischen Sprachen. Moor, Tübingen, pp. 113-155.

Anonym, 2009. Das Erfolgsmagazin "LandLust". Die Cash Cow vom Lande. Die Tageszeitung. 26. 6. 2009.

Auer, P., 1995. Context and contextualization, in: Verschueren,J., Östman, J.-O., Blommaert, J. (Eds.), Handbook of Pragmatics. Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 1-19.

AWA Ergebnisse 2013. Allensbacher Markt- und Werbeträgeranalyse. http://www.ifd-allensbach.de/awa/ (Accessed16.4.2014).

Baker, P., 2004. 'Unnatural Acts': Discourses of homosexuality within the House of Lords debates on gay male law reform. Journal of Sociolinguistics. 8(1), 88-106.

Baker, P., 2006. Using corpora in discourse analysis, Continuum, London.

Baker, P., McEnery, T., 1996. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. Journal of Language and Politics. 4 (2), 197-226.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McEnery,T., Wodak, R., 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. Discourse and Society. 19(3), 273-306.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., McEnery, T., 2013. Discourse analysis and media attitudes. The representation of Islam in the British Press, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., Reppen, R., 1998. Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Blommaert, J., 2005. Discourse. A critical introduction, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Blommaert, J., 2007. Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. Journal of Multicultural Discourses. 2 (2), 115-130.

Blommaert, J., 2010. The sociolinguistics of globalization, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Brämer, R., 2014. Was es mit „Landlust"auf sich hat. Ein Biedermeier-Magazin als Shooting-star. Natursoziologie.de. http://www.natursoziologie.de/NS/ (accessed 13.5.2015).

Bucher, H.-J., 2007. Textdesign und Multimodalität. Zur Semantik und Pragmatik medialer Gestaltungsformen, in: Roth, K.S., Spitzmüller, J. (Eds.), Textdesign und

Textwirkung in der massenmedialen Kommunikation. UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, Konstanz, pp. 49-76.

Caldas-Coulthard, C., van Leeuwen, T., 2001. Baby's first toys and the discursive constructions of babyhood. Folia Linguistica. 35 (1-2), 157-182.

Dijk, van, T. A., 1995. Discourse semantics as ideology. Discourse and Society. 6(2), 243-289.

Foucault, M., 1989. The archeology of knowledge, Routledge, London.

Foucault, M., 1991. Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Gabrielatos, C., Baker, P., 2008. Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus-analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2005. Journal of English Linguistics. 36, 5-38.

Grundmann, R., Krishnamurthy, R., 2010. The discourse of climate change: A corpus-based approach. Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines. 4(2), 125-146.

Haffner, U., 2015. Der Triumph der heilen Welt. Neue Zürcher Zeitung 6.11.2015. Available at http://www.nzz.ch/lebensart/gesellschaft/der-triumph-der-heilen-welt-1.18641817 (accessed 14.11.2015).

Halliday, M.A.K., 1978. Language as social semiotic. Arnold, London.

Jaworska, S., Krishnamurthy, R., 2012. On the F-word: a corpus-based analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press discourse 1990 – 2009. Discourse & Society. 23 (4), 401-431.

Jewitt, C., 2009a. An introduction to multimodality, in: Jewitt, C. (Ed.), The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 14-27.

Jewitt, C., 2009b. Different approaches to multimodality, in: Jewitt, C. (Ed.), The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 28-39.

Kress, G., van Leeuwen, T., 2001. Multimodal discourse. The modes and media of contemporary communication, Hodder, London.

Kress, G., van Leeuwen, T., 2006. Reading images. The grammar of visual design, second ed. Routledge, Abingdon.

Leeuwen, van, T., 2005. Typographic meaning. Visual Communication. 4, 137-152.

Leeuwen, van, T., 2006. Towards a semiotics of typography. Information Design Journal + Document Design.14(2), 139-155.

Machin, D., 2004. Building the world's visual language: The increasing global importance of image banks in corporate media. Visual Communication. 3, 316-336.

Matheson, D. M., 2005. Media discourse: Analysing media texts, Open University Press, Maidenhead.

Mautner, G., 2007. Mining large corpora for social information: the case of *elderly*. Language in Society. 36, 51-72.

McEnery, T., Gabrielatos, C., 2006. English corpus linguistics, in: Arts, B., McMahon, A. (Eds.), The handbook of English linguistics. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 33-71.

Meier, C., 2015. Wie groß ist die "Landlust" der Engländer? Die Welt 14.11.2015. Available at: http://www.welt.de/148400833 (Accessed 14.11.2015).

Milewski, M., 2009. Landlust trifft den Nerv der Zeit. http://www.absatzwirtschaft.de/content/k=UGu6CVw%252beU45VqRl3ToqVx FAZFmJtUZE%252bI8%252bQ7b%252bqVRPzPZY173kmMyPE6QTIfeM2Vu497 Y299E%253d;showblobms. (Accessed 13.5.2014).

Moraldo, S. (Ed.), 2008. Sprachkontakt & Mehrsprachigkeit: Zur Anglizismendiskussion in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.

O'Halloran, E., 2002. Gallizismen und Anglizismen in der deutschen Mode- und gemeinsprache im 20. Jahrhundert. Deutsche Sprache. 30 (1), 50-65.

Ooi, V. 2001. Investigating and teaching genres using the world wide web, in: Ghadessy, M., Henry, A., Roseberry, R.L. (Eds.), Small Corpus Studies and ELT. Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 175-203.

Partington, A., 2004. Corpora and discourse, a most congruous beast, in: Partington, A., Morley, J., Haarman, L. (Eds.), Corpora and discourse. Lang, Bern, pp. 11-20.

Partington, A., 2006. Metaphors, motifs and similes across discourse types: corpus- assisted discourse studies (CADS) at work, in: Stefanowitsch, A., Gries, S. (Eds.), Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 267-304.

Partington, A., 2014. Mind the gaps. The role of corpus linguistics in researching absences. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics. 19 (1), 118-146.

Pentzold, C., Sommer, V., Meier, S., Fraas, C., in press. Reconstructing media frames in multimodal discourse: The John/Ivan Demjanjuk trial. Discourse, Context & Media. Doi:10.1016/j.dcm.2016.03.001.

Piller, I., 2001. Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. Language in Society. 30(2), 153-186.

Riehl, K., 2010. Ein kantenfreies Wohlfühlmagazin. Süddeutsche Zeitung. 17. 5. 2010.

Sauerbrey, A., 2012. Der Rückzug in den Garten. Tagesspiegel. 1. 7. 2012.

Scherer, C., 2006. Korpuslinguistik, Winter, Heidelberg.

Schmitz, U., 2007. Bildakte? How to do things with pictures. Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik. 35, 419-433.

Schoenthal, G., 1989. Personenbezeichnungen im Deutschen als Gegenstand feministischer Sprachkritik. Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik. 17 (3), 296-314.

Schoenthal, G., 1998. (Ed.), Feministische Linguistik – Linguistische Geschlechterforschung. Olms, Hildesheim.

Scollon, R., Scollon, S.W., 2003. Discourses in place: Language in the material world, Routledge, London.

Scollon, R., Scollon, S.W., 2009. Multimodality and language: a retrospective and a prospective view, in: Jewitt, C. (Ed.), The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis. Routledge, Oxon, pp.170-180.

Seifert, H., 2010. Ach, du schönes Land. Neue Zürcher Zeitung. 29. 6. 2010.

Smith, P., Bell, A., 2015. Media discourse, in: Braber, N., Cummings, L., Morrish, L. (Eds.), Exploring language and linguistics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 406-430.

Spitzmüller, J., 2005. Metasprachdiskurse. Einstellungen zu Anglizismen und ihre wissenschaftliche Rezeption, de Gruyter, Berlin / New York.

Spitzmüller, J., Warnke, I.H., 2011. Diskurslinguistik. Eine Einführung in Theorien und Methoden der transtextuellen Sprachanalyse, de Gruyter, Berlin/New York.

Statistica. Das Statistikportal. 2014.
http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/5742/umfrage/nettoeinkommen-und-verfuegbares-nettoeinkommen/(Accessed 10.5.2014).

Stock, U., 2011. Landlust, Landfrust. *Die Zeit*. 1. 6. 2011.

Stubbs, M. 2001. Words and phrases: Corpus-studies of lexical semantics, Blackwell, Oxford.

Tognini-Bonelli, E., 2001. Corpus linguistics at work, Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Törnberg, A., Törnberg, P., in press. Muslims in social media discourse: Combining topic modeling and critical discourse analysis. Discourse, Context & Media. Doi:10.1016/j.dcm.2016.04.003.

Warnke, I. H., 2008. Text und Diskurslinguistik, in: Janich, N. (Ed.), Textlinguistik. 15 Einführungen. Narr, Tübingen, pp. 35-52.

Weeber, K.-W., 2012. Alltag im alten Rom. Das Landleben, Primus, Darmstadt.