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Arran Stibbe, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge, 2021; ISBN: 978-0-367-42841-9.

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Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By, the second edition of the book that was first published in 2015, provides a comprehensive introduction to the recently emerged interdisciplinary field of ecolinguistics, which, according to the definition provided by the International Ecolinguistics Association (IEA), "explores the role of language in the life-sustaining interactions of humans, other species and the physical environment" (IEA, 2021). The book, in its second edition (Stibbe, 2021), is organised in eleven chapters, and, together with the appendix of the sources of data and the glossary of technical terms at the end of the book, contains a total of 260 pages.

The first chapter, the "Introduction", lays out the main concepts and definitions, and outlines the general structure of the book. Stibbe begins this chapter by noting that, in its first encounter, the term "ecolinguistics" could be met with bafflement. This term is about ecology and about language, two fields that at first glance seem to be totally separate areas of life. With a closer look, however, one will see that the two areas are more related than it might appear, as language affects the way we think about the world around us, and our thinking in turn affects our behaviour. In a preliminary definition, the author propounds that "ecolinguistics … is about critiquing forms of language that contribute to ecological destruction, and aiding in the search for new forms of language that inspire people to protect the natural world" (p. 1). He does point out, however, that ecolinguistics goes far beyond this and involves deeper analyses than commenting on individual texts such as advertisements or nature writings. Rather, ecolinguistics can explore the more general patterns of language use that affect how we think about, and behave towards, the natural world, and, in other words, it can reveal the "stories we live by" — i.e., stories in the sense of mental structures that influence behaviour and are at the heart of the ecological challenges we are facing. In his book, Stibbe defines "stories" as "cognitive structures in the minds of individuals which influence how they think, talk and act", and "stories we live by" as "stories in the minds of multiple individuals across a culture" (p. 6).

The next chapters of the book each deal with different types of these stories, or mental structures, although it can be said that they do overlap in some cases. The texts analysed in different chapters of the book and under these stories are interestingly diverse, and include sample texts from sources as varied as environmental articles, economics textbooks, news stories, advertisements, ecosystem assessment reports, political documents and statements, industry discourses, literary texts (e.g., nature writings and haiku poetry), and even, in parts, visual discourses. These texts are then evaluated according to an ecological philosophy (an "ecosophy") — i.e., a set of values that the analyst uses as criteria for evaluation. Stibbe's ecosophy in this book can be summarised in the notion of *Living!*, which, in short, means valuing the flourishing and wellbeing of all living beings and the natural environment.

Chapter two focuses on "ideologies" as stories that underlie discourses. Ideologies are defined in this chapter as "belief systems about how the world was, is, will be or should be, which are shared by members of particular groups in society" (p. 21). Stibbe maintains that, because ideologies are presented as obvious facts about the world, we may often not realise that they are just stories. Therefore, one of the purposes of analysing discourses is to expose their underlying ideologies; in other words, what is of significance in discourse analysis is not just individual texts such a newspaper article or advertisement, but patterns of linguistic features that appear in several texts and convey a fixed ideology.

In this chapter, discourses are divided into three categories of destructive, ambivalent and beneficial discourses in terms of their underlying ideologies and their implications for the environment and the natural world. As examples of destructive discourses, Stibbe refers to the discourses of neoclassical economics and intensive industrial agriculture. He notes that, in the discourse of economics, for example, language is often used in such a way that economic growth is represented as the fundamental goal of society (Halliday, 2001), and this discourse represents all aspects of an individual's endeavours towards the achievement of personal satisfaction through the consumption of commodities (Chawla, 2001). As an example case, the advertising industry encourages the destructive ideology that "purchasing products is a path to happiness", by way of manufacturing the sense of dissatisfaction and suggesting that the dissatisfaction can be overcome through purchase (Stibbe, 2021, p. 23). Ambivalent discourses are defined as discourses that align with the analyst's ecosophy in some respects, but oppose it in some others; for example, discourses of environmentalism or conservation which in themselves pursue a positive goal, but still have emerged from communities where destructive discourses are prevalent and may, though unintentionally, be influenced by the same underlying assumptions and ideologies behind the destructive discourses. As Stibbe points out, however, the central role of ecolinguistics is to go beyond critically analysing destructive discourses, or exposing gaps in ambivalent discourses, to search for new, alternative discourses that convey ideologies that can encourage people to protect the environment and the life-supporting ecosystems. These discourses are termed as "beneficial discourses", and the aim of analysing them is to promote them as alternative stories about the world and to help spread them, even if they are relatively unknown today. Stibbe refers to the school of New Nature Writing as well as the discourses of traditional

and indigenous cultures around the world as instances of beneficial discourses and looks at some examples of them in detail.

Chapter three deals with "frames" and "(re)framing". A frame is defined as "a package of knowledge about an area of life that is brought to mind by particular trigger words"; and "framing is a story which uses a package of knowledge about one area (a frame) to structure how another area of life is conceptualised" (p. 40). Framing concepts in particular ways will have important environmental consequences, and, just as discourses and their underlying ideologies, frames can also be critically analysed. In this case, one can look at the commonly used frames, find their problems from an ecological perspective, and search for alternative framings that encourage people to protect the environment and the ecosystems that life depends on. As one of the examples discussed, Stibbe refers to the framing "climate change is a problem" that is evoked by trigger words such as "problem" and "solution". However, while this framing emphasises some aspects, it downplays some others. In particular, this conceptual framing can divert attention from the principle of resilience, which is also mentioned in the ecosophy of this book; that is, if climate change is conceptualised as a solvable problem, then there remains no need "to create resilient societies which can adapt to the harmful impacts that climate change has already started having" (p. 45).

Chapter four explores "metaphors". Stibbe defines metaphors as a special type of framing in which the source frame belongs to a specific and completely different area of life — often the area we are familiar with through everyday interactions. Thus, "metaphors use a frame from a specific, concrete and imaginable area of life to structure how a clearly distinct area of life is conceptualised" (p. 59). As noted by the author, this definition is slightly different from the most common way of describing metaphor in cognitive science, where metaphor is described as a mapping from a "source domain" to a "target domain" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Stibbe asserts that what metaphor theorists refer to in cognitive science as a "source domain" is actually made up of frames. Accordingly, metaphor analysis involves identifying the source frame and the target domain, and then finding out what elements of the source frame are mapped unto the target domain. What is most important, from an ecolinguistic point of view, is "whether metaphors are destructive, ambivalent or beneficial from the perspective of the ecosophy" (Stibbe, 2021, p. 63). In the rest of this chapter, various conceptual metaphors related to the environment and nature are analysed and the positive or negative implications of each are revealed based on the metaphorical reasoning underlying them — metaphors such as "nature is a machine", "nature is an organism", "earth is a spaceship", "the planet is a patient", etc.

Chapter five deals with "evaluations" as another type of stories we live by. In this book, evaluations refer to "stories in people's minds about whether an area of life is good or bad", which are represented through appraisal patterns; i.e., "clusters of linguistic features which come together to represent an area of life as good or bad" (p. 79). There are many linguistic features that can represent different areas of life in a positive or negative way; from explicit lexical items such as "good", "bad", "right" or "wrong", to the more implicit expressions that can have positive or negative connotations, depending on the context. A

grammatical structure such as "a threat of X" is also an appraisal pattern that negatively evaluates the X element. Some metaphors can also be appraising items; for example, if consumerism is described as an illness, then this metaphorical structure naturally evokes a negative evaluation of this phenomenon because of the negativity of illness in the source frame. In this chapter, the author looks at a variety of evaluations and their linguistic manifestations in texts — for example, through the use of morphological elements (e.g., in marked/unmarked word pairs), collocations, grammatical structures, etc. — and critically analyses them from an ecological perspective; evaluations such as "progress is good", "fast is good", "more is good", "dark is bad" or "not sunny weather is bad", which are expressed in various texts and are here challenged and compared with some alternative evaluations (in particular, in contrast to Japanese haiku poetry).

Chapter six examines "identities" as another type of stories. Identity is defined in this chapter as "a story in people's minds about what it means to be a particular kind of person, including appearance, character, behaviour and values" (p. 100). While identities are models in people's minds, they manifest themselves in specific ways of dressing, writing, speaking and behaving. Stibbe argues that "some identities (e.g., the insatiable consumer) encourage behaviours that are ecologically destructive if people adopt them, i.e., if they accept that they are that type of person and conform to the mental model of what that kind of person says and does" (p. 100). On the other hand, some other identities may encourage people to engage in ecologically beneficial behaviours. Identities can be studied through examining how different texts within society create labels (e.g., manager, owner, consumer, etc.) for different kinds of people and identify these people with certain characteristics, values and behaviours; because discourses do not just describe pre-existing identities, but also play an important role in establishing and maintaining those identities over time. In this chapter, the author analyses a number of these identities that are formed and perpetuated through language in various texts — in particular, in the discourse of neoclassical economics and in *Men's Health* magazine.

Chapter seven addresses "convictions", as "stories in people's minds about whether descriptions of the world are true, uncertain or false", which are realised in texts through "facticity patterns"; i.e., "clusters of linguistic devices which come together to represent descriptions of the world as true, uncertain or false" (p. 121). This chapter examines a wide range of texts related to the environment and climate change, and the facticity patterns of the claims made in these texts, and reviews in detail the linguistic devices that affect the facticity of a description — including the level of modality used in a description, expressed by modal verbs ("must", "should", "might", etc.) and adverbs ("certainly", "probably", "more likely", etc.). In an interesting part of this chapter, the author compares the discourse of climate change denial — as exemplified in dialogues from a controversial documentary — with the discourse of coronavirus denial as commonly used by conspiracy theorists, and examines the similarities between the two denials as manifested in different texts through analysing their facticity patterns.

Chapter eight deals with "erasure". As pointed out in this chapter, linguists should pay

attention not only to the participants that are explicitly represented in the texts, but also to those which are backgrounded or totally erased from texts. Stibbe argues that a systematic erasure or side-lining of certain participants from a particular text or discourse tells a story in itself: that those participants are unimportant, irrelevant or marginal. Hence, erasure refers to "a story in people's minds that an area of life is unimportant or unworthy of consideration" (p. 141). This lack of importance or relevance is manifested in texts through an "erasure pattern"; i.e., "a linguistic representation of an area of life as irrelevant, marginal or unimportant through its systematic absence, backgrounding or distortion in texts" (p. 141). In this chapter, the author specifically addresses linguistic representations that lead to the erasure of human actors in environmental discourse — by means of linguistic devices such as nominalisation of verb phrases (e.g., "pollution", "destruction", etc.; compare "X pollutes/destroys Y") or the use of passive voice. As another example, the erasure of non-human animals and their individuality frequently occurs in various texts by referring to them with general, superordinate terms such as "biological resources", "marine resources", "organisms", etc., in which the non-human living beings are referred to collectively and hence lose their individual worth, and are reduced, in most cases, to mere resources for human use. Erasure is divided into three different types in this chapter: a) "the void", where something important is completely excluded from a text; b) "the mask", where something is erased but replaced by a distorted version of itself; and c) "the trace", where something is partially erased but a trace of it is still present (pp. 144-145). In the remaining of the chapter, the author examines different types of erasure and their ecological implications in a variety of texts and documents, including ecosystem assessment reports and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The opposite side of erasure is "salience", which is discussed in chapter nine. Salience is defined here as "a story in people's minds that an area of life is important or worthy of attention" (p. 160); and this is achieved through a linguistic or visual representation of an area of life as important or worthy of attention. By analysing a range of linguistic features, including focus, levels of abstraction, transitivity, metaphor, etc., salience patterns can be exposed in texts. The analyst's ecosophy determines which areas of life should be salient. Regarding the levels of abstraction, for example, it is said that the less abstract a description is, the more salient the entities being described; and, while a certain level of abstraction is necessary and inevitable for talking about the complex concepts and diffuse challenges we face, too much abstraction causes the concrete reality of individuals and their lives, deaths and wellbeing to be forgotten (p. 163). In the case of animals, Stibbe maintains that basic-level representations are the most salient; for example, a word like "orangutan" evokes a clear and concrete image, whereas superordinate nouns such as "mammal", "animal" or "organism" are more abstract and difficult to imagine (p. 164). Salience can also be created by means of foregrounding participants in the clauses (e.g., through the use of active voice). Participants become activated and salient when they are represented as agents who are doing, thinking, feeling or saying something, rather than as patients having things done to them. Therefore, the transitivity structures of clauses, including process types (material,

mental, behavioural, etc.) and participant roles (actor, senser, behaver, sayer, etc.), also have an important effect on the salience of participants in texts. In this chapter, a number of textual and visual examples of salience (or lack of it) are analysed in a variety of contexts — in particular, in the discourses of animal rights movements and the school of New Nature Writing.

Chapter ten, the brand new chapter added in the second edition, deals with the last type of stories we live by, the "narratives". Stibbe defines narrative structures as "stories in people's minds which involve a sequence of logically connected events" (p. 182). Narrative structures can be very simple or extremely complex. They can appear for a short time and then be forgotten, or can be repeated so often that they echo across cultures and history. In this chapter, it is maintained that narratives and their entailments can also be critically analysed based on an ecosophy. Quoting McLaren (2002), it is noted that "if narratives give our lives meaning, we need to understand what those narratives are and how they have come to exert such an influence on us", because "narratives can become politically enabling of social transformation" (McLaren, 2002, as cited in Stibbe, 2021, p. 185). Hence, through a critical reading of narratives — or a "critical narratology" — we can encourage increased awareness of their potential entailments and compare them with those of alternative narratives. In view of that, in this chapter, the author analyses a number of narratives, including traditional and indigenous folktales, and their entailments (in terms of how the more-than-human world is represented in them), and evaluates them against the ecosophy of this book.

Chapter eleven, the final chapter, offers a conclusion to the discussions and arguments made throughout the book. In the beginning of this chapter, the author alludes to the coronavirus pandemic, saying that:

> The pandemic has given us an unprecedented chance to rethink society and leave behind some of the stories that contribute to inequality and ecological destruction … The scale of change required goes far beyond small technical fixes such as more efficient cars. It requires the emergence of a different kind of society, based on different stories. If we fail and return to "normal" after the pandemic, then we face ecological devastation and possible systemic collapse. (p. 202)

After proposing a final definition of "ecolinguistics", which Stibbe believes is consistent with the common goal of all ecological humanities subjects — and it is the same definition as that given on the official website of the International Ecolinguistics Association (IEA) mentioned above —, this concluding chapter explains how the form of ecolinguistics described in this book goes beyond a mere focus on the grammar towards a focus on how language is used to tell stories about the world.

To sum up, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By* uses theories from various fields of linguistics and communication sciences — from cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis to identity and appraisal theories — to reveal the stories we live

by and then judge and evaluate them based on an ecosophy. If these stories are ecologically destructive, then we must resist them and look for new, alternative stories that encourage people to protect the environment and life-supporting ecosystems.

In spite of the fact that the book is overall considered an academic and technical book, written primarily for the scholarly readership, it has a simple and understandable language that makes it, to a large extent, accessible to any interested reader concerned with ecological issues. In terms of the need for a background in linguistics, some sections of the book are more technical, while some other parts are simpler and easier to follow for non-expert readers or readers from other academic disciplines. Another positive point of the book is the comprehensive glossary of technical terms available at the end of it, which includes definitions of the key terms used throughout the chapters (more than 100 words). Given the interdisciplinary nature of this field and the terms used in the book, the inclusion of such a glossary as a reference for quick access to definitions of technical terms adds to the merits of the book.

Finally, the wide variety of the texts analysed in different chapters, as mentioned earlier, is another advantage of the book. Beyond the diversity of the types of sources, the second edition of the book covers considerably new material, and apart from the tenth chapter of the book — the "Narratives" — which is entirely new, other chapters have also undergone significant changes in terms of the texts analysed and address some of the latest issues of the world, including discourses related to the coronavirus pandemic. Despite the fact that the data examined in different chapters of the book are mainly from English sources (with the exception of Japanese haiku poetry and visual discourses), as the units of analysis here are the underlying stories (in the sense of mental, cognitive structures), it will be obvious to the reader that similar analyses can be easily applied to data from other languages.

Overall, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By* is an essential read for all those who are somehow involved in environmental activities at various levels — from environmental and animal rights activists to journalists, educators, and everyone concerned with sustainable development and social justice. The contents covered in the book can be a source of inspiration for researchers and activists in the field, including applied linguists, ecologists and sociologists, for future research and practice towards paying more attention to the representation of the more-than-human world in language; as it is these linguistic representations that will subsequently affect how we humans think of, and behave towards, the natural world.

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