In the digital age, the transformation process of information into 'knowledge' is characterized by hyper-connected communities, where a potentially infinite amount of information is ubiquitously accessible to individuals or community users and is instrumental in the creation of shared knowledge, but also in building consensus across community participants, societal membership and grouping, through the argumentative ideological representation of assumptions, values and practices. This Special Issue of "Lingue e Linguaggi" on the theme Argumentation, Ideology and Discourse in Evolving Specialized Communication explores the interface between these three dimensions and combines an array of perspectives into a distinctly unified volume, offering synchronic, diachronic, comparative, interlinguistic and intercultural approaches over a range of specialized knowledge domains. The volume integrates quantitative and qualitative approaches, making use of Corpus Linguistics, alongside other methods incorporated in theoretical approaches such as Critical Discourse Analysis, Appraisal Theory and Argumentation Theory, focusing on the pragma-linguistic features of different texts and genres, together with their ideological purposes for different audiences in various contexts of use. The collection of essays investigates argumentative styles and patterning along with the discursive socio-construction of ideology in the dynamics of recontextualization, rescripting and remediation which affect the multi-faceted nature of contemporary communication.

Introduction Janet Bowker
Endnote Susan Hunston

Chapters by:

Janet Bowker
Chiara Degano
Ersilia Incelli
Jekaterina Nikitina
Girolamo Tessuto
Ilaria Moschini
Chiara Prosperi Porta
Bettina Mottura

Lingue e Linguaggi vol. 42 - Special Issue 2021

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vol. 42 - Special Issue
2021

Università del Salento

Lingue e Linguaggi

42/2021
Special Issue

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LINGUE E LINGUAGGI

Pubblicazione del Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici dell'Università del Salento. Tutti i contributi pubblicati in Lingue e Linguaggi sono stati sottoposti a double-blind peer-review.

Numero 42/2021

DIREZIONE E REDAZIONE
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
73100 LECCE, via Taranto, 35
tel. +39-(0)832-294401, fax +39-(0)832-249427
Copertina di Luciano Ponzio: *Ecriture* (particolare), 2007.

http://siba.unisalento.it
ISSN 2239-0367
eISSN 2239-0359 (electronic version)
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 7-22
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p7
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it, © 2021 Università del Salento

INTRODUCTION

JANET BOWKER
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "LA SAPIENZA"

This Special Issue of *Lingue e Linguaggi* is the product of a Colloquium held from the 13th to the 14th of June 2019, at the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome. The theme for the event was "*Exploring the Discursive Creation of Argumentation and Ideology in Evolving Specialized Knowledge Domains*". It was hosted by the Rome Sapienza Unit (Coordinator Rita Salvi) of a National Research Project (PRIN) entitled "*Knowledge dissemination across media in English: continuity and change in discourse strategies, ideologies and epistemologies*" (2015TJ8ZAS, 2015-2017), financed by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research: the other Research Units belonging to the project included Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Libera Università di Lingue e Comunicazione, Milano (Iulm), Università degli Studi di Milano, Università degli Studi di Pisa. Directory Board Members of the research group CLAVIER, *Corpus and Language Variation in Language Research*, also extended their invitation to scholars to participate in the event. The Keynote Speakers for the occasion were Susan Hunston, University of Birmingham, UK, and Srikant Sarangi, University of Aalborg, Denmark.

The interface between argumentation, ideology and discourse proved to be a fruitful ground for discussion throughout the two days of presentation and debate. The Rome 2019 Colloquium gathered research experiences and findings on these topics over a range of specialized knowledge domains, as this collection of papers demonstrates. The research reported in this volume includes synchronic, diachronic, comparative, multimodal, interlinguistic and intercultural perspectives. Similarly, a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches and tools were called into play in exploring these themes, highlighting both connections and contrasts in conceptual and explanatory frameworks. Some of these will be commented on briefly here.

A first reflection concerns the transformation of 'information' into 'knowledge' through authorial or agentive mediation in a process of what has been called 'authentification' (see Gloria Origgi, philosopher, social science epistemologist, 2017), and the attendant attribution of value to ideas. While it is undeniable that a great many people have immediate access to a potentially infinite amount of information, at all times and from virtually anywhere, it is also true that complex dynamics of change and adaptation, both material and cognitive, are involved in this transformation of information into 'knowledge'. What an audience or an individual considers 'useful' or 'usable' will depend on the value they ascribe to the knowledge available, in accordance with their ideological makeup, understood in the very broad sense of the summation of beliefs, values, and social positionings which underlie group behavior. By analysing the linguistic and pragmatic indexicality and patterning of argumentation, on the other hand, we can identify the bids made by text producers to have their knowledge claims accepted as both 'reasonable' and 'right'. Part of this process of authentification is the assessment of the quality of information and its use in argument, a competence essential for building viewpoints, opinions, beliefs, and value systems. Evaluation of argumentative procedures involves critical appraisal, the ability to spot where evidence is absent or manipulative, the lack of coherent substantiation for a position, faulty reasoning, circularity of argument, speciousness and the mendacious use of facts, false premises, and so on.

The papers collected here all refer more or less explicitly to a series of descriptive and explanatory linguistic models of direct relevance to discourse analysis and the investigation of the socio-cognitive processes described above. The major underlying conceptual framework remains essentially the Hallidayan theoretical model of 'Language as Social Semiotic' (Halliday 1978), in which sets of semantico-grammatical resources create the 'meaning potential' for language users. In his model, three macro-functions interact: the textual, the ideational/propositional, and the interpersonal/interrelational. This is still the most significant scaffolding for the discourse analysis reported here, the exploration of how the illocutionary functions of 'informing' and 'persuading' take discursive form. In practice, what seems to emerge is that the functions are mutually supportive and interwoven: 'to inform' becomes dependent on how and whom 'to persuade', requiring textual selection and adaptation for audience, and obversely, 'to persuade' conditions how and what information is selected in order 'to inform'.

Moving forward into a more detailed description of the application of discourse theories and models to the chapters in the volume, Susan Hunston remarks, in the Endnote to this volume, that Halliday's later theory of 'Systemic-Functional Linguistics' (Halliday 1994), provided a significant framework for 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (henceforth CDA), (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1998, 2004; Wodak, Meyer [2001] 2009), enabling an investigation into the links between the pragma-linguistic features of texts and genres, together with their ideological purposes for specific audiences in specific contexts of use. CDA has its grounding in a social-constructionist perspective: language is seen to be both determined by social structure as well as contributing to stabilizing, creating or changing it. The noted critical discourse linguist, Teun van Dijk has made further connections between social structures, cognitive representations and discourse in his socio-cognitive model, which goes some way to explaining the processes of individual authentification, subjectivization and, at the same time, the construal of group ideology:

> […] Language use and discourse always presuppose the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values) of the language users. […] These socially shared perceptions form the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system, and perform the translation, homogenization and coordination between external requirements and subjective experience. (van Dijk 2004, p. 26)

The key constitutive concepts of CDA remain, nonetheless, power and solidarity, ideology and social critique. A number of the chapters in this volume draw on this descriptive framework in order to interpret their data: for example, Degano, Incelli, Nikitina examine newspaper editorials and news reports to explore evaluative standpoints, opinions and ideologically-charged journalistic discourse on a variety of topics: Brexit, economic inequality, and the medical science of human-gene editing, respectively. Prosperi Porta looks at the argumentative strategies used by the EU law-enforcement agency, *Europol*, to promote legitimization for its security practices and to boost its institutional authority and reputation. Drawing on a branch of CDA, the discourse-historical Approach (Reisigl, Wodak 2009), Mottura analyses Chinese political discourse in a diachronic perspective, tracing changes in the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, which convey powerful ideological messages to the Chinese people.

Another feature which emerges from the studies grouped here is that of intertextuality (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), interdiscursivity (Bhatia 2010) and textual embeddedness (Bazerman 2004; Blommaert 2005). A number of papers observe texts 'in motion', and attempt to see how the dynamics of recontextualization, rescripting and remediation of information affect the ongoing construction of ideology and argumentation, in accordance with changing audiences and communicative purposes. The noted philosopher of language and literary critic, Bakhtin (1986), articulates a fundamental perception about the multi-voicedness of discourse:

> Any speaker presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances, his own and others – with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relationship or another. […]

> Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances. (Bakhtin 1986, p. 69)

Different kinds of intertextuality are illustrated in the collection. For example, Bowker describes the reconceptualizations taking place through a set of vertical and hierarchically-organized texts. The analysis traces the embedding of the language used in the legislation of international trade treaties and its recontextualization in the language of legal specialist critique, and then contestation in the public knowledge domain via campaigning group websites. Moschini describes the wide variety of socio-cultural, historical referencing and allusion at work in Mark Zuckerberg's 2017 *Facebook* post, his subsequently dubbed *Manifesto*, to promote the use of the platform as the most important social infrastructure for civic participation in the future. She also uses a Critical Multimodal Approach to trace movement across visual and verbal modes and the impact of composite semiotic resources on ideological messaging. Mottura compiles a corpus consisting of legal, political, and media texts in the Chinese language, which she designates a 'genre set'. Tessuto analyses the similarities and contrasts in the use of metadiscursive features and patterns between two different social scientific disciplines, economics and law. Here the comparison is across two parallel sets of data, both representing the same distinctive generic text type, the academic research article.

A final area of theoretical description used by the research papers included here in their elaboration of the links between argumentation, ideology and discourse is that of 'Appraisal Theory' (Martin, White 2005), together with the study of 'Evaluation' (Hunston 2011; Hunston, Thompson 2000). The appraisal framework, developed by Martin and White and colleagues in the 1990s and 2000s, allows the analysis of positive and negative textual meanings which are discursively conveyed through the author's personal, evaluative involvement and the adoption of a particular stance, and consequent assessment of the phenomena being discussed. The pragmatic resources used to convey these attitudinal meanings are described in the framework in the form of complex typologies of superordinate and subordinate categories organized into three broad subtypes: emotional reactions, 'affect'; reference to ethics/morality, 'judgement'; reference to social value, 'appreciation'. These are then further sub-divided to allow for a more finely-tuned analysis, and the linguistic assessment of dimensions such as authorial 'directness', 'force', 'focus', 'intensification', 'mitigation', and so on. The framework provides a valuable matrix for discourse analysts to identify and interpret scales of attitudinal and evaluative meaning through the linguistic indexicality in data collected in specific communicative settings and instances of use.

What is important for our purpose here in considering the research papers in this collection is, firstly that the language activating attitudinal meanings are not textually fixed, but determined by combinations and clusters in particular co-textual settings: the same term or epithet can be associated with different attitudinal meanings in different settings. Secondly, the Bakhtian dialogic element in the expression of attitudinal meaning is key: the authorial voice is positioned alongside a diversity of other ‘external voices’, and ‘sideways glances’, which may have been previously expressed or could potentially make themselves heard in the future, opening up dialogic space for potentially alternative viewpoints. The significance of this will be seen later in the brief summary of individual chapters.

The appraisal and evaluation theory described above can now be applied to the volume’s main theme of attempts to connect argumentation, ideology and discourse. It allows us to explain the simultaneous operation and interconnectivity between Halliday’s ideational and interpersonal macro-functions. The creators of the sources of information, knowledge, ideas, beliefs and opinions discursively construe specific authorial identities and *personae*, individually or collectively, in order to imbue their positions with credibility, legitimacy and authority. This is part of the process of authorial and audience authentification described initially. At the same time, persuasive power is directed towards their audiences on an ideological level: discourses reflect and reinforce shared assumptions, values and practices, and are instrumental in the creation, maintenance and restoration of consensus across community participants, societal membership and grouping.

All the papers contained in this volume describe the role of evaluative language, authorial stance, and attitudinal meaning in the creation of identity and an image of credibility, authenticity, and trustworthiness for the agentive source of information and ideas: this is true whether the text producer is an individual (a journalist, an academic researcher, a scientist), a national newspaper, the co-founder of a social media platform, the legislators of an international trade treaty, a campaigning non-profit organization, an EU institutional agency, a national political party, or even a nation, as these papers will later show.

So far we have looked at the theoretical linguistic models, schools of research, approaches and descriptive frameworks which anchor a great deal of discourse analysis, in general, and which have guided the studies included in this volume, in particular. It is now time to consider the field of argumentation studies to the extent that they have demonstrated relevance and have directly informed some of the work reported here, but, as importantly, in order to identify the areas which are of potential use in forging further integration between the two fields in the future.

Argumentation studies have developed considerably over time, drawing on a very wide variety of disciplines, interests and fields: to name the main ones, classical and modern rhetoric, formal and informal logic, philosophy and psychology, as well as those more directly related to discourse analysis – linguistics and pragmatics. The approaches, descriptive and explanatory frameworks and methodological tools used in this field are equally varied. The mainstream of research informing the studies contained in this volume, however, and which presents interesting points of convergence with and relevance to discourse analysis, is that of pragma-dialectical theory and its application, developed by Frans H. van Eemeren, Rob Grootendorst and colleagues at the University of Amsterdam (van Eemeren 2018, 2019; van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, 1992). According to its authors, the pragma-dialectal theory of argumentation

> enables the analyst of argumentative discourse to make a theoretically motivated reconstruction of the discourse that results in an ‘analytical overview’ that is pertinent to a ‘Critical Discussion’ […] in which standpoints are critically tested. (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, p. 17)

Initially the focus of the theory was on the ‘reasonableness’ of an argument, ‘the best way to argue’, *per se*, in a formal, normative perspective, but the later ‘extended’ version incorporated more fully the modern rhetorical dimension, moving from the evaluation of the mere ‘quality’ of argument to its ‘effectiveness’ in achieving particular pragmatic purposes in different contexts, producing distinctive forms of argumentation (van Eemeren, Garssen 2012).

A variety of typologies of argumentation have been produced by theorists. The categorization applied in several of the papers included here is van Eemeren’s differentiation between ‘symptomatic’, ‘comparative’, and ‘causal’ types of argument: the establishment of relations of likeness and similarity; correlation and contrast; or cause and effect, between the argument at stake and the position that is supported (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1992, pp. 94-102).

Pragma-dialectical theorists have produced numerous sets of ‘argument schemes’ and ‘argument frames’, constituting series of argumentation structures that can be used to identify the relationships between argumentative moves (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1958; Walton *et al.* 2008). At the broadest level of generality, four discussion stages can be identified: ‘the confrontation’ stage (introducing the standpoints at issue), the ‘opening’ stage (defining the divergence of opinion), the ‘argumentation’ stage (producing reasoning itineraries and advancing arguments) and the ‘concluding’ stage (presenting the outcome of the process), (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, pp. 85-88).

The constituent parts of an argument, its components, are typically described by theorists in the form of complex, abstract schemes and sub-schemes, following a sequence of steps, the ‘moves’, that are taken in the resolution of the ‘critical argument’. This can be reconstructed, according to pragma-dialectical theory, in terms of a general standpoint, ‘premises’ (major, minor, explicit or unexpressed), the ‘datum’ (the evidence used to substantiate the argument), and a conclusion. The process is seen as consisting of moving from a premise to a conclusion through a reasoned path of logical inference.

The progression of the argument through these sets of moves is further refined into the identification of pragma-dialectical itineraries, ‘reasoning paths’, which construct a chosen ‘dialectical route’ (van Eemeren 2018, p. 74) through a process of ‘strategic maneuvering’. In the extended version of pragma-dialectical theory, greater importance has been placed on this dimension, involving the incorporation of ‘topicalization’, the dimension of context of use, audience, and so on, which aligns it more clearly with the concerns of discourse analysis. Argumentative analysis can now also help to identify and describe the interpersonal use of language, namely the attitudinal, evaluative and interactive functions of discourse, together with the pragmatic, rhetorical strategies used in texts. Presently many scholars are investigating ‘prototypical patterns of reasoning’ and ‘argumentative style’, those typical of a particular field, communication activity or genre (van Eemeren 2019). This is increasingly a promising approach for the integration of the two fields of argumentation and discourse analysis. It also opens up space for linking discourse strategies more closely with illocutionary uptake.

The study of argumentation in discourse and the adoption of a socio-discursive approach to arguments is not without its problems and challenges. Although the broader typologies of argument types described above are intuitively useful, the formalized schemes of logic and the abstract terminology of analysis can be off-putting to discourse analysists who do not have a grounding in formal logic (for the most part of us, I hazard to guess), as Degano (this volume) notes. Not only, much is left out in argumentation theory and its application, as Ruth Amossy, Critical Argumentative Discourse scholar explains. She points out that there are many different forms of argument, that, anyway, “argumentativity constitutes an inherent feature of discourse”, that “a mere series of arguments does not account for how polemical discourse actually works”, that often there are no overt signals of argument retrievable, materially, or that they are distributed in ways that are hard to identify or connect, linguistically (Amossy 2009, pp. 2-4). Yet Amossy sees the value of a theoretical framework to reconcile these difficulties. She believes it is possible to investigate, at the same time, both the role of language and the underlying modes of reasoning which model opinions and attitudes, and how “verbal exchanges co-construct ways of seeing, interpreting and experiencing the surrounding world" (Amossy 2009, p. 2). For this, she adds, a 'cultural' framework is needed, which incorporates the situation of discourse, dialogical interdiscursivity, and ideological adherence. This socio-discursive approach is illustrated very clearly in the research documented in this volume.

As we will see in the brief synopses of the individual chapters described later, the authors draw on argumentation theory to varying extents and in different ways. Two researchers, Bowker and Degano, draw directly on the pragma-dialectical theory, comparing and contrasting argumentation types and models, and the attendant use of logico-structural analysis and analytical itineraries. The other authors use pragma-dialectal routes and procedures in their analysis, what we may classify as argumentative and strategic maneouvering paths: these include semantic patterning, topicalization, metaphor-metonym usage and cultural allusion, metadiscursive function, the semantico-pragmatic force of clausal structure (concur/concede-counter patterns, concessive rhetoric, propositional similarity, and polarization structures) being the main ones.

A word should be spent on the methods, topics and sources of the contributions. As Susan Hunston mentions in the Endnote to this volume, corpus linguistics models and methods are used by most authors, in combination with other approaches and methodological tools: in Bowker, Incelli, Mottura, Nikitina, Prosperi Porta, Tessuto, the quantification of linguistic features is qualitatively interpreted backwards and forwards across co-texts of varying length, each person drawing on parts of the frameworks described earlier (Critical Discourse Analysis, Appraisal and Evaluation Theory, Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity). On the other hand, Degano, assisted by textual search engines, uses manual quantification in her identification of *topoi* and key propositions, while Moschini uses a socio-cultural interpretative approach which is not dependent on linguistic quantification. All authors describe in detail their choice of methods, the criteria for their corpus selection and compilation, and their research focus, design and objectives.

The volume illustrates research in a variety of discourse domains and areas of specialized knowledge: Bowker examines international trade legislation and campaigning organizations worldwide; Degano, Mottura, Prosperi Porta discuss political and institutional discourse, using different sources (the British media; an EU law enforcement agency's annual reports; Chinese legal, political and media texts, respectively). Incelli looks at political economy and economic policy as they are incorporated in British newspapers; Moschini uses a single, pivotal, 6,000-word message posted by Facebook's co-founder, Mark Zuckerberg, for her detailed analysis of social media and socio-political community spaces; Nikitina deals with the medical sciences, bio-science, in particular, as reported in the British press; Tessuto has compiled a corpus consisting of academic research articles in two social science disciplines, Economics and Law. This Introduction will now finish with a brief synopsis of the individual papers.

The volume begins with **Janet Bowker's** chapter on the nature of 'entextualization' over three intersecting, vertically-organized sets of data pertaining to the controversial topic of international trade agreements, the spread of neo-liberal commercial policies, and the de-regularization of services worldwide. The process of 'entextualization' is realized through the various discourses—from the normative codification of legislation, on to the detailed specialist exposition and critique from legal experts, and over to the affectively-charged discourse of resistance and protest in the public domain. A series of discursive indicators were identified, using corpus analysis textware, in order to reconstruct the argumentative patterning at work over the three sub-corpora: these aimed at describing semantic profiling, topicalization, and verbal usage. Applying these linguistic features, it has been possible to distinguish the ideological positioning of the protagonists, the distribution of their dialectical roles, and the strategic itineraries they follow in the construal of their arguments. The study concluded by observing that the three sub-corpora implement different argumentative schema (symptomatic, causal and comparative), comprising distinctive features: respectively, the role of implicit, unexpressed premises, the articulation of a formal logical scheme, and the use of argument based on persuasive appeal to *pathos* and *ethos* rather than *logos*.

The second chapter, by **Chiara Degano**, also explores argumentation models and formal, logical schema. Degano addresses discourses produced around Brexit in UK editorials and comment articles, with a focus on the inferences that justify the transition from premises to conclusions in arguments recurrently used during the referendum campaign and in the aftermath of Leave's victory. Building on a previous study co-authored by Degano, in which a number of Brexit-related topoi were identified adopting the content-based criteria typical of the Discourse-Historical Approach, this chapter moves towards greater formalization, interfacing them with argument schemes attested in the argumentation literature. After illustrating the notions of topoi and schemes as procedural accounts of the premise-to-conclusion transition inference, Degano reconstructs two of the previously identified, content-based, topoi following the conventions of influential contemporary models: pragma-dialectics and the Argomentum Model of Topoi. In doing so, she considers their pros and cons for discourse analysis, showing that each model in its own respect favours a principled analysis that draws attention to implicit, but crucial, components of argumentation. The selection of a given topos plays an important role in the expected outcomes of the argumentation.

With specific regard to Brexit, one of the two topoi reconstructed in the chapter had very little chance of winning new consensus to the Remain cause, playing mostly a role of strengthening the conviction of fellow Remainers, while the other was potentially more suited to engaging an audience of undecided voters.

Chapters, 3, 4 and 5 also deal with the British press and how journalists construct argumentation and ideological positions around controversial topics through their use of linguistic resources. In chapter 3, **Ersilia Incelli** explores the discursive construction and representation of economic inequality in the British press in the period 2016-2019. She does this through a compiled corpus of selected newspaper articles from three online newspapers *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail.* A comparative analysis shows not only how the newspapers differ on the lexico-semantic and grammatical level in the discursive construction of key clusters around economic inequality, but also on the ideological argumentative level, in the way journalists position their ideas and engage their readers in order to defend and legitimize arguments. The newspapers' representation of economic inequality, which emerges from linguistic and argumentation analyses, also reveals whether they are aligned with the government, and as such broadly welcome greater wealth inequality, or whether, they actually resist current government policies. The main aim is to show how UK national newspapers have a double function in both reporting information, and also in construing an argument and aligning the reader to accept that argument. The methodological approach combines Corpus Linguistics (CL) with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), informed by theories on epistemological and ideological positionings as forms of pragma-dialectical argumentation.

Jekaterina Nikitina, in chapter 4, analyses knowledge mediation dynamics and clashing viewpoints in media coverage in the case of the first gene-edited twins. The study uses a combination of insights from Appraisal Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and Argumentation Theory to describe and explore the linguistic realisation of (alternative) evaluative standpoints, opinions and potentially ideologically charged messages in British tabloid and broadsheet news reports and editorials covering the case. The analysis is carried out at two levels: at the level of headlines – acting as semantic macro-structures (topics) prepping the readers for a specific response and perception of the event – and at the level of local structures. Predictably, most news reports and editorials passed negative evaluative messages at both levels. Specifically, negative judgment and negative affect were used in the headline, whereas the texts of news reports and editorials demonstrated overlapping sequences of evaluation and argumentation. News reports tended to provide the reader with a more explicit yet depersonalised evaluation of the event, as the responsibility for the opinion expressed is shifted to third parties through the mechanism of attribution. Besides heavy attributions to multiple sources, Nikitina identifies a peculiar lack of full quotes of the scientist who gene-edited the twins, which arguably left him in a downgraded position against the overall heteroglossia. Confirming previous research, Nikitina pinpoints a specific pattern for editorials only, used to concede with one position and to counter it within the same utterance (concur-counter patterns).

Chapters 5 and 6 both have a specific focus on discourse genre and the attendant medium of communication, albeit in two very different fields of discourse, academic research articles, and a leading social media platform. They share a research objective of exploring the linguistic construal of authorial reputation, authority and legitimacy.

In chapter 5, **Girolamo Tessuto** examines metadiscoursive analysis, which offers a valuable means of comparing the rhetorical choices of different academic discourse communities and explicating the social and communicative situations in which linguistic choices are made. The present paper examines the argumentative patterns of interactional metadiscourse use in the disciplines of Economics and Law, and draws from Hyland's analytical framework of metadiscourse markers along with other integrative frameworks in a representative corpus of social science empirical research articles in the chosen fields. Both distributional and functional analyses of metadiscourse resources show that there are similarities as well as differences between the two disciplines in terms of how writers structure their texts and present arguments to their readers, and how they draw on their understandings of these resources to report the results of their original study to their readers. It is argued that metadiscoursal use is underpinned by the epistemologies behind the existing qualitative and quantitative methods of empirical research. Together these provide the regulating mechanisms for argumentative forms, ideological assumptions and knowledge structures in text production. This study aims to provide a greater understanding of metadiscourse in the discipline-specific writing practices of the genre of academic research articles.

Ilaria Moschini, in chapter 6, investigates the discursive construction of the message "Building Global Community" posted by Zuckerberg in February 2017 from a multimodal critical discourse analysis perspective to understand how verbal and visual resources shape the image of Facebook (Fb) as a space for civic engagement. Since its publication, the post has been considered a "manifesto" that is, a public declaration of policy and aims. From an ideological standpoint, it is where Fb's CEO and founder envisions for the platform the role of the "social infrastructure" for the global community of tomorrow. Rhetorically, all the argumentative strategies adopted concur to describe Fb as the technological enabler of civic participation, starting from the constant exploitation of the semantic ambiguity of the term “social”. At discourse level, the textual structure of the post is more similar to a political declaration than to a status update on social media in terms of length, informativity, lexical density and layout. The visual component contributes to the construal of the post as a “manifesto” with information ‘packaged’ to highlight the informative components making use of bullet points and typographical emphasis that suggests a preferred reading of the contents. In addition, the main picture represents Zuckerberg while publicly addressing an audience in Fb’s headquarters, thus framing the verbal text as a public speech.

The final two chapters introduce international and intercultural perspectives in the realms of political and institutional discourse. In chapter 7, **Chiara Prosperi Porta** explores the role of trust and credibility in the dissemination of security discourse and formation of a ‘security identity’ (Waever 1995) by the law-enforcement agency Europol within the EU context, through the release of annual reports. The relationship between law-enforcement discursive practices, the legitimation of identity and the categories of trust, ideology and ethics is analysed, as well as the various ways in which these are strategically mediated in discourse. Corpus-assisted (Partington 2004, 2010) quantitative exploration of data has shown how the lexical salience of some words has textually marked the agency’s ideology, encompassed ethics and promoted a trustworthy institutional identity. Analogously, examining qualitative findings related to argumentation, it has been possible not only to discover the shaping of a two-fold dimension of a ‘security identity’ (e.g. supranational law-enforcement leading role *v.* national authorities coordinated cooperation), but also the institutional use of polarisation strategies (van Dijk 2000), when positively representing Europol’s *ingroup* as associated to trust, security and legality, as opposed to the incomparable but still threatening capabilities of the criminal forces’*outgroup*. The exploration of these strategies has also revealed Europol’s frequent intent to discursively tone down the insidious dangers of the criminal counterpart, to propagandise institutional *self* superiority and the ideal of ethical behaviour, in order to legimitise the ‘war on terror’ (Jarvis 2009) and manipulate the audience’s acceptance of ever so often controversial control measures.

The final chapter in the volume, authored by **Bettina Mottura**, focuses on a new ideological formulation introduced in 2018 in article 1 of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China. Considering discourse as both a product of the social context and a tool to bring about change in society, and the particular status of the constitutional text in China, the contribution aims at studying the discursive strategy in which the item is embedded and through which it is promoted between 2013 and 2019. In order to better define the boundaries of the discourse-building effort associated with the introduction of the new ideological formulation, a corpus of texts in the Chinese language has been selected from different fields of action following the rationale of intertextuality. All texts displayed an explicit reference to the 2018 amendment wording, and they were all realizations of genres belonging to the genre repertoire of contemporary Chinese politics. The linguistic data – collected in three sub-corpora rooted in legal, political and journalistic languages – could thus be considered tools for political cadres' action in China. Drawing on the discourse-historical approach of critical discourse analysis, on the basis of selected examples, the chapter shows how the discursive strategy performs a synergic action to disseminate the new ideology formulation by addressing two sub-topics, namely a renewed centrality of the Chinese Communist Party in national politics, and the promotion of ideological loyalty and cohesion within the elite group. In parallel, it will demonstrate how the texts intentionally – but indirectly – and with a persuasive intent, promote two main macro-topics of Chinese political discourse: the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to govern the country, and the stability of the political system.

To conclude, the Keynote Speakers at the Rome 2019 Colloquium, Susan Hunston and Srikant Sarangi, presented detailed reflections on the nature and problematics of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research which involves the linguistic sciences working with other areas of investigation. This volume has explored the multidisciplinary nature of argumentation and discourse studies, together with the opportunities and challenges of cross-fertilization and points of contact in the immediate future. The contributions illustrate the potential for the multi-models and blended methodologies which can usefully be employed in order to better track the linguistic representations of argument, along with the socio-construction of ideology, and the complex interface between the three dimensions. The eminent argumentation scholar, Frans H. van Eemeren, has expressed the need for more empirical discourse-based research in order to explore developing fields such as argumentative style and prototypical patterning (van Eemeren 2019, pp. 168-170). At the same time, corpus-discourse linguists can fruitfully broaden their horizons of investigation and tackle the complexities of multi and trans-disciplinarity through coordination with scholars of argumentation.

The significance of this collection of papers that emerges, however, goes beyond the realm of linguistic studies. In the digital era, characterized by information-dense, hyper-connected communities, the rights, needs and obligations of participants are changing. The distinctions between the public and the private knowledge sphere are being eroded, and clear demarcations between specialist and non-specialist knowledge are becoming blurred. The research described here attempts to track the creation, elaboration and dissemination of what can be called new ‘strategic texts’ in the global knowledge sphere. Moreover, it is indeed a paradox, that in the splendor of the ‘Information Age’, our time is characterized by uncertainty and flux on so many fronts, and often accompanied by serious ideological confusion, and that people risk being not only *un*informed, but *mis*informed and, possibly, all too often, *dis*informed. Our critical faculties are put to the test daily—to identify seemingly simple gaps in information or deliberate manipulation of the world we live in, through the instrument of language. The research collected in this volume serves an important purpose: it recognizes the need to strive for a more precise awareness about the linguistic and discursive construction of argument and its pragma-ideological correlations. The trade-off may be more than academic, and is arguably part of a wider collaboration and sharing of such interests among educators, professionals, and a host of cultural mediation channels: the critical evaluation of information, ideas and positions needs to be prioritized as an essential citizen competence so as to guarantee a healthy and democratic participation in ‘The Knowledge Society’, whatever the field of action may be, academic research, education provision, media communication and journalism, or otherwise.

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 23-49
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p23

CONTESTING INTERNATIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS: ARGUMENTATION PATTERNING IN EMBEDDED DISCOURSES

JANET BOWKER
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "LA SAPIENZA"

Abstract – This chapter looks at the ideological positioning and argumentation patterning of three sets of interrelated data, which can be considered vertically organized in a hierarchical configuration: these sub-corpora consist of the drafts of a major International Trade Agreement, the TiSA, (Trade in Services Agreement), a series of revelations and exposures authored by WikiLeaks, and a collection of online publications produced by the campaigning group, Friends of the Earth International. The objective is to identify how a process of 'entextualization' is realized through the various discourses – from the normative codification of legislation, on to the detailed specialist exposition and critique from legal experts, and over to the affectively-charged discourse of resistance and protest in the public domain. The conceptual and explanatory frameworks for the analysis derive from two disciplinary fields, argumentative studies and discourse analysis, where the role of language studies in describing discursive construal has traditionally played rather different roles. The analysis of the corpus starts from a linguistic perspective, comparing and contrasting semantic profiling, topicalization, and verb usage over the three sub-corpora. Using accounts of argumentative structure and procedures – elaborating the notions of schema, frames, moves and strategies, it is possible to identify distinctive patterns of reasoning, revealed through linguistic indexicality. In this way, argumentation can be related to the three varying communicative contexts, their authorship, audiences and rhetorical purposes. This study is, therefore, an attempt to integrate the two fields of argumentation studies and discourse analysis more systematically, recognizing the mutual benefits this carries for both, providing a body of empirical evidence necessary to further theoretical models and theories of argumentation, on the one hand, while extending discourse analysis into more challenging areas of investigation and taking a wider textual perspective than has often been common to date.

Keywords: argumentation; discourse analysis; ideology; entextualization; international trade agreements; campaigning discourse.

1. Argumentation studies: relevant models and theoretical frameworks

1.1. Argumentative structure: moves, schema, patterns, styles

A large number of fields and disciplines are reflected in argumentation studies: classical and modern rhetoric, formal and informal logic, critical thinking and reasoning, media and communication studies, law, linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, psychology and philosophy, containing a great variety of theoretical approaches and backgrounds (Lunsford *et al.* 2009; van Eemeren *et al.* 2014). This paper makes use primarily of the theoretical insights provided by pragma-dialectical theory, developed by Frans. H. van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst (1984, 1992, 2004) at the University of Amsterdam, together with scholars working within this tradition. In pragma-dialectics, argumentation is conceived of not only as a communicative and interactional phenomenon but it is also studied from a normative (thus elucidating the *best* way to argue) as well as a descriptive perspective. In the extended version, where the rhetorical purpose is more fully incorporated along with the dialectical, interlocutors engage in a process of strategic maneuvering in order to achieve an aim of 'effectiveness' as well as an aim of 'reasonableness' (van Eemersen, Garsen 2012, p. xiv).

Pragma-dialectical theory regards argumentation as 'ideally' being part of 'a critical discussion', targeted at the 'reasonable' resolution of a difference of opinion (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, p.17). Four discussions stages can be identified in this resolution process: 'the confrontation' stage (introducing the standpoints at issue), the 'opening' stage (defining the divergence of opinion), the 'argumentation' stage (laying down reasoning itineraries and advancing arguments) and the 'concluding' stage (presenting the outcome of the process), (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, pp. 85-88). At each stage, argumentative moves come into play, constructing a chosen 'dialectical route' (van Eemeren 2018, p. 74). The argumentative pattern characterizing the discourse provides a description of this dialectical route.

Various typologies of argumentation can be implemented to enhance the acceptability of a standpoint, each of them characterized by the employment of a specific 'argument scheme', (argument by analogy, or argument by citation, for example). Pragma-dialectical theorists have produced numerous sets of 'argument schemes' and 'argument frames', constituting series of argumentation structures that can be used to identify the relationships between argumentative moves. Those of van Eemeren are particularly useful for the purposes of this paper – 'symptomatic', 'comparative', and 'causal'. In symptomatic argumentation the argument scheme is used to establish a relation of likeness and similarity between the argument at stake and the position that is supported; in comparison argumentation a relation of correlation is established; and in causal argumentation a relation of trigger and effect is described (van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1992, pp. 94-102).

Theorists relate these abstractions to concrete argumentative discourse events: different kinds of 'communicative activity types' can be distinguished constituted by different kinds of macro-contexts for conducting argumentative discourse.[1] It is possible to discern 'prototypical' argumentative patterns and specific constellations of moves in different domains of argumentative reality, constituting 'strategic scenarios' and 'argumentative styles' (van Eemeren 2019, pp. 161-163). In line with these concepts, the discourse domains reported in this paper will be seen to reveal specific patterns, structures and styles of discussion over the three sets of data.

Finally, according to van Eemeren (2018, pp. 166-167), the strategic maneuvering which arguers use in order to achieve their dialectical and rhetorical objectives can be described along three inter-related dimensions:

- A motivated selection from the available 'topic potential';
- Strategic adaptation to 'audience demand';
- Chosen 'presentational devices', in degrees of propositional explicitness or vagueness, for example.

These parameters, topicalization, persuasive rhetorical strategies, and pragma-linguistic resources are the main focus in this chapter in so far as they construe different discourse patterns of argument.

1.2. Linguistic indexicality: indicators, features, interconnectivity

The theoretical avenues to the study of argumentation in context are many, using a wide range of methodological tools. Contemporary work by argumentation scholars is characterized by an integrated approach combining linguistic and argumentative theoretical insights, drawing on linguistic pragmatics, text linguistics, conversational analysis as well as studies in linguistic philosophy, rhetoric, formal logic and practical reasoning. (Frans H. van Eemeren and Bart Garssen, 2012, provide a comprehensive overview of case studies which draw on this wide range of disciplines.)

[1] Fields treated most recently include the historical, the legal, the academic, the medical, the media, and financial contexts (van Eemeren, Garssen 2012, p. xiii).

At the same time, discourse analysts use a variety of methodological avenues in the study of argumentation and the related concepts of evaluation and persuasion (Hunston, Thompson 2000; Martin, White 2005). Much attention has been paid by scholars to the role of argumentation in the discursive construal of identity, trust, legitimization, and authenticity (Candlin, Crichton 2013; Salvi, Bowker 2013; Spencer-Oatey 2007). Studies cover a wide variety of fields, including academic, economic, institutional, legal, medical, scientific, and journalistic discourse, with a strong emphasis on cross-disciplinary comparison. For discourse analysts of argumentation, metadiscursive indicators are a powerful tool in revealing the interactional, interpersonal and communicative characteristics of texts. Specific linguistic features are correlated with their rhetorical and pragmatic force: frequently studied categories include hedges and boosters, attitude and engagement markers, stance and representation indicators. (Douglas Biber, 2006, and Ken Hyland, 2005, for example, have provided classic taxonomies of these.) This, in turn, allows analysts to identify broader discursive strategies in argumentation patterning such as intensification-mitigation, inclusion-exclusion, concur-concede-counter dynamics, in differing textual and generic contexts. There is, then, a consolidated tradition in discourse analysis on this complex and challenging subject, together with a range of developed and sophisticated methodologies from which to draw.

1.3. Contextualizing procedures: ideology, values and beliefs

Discourse scholars with linguistic interests in argumentation do not adhere to the normative objectives of standard argumentative theory, namely the judgement of the critical discussion in terms of its rationality and in accordance with some theoretical notion of 'the perfect argument'. Linguistic discourse description is neither prescriptive nor evaluative of the validity of arguments, as discourse linguist Ruth Amossy (2009) points out.

> Rather than the art of putting forward logically valid arguments leading to Truth, argumentation is here viewed as the use of verbal means ensuring an agreement on what can be considered reasonable by a given group, on a more or less controversial matter. What is acceptable and plausible is always co-constructed by subjects engaging in verbal interaction. It is the dynamism of this exchange, realized not only in natural language, but also in a specific cultural framework, that has to be accounted for. From this perspective, it is not enough to reconstruct patterns of reasoning. […] Abstract schemata have to be examined in their verbal realization in a given situation of discourse […] takinginto account their discursive and communicational aspects, as well as argumentation's constitutive dialogism and its inscription in a set of common representations, opinions and beliefs. (Amossy 2009, pp. 1-12)

Nor do discourse linguists believe that argumentation is displayed or is only retrievable in formal, logically-describable ways in contexts of overt disagreement. In many ways, argumentation can be considered an aspect of the overall functioning of discourse.

> Even when there is no overt controversy, discourse is pervaded by a general argumentativity. It always answers some explicit or hidden question, or at least suggests a way of looking at the surrounding world – argumentativity constitutes an inherent feature of discourse. […] The argumentative nature of discourse does not imply that formal arguments are used, not does it mean that a sequential order from premise to conclusion is imposed on the text. […] Orienting the way reality is perceived, influencing a point of view, and directing behavior, are actions performed by a whole range of verbal means. (Amossy 2009, p. 2.)

In this perspective, argumentation can take various shapes according to the context of situation and communicative event: alternative patterns of reasoning may supersede logical patterns of discussion – where obliqueness is required, or where persuasive effectiveness and *pathos* is to the fore, or where self-evident and common knowledge does not need to be spelt out.

For these reasons, it is important to reconcile the two approaches: to place discourse analysis in a central position in argumentation theory and reciprocally, to incorporate *logos*, with its schemes of reasoning, into the linguistic investigation. Ruth Amossy (2009) proposes a descriptive framework for this endeavor, which specifies the following:

- The situation of communication (who speaks to whom, where, when, and why);
- The genre of the discourse event;
- The dialogical dimension and interdiscursivity – the social discourse currently in circulation at the time and the incorporation of previous texts;
- The speaker's positioning in a specific 'institutional' or ideological dimension.

The analysis carried out in this paper will include these dimensions of contextualization. A word should be said about the view of 'ideology' adopted here. Amossy's reference to the specific cultural framework and the inscription of argument in a set of common representations, opinions and beliefs adheres to the broad interpretation of ideology elaborated by the noted critical discourse analyst, Teun van Dijk, who has elaborated a cognitive model for the construction of meaning at a societal level.

> Through complex and usually long-term processes of socialization and other forms of social information processing, ideologies are gradually acquired by members of a group or culture. Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources. (van Dijk 1998, p.18)

It is this wide-ranging conceptualization of ideology which underpins the analysis contained in this study rather than any narrow political or sectorial definition of the term. Powerful ideological concerns can be said to guide the actions and discourses of the Treaty's law-makers just as much as they motivate their critics and the activists striving to obstruct them.

The argumentation patterns described in this chapter belong to three sets of data which are vertically organized in a hierarchical sequence. They are connected through a process of entextualization, which is intended to mean the embedding and transference of language (both materially and conceptually) pertaining to an identifiable generic text type towards other text types (Blommaert 2005). The notion of entextualization can be considered one aspect of the very broad phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, which reflect the intrinsic polyphony and dialogicity of textual expression.[2] In a social semiotic perspective, Scollon and Scollon (2003) elaborate this concept of interdiscursive dialogicity:

> Several discourses co-exist simultaneously in a particular semiotic aggregate […] their co-presence produces a kind of dialogicity between them so that each takes part of its meaning from the co-presence of the other. (Scollon, Scollon 2003, p.193)

This is also an integral aspect of the concept of context, in this case referring to the recontextualization of legal language in the discourses of rebuttal and contestation on the part of the critics and campaigners. In line with Bazerman's idea of 'intrasystem intertextuality' (Bazerman 2004, p.86), we can consider the legislative data as the primary texts, followed by the interaction between lawyers and other specialists, in the secondary texts of WikiLeaks, through to the tertiary texts of the media consumers of Friends of the Earth International. We will now move on to a description of this data and its analysis.

[2] Sometimes the terms 'intertextuality' and 'interdiscursivity' are used by different scholars in different ways, or conversely, are used to talk about much the same thing. Quite often the ideas overlap. These distinctions are not treated in this paper.

2. The data: entextualization, vertically embedded discourses

2.1. The sub-corpus of legal language: International Trade in Services Agreement, *TiSA*

The data for the legal sub-corpus is constituted by the latest in the New Trade Trio of international commercial legislation, the *TiSA, Trade in Services Agreement*.[3] Along with the *TTIP, Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership*, and the *TPP, Trans-Pacific Partnership,* these form a corporate blueprint for the global economy. As well as opening up new export markets and global supply chains for transnational companies (based in the US and the EU, in particular) these mega-regional trade agreements aim to deliver and lock-in rules that privatize public services and surpass local, national and regional social and environmental regulations that might hinder international trade. Until now, none of these Agreements has been ratified and gone into force. The rounds of negotiations continue.

The problem with access to the drafts and the documents derived from these negotiations lies in the private (the contesters would say, "secret") nature of proceedings and the confidential nature of communications. The material has, in fact, been obtained through the publication online by *WikiLeaks* of the *TiSA Core Text* and a wide range of *Annexes*, working papers and draft provisions.

The extremely restricted access to the documents is made clear in the opening headings and closing recommendations: "Restraint, for official use only"; "Without prejudice for TiSA participants only". The closed-door policy is summed up by the lengthy waiting period of silence planned on completion: "Derived from Classification Guidance. Declassify on 5 years from entry into force of the TiSA".

Together with the draft provisions of the *Core Text*, there are *Annexes* on wide-ranging topics: *Electronic Commerce* (2013), *Retailing* (2015), *Domestic Regulation* (2015), *State-Owned Enterprises* (2015), *Services in The Environmental Sector* (2015), *Energy Related Services* (2015), *Road, Freight and Logistics* (2015), *Financial Services* (2016), *Telecommunications* (2016).

[3] Twenty-three World Trade Organization members are currently taking part in the TiSA talks: Australia, Canada, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Costa Rica, Hong Kong China, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Liechtenstein, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, South Korea, Switzerland, Turkey, the USA and the EU (comprising 28 countries).

2.2. The sub-corpus of legal enquiry and criticism: WikiLeaks disclosures and evaluations

The second sub-corpus consists of the articles, reports and accounts in *WikiLeaks* which accompany the disclosed legislation proposals. These published criticisms of the source legislation by jurists, jurisprudence academics and lawyers in independent legal practices, provide a fine-tuned, in-depth, professional critique of the legal discourse. The detailed commentary and legal glosses often challenge the technical details in the formulation of the law and expose the flaws in the reasoning used in its argumentation. Just as significantly, they also challenge the legislators' motivations and claims to impartiality. We shall see how the information flow is constructed and how legal language is entextualized across the normative, regulatory discourse of the law, produced by institutions, governments, corporate lawyers and other interested parties, to the legal experts and authoritative bodies criticizing it.

2.3. The sub-corpus of campaigning, protest discourse: Friends of the Earth International online publications

The third plane of these vertically-organized, interrelated texts is the campaigning discourse of the organization *Friends of the Earth International* (*FOEI*), using a selection of their online publications on the topic of "Economic Liberalism and Economic Justice", in which international trade law features extensively.

The three discourse domains are hierarchical, the language of the law being appropriated finally in the public knowledge domain of activists who are organizing protest and resistance (*Mobilize, Resist, Transform* is the FOE mission/vision motto). The analysis will trace this re-representation and en-textualization through the interaction of texts.

The preparation of this third sub-corpus was challenging due to the multimodal, multimedial nature of the FOEI website. This involved extracting running text from complex formats: tables, charts, infographics, inserts, boxes. The lack of linearity in the text, the prevailing hypertextuality of display, creates a patchwork format of information. The multimedial nature of the site means NEWSFEED, with news loops and newsflashes on incoming topics, combine with photo-reporting. Radio and video reports are options at all points of entry.[4]

[4] Hypertextuality and mutimodality are not part of the scope of this enquiry. However, this dimension of analysis is part of the growing interest and scholarly enquiry into citizen or civic journalism in the public domain (Bednarek 2012, 2014).

A selection was made, limiting the data to the FOEI publications contained in the *Economic Justice and Resisting Economic Liberalism* resources section.[5]

As explained above, the criteria for the selection of the three sets of data for the study were, availability, (given the mostly confidential, secret nature of the legal information), consistency, (given the potentially wide range of topics in the FOEI sources), and practicability (to create treatable running text from the FOEI multimedial presentation format). The relative size of the three sub-corpora is included in the table below.

Sub-corpora	**Tokens**	**Types**
TiSA Agreement	c50,000	3,341
WikiLeaks	c70,000	5,792
FOEI	c100,000	7,948

Table 1
Size of the sub-corpora: tokens and types.

3. Methodology

This study belongs to the Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) approach to textual analysis (Baker, McEnery 2015; Partington *et al.* 2004), which provides an integrated methodology for the inclusion of both quantitative corpus linguistic techniques together with qualitative discovery and interpretation. Corpus linguistics is directed towards the quantification of linguistic forms and textual patterns. This is supported and, at the same time, guided by discourse analytical models and tools, which aim to describe the interpretation of language use in socio-cultural settings and contexts, over a variety of textual genres, fields and domains.

This research aims to create a further integrated model of analysis, extending the descriptive and explanatory frameworks of CADS to include some of those used in argumentation studies, as elucidated in Section 1.1.

Each stage of the automated analysis is consistently corroborated and extended, manually, with text analysis, often covering very long stretches of language, and usually whole documents. So, in line with CADS methodology, there is a dual direction of analysis of the corpora, electronic

[5] Other publication sections include: *Climate, Justice and Energy*; *Food Sovereignty, Forests and Biodiversity*; *Human Rights Defenders, Resisting Mining, Oil and Gas*. A sample of the publications included in the section under consideration includes: “*Dangerous Liasons: The New Trade Trio*”, “*FOEI Position on Trade and Investment Issues*”, “*The Hidden Costs of RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) and Corporate Trade Deals in Asia*”, “*Investment Court System Put to the Test*”, “*Lawyers subverting the Public Interest*”.

treatment and close-up, manual inspection, going backwards and forwards throughout the texts.

Using WMatrix3 (Rayson 2003), standard word frequencies and occurrences were compiled for the three sub-corpora, and keywords, collocations and concordances investigated (Anthony 2013; Sinclair 1991). WMatrix3 revealed the semantic patterning (Hunston 2008) and the 'aboutness' (Bondi, Scott 2010) of the sub-corpora, demarcating key semantic fields and their exponents. These constituted the argumentative indicators to uncover some of the argumentative patterning of the three sub-corpora: the topical composition; ideological standpoint; the main assumptions, claims and positioning of the protagonists; the rhetorical strategies at work, and their impact. The analysis also pointed to the dialectical itineraries they will take in their argumentation, the use of causality, providing evidence for claims, reporting undeniable, indisputable facts, and so on.

Then, secondly, WMatrix textware uncovered the occurrence and distribution of verbal patterning across the sub-corpora: modality, tense and aspect. The differences were considered to be discourse indicators of the strategic manoeuvring taken by the arguers in the three communicative sets. Using verbal indices as argumentative pointers, the functions of propositions and their connectivity could be evaluated: the amount of explicit as opposed to implicit argumentation, the detailed justification of claims compared to self-evident, taken-for-granted declaration, and the use of logical reasoning in contrast to extensive exemplification.

The investigation then turns to extended qualitative textual analysis, in order to trace how these indicators create the argumentation in detail, the stages and moves which make up the dialogical route. Finally, the overall results of the analysis are reported in argumentative schema, which may serve to draw conclusions about possible prototypical patterns and strategic scenarios for the three types of discussion.

4. The analysis

4.1. Key semantic fields: topicalization, standpoint and participant positioning

The starting point for the analysis consisted in the compilation of a semantic profile for each of the three sub-corpora. Using WMatrix3 textware, the key semantic fields and domains were extracted, together with their semantic exponents.[6] Table 2 below shows those with the most prominent statistical relevance for the sub-corpus of TiSA.[7]

Semantic field / domain	Semantic exponents[8]
law and order	legal system, arbitration, rules, court, tribunal, regulations, sue, legislation, lawyer, arbitrator, counsel, judges, protocols, punish
business /selling	trade, market, suppliers, exports, consumers, buying, importers, services, transaction
government	governmental, pacts, parliaments, president, country, state, nation, council, civil, state-owned, ministry, authorities, commissioners, ambassadors, public bodies
future time	shall
in power	committee, control, appoint
mental object, means, methods	procedure, solution, framework, mode
deciding	resolution, rulings, measures, determination
Sensible	reasonable, rational, legitimate, equitable, justifiable, fair
suitable	relevant, appropriate, quality, eligible, manifest

Table 2
Semantic profile for the TiSA sub-corpus.

As only to be expected, the specific normative and juridical interests of the legal data were to the fore, namely backing for the legislation by a group of nations and governments on the question of the internationalization and privatization of public services. These key domains of *law*, *business* and

[6] The WMatrix semantic tag set, USAS, contains over 300 categories; UCREL, the WMatrix semantic analysis system, organizes semantic exponents into superordinate and subordinate categories in a branching arrangement. The relative frequencies for the tokens was arrived at using a log likelihood ratio calculation normalized against the British National Corpus Written.

[7] The key semantic fields displayed in Table 2, and subsequently Tables 3 and 4, are those identified as belonging to the top 12, for each sub-corpus respectively. They are arrived at from WMatrix's calculation of normalized relative frequency word lists. In WMatrix, the derived semantic domains are also displayed in the software in the form of semantic profile word clouds, which show the comparative similarity or difference in their prominence. For reasons of space, this visual data is not included in the paper. Any statistical variation in these top semantic fields can only be seen through the frequencies of the single semantic exponents, and these statistics have been omitted for our purposes here. The exponents included in the Tables are listed in order of frequency and are taken from those identified by WMatrix as statistically significant. Clearly, as explained in the paper, the single exponents direct the in-depth concordance analysis to follow and constitute the data for this next step.

[8] The list of exponents is by no means exhaustive (often covering a large number of items), and this is only an indication of the most widely-used in any one semantic field. Also, the complete classes of word derivatives (singular/plural, noun/verb/adjective etc) are not included.

government, reflecting the 'aboutness' of the discourse, occupy the top three positions in terms of frequency. (*Green issues*, on the other hand, was statistically insignificant, cited on only a few occasions in the context of the *Environmental Services Annex*.)

The main agents and creators of the argumentation are clearly delineated, together with the essential actions to be accomplished – forming committees, passing resolutions, making rules, controlling procedures, building frameworks, passing measures, and providing solutions for the trading and supplying of services. Not only, the transgressors of these rulings, prospective errant states, public bodies, and state-owned industries will be punished, will have to face legal action, will be sued in arbitration courts and special tribunals, using specifically appointed lawyers and judges. The fundamental ideology and standpoint of the law-makers is apparent.

Language choices also reveal argumentative stance in the quite explicit evaluation of the proposed legislation – what will happen is deemed both *sensible* and *suitable*, legitimized by virtue of its existence as a product of the law. Any opposition to the new rulings, or resistance in the face of threats to unfair, inequitable, unjustifiable and unreasonable. The scaffolding for the construction of the legal argumentation can be reduced to a simple "either / or" choice, as we will see later in the paper.

From the profile, it would seem that no explicitly-articulated argumentative procedures are followed, such as providing a rationale for the Treaty, a defence of its usefulness in anticipation of any criticism, or evidence of its benefits when applied to any set of definable, specified circumstances. The following examples, (1 to 3), illustrate the above findings.

(1) Each Party shall publish promptly and at the latest by the time of their entry into force, all relevant measures of general application which pertain to or affect the operation of this Agreement. International agreements pertaining to published.

(2) Each Party shall maintain or institute as soon as practicable judicial, arbitral or administrative tribunals or procedures for the prompt review of, and where justified, appropriate remedies for, administrative decisions affecting trade in services.

(3) Each Party shall ensure that all measures of general application within the scope of this annex are administered in a reasonable, objective and impartial manner.

Similarly, argumentative stance, ideological standpoint and the corresponding positioning of protagonists is also identifiable from a semantic analysis of the second sub-corpus, the revelations of WikiLeaks, as shown in Table 3 below.

Semantic field / domain	Semantic exponents
business general / business selling	stakeholders, consumers, incomes, wages, salaries, capitalization
government	citizens, constitution, governance, regime, nation, sovereignty
law and order	law firms, lawsuit, tribunals, privileges, loopholes
green issues	environment, energy resources, nature, ecological, conservation
constraint /no constraint	constraint, limit, bound, regulate, restrict, moratoria, allowed, permitted, deregulate, liberalization, release, neoliberal
strong / no obligation or necessity	must, should, have to, necessary, duty, stipulation, impose, obligation, responsibility, compulsory, binding, free, exempt, waive
cause and effect	reason, result, depend on, based on, entail, ramifications, impact, influence
helping / hindering	services, service companies, defend, support, enabling, benefit, in favour of, protect
wanted	policy, requirements, purpose, schedule, target, strategy, intention, plan, aim
closed / hidden / hiding	secret, covered, block, confidential, disguise, privacy
evaluation / bad / difficult /failure / ethical	disaster, crisis, catastrophe, fatal, worst, onerous, loose, defect, go wrong, breakdown
investigate / examine / search / test	analyse, assess, review, investigate, seek, hunt, research, survey, scrutiny

Table 3
Semantic profile for the WikiLeaks sub-corpus.

The semantic profile for the WikiLeaks corpus is rather different from the previous one. Although the main topic areas in the three highest frequency fields are the same as in the TiSa corpus, they vary considerably in their expression, reflecting their diametrical differences in standpoints and positioning. *Business in General* includes reference to the potential victims of the new state of affairs, the stakeholders and consumers with their own vested interest in work conditions and economic growth; *Government* is seen to consist not only of pacts and parliaments, authorities and commissioners, but lays emphasis on citizens, the protective power of constitutions, and the quality of governance. *Law and Order* comprises a critical look at law firms and lawsuits, characterized by privileges and loopholes.

Not only do different sets of components occur for the key domains, but when the same ones (*nation, state, sovereignty, tribunal,* for example) are used, the resulting concordances provide a mirror image of each other in the two contrasting positions, the proposed law and its critique: “Rights and obligations of the Parties”, in the TiSA data, compared to “Human/citizens’/ workers’/community rights […] above corporate profits”, in FOEI, for example.

New, or differently weighted semantic domains or fields, also contribute to creating the argumentation propositions: concern for *Green Issues* is at the core of the contestation, and the arguments in general consider what the possibilities and probabilities of an international Treaty in Trading Services would mean, what would be freely permitted, and what the effects of such binding stipulations and obligations would be. As we shall see later, linguistic modality and verbal usage in general contribute in no small way to the structure and framing of the argumentation of the three intersecting sets of texts and embedded discourses.

Argumentation in the WikiLeaks disclosures is also characterized by a detailed examination of causes and effects, intentions and results, which take the form of multiple chains of reasoning and logical inference in the text, based on a fine-tuned legal review of claims and counter-arguments. This will be examined in detail later.

Finally, WikiLeak’s analysis and investigations lead to an overwhelmingly negative evaluation of the Agreement, these ‘secret’ negotiations behind closed doors disguising the risk of crisis, and social, economic and environmental breakdown. Space does not permit more than a few illustrative examples, (4 to 6), of the above summary of findings.

(4) Today, Wednesday 25 May 2016 WikiLeaks releases new secret documents from the huge Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA which is being negotiated by the US, EU and 21 other countries that account for 2/3rds of global GDP. […] The leaked “core” text provides further evidence of their game plan to bypass other governments in the WTO and rewrite its services agreement in the interests of their corporations. By adding new rules and changing some existing ones they aim to tighten the handcuffs on the freedom of governments to regulate their services.

(5) TiSA treats services as marketable commodities and deny altogether their social, cultural, environmental, employment, and development functions. People are not viewed as citizens or members of their communities – they are consumers.

(6) “Transparency” in TiSA means ensuring that commercial interests, especially transnational corporations, can access and influence government decisions that affect their interests – rights and opportunities that may not be available to local business, to economic and social stakeholders, or to national citizens.

The ideological stance is perfectly clear also in the third sub-corpus, the campaigning discourse of Friends of the Earth International, albeit in a rather different form, and using varying argumentative resources. The semantic profile for the FOEI sub-corpus are included in Table 4, below.

Semantic field / domain	Semantic exponents
business general	economy (ies), companies, enterprises, corporations, firms, contractors, consultancies
business selling	trade(ing), exports, consumer, supplier, market, sale, bidding
law and order	courts, regime, arbitration, sue, tribunals, lawsuit, judges, litigants, prosecutors, litigants, testimony
government	parliament, citizens, authorities, governance, public bodies, civil, (inter) governmental
money and pay	banking, savings, funding, subsidy, credit, trade, investment, wages, profits, GDP
green issues	environment, nature, ecological, conservation, deforestation, ecosystem, polluting
belonging to a group	groups, grouping, society, communities, network, alliances, allies, opposition, collectively, grassroots, united, bond, hand-in-hand
allowed	right, approve, ratify, concession, approval, permit, authorize, consent
cause and effect	consequence, result, impact, lead to, determine, due to, reason, depend, link
damaging and destroying	threat, force, attack, toxic, abuse, devastation, ruin, collapse
ethical, crime, danger	violent, angry, aggressive, harm, violate, victim
the universe, weather	world, planet, storms, hurricanes, floods, droughts, climate

Table 4
Semantic profile for the FOEI sub-corpus.

The starting point for this description is, again, the semantic profile, as shown in Table 4. Again there is a degree of overlap with the previous two sub-corpora in the delineation of the key semantic fields in the data, but compared to WikiLeaks a noticeably different slant is taken when describing the protagonists, locations, circumstances, and events. The communicative purposes of these text producers are divergent: these people are not legal experts intent on uncovering the flaws and fallacies of the proposed law through detailed specialist analysis, but, rather, investigative journalists and political activists concerned to win over their audience – the general public, political institutions and international organizations – to the cause of resisting the current practices of transnational corporations, together with business's own self-sponsored legislative and juridical support.

Belonging to a group is a prominent category in both FOEI and WikiLeaks, but the lexical set, here, refers to communities and alliances, the need for networks, solidarity and groups. The argumentative propositions and claims are based on the reporting of real events, actual experiences, existing contexts and circumstances, the changing fates of peoples, states and regions of the world. The economic changes described are concrete and the litigation battles ongoing and relentless. The potentially devastating effects of TiSA to society and the environment are narrated through strongly affectively-marked evaluative lexis, making full use of their communicative multi-modal channels and media.

This discourse is distinct from that of WikiLeaks: the argumentation of contestation and protest is based on exemplification, analogy, and evidentiality rather than verbal logical analysis; the rhetorical stance appeals to *ethos* and *pathos* rather than *logos*. The following brief examples (7 to 9) illustrate the FOEI narrative.

(7) Friends of the Earth International's vision is for a peaceful and sustainable world based on societies living in harmony with nature. For over two decades FOEI and member groups have opposed corporate trade and investment regimes that put profits before people and the planet. Essential rights that protect citizens and the environment are considered as "trade barriers".

(8) Many of these agreements undermine democratic processes and seek to both expand and lock in privatization, deregulation, and other neo-liberal policies among the countries subject to them and globally.

(9) Rules for business, rights for people! Over 50 million land grabs during the last 10 years. 246 million child laborers worldwide. Time for Justice, time for a Treaty. After decades of struggle from communities across the world, the idea of corporations being held legally responsible for their crimes no matter where they occur is finally becoming a reality. The new Human Rights Treaty has the support of more than 800 organizations, the UN Human Rights Council, the Vatican, and many diverse governments. Join the Treaty Movement, Mobilize and Resist!

In this Section we have analysed topicalization across the three sets of vertically-organized and connected discourses. The nature of their textual embeddedness has emerged, revealing interconnected propositional fields and semantic components. Key concepts are similar and overlap, but also differ to a significant extent: text producers make use of different linguistic choices to convey varying ideological standpoints to audiences, in the expression of viewpoints, evaluation and judgement, in line with individually distinctive communicative purposes.

This can be considered a useful starting point for the analysis of argumentative patterns over the three sub-corpora, to identify the broader outlines of what they share and what sets them apart. Semantic profiling provides us with information not only about the content of the arguments, the nature of the various claims and underlying assumptions of the declarations of the various parties, but also about argumentative strategies and itineraries, that is, the procedural composition of argument in each case. This is retrievable, to some extent, as we propose, from linguistic indexicality.

We have detected some of the different argument schemes and styles at work – in the formal, normative language of the law, the logical reasoning of expository critique, and the highly-charged testimony of the campaigners. The next Section will deepen this search into the linguistic indicators of argumentation with a view to being able to elaborate the argumentative patterning with more precision.

4.2. Verbal patterns and argumentation: strategic maneuvering

4.2.1. Modality: moves and propositional relationships

The starting point for the analysis was the identification of the key concepts and semantic profiling for the three sets of data, as described in Section 4.1. The categories of *(no)constraint*, *(no) (strong) obligation or necessity*, *allowed* and *avoid, helping* and *hindering* emerged as key domains for WikiLeaks and FOEI, while the TiSA corpus had only one modal semantico-grammatical component, "shall", tagged, in this case not completely satisfactorily, as *future time*. Interesting variation in the distribution of modal auxiliary verbs is displayed in the results shown in Table 5 below.

Modality (+) (-)	**Rel. Freq. Treaty**	**Rel. Freq. WikiLeaks**	**Rel. Freq. FOEI**
be + necessary	**0.14***	0.06	0.04
can	0.05	**0.36***	**0.19***
could	0.03	**0.23***	**0.13***
have to	0.0	0.05	0.03
may	**0.49***	**0.17***	0.03
must	0.002	**0.12***	0.05
shall	**1.4***	0.06	0.01
should	**0.1***	0.06	**0.13***
will	0.04	**0.13***	**0.22***
would	**0.1***	**0.44***	**0.22***

Table 5
Distribution and frequency of modal verbs in the three sub-corpora.

The relative frequencies of the modal verbs were obtained by WMatrix3 software, normalized against the British National Corpus Written. The most significant results are indicated in bold and an asterisk in Table 5 above. The most frequent modal resource in the TiSA data is the normative juridical use of deontic "shall", indicating both deontic permissibility (what is allowed) and obligation (what needs to be done). "May" is often used as a substitute to indicate official permission and authorization. These are combined on occasions with the third most frequent expression of modality, "be + necessary", opposed to "have to" or "must", which are statistically insignificant. "Can", "could" and "will" constitute low profile modal verbs.

In contrast, the WikiLeaks data reveals a significantly different pattern, reflecting differences with the legal text in communicative purposes and argumentation. "Shall" carries relatively little weight and is confined to intertextual referencing, when citing the TiSA. Instead, "can" and "could" are textually marked in the authors' elucidation of the potential damage and the possible action which would be opened up on the Treaty's adoption. Similarly, "would" describes a scenario of unbounded transcorporate practice with its forecasted devastating results for the wellbeing of societies and the environment. "Will" states what is indisputable and inevitable according to WikiLeaks, and "may" describes what will be permissible under the law. "Have to", "should" and "be + necessary" are relatively low profile.

Modality, both epistemic and deontic, is less marked in the FOEI subcorpus compared to the other two, concentrating mainly on "can", "could" expressing possibility, capability and permission, on the one hand and "will", "would" to describe future predictions and hypothetical scenarios. In this way, the macro-propositions in WikiLeaks related to the negative consequences of TiSA are reiterated and re-enforced, but with much less attention paid to the technical argumentation conveyed by modality. These differences across the sub-corpora will be seen in the examples in the next section.

4.2.2. Verb types

The sub-corpora were run through the POS (Parts of Speech) grammatical tagging function of WMatrix3, in order to identify prevalent, high frequency verb classes, which confirmed, first of all, the frequency of modal verbs (as shown above in Section 4.2.1.). Secondly, it quantified features of verbal tense and aspect as used over the three sub-corpora. Then, detailed concordancing work identified the lexical verb types which served as the main exponents of these categories, as shown in Table 6. In general, the results corroborate the textual function of each text type – the normative function of the legislation, the expository function of WikiLeaks, and the descriptive, narrative functions of Friends of the Earth International's investigative reporting.

TiSA	WikiLeaks	FOEI
stative / factive verbs: be, have	**mental state verbs, cognition and perception**: (e.g. believe, think, know, understand, suppose, mean, imagine, want, hope decide, expect, recognize) **verbs of argument, enquiry**: (e.g. investigate, impact, search, test, criticize, counter, assume, imply)	**dynamic or activity verbs, event verbs:** (e.g. change, develop, increase, grow, protest, save, campaign)

Table 6
Verb type prominence in the three sub-corpora.

Together with the findings for modal verbs, described in Table 5, these verbal indicators can be used to trace the argumentative framing and patterning across the three sets of data. But a further step in the analysis is required in order to integrate this evidence into the argumentative description, which involves seeing how these verb types are contextualized in the discourse. The following examples show the argumentative itineraries involved in the three sub-corpora. Examples 10, 11 and 12 discuss the implications the proposed law will have for the restriction on the powers of national sovereignty with regard to the regulation of transcorporate practices, showing the different conceptual colouring of the three sub-corpora.

(10) **TiSA**

Nothing in this Article shall prevent a Party from adopting or maintaining measures inconsistent with paragraph 1 to achieve a legitimate public policy objective, provided that such measures are not applied in a manner which constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or disguised restriction on trade.

(11) **WikiLeaks**

In new wording added to the October 15 draft, the US states that TiSA's Transparency Article could apply to regulation at any level of government resulting in an absurd situation where even the smallest local government would have to assess their regulation for all possible impacts on foreign commercial interests and create a procedure for foreign intervention in their regulatory process […]. TiSA national treatment (foreign services and suppliers must be treated at least as well as their local counterparts) is where the major change occurs. It is presumed that all services, and all ways of supplying them, are covered by the TiSA rule.

(12) **FOEI**

In principle, each country should base its policies on social and economic goals and programmes and its services policy should support and enable these government objectives. However, this isn't how the TiSA champions would

> organize the world. The combined impact of the leaked TiSA documents provisions would constitute serious barriers for any state wanting to invest in, manage and operate its national infrastructure, to plan development, or to defend social and safety standard**s.**

The entextualization is clear: the topic is the same but the argumentation is markedly different in each. The Treaty states its basic claim: a different juridical position to that of the proposed law is in theory possible but any application will be declared illegal – a circular argument based on what the law *is* and *has* the power to do.[9] WikiLeaks provides a close-up critique of the Article in question, which, in fact, is the underpinning of the entire legislation, and elucidates in detail its effect on national, state and regional powers in juridical terms. FOEI, on the other hand, leaves the technical details aside and concentrates on the impact of TiSA on the freedom of state governments to make policies which guarantee social and economic protection for all.

Examples 13, 14 and 15, below, refer to the TiSA proposals for the global deregulation of energy and environmental services. The same kind of argumentative profile emerges for the three sub-corpora as in the previous three examples.

(13) **TiSA**

> With respect to measures affecting trade in services as defined in Article I-1(2), no Party may set out a condition or qualification affecting the supply of an environmental service in Section A of Part 1 of its Schedule […]. Each Party shall undertake commitments without limitations to permit cross-border supply as described in Article I-1 […]. This Chapter shall apply measures affecting trade in energy related services, irrespective of the energy source deal with, technology used, whether the energy source is renewable or non-renewable, and whether the service is supplied onshore or offshore.

(14) **WikiLeaks**

> TiSA's new deal would recklessly undermine urgent work worldwide to reduce dangerous carbon emissions, create clean energy jobs and increase energy security for economies everywhere. Among the most inappropriate ideas included in TiSA's ERES proposal is to establish as Article 1 a principle of technological neutrality whereby commitments would extend across all energy

[9] In fact, there is extended reference in the WikiLeaks and FOEI data to the "spurious arguments" and "mendacious reasoning", of the Treaty, its "circularity", its "false claims" and "pseudo-arguments", its "arcane and tendentious language". Much room is given in the campaigning discourse to denouncing its "vague" language use, and its undefined applications. In fact, we can consider the Treaty, from a linguistic point of view, not so much as 'vague', in that semantically it is not indeterminate and is quite clear in what it actually says, but *pragmatically* equivocal, in that interpretation is left open, when it can be applied, the circumstances of its interpretation, by whom to whom and to what ends. This is, however, probably a characteristic of legislation in general, and beyond the reach of this paper.

sectors regardless of the fuel source or technology, freeing regulators from the need to distinguish solar from nuclear, wind from coal, or geothermal from fracking.

(15) **FOEI**
TiSA's proposed text states its scope will apply to all energy sources and types of technology, leaving the interested public and its elected policy-makers unable to encourage renewable over non-renewable, clean over dirty, or local over imported […]. The annex on Environmental Services reveals that TiSA will aim to ensure that national environmental protection within TiSA countries will be harmonized down, promoting the interests of multinational companies providing water purification, sanitation and refuse disposal services over worker safety, public health and the natural environment.

The absolute power of the Treaty is unequivocally pronounced in the legislation: no negotiating Party will be allowed to do differently from what *is* and *will be* in the law. WikiLeaks denounces the "Environmental Services" part of the Treaty, detailing the implications of the Article in question and exposing the dangers of the principle of technological neutrality. It remains for FOEI to spell out what WikiLeaks has already technically analysed, targeting the attention of policy-makers and the general public to the machinations of transcorporate self-interests, and encouraging people to campaigning action.

The last part of the chapter will attempt a simplified outline of the argumentative structure of the three sub-corpora according to the linguistic indicators retrieved from the quantitative and qualitative analysis. More specifically, these indicators were derived from the semantic profiling and verbal patterning described in Section 4.

5. Argumentative structure: schemes and moves

Argument is used here to indicate both a logical process and a verbal dialogue. And so a discourse approach to argumentation analysis focuses on the language used to express and organize claims, together with the evidence elicited to support them. The basic categories of argumentative exposition are used in the description to follow: 'the claim', constituting the central component of the argument; 'the premise', which underpins the claim and provides the reason for the assertion. These reasons can be arrived at through a process of inference, leading to 'a maxim', or the route may be that of allowing the audience to arrive at a conclusion from given facts, assessing 'the data' provided to support the claim. The argumentative structure of the three sub-corpora is presented below, describing some brief examples of their various stages, patterning, schemes and propositional relationships. The models and theories described in Section 1.1 can now be more fully applied.

5.1. The TiSA

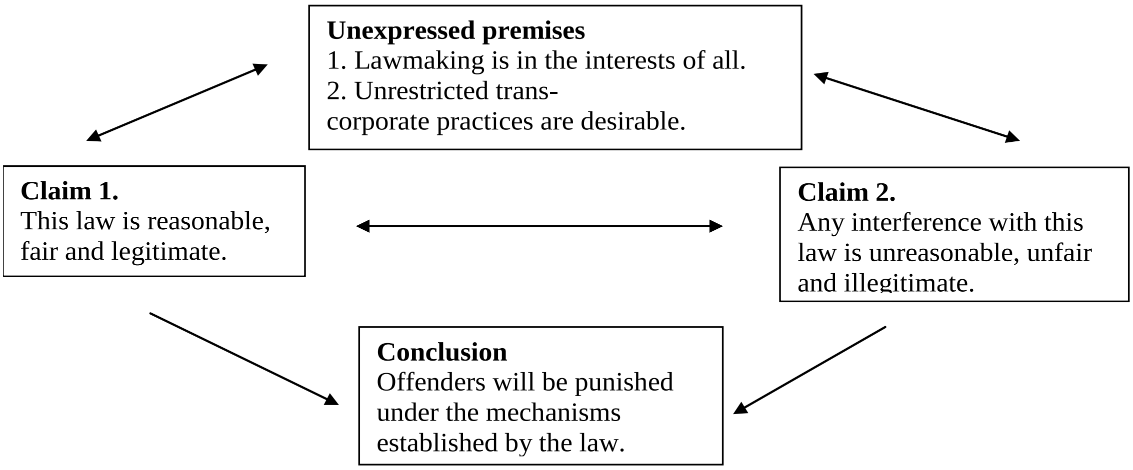

Figure 1
The symptomatic argumentation scheme of the TiSA sub-corpus.

In Figure 1 above, the underlying assumptions are implicit and so remain unexpressed as to the authority and legitimacy of the law. Hence, the law-makers' claims remain unsupported by any formal process of argumentation or reasoning. The argumentation scheme is symptomatic, establishing a relation of concomitance and similarity between the topic and the argument. The law simply 'is' and what is contrary to the law simply 'isn't'. As such, the law is self-standing, and needs no justification.

5.2. WikiLeaks

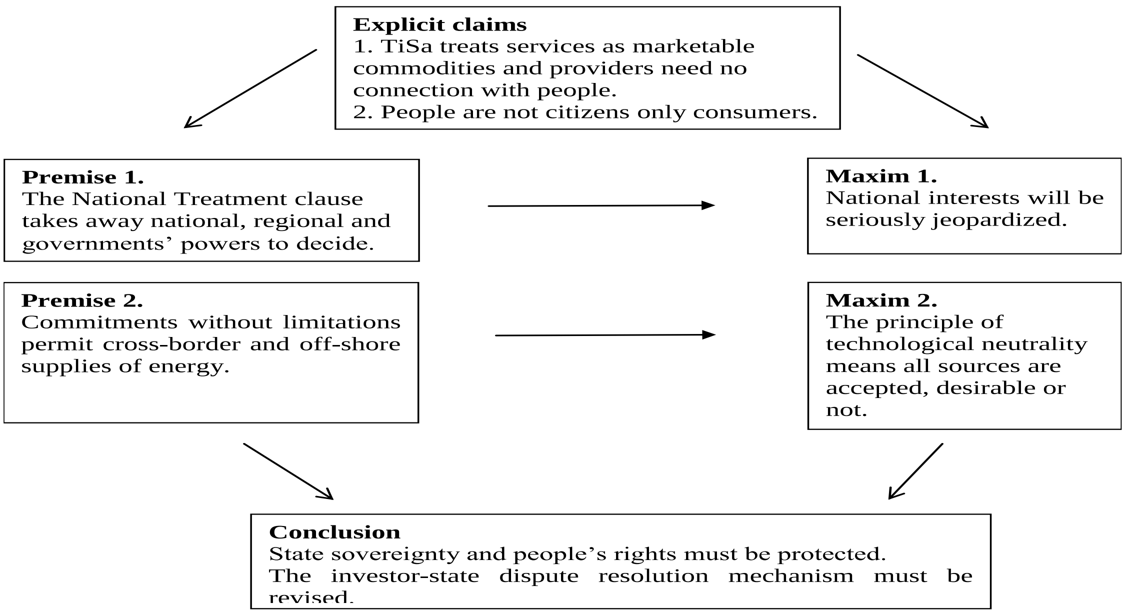

Figure 2
The causality argumentative scheme of the WikiLeaks sub-corpus.

Figure 2 shows, in contrast, how WikiLeaks constructs an explicit, formal counterargument to the Treaty's assumptions and major claims by using a causality scheme. These two examples are indicative of how the arguers use a series of elaborate premises and justifications in de-legitimizing the formulations and implications of the Treaty, moving through detailed sequences of cause and effect, creating chains of derived inferences and maxims. Their conclusions are arrived at through an explicit route of dialectical reasoning.

5.3. FOEI

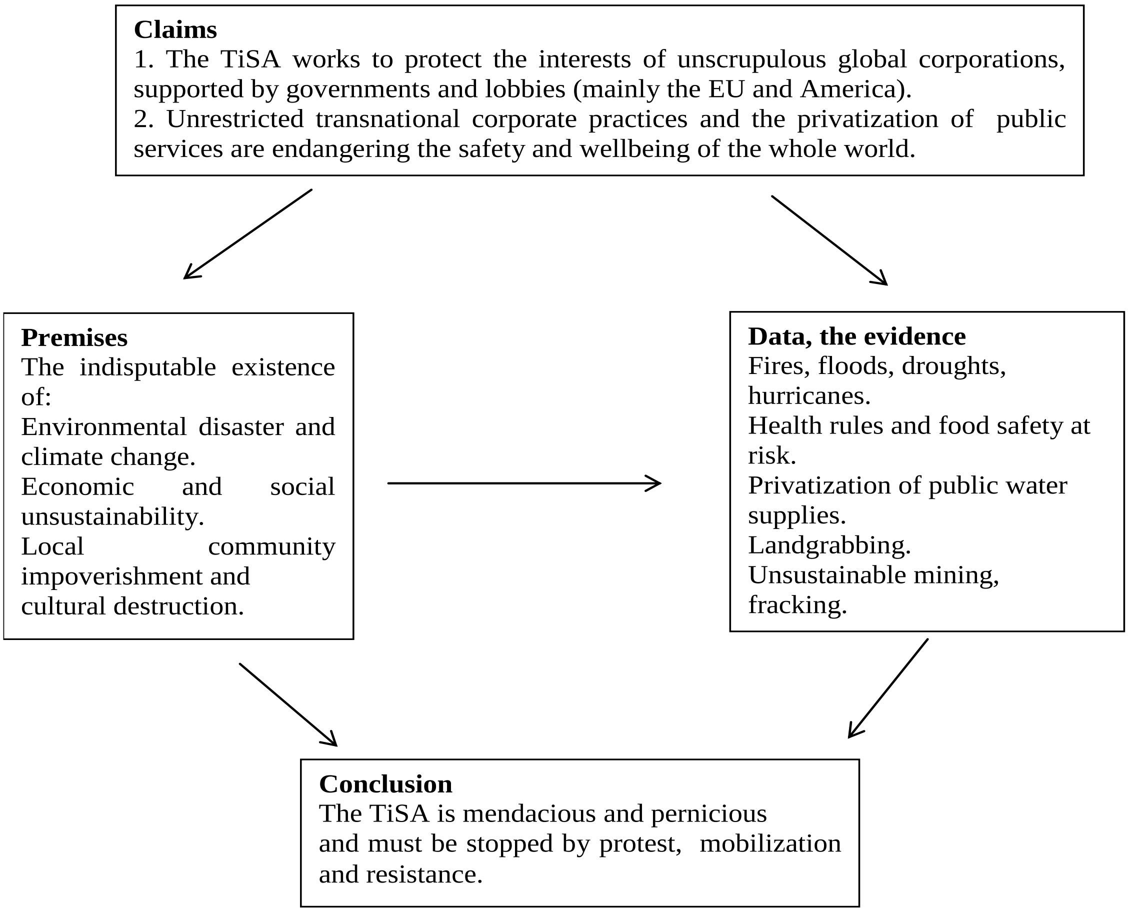

Figure 3
The comparative argumentative scheme of the FOEI sub-corpus.

As shown in Figure 3, the argumentative patterning of the FOEI sub-corpus is different, in accordance with its audience and the communicative purposes of investigative journalism. The confrontational, opening stage is explicit and unequivocal in its denouncement of international commercial law, seen to be in the pockets of big business. Formal argument makes use of cross-referencing with the WikiLeaks documents but the main strategic maneuvering takes place in a comparative argumentation scheme consisting in extensive, in-depth exemplification, comparing and contrasting the Treaty's worst effects. This time the dialectic itinerary is based on the presentation and evaluation of hard data.

6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has traced the nature of entextualization over three intersecting, vertically-organized sets of data pertaining to the controversial topic of international trade agreements, the spread of neo-liberal commercial policies, and the de-regularization of services worldwide. A series of discursive indicators were identified, using corpus analysis textware, in order to reconstruct the argumentative patterning at work over the three sub-corpora: these aimed at describing semantic profiling, topicalization, and verbal usage. Applying these linguistic features, it has been possible to distinguish the ideological positioning of the protagonists, the distribution of their dialectical roles, and the strategic itineraries they follow in the construal of their arguments. The theoretical and descriptive tools of argumentative studies have, then, provided a way to link these linguistic findings with the main rationalizing processes at work – in terms of the various schema employed and the major moves taken through specified argumentative stages.

It was found that the text producers frame their claims and major premises differently, and make use of formal argument, inference, causality, and supporting data in distinctive ways, in accordance with their specific rhetorical intent – varying across the normative formulations of law makers, the specialized critique of adversaries by legal experts, and the campaigning discourse of the activists in the public domain. The study concluded by observing that the three sub-corpora implement different argumentative schema (symptomatic, causal and comparative), comprising distinctive features: respectively, the role of implicit, unexpressed premises, the articulation of a formal logical scheme, and the use of argument based on persuasive appeal to *pathos* and *ethos* rather than *logos*.

This has been an attempt to integrate more closely the models of argumentative studies with the conceptual frameworks and practices of current corpus-assisted discourse analysis, with a view to encouraging mutual benefit for each area of research. The eminent argumentation scholar Frans H. van Eemeren recently made a plea for more empirical discourse-based research in order to make progress in developing fields such as argumentative style and prototypical patterning (van Eemeren 2019, pp. 168-170). At the same time, this may well be an opportunity for corpus-discourse linguists, also, to go beyond keywords and *ngrams*, and to broaden their horizons of investigation.

Bionote: Janet Bowker is Associate Professor in English Linguistics in the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome. Her research interests lie mainly in academic, institutional, legal, and professional discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, socio-cognitive pragmatics, ESP pedagogy and testing. Her self-compiled specialised corpus of business discourse has been used to explore topics such as description, narration, evaluation, argumentation, persuasion, and multimodal communication in both internal and external company discourse. She has published extensively on these themes, including a book *Internal Organizational Discourse in English: Telling Corporate Stories*, (2014). Together with Rita Salvi, she is co-editor of *The Dissemination of Contemporary Knowledge in English*, (2015), and *Space, Time and the Construction of Identity: Discursive Indexicality in Cultural, Institutional and Professional Fields*, (2013). She has participated in a number of national and European research projects, and serves as peer reviewer for Italian national commissions appointed to evaluate research quality.

Author's address: janet.bowker@uniroma1.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 51-75
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p51
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it,

ARGUMENTATIVE TOPOI SEEN FROM A DISCOURSE ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

CHIARA DEGANO
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI ROMA TRE

Abstract – One core aspect of argumentation is the inferential reasoning that justifies the transition from the premises to the conclusion. Classical rhetoric accounted for such inference in terms of *topoi* (or topics), while contemporary approaches have introduced the notion of argumentation schemes, even if the two concepts still largely coexist. Different approaches exist to the analysis and classification of topoi/schemes. This paper ponders on how two different approaches, the *Argomentum* Model of Topics (AMT) and the pragma-dialectical account of schemes, can serve the purposes of discourse analysts interested in argumentation. While discourse analysis tends to approach topoi from a content-based perspective, in this paper the view is taken that relying on more formalised accounts may add methodological rigour to the analysis of real-life argumentation, while enhancing points of contact between discourse analysis and argumentation theory. In particular, the AMT and the pragma-dialectical schemes are applied to the analysis of arguments used in editorials on Brexit, with a focus on populism. Building on a previous study in which recurrent topoi were analysed drawing on a content-based approach, this paper will try to establish connections between the topoi thus identified and more formalised classifications of argument schemes, considering the *pros* and *cons* of the two approaches.

Keywords: discourse analysis; argumentation; topoi; schemes; Argomentum Model of Topics; pragma-dialectics; Brexit; populism.

1. Introduction

Topoi have always been at the centre of argumentation studies and several contemporary approaches exist to their classification, all in their way struggling with the tension between comprehensiveness and manageability. Some distinguish several types (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; Walton *et al.* 2008), producing long, fine-grained lists, while others, prevalently informed by logic, identify a limited number of abstract schemes (and sub-schemes) to which real instances of argumentation can be referred to (van Eemeren *et al.* 1996). Still others, as is the case with the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl, Wodak 2001) are content-based and are not worried with classifications at all, deducing from the data “recurring content-related conclusion rules that are typical for specific fields of social action” (Reisigl 2014, p. 77).

This chapter considers how some of these approaches can serve the purposes of discourse analysts interested in argumentation, applying them to the analysis of arguments used *pro* and against Brexit in editorials published in UK quality newspapers. In the referendum campaign, the debate over Brexit was closely knit with the theme of populism, thus reflecting on the small scale discourses about populism circulating in academic circles and the society at large. The editorials taken into account in this paper offer an ideal object of analysis as they contributed to the creation of arguments *pro* and against Brexit, orienting public opinion both directly and interdiscursively. The patterns of reasoning featured in the editorials may, indeed, reach a larger audience than that of newspaper readers, trickling down through the mediation of TV talk-shows, radio programs, and social media. Through repetition these arguments may become ‘commonplaces’, which are interesting, from a discursive perspective, because they are the repository of a “shared social practice of argumentation” (Balkin 1996).[1] Adding to the discursive dimension an argumentative perspective may result in a more systematic analysis, where the formal, procedural aspect of topoi can contribute to highlight common discursive threads out of the many single arguments discussed in each editorial. In this way different discursive realisations may be reconstructed as variations on the same topoi, which, once identified, will form an initial mapping of prototypical patterns of reasoning deployed in discussions about populism, but also in the Europeanism vs sovereignism debate.

In the light of these considerations, and drawing on a previous study (Degano, Sicurella 2019), which considered, among other things, topoi in the Brexit debate from a purely content-based perspective, this paper will try to recast them in terms of topoi attested in the literature, testing how two approaches in particular, the pragma-dialectical (van Eemeren 2010; van Eemeren, Grotendorst 2004) and the Argomentum Model of Topoi (Rigotti 2009; Rigotti, Greco-Morasso 2010), can serve the purposes of discourse analysts.

The intent of identifying forms of argumentation typical of a given field, or of an activity type, is in line with the recent developments of pragma-dialectics, which is now oriented to exploring how different contexts create different conditions for argumentation (see van Eemeren 2010). Ultimately, identifying topoi is also a prerequisite for evaluating the quality of arguments, an aspect that goes beyond the scope of this paper, but would be worth pursuing in future developments. An increased familiarity with formal topoi may help identify flaws in reasoning, and after all, the

[1] For the use of topoi in critical discourse analysis, see also Žagar (2010).

overarching assumption behind the pragma-dialectical endeavour is that a better understanding of argumentation practices would improve the quality of discussion in contemporary democratic societies.

2. Topoi and schemes

In spite of its centrality to argumentation theory, the concept of topos still lacks a unified definition (see, among others, Drehe 2011; Kienpointner 1997; Rigotti, Morasso 2010).[2] This is partly due to an original terminological ambiguity in Aristotle's work, where the term refers both to places where arguments can be found and to 'warrants' backing the inference that leads from the premise to a conclusion (Walton *et al*. 2008, p. 275). In Aristotle's book that most deals with topoi, the concept is not formally defined, even though in one passage (*Topics* VIII.1, 155b4-5) topoi are assimilated to places from which an opponent's thesis can be attacked, that is, a starting point (Rapp 2009). In the *Topics*, topoi are organised according to their formal criteria, resting on relations such as genus-species, opposition, identity, verbal classification. In the *Rhetoric*, topoi are more 'material' in nature, and the choice of the appropriate *topos* depends not on formal criteria, but on "the content of the conclusion – whether, for example, something is said to be useful or honorable or just" (Rapp 2009).[3] The realm of rhetoric is the non-compulsive, the credible, the plausible (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969, pp. 1-4), reason why the arguments used in discussions falling in this dimension often rest on general premises that, differently from the universal generalisations of syllogisms, are true only to an extent. Such premises are referred to as defeasible, or enthymematic generalisations which are "true only for the most part", until an exception disproves them (Walton *et al.* 2008, pp. 230-231).[4]

In contemporary approaches, topoi are intended as warrants backing the logical inference that leads from premises to a conclusion (Walton *et al.* 2008, p. 275), and they co-exist with the broader notion of *schemes*. The concept of 'argumentation scheme', introduced informally by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) has been further developed and now refers to "an abstract characterisation of the way in which in a particular type of

[2] Synonyms of topos are 'topic', used in the pragma-dialectical terminology (see for example the notion of 'topical potential' introduced in the extended version of pragma-dialectics, van Eemeren 2010) and in the Argomentum Model of Topics, and the Latin equivalent *locus*, used by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958-1969)

[3] https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/

[4] See Walton (2008, p. 230) for a terminological clarification about the term 'enthymeme', as normally intended in logic (an argument with an implicit premise or conclusion) and as, according to some scholars (for example Burnyeat 1994), originally intended by Aristotle.

argumentation a premise used in support of a standpoint is related to that standpoint in order to bring about a transfer of acceptance from that premise to the standpoint (van Eemeren *et al.* 2014, p. 19).[5]

Both topoi and schemes are theoretical accounts of what Wagemans calls the *acceptability transfer principle* (ATP) the inference whereby "accepting the argument renders the standpoint acceptable" (Wagemans 2010, p. 1935).[6] In very general terms, the relation between the ATP and the other elements of an argument can be represented as follows:

> 1 STP
> 1.1 ARG
> 1.1' ATP (1.11) (Wagemans 2010, p.1935)

where, following the pragma-dialectical conventions, STP stands for standpoint (the defended proposition at the heart of a difference of opinion, or conclusion), ARG is the argument brought in support of said proposition, and ATP represents a correct way of transferring acceptability from the argument to the standpoint.

Differences exist in how contemporary approaches to argumentation formulate schemes. Walton *et al.*'s compendium, for example, rests on the traditional denominations of *major premise, minor premise,* and *conclusion,* as shown below with regard to the argument from cause to effect:

> *Major premise*: generally, if A occurs, then B will (might) occur.
> *Minor premise*: In this case A occurs (might occur)
> *Conclusion*: Therefore, in this case, B will (might) occur (Walton *et al.* 2008, p. 328).

The pragma-dialectical approach formulates argumentative schemes resting on general relations (symptomatic, causal, of analogy – van Eemeren *et al.* 2002) expressed in terms of conventions derived from logic, as exemplified below with specific reference to the causal scheme:

[5] In this respect the scheme performs the same function of classical *topoi*, according to the second meaning of the notion in Aristotle.

[6] Akin to the concept of ATP is the notion of 'unexpressed premise', or 'warrant' in Toulmin's model, but also the pragma-dialectical 'pragmatic optimum' (see Garssen 2001; Toulmin 2003, ch. 3; van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1992, ch.6.). According to Wagemans (2010, p. 1939), though, his own ATP differs in that it is a "general expression of the speaker's commitment with regard to the justificatory force of any explicit argument".

Y is true of X [standpoint],
because Z is true of X [supporting argument]
and Z leads to Y [inference linking the supporting argument and the conclusion, or ATP].

Differently from other approaches, where premises are represented before the conclusion, in the pragma-dialectical approach the standpoint is stated first, followed by the argument supporting it (introduced by 'because'), while the inference backing its justificatory force is made explicit in the last line, introduced by 'and'.

Identifying the scheme used in real-life arguments allows for an assessment of argumentation. Depending on the type of relationship (symptomatic, causal or analogy), different sets of critical questions can be asked to test the validity of an argument. This is because the critical questions associated to a scheme "capture the specific pragmatic rationale for bringing about the transition of acceptance from the premise to the standpoint" (van Eemeren *et al.* 2014, p. 19).

The pragma-dialectical argument schemes have the advantage of being general enough as to be applicable to virtually all cases of reasoning. Most argumentation schemes listed in other typologies correspond to a main type, variant or sub-type of an argumentation scheme recognized in the pragma-dialectical typology (Garssen 1997, p. 246).[7] Differently from longer classifications of topoi, the pragma-dialectical schemes are easily memorised, adding greatly to their appeal also beyond the circle of argumentation scholars. Furthermore, although the notion of topoi is not generally included in the pragma-dialectical representation of schemes, it is not incompatible with it. As Wagemans points out, schemes and topoi can be integrated as follows:

1 Being an animal (P) is true of Socrates (R).
1.1 Being a man (Q) is true of Socrates (R).
1.1' Accepting that Socrates is a man renders acceptable that Socrates is an animal (Q is true of R$\rightarrow$P is true of R). [ATP]
1.1'.1 The *topos* "What belongs to a species, also belongs to the genus" applies. (Wagemans 2010, p.1938)

In the Discourse Historical approach (Reisigl, Wodak 2001), the perspective is in a way reversed. Instead of looking for some unifying logical principles that underlie different realisations of a given argument, attention is paid to topoi used in discourse for their content and the attendant ideological

[7] Garssen made this claim based on a review of the following typologies: Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca ([1958] 1969), Hastings (1962), McBurney and Mills (1964), Schellens (1985), Kienpointner (1992) and Freeley (1993).

implications. The topoi maintain their functional nature, as they serve as a rule that warrants a conclusion (Reisigl 2014, p. 84), but the conclusion rule is derived *ad hoc* rather than having regard to formalised classifications of topoi. An example of a content-based topos identified from the Discourse-Historical perspective is the "Topos of repaying the diligent and good workers/nationals", whose conclusion rule is:

> If you vote for my party, or we get the power, then the diligent and good workers will be repaid. (Reisigl 2014, p. 79)

A model that tries to accommodate both a formal concern and attention for the content is the Argomentum Model of Topics or AMT (Rigotti 2006, 2009; Rigotti, Greco Morasso 2010). Conceived as a contribution to advancing the pragma-dialectical understanding of topoi, it places emphasis on the connection between the material (content-based) starting points and the procedural (formal, or logical) starting points. At the same time, it helps identify the inferential connection at play in a given argument, thus highlighting "the source of the force of the statement presented as an argument in relation to the statement presented as a standpoint" (Rigotti, Greco Morasso 2010, p. 500). In the y-shaped AMT representation of a topos, all the elements (be they explicitly mentioned in argumentation or implicitly recoverable) are charted along two diagonal lines intersecting at a given point, representing the procedural and the material dimension respectively.

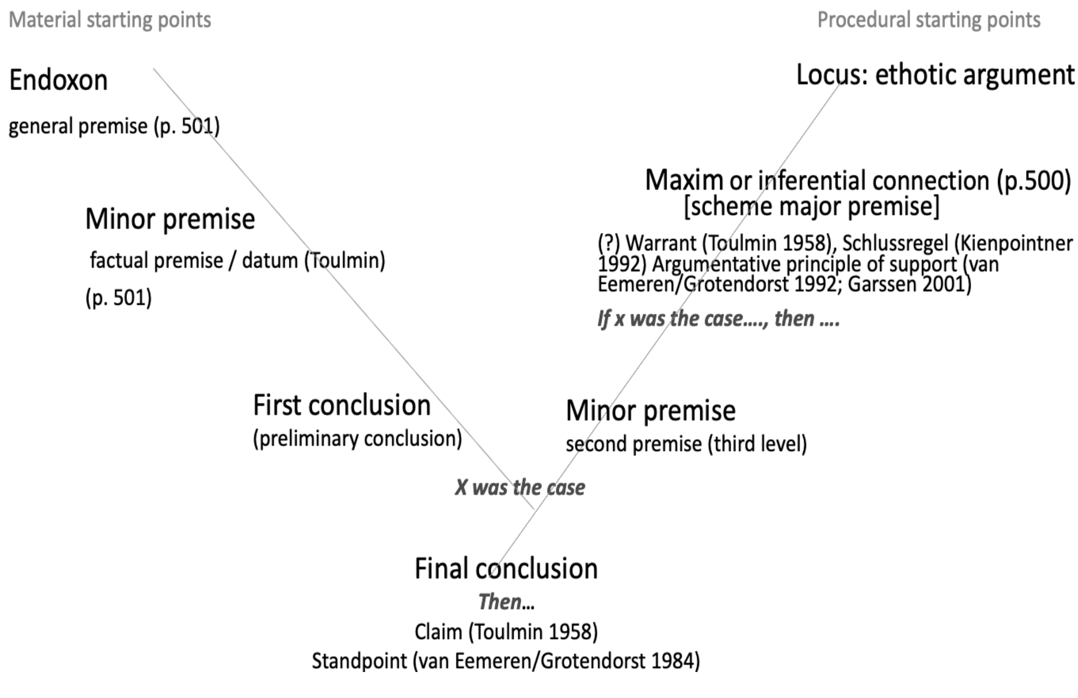

Figure 1
AMT model, adapted from Rigotti (2010, p. 508).

The procedural line sets out the topos structure, drawing on existing typologies and using the language of logic. In so doing it provides a sort of 'roadmap' for the reconstruction of a given example of argumentation as an instantiation of a specific topos. The material line feeds in the contents, drawing on the discourse at issue. Generally speaking, along the procedural line, the first element is the *locus*, for example, argument from analogy. Under the locus, one of the maxims deriving from it is indicated. For the sake of terminological clarity, the AMT maxim corresponds to Toulmin's *warrant*, Kienpointner's *Schlussregel*, and the pragma-dialectical notion of 'argumentative principle of support' (Garrsen 2001; van Eemeren, Grotendorst 1992). Irrespectively of the name, the maxim is the inferential connection formulated following the *if…then* convention, therefore representing the core of the topos. The maxim functions as a major premise and is formulated in abstract terms, without any reference to the specific context in which the argument is used. Under the maxim comes the minor (or second) premise, which is the point in which the procedural and the material dimensions intersect. The procedural minor premise thus provides an anchorage to the specific content and contexts of the argument. Taken together, the maxim and the minor premise support the conclusion, and the reasoning is logically valid if all premises are true. The truth of the minor premise must be derived from the external reality, that is to say, from material starting points (Rigotti, Greco Morasso 2010, p. 500), hence the intersection of the two dimensions. Along the material starting points line, another set of premises is to be found: one premise is general, the *endoxon*, representing a general belief taken as common ground to the parties, and the other is specific and factual, corresponding to Toulmin's *datum*. The conclusion deriving from this second set of premises along the line of the material starting points, called preliminary conclusion, forms that minor premise which along with the maxim, supports the final conclusion. As Rigotti and Greco Morasso (2010 pp. 501-502) put it,

> such a preliminary conclusion derives from the material starting point, but it is equally exploited by the procedural starting point being associated to the maxim as a second premise.

Figure 2 below provides an example of a topos based on analogy according to the AMT model:

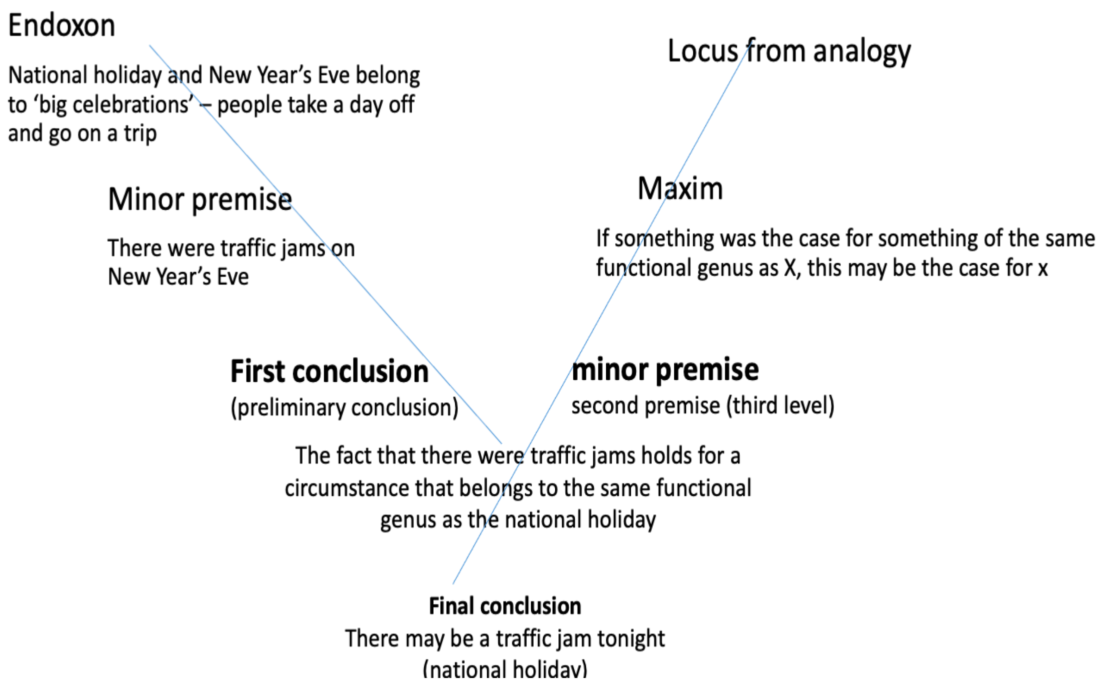

Figure 2
The AMT model (Rigotti, Greco Morasso 2010, p. 499).

Here the arguer makes a forecast about the likelihood that there may be a traffic jam "tonight" (final conclusion) drawing on a previous experience of traffic jams on a similar occasion. The reasoning rests therefore on the locus from analogy, with the attendant maxim "If something was the case for something of the same functional genus as X, this may also be the case for x". For the reasoning to be valid, two material conditions must be met: that there actually was a traffic jam on a previous situation (corresponding to the maxim's "something was the case for something…"), and that the previous situation is comparable to the current one (corresponding to "…something of the same functional genus as X"). The preliminary conclusion affirms that both these conditions are true and serves at the same time as the maxim's minor premise. Moving backward along the material line, the (material) minor premise and *endoxon* are meant to defend the preliminary conclusion. First, it is stated that there was a traffic jam on New Year's Eve, which is taken as a factual *datum* acceptable as is by the other party without further need of defence; second, it is inferentially implied that the current national holiday and New Year's Eve are comparable, on the ground of a shared understanding of big celebrations as a time when people are likely to take their cars and go for a trip (*endoxon*). At this point of the scheme, the arguer has demonstrated that something was the case for something of the same functional genus as X, thus meeting the condition expressed in the *If*-proposition of the maxim. What remains to be done is simply drawing the conclusion (corresponding to the *then*-proposition of the maxim), namely, that there may be a traffic jam "tonight" as well ("this may be the case for x").

Adopting pragma-dialectical conventions, the same argumentation would be reconstructed as follows:

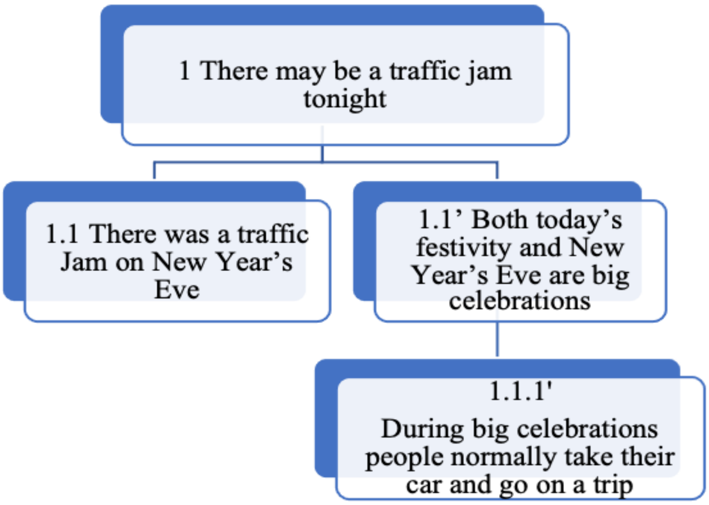

Figure 3
Argumentation structure according to pragma-dialectical conventions.

As can be noticed, all the material starting points, whether explicit or implicit, find their way in this representation. 1.1. is equivalent to the material minor premise, while the unexpressed premises 1.1' and 1.1.1' account for the *endoxon*. The procedural starting points though, the locus and the maxim, are not represented, nor are they fully included in the attendant argument scheme:

> There might be traffic jam (Y) is true of tonight (X)
> Because there being traffic jam (Y) is true of New Year's Eve (Z)
> And Tonight (X) and New Year's Eve (Z) are analogous.

The third line in the scheme above expresses the acceptability transfer principle (ATP) which is procedural and contains a reference to the type of scheme (in this case the scheme based on analogy), thus partly performing the function of the topos in the AMT model, but the maxim is unrepresented. As Rigotti and Greco Morasso put it,

> what we have called the second level or maxim in the AMT is not explicitly formulated in the general representation of the argument scheme in pragma-dialectics". (Rigotti, Greco Morasso 2010, p. 507)

Some maxims, they continue, are taken into account in the "discursive description" of the different subtypes of argument schemes (Garssen 2009; van Eemeren *et al.* 2007, pp. 137). For example, a specific sub-type of argumentation from analogy based on the ‘‘principle of justice’’ (Garssen 2001, p. 92) can be expressed as “people who are in similar situations should be treated similarly’’, which corresponds to the maxim in the AMT’s terminology. The reason why maxims can be identified only with regard to specific subtypes of argument schemes, according to Rigotti and Greco Morasso (2010), is that “maxims are specific argumentative principles at work in concrete applications of argument schemes”. That is to say that the three main pragma-dialectical schemes are pitched too abstractly to seize the ‘warrant’ that backs the inference leading from the premises to the conclusion. By the same token, the *endoxon* is not represented in pragma-dialectical schemes, because it is necessarily context-bound.

In this paper, the AMT model will be used as an interface between formalised classifications of schemes (see the user’s compendium in Walton *et al.* 2008) and real-life arguments used in the Brexit debate, comparing its affordances with those of the pragma-dialectical scheme.

3. Materials and Method

The analysis looks at editorials about the Brexit referendum published in UK quality newspapers with different political orientations – *The Times*, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* – over a 6-month timespan, from April to September 2016, with the referendum held on June 23. The articles were retrieved through the Lexis-Nexis database, and their number varies considerably across newspapers, with 35 documents in the *Times*, 29 in the *Telegraph* and 81 in the *Guardian*, totalling about 156,000 words.

The search parameters limited the scope to items containing both the word *Brexit* and *populism*, since the materials were originally collected as part of a project on contemporary forms of populism in Europe. The focus was on how intellectual discourse (represented by editorials) engaged with populism, and the debate over Brexit proved an ideal object of analysis. An extremely heated and divisive topic, the referendum was closely-knit with the theme of populism, with the Leave campaign taking definitely populist tones.

In a previous stage of the study (Degano, Sicurella 2019), informal topoi were identified adopting a content-based approach, without any reference to existing classifications. When large quantities of text are considered for their discursive construction of a portion of reality, the focus is quite naturally on the content and its linguistic presentation, more than on formal patterns of reasoning. A thorough systematic reconstruction of schemes would not be viable in the early stage of the analysis but can only be attained through a sequence of steps. Initially, then, topoi were intuitively identified as commonplaces that cumulatively build up, resulting in a given discursive construal of reality. This initial collection of topoi, unmediated by any formalised model, was meant to ward off the risk of a skewed representation of the discourse at stake, where only straightforwardly recognisable arguments would find pride of place. Matching real-life uses of argument with formalised schemes can be a daunting task for discourse analysts, whose methodological armamentarium does not generally include a thorough knowledge of topoi/argument schemes. And while inventories like Walton *et al.*'s (2008) compendium are of great help, it can be difficult to connect a real-life argument with its abstract formulation. The pragma-dialectical classification of schemes is certainly more manageable in size, but sometimes no scheme seems to be a suitable formal match for the argument at issue. As a result, an analysis carried out adopting in the first place a formal approach to schemes may produce a distorted picture, centred only on those occurrences that most obviously fit within a scheme, irrespectively of whether they are actually representative of the patterns of reasoning recurring in the discourse at stake.

A relatively large number of informal 'topoi' were identified through qualitative manual coding of the materials in Degano, Sicurella (2019). Each was assigned a code (T1 to T16) and attributed to either Remain or Leave positions, as shown in Table 1:

Pro-Remain	**Pro-Leave**
T1 The perversion of democracy. People must be restrained T2 A given standpoint is wrong because those who upheld it in the past were from the wrong side (fascists…) T5 Populist/ fascist/ racist slippery slope T6 Anti-right forces are not minoritarian, they only need re-engaging T10 Populism to be fought as not in line with reality T13 *Leave* campaigners are abusing the people T14 The EU as a safety net against economic disintegration and war of all against all	T3 The masses are better than what the elite think T4 The elite are too snob towards people concerns T7 The EU is not about democracy but liberalism / the free market T9 Don't call me racist if I raise legitimate concerns (e.g. strain placed on British public service by immigration) T11 *Leave* is hedging ahead in spite of *Remain* propaganda (right because people vote for it) T12 The EU is antidemocratic T15 Disagreeing with the EU is perfectly reasonable T16 The EU is perceived as being about free trade and liberalism, but in fact it is the opposite (limits growth and capitalism)

Table 1
Editorials on Brexit and populism – Preliminary list of informal 'topoi'.

The commonplaces thus identified were then grouped into fewer reasoning patterns, worded following the Discourse-Historical approach conventions. For example, T5, T10 and T13 would go under the *Topos of populism as manipulation, scapegoating, and fearmongering*, which was formulated as:

> *If populist rhetoric relies on unfair practices of consensus construction (such as manipulation, scapegoating, and fearmongering), then sensible people must reject it.*

Some realizations of this are shown below, with italics added to highlight the most salient parts:

(1) By polling day what else will we be left with at home? … having to cope with the *swelling of a sour, xenophobic English nationalism masquerading as the liberation of the nation's mojo* (to use Michael Gove's language). (*The Guardian*, June 8, 2016)

(2) The Brexit campaign channelled this anger and focused it on a *bunch of non sequiturs*. Its leaders *misled* millions, *as populists always do*, by *claiming* that destroying international collaboration, stopping immigration and reasserting indigenous culture would somehow deepen democracy and make people better off. (*The Guardian*, August 1, 2016)

(3) How is it possible that a *billionaire bigot can present himself as the voice of the people*, a brave truth teller speaking up for the little guy? How have we allowed *xenophobes and racists to posture as* advocates for democracy? (*The Guardian*, June 29, 2016)

Threads T3 (The masses are better than what the elite think), T4 (The elite are too snob towards people concerns), and T9 (Don't call me racist if I raise legitimate concerns such as the strain placed on British public service by immigration) have been grouped under the *Topos of people legitimately turning to populist parties*, whose rule reads

> *If mainstream politics lets people down, then people turn to populist parties.*

Through this topos, mainstream politics is explicitly or implicitly urged to acknowledge the problems on which populism thrives, instead of ignoring or dismissing them as the result of manipulation. Examples are given below:

(4) […] We should not give an inch to the bigotry resurging in both Britain and the US, just as we shouldn't give any ground to the anti-immigrant xenophobes in Australia. *But to fight their hatred, we must – as a matter of urgency – articulate a progressive opposition to the conditions breeding such deep alienation*. (*The Guardian*, June 20, 2016)

(5) It's a traditional argument of the right, an entirely conventional fear of the

ignorant masses and an entirely conventional plea for their stewardship by their betters. But over the last few days, it's been articulated again and again by liberals desperately floating ideas *as to how a clearly expressed popular sentiment might be overturned.* Nothing could be more disastrous. (*The Guardian*, June 26, 2016)

(6) […] Roland Dacre Rudd [Remain] is a classic example of a privileged breed which is *treating the views of ordinary, less fortunate Britons during this referendum with lofty disdain*. His father was a stockbroker (of course), he went to public school (obviously) and Oxford where he was President of the Union (natch). The former European Commissioner Lord! (Peter) Mandelson is godfather to one of Rudd's children, who will never struggle to get into their first, second or third choice of secondary school due to uncontrolled EU migration (just a hunch). (*The Telegraph*, June 4, 2016)

Drawing on the preliminary identification of informal topoi, this paper will try to find a formalised counterpart for them in Walton *et al.*'s compendium of schemes (2008). The schemes thus identified will be reconstructed using the AMT model, and, for the sake of comparison, one of them will be reconstructed also according to the pragma-dialectical approach, weighing their *pros* and *cons* from a discursive perspective.

4. Analysis

The analysis will now proceed asking whether some of the topoi previously identified, as illustrated in the Material and Method Section, can be seen as context-specific realizations of any formalized scheme.

4.1. Topos of populism as manipulation, scapegoating, and fearmongering

A first correspondence is tentatively identified between the *Topos of populism as manipulation, scapegoating, and fearmongering* and topos 41 'ethotic argument' (Walton *et al.* 2008, p. 336), which goes like this:

Major premise: if x is a person of bad moral character, then what x says should be rejected as less plausible.
Minor premise: x is a person of bad moral character
Conclusion: Therefore, what x says should be rejected as less plausible

This topos rests on a shared evaluation of a given characteristic of the other party, which is taken as symptomatic for their lack of reliability. Accusing the leaders of the Leave campaign of manipulation, fearmongering and scapegoating casts them as morally objectionable people, insofar as all such practices imply distorting facts with a deceitful intent. The ethos of the Leave leaders is thus brought to bear directly on the validity of their arguments; it is not their conduit in other fields of life that is taken as an indicator of their unreliability, as would be the case with *ad-hominem* topoi, but their lack of sincerity with regard to the merits of the discussion.

Following the AMT model conventions, the argument can be reconstructed as follows:

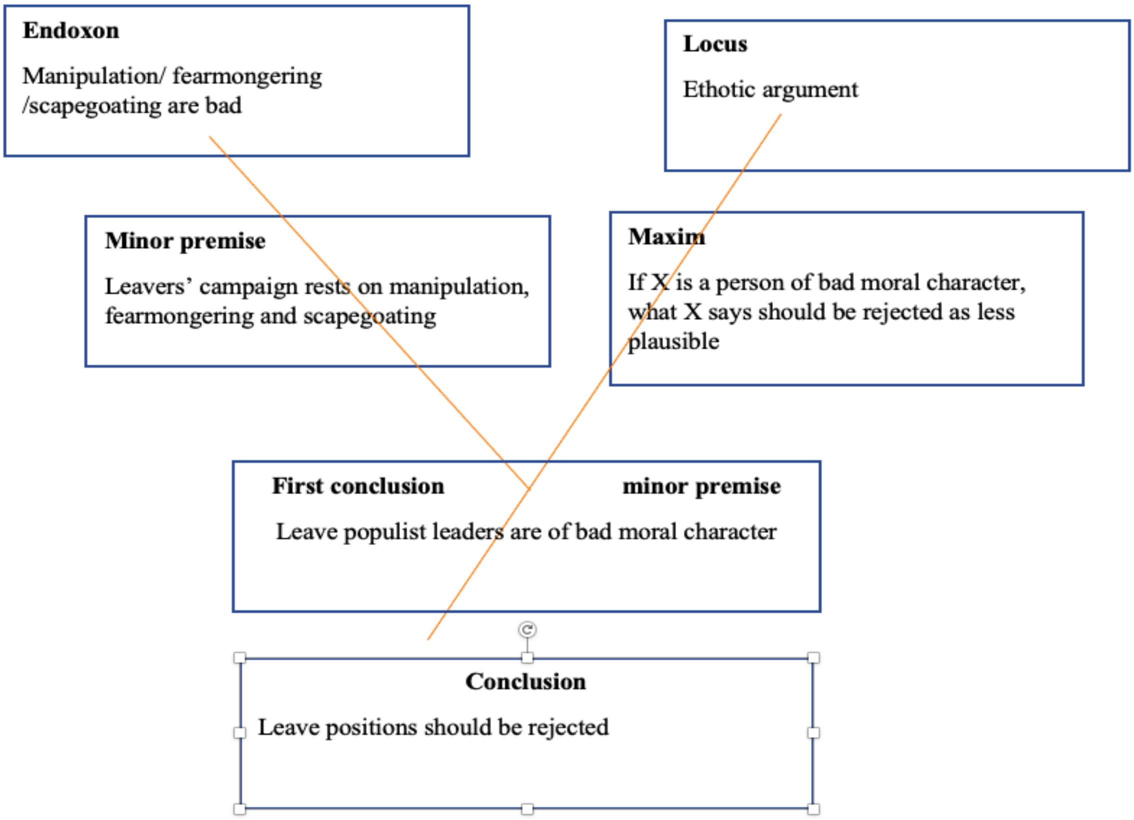

Figure 4
Ethotic argument.

In the maxim deriving from the ethotic argument used here, a pivotal role is played by the negative judgement passed on a 'person of bad moral character' – in the specific case, rather a group of people, namely the populist leaders of the Leave side. Those who use this argument must in the first place be confident that 1) the audience will be willing to accept this judgement, and 2) on these grounds, they will reject Leave's position altogether. Seeing to it that this judgement is accepted is the 'job' of the material starting points, and the daily allegations of manipulation levelled against Leave arguments by Remain leaders and political commentators from the beginning of the campaign may have bestowed factuality on this point. The proposition that Leave leaders rest on manipulation, fearmongering and scapegoating is then used as a material minor premise, which together with the hardly challengeable *endoxon* that these are despicable practices in a democracy, leads to the preliminary conclusion that Leave populist leaders are of bad moral character. The condition set by the maxim (if X is a person of bad moral character) is thus proved to be the case, and therefore it can be concluded that Leave positions should be rejected.

From a discursive point of view, what is challenged here is the truthfulness of Leave leaders' claims, and not the merits of their claims. This topos, focusing attention on how despicable populists are, fails to acknowledge problems that populist sympathizers feel as real. Saying that populists are manipulative, for example, implies that problems are not real, but are conjured up by those who want to exploit them politically to get easy consensus. The minor premise that populist leaders campaigning for Leave are lying is likely to be accepted as an object of agreement only by those who already subscribe to an anti-populist, pro-Remain position. Even if evidence of manipulation was brought forth (which was the case) and managed, at best, to tarnish the reputation of the Leave campaign leaders, this did not affect the issues that their voters perceive as problematic. A leader with a tarnished reputation claiming to want to solve a problem may still come through as more appealing than a leader who denies that the problem exists altogether. If the point of argumentation is solving a difference of opinion, and to do so it is necessary to rest on some common starting points, failing to agree on the existence of the problem in the first place preempts any possibility of a dialectical exchange. It sounds more like an attempt not to engage in argumentation on its merits (Mohammed 2017) for lack of good arguments.[8]

Considering also the 'depreciation' of truth within the populist camp in the so-called 'post-truth era', where it is assumed that data are continuously manipulated by the elite, argumentation based on the first topos is unlikely to appeal to populist voters. It seems rather to serve an epideictic function (Degano 2020), aiming to strengthen bonds and beliefs within the community of convinced Remainers, as opposed to winning consensus from outside.

4.2. Topos of people legitimately turning to populism

Another connection can be made between the Topos of people legitimately turning to populism (*If mainstream politics lets people down, then people turn to populist parties*) and topos 34. Pragmatic argument from alternatives (Walton *et al*. 2008, p. 318), which reads as:

> Premise I: Either you (the respondent) must bring about A, or B will occur
> Premise II: B is bad or undesirable, from your point of view

[8] This goes in a similar direction as that held by Mohammed (2017) in her analysis of accusations of inconsistency addressed by prime ministers to their adversaries in PM question time. As she points out, it is not reasonable enough to dismiss an issue by arguing that the issue should not become an object of debate, without taking position towards it (Mohammed 2017, p. 131).

> Conclusion: Therefore, you should (ought to, practically speaking) bring about A

Having recourse to the AMT representation conventions, the topic can be reconstructed as follows:

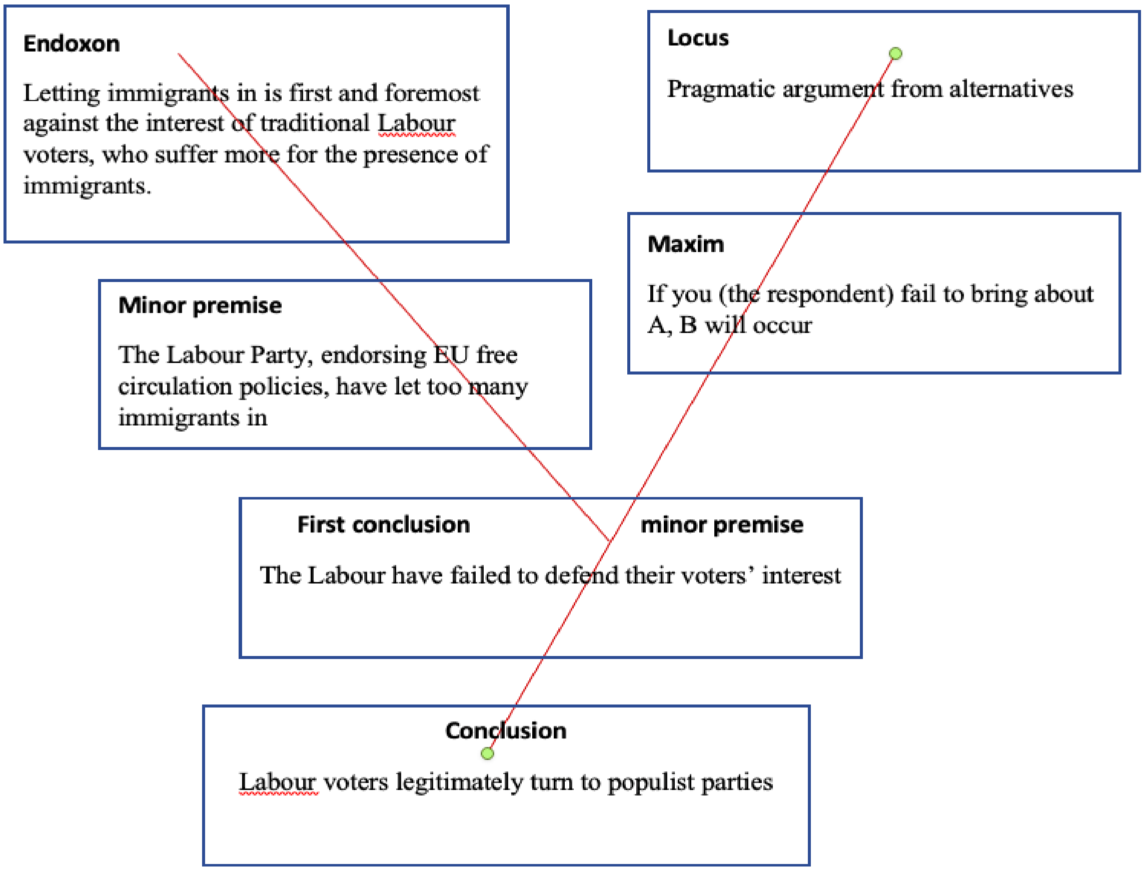

Figure 5
Pragmatic argument from alternatives.

Considering the roles envisaged by the maxims, 'you' refers to mainstream parties, especially the Labour Party who traditionally used to defend the interests of the lower classes; A stands for 'defending the interests of traditional Labour voters', and B is equivalent to 'the shift of votes from Labour to populist positions'. What the maxim topicalises is failure: it is failure to accomplish a given action (A) which determines an alternative state of things (B). The material starting points are meant to demonstrate that the Labour Party has failed to defend the interests of its traditional voters, which in the Brexit discourse (and in populist discourse at large) is often done by representing national weaker groups as direct competitors of immigrants, and casting left-wing parties as the champions of immigrants' rights to the detriment of national working classes, whom they supposedly represent. After all, immigration was one of the decisive topics of the campaign, with the EU free circulation policy seen as the main obstacle to a proper control of UK borders. The *endoxon*, in this case, is potentially more controversial than the one discussed with regard to the ethotic argument. It establishes the principle that both immigration and EU circulation policies are antithetical to the interests of the lower classes, as it is in their communities that the impact of immigration is felt most. If one accepts that the Labour Party's traditional pro-EU stance is particularly detrimental for its traditional voters, then the preliminary conclusion that Labour has failed to defend their main stakeholders' interest can be taken as defended, and the reasoning can be concluded. To recap, following the syntax set out by the maxim, if mainstream parties, and the Labour party in particular, fail to defend the interests of traditional Labour voters, which is the case as shown by the party's support for EU free circulation policy, then Labour voters may understandably turn to an alternative political force such as populism.

This topos is used to explain voters' preference for populist leaders as a plausible choice, as opposed to being an irrational despicable stance dictated by gut feelings. The other party in the discussion are those who, missing the point, blame the voters that have turned their back on the party they traditionally supported (namely the Labour Party) instead of the party that let them down. This topos differs substantially from the ethotic arguments discussed above, as it acknowledges the concerns of the voters. Such concerns are cast as a reasonable starting point, even though this does not necessarily entail an endorsement of populist leaders. Such an acknowledgement makes it possible for the editorialist to engage readers who may hold a grudge against Europe, while possibly marking their distance from populist Leavers in terms of how the problem should be solved.

5. Discussion

From a methodological point of view, a comparison of the AMT and the pragma-dialectical approach is in order to highlight the respective *pros* and *cons*. Taking just one of the topoi considered so far as an example, namely the Topos of people legitimately turning to populism (*If mainstream politics lets people down, then people turn to populist parties*), the pragma-dialectical reconstruction is as follows:

> 1. Voters' behaviour (turning to populist parties) is a natural consequence of mainstream parties' behavior
> 1.1 mainstream parties have let people down
> (1.1') if mainstream parties let people down, people will turn to other forms of politics promising to defend their interests
> 1.1.1 mainstream parties support for EU policies has favoured illegal immigration

(1.1.1’ illegal immigration is especially threatening for the working class)

The underlying scheme justifying the transition from the premise (1.1) to the conclusion is causal, and can be represented as:

(Y) *turning to populism* is true of (X) *former voters of mainstream politics*
Because (Z) *being let down by mainstream politics* is true of (X) *former voters of mainstream parties*
And (Z) *being let down by mainstream politics* leads to (Y) *turning to populism*

As the pragma-dialectical reconstruction shows, the result is not substantially different from the one achieved through the AMT model, insofar as both permit to identify the inference warranting the transition from the argument to the standpoint. In the AMT model the inference is made explicit by the maxim, while according to the pragma-dialectical scheme the inference is expressed in the third line of the scheme (‘and being let down by…’). The same inference can be represented also in the reconstruction of argumentation as an implicit premise (see 1.1’ above). However, the AMT model requires greater explicitation, due to its distinction between procedural and material starting points. The identification of the locus and the maxim deriving from it, in particular, can guide the analyst in the reconstruction of the argument, as the procedural dimension provides a more solid scaffolding for the reconstruction of the argument. Furthermore, the simple fact of deriving the maxim from a locus makes it possible to match real-life arguments with existing classifications of topoi, which can be useful when it comes to identifying the subtypes of the three main pragma-dialectical schemes. Finally, the AMT model embraces at once the argumentation structure (identifying conclusion and premises) and the kind of relation that justifies the transition from the premises to the conclusion. The pragma-dialectical reconstruction, instead, tackles the two aspects separately, as shown above, with the argument scheme reconstructed apart.

On the other hand, the pragma-dialectical scheme makes it easier to verify the correctness of one’s reconstruction hypothesis; if the referents of Y, X, and Z are identified and formulated correctly, the rigidity of the scheme helps confirm the appropriateness of the reconstruction. If all the elements of the real-life argument fit in the scheme, this is a strong indicator that the argument (in both its explicit and implicit components) was properly reconstructed. Secondly, the pragma-dialectical conventions (see Fig. 3) allow for a more synthetic and comprehensive reconstruction of complex argumentation. The same would not be feasible with the AMT model, which focuses on one topos at a time, just like pragma-dialectical schemes. Finally, the three main pragma-dialectical schemes allow for a coarse-grained initial categorisation, which can then be refined looking for schemes that are subtypes of that category. With regard to the argument above, one could say that the argument from alternatives is a subtype of causal reasoning typical of political discourse, insofar as it defends the view that if one party fails to accomplish what voters need, people will (or should) turn to other parties. The identification of such subtypes can result from the analysis of prototypical argumentative patterns, that is to say patterns that recur and are representative of a given domain or genre (van Eemeren 2017). As lists of prototypical patterns are produced with regard to specific genres, they would provide discourse analysts with an interface between longer lists of schemes and the actual examples they have intuitively identified in their texts.

An important aspect from a discursive viewpoint is evaluation; for example, the *topos of people legitimately turning to populist parties* implies a disapproving attitude towards mainstream politics, and the Labour Party in particular, for failing in their mission. Neither the AMT model nor the pragma-dialectical scheme fully capture this evaluative aspect: both the argument from alternatives and the causal scheme point out a relation between a cause and an effect, therefore falling in the category of epistemic standpoints. The AMT model representation, however, seems to cater better for this specific interest of discourse analysis, showing that there is a mismatch between an expected behaviour (expressed in the *endoxon* slot) and an observed behaviour (conveyed by the material second premise), which paves the way for a negative evaluation.

Furthermore, the AMT model might contribute to the discourse analyst's agenda in another important way, which is not dealt with in this paper, but is worth mentioning. If argumentation is seen from the discursive perspective, it would be desirable to go beyond single texts and analyse entire corpora representative of a given strand of discourse. One hindrance in this respect has been the scarcity of research on linguistic indicators, words that might help retrieve a given discursive, or argumentative, aspect through corpus interrogation softwares. Existing studies have focused on words related to the procedural aspects of reasoning. For example, words like 'compare/compared', 'similar', 'equivalent', 'parallels', 'remind(s)' can be indicators of argumentation based on analogy (van Eemeren *et al.* 2007, p. 141). However, the procedural aspects of reasoning are often implicit, and people may be using an argument without linguistically codifying the relation on which it rests (Degano 2016). Sometimes, though, the problem is simply that the indicators cited in the literature are too general, while field-specific indicators, which might be more reliable, are not available in ready-made classifications. Starting from existing classifications of schemes or topics, and applying them to specific fields of discourse, one might find several potential indicators not only of a procedural, but also of a material nature. This is in line with Bigi and Greco Morasso's view (2012) that some linguistic units, which following in Firth's tradition (1957) they call 'keywords', provide a link to context-specific shared premises in argumentation, functioning as the *endoxon* for a given argument scheme. With regard to the topoi discussed above, one might hypothesise that words like 'manipulation', 'fear', and 'xenophobia' could be indicators of the ethotic *topos of populism as manipulation, scapegoating, and fearmongering,* while words like 'immigrants/immigration', 'working-class' might point to uses of the pragmatic argument from alternatives instantiated in the *topos of people legitimately turning to populism.*

6. Conclusion

The analysis has made it possible to match some of the informal topoi used in the debate over Brexit and populism with more formalised topoi attested in the literature, and at the same time to compare the pragma-dialectical notion of schemes and the AMT model, discussing what benefits each could offer to discourse analysts. On the one hand, the pragma-dialectical threefold classification of schemes (symptomatic, causal, and based on analogy) is both comprehensive and manageable, and can have an initial orientating function for a scholar struggling to match real-life arguments with the rigour of theoretical accounts of arguments. However, such a classification is necessarily coarse-grained, and for a more fine-tuned analytic tool one should have recourse to the sub-types of reasoning for each main category. Further research in this direction is needed, as made clear by Walton and Macagno when saying that "the literature on classification of argumentation schemes is still very new, and so it seems hard to know the best way to proceed". (Walton, Macagno 2016, p. 9). Resting on existing classifications of topoi/schemes, and setting them in relation with given genres, in line with the pragma-dialectical agenda of identifying prototypical argumentative patterns, could be a promising approach. On the other hand, forcing real-life arguments into the pragma-dialectical schemes can prove difficult, as it requires a substantial rewording that is not necessarily intuitive, and can prove frustrating for outsiders to argumentation. Discourse analysts may find it easier to rely on repertoires collecting several fine-grained schemes, whose variety increases the chances of finding a suitable match for a topos used in real-life discourse.

As for the AMT model, at first sight it can appear even less user-friendly than the pragma-dialectical schemes, but it has the advantage of providing slots where the premises of the traditional representation of schemes can be filled in, allowing a greater interaction between traditional typologies of topoi and contemporary approaches to them. The one-line space devoted to the principle of support (or acceptability transfer principle) in the pragma-dialectical formulation of schemes is here unpacked into a topic and a maxim. The level of the maxim seems to provide a good balance between the abstract level of the locus (or the even more abstract level of the pragma-dialectical main type of reasoning) and the context-specific usage of a given topos, which is crucial for discourse analysts. As Wagemans and Hitchcock (2011) point out, focusing on the maxim would facilitate the formulation of the unexpressed premise in argument schemes, which in turn would expand our understanding of sub-types of schemes. At the same time, resting on the AMT would allow a more systematic categorization of schemes used in given fields of discourse, obviating the sprawling proliferation of topoi that would derive from the purely content-based approach adopted by discourse studies. The results of studies on argumentative topoi from different disciplinary perspectives may thus become more readily comparable, enabling researchers to leverage on each other’s insights. With regard to the data presented here, adopting a more formalised approach has made it possible to identify two recurrent topoi of the discourse about Brexit and populism. One is based on the ethotic argument (a subtype of the symptomatic scheme), while the other rests on the locus from alternatives (a subtype of the causal scheme). Ethotic arguments invite people to reject a conclusion on the ground that those who support it are not worth trusting. In the Brexit debate this amounted to claiming that Leave was not an option because those who campaigned for it were populist, and as such, manipulative. In this way, undecided voters with a mild Leave inclination, were not engaged at all. Their concerns were cast as the fruit of manipulation, and hence negated, thus ruling out the possibility of a preliminary agreement on the premises (for example that those voters’ concerns were legitimate to an extent) which is crucial to profitably engage in argumentation. The function of this argument, then, appeared mostly to reinforce the conviction and the sense of belonging of those who already had a pro-European stance. The locus from alternatives, on the other hand, presents a given course of action as a logical consequence of someone else’s failure to act. In this way, the growing consensus for Leave and populism is seen as a consequence of mainstream parties (and particularly the Labour Party) to defend the working class in the face of external threats. Such a framing made it possible to acknowledge the concerns of those who blamed their insecurity on the European Union, and therefore saw Leave as a solution to their problem. This argument was used not to support Leave, but to criticize the stigmatization of Leave, and hence of their voters, on the part of pro-Remain commentators. It was mostly relied on by progressive and pro-Remain editorialists warning their fellow Remainers of the risk that their entrenchment behind an outright condemnation of populism/Leave would preempt any possibility of dialogue with those who were to be won back to the pro-Remain camp.

Further research may confirm whether the patterns identified here can be considered prototypical of the public debate in Europe about populism, sovereignism and Europeanism. Another possible development would be the identification of linguistic indicators of argumentation related to field-specific topoi, which in turn might facilitate the application of corpus linguistics to the analysis of argumentation. The AMT model, with its explicitation of premises, might help to highlight lexical indicators associated with material premises recurrently used in a given field.

To conclude, the AMT model's emphasis on the explicitation of implicit contents and inferences helps to assess the quality and the effectiveness of argumentation, which after all should be the point of all the reconstruction efforts. The reconstruction of the loci, maxims and material starting points for the two formalised topoi above adds clarity to the analysis and highlights their weaknesses or strengths, in terms of potentially engaging an audience who starts from different positions. Implicit values and beliefs constitute the objects of agreement for argumentation, and may thus account for the effectiveness of strategic maneouvering on a par with, and possibly even more than, procedural soundness. As such, they are *per se* worthy of attention and are potentially more important to discourse analysts than the explicitly codified contents.

Bionote: Chiara Degano (PhD) is associate professor of English Linguistics and Translation at Roma 3 University, Italy. Her research is centred on discourse analysis, integrated with the quantitative approach of corpus linguistics and with aspects of argumentation theory. She is a member of ILIAS - International Learned Institute for Argumentation Studies, and CLAVIER - Corpus and Language Variation in English Research Group, and sits on the editorial board of the *Journal of Argumentation in Context*. Within this framework she has focused on various strands of institutional communication, including media, political, business and legal discourse. She has published two monographs: *Discorsi di guerra: il prologo del conflitto iracheno nella stampa britannica e italiana* [War Discourses: The Prologue to the Iraqi conflict in the British and Italian Press] (2008), and *Discourse Analysis, Argumentation Theory and Corpus Linguistics. An integrated Approach* (2012).

Author's address: chiara.degano@uniroma3.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 77-100
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p77
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it,

BUT WHAT'S SO BAD ABOUT INEQUALITY? IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING AND ARGUMENTATION IN THE REPRESENTATION OF *ECONOMIC INEQUALITY* IN THE BRITISH PRESS

ERSILIA INCELLI
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "LA SAPIENZA"

Abstract – The aim of this chapter is to explore the discursive construction and representation of *economic inequality* in the British press in the period 2016-2019. For this purpose, the corpus consists of selected newspaper articles from three online newspapers *The Guardian* (liberal and left-leaning), *The Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* (traditionally conservative). A comparative analysis shows not only how the newspapers differ on the lexico-semantic and grammatical level in the discursive construction of key clusters around economic inequality, but also on the ideological argumentative level, in the way journalists position their ideas and engage their readers in order to defend and legitimize arguments. In their representation of economic inequality, the newspapers show through linguistic and argumentation analysis, whether they are aligned with the government, and as such broadly welcome greater wealth inequality, or whether, they actually resist current government policies. Hence, the main objective is to show how UK national newspapers have a double function in both reporting information, and also in construing an argument and aligning the reader to accept that argument. The methodological approach combines Corpus Linguistics (CL) with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), informed by theories on epistemological and ideological positionings as forms of pragma-dialectical argumentation (van Eermeen 2017; White 2006).

Keywords: argumentation; concur-concede counter patterns; ideological positioning; wealth inequality.

1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to investigate the linguistic construction and representations of *economic inequality* in the British press in the period 2016-2019. While a major objective is to identify key lexical items surrounding the concept, the paper specifically aims to analyse the argumentative patterns prototypical of argumentative discourse as a type of communication in the genre of newspapers. Such patterns consist of a constellation of argumentative moves which express opinion, defend a particular standpoint, and construct and uphold ideological values and beliefs (van Eemeren 2017).

Thus, the study critically explores the news discourse of three online British dailies, namely, the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*, considered conservative right-of-centre newspapers, and the *Guardian* representing a left-liberal newspaper. Two comparable sub-corpora were formed: one sub-corpus consisting of articles from the conservative newspapers and the other of articles from the left-of-centre newspaper. The purpose of the research is to contribute to our understanding of the language of newspapers in relation to the intersection between argumentative structures, discourse, and ideology, developed on the basis of a pragma-dialectical model of argumentative discourse (van Eemeren 2017).

As a case study, the topic of *inequality* is not only a defining issue of our times, but it is also hugely ideological, prone to a language of debate in which value-laden argumentative patterns can be identified. In view of this, the newspapers were chosen on the basis of their ideological stance aimed at different readerships, the purpose being to explore how the newspapers engage their readership through ideological and dialogistic positioning. The general hypothesis is that in their representation of economic inequality, the newspapers will show through linguistic and argumentation analysis, whether they are aligned with the government, and as such broadly welcome greater wealth inequality, or whether, as one would expect of the left-leaning *Guardian*, they actually resist current government policies. Hence, the main objective is to show how UK national newspapers have a double function in both reporting information, and also in construing an argument and aligning the reader to accept that argument.

The linguistic investigation began by identifying patterns in the corpus, which were then carefully examined for their underlying ideology in the discourse, along with the views and values of the author/s, and the pragma-linguistic dialectical relationship constructed to align and persuade a perceived reader. Of course, *inequality* in itself is a vast multi-faceted theme. An inductive quantitative analysis allowed the retrieval of all associated lexis around *inequality* which would point to potential areas of interest in the corpus. Therefore, the focus is particularly on the lexis surrounding *economic* inequality due to two high frequency collocates which emerged in the corpora, namely *income* and *wealth*, along with other reoccurring economic-related collocates, such as *finance, cost, poor, poverty, rich, rise, wealthy, increasing, growing.* The second stage of the investigation consisted in expanding concordances of the data in order to identify underlying ideologies underpinned by propositions (van Dijk 1995), representing opinion newspaper journalism mainly on controversial matters. More specifically, the material analysed for the purpose of this research consists mainly of articles which can be classified under the sub-genre of commentaries, editorials, opinion columns, in order to have observable, argumentative discourse, all in all more symptomatic of the writer's ideological positioning (Salvi, Turnbull 2010). Accordingly, as far as news text analysis is concerned, we can refer to Bell's (1998) framework which distinguishes between narration (intended as a descriptive accounts of events) and argumentation in journalistic discourse.

A secondary aim is methodological, that is, to show how Corpus Linguistics (CL) combined with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), informed by theories on epistemological and ideological positionings as forms of pragma-dialectical argumentation (White 2006; van Eermeen 2017), can be just as effective as largescale empirical studies in the social sciences for clarifying our understanding of social issues (Baker 2010). A word needs to be said here on the fact that, although the initial stage was corpus-driven with the frequency data acting as a 'map' pinpointing the most salient areas of interest, this research is also partly 'theory-driven' (Bednarek 2006), in that it draws on previous research into engagement theory in relation to patterns associated with the rhetoric of argumentation (Breeze 2016; White 2006).

1.1. Research questions

As this paper consists in drawing up a collocational profile of keywords around *economic inequality,* the aim can be considered twofold; i) to identify at the lexico-semantic and grammatical level key clusters around *economic inequality;* ii) to identify at the ideological argumentative level, the mechanisms by which journalists position their ideas and engage their readers in order to defend and legitimize, or reject their opponents' arguments.

Thus, the following research questions were formulated to assist the analysis. What are the most frequent lexical clusters or grammatical patterns that mirror *economic inequality*? How are the journalists' ideological arguments discursively constructed? Are there linguistic markers which indicate rhetorical argumentative moves, contributing to the pragma-dialectical relationship involved in the construal of audience engagement? Is the representation of *economic inequality* different according to the newspaper? Moreover, it appears that studies have yet to consider the interplay between what the papers are saying and how they foster a naturalizing discourse of the inevitability of economic inequality, a gap that this paper aims to fill.

Before continuing with a linguistic account of the research, I briefly outline the motivations for the study, provide some background knowledge, and define inequality for the purpose of this research.

1.2. Background

That inequality is a topic which has gained salience in the news is evident from an increase in the lemma *inequality* in newspaper headlines over the last few years. The software *Sketch Engine* (Kilgariff *et al*. 2004) has a useful tool which quickly identifies the trend of a word (upward or downward) over decades. If one types in the search item *inequality* applied to the hosted 650-million-word *SiBol* newspaper corpus (compiled by linguists at the University of Bologna and the University of Siena), the arrow shoots upward over the timespan 1993 to 2013. Recent events also highlight the frequency of headlines on inequality, for example in connection with populist movements, such as the *Gilet Jaunes* riots in France and the *Umbrella protests* in Hong Kong (Angelique Chrisafis 17 March, *The Guardian* 2019). Scholars claim that inequality has become progressively more prominent since September 2001 (Heine, Thakur 2011), with international organizations frequently speaking of the 'dark side of globalization' and the need to address the root causes of poverty and desperateness, which appear to motivate perpetrators of political and social instability.

Fundamentally, the world is facing a growing number of complex and interconnected challenges, all of which accelerate economic and social divides and erode a country's social and economic fabric. Although global inequality has generally fallen in the last two decades, economic inequality has continued to rise among countries and within countries (Piketty 2014; Stiglitz 2012), and it is also extensively recognized that there is much greater *wealth inequality* in the UK today than in the 1970s (Cribb *et al*. 2012). Recent research attributes economic inequality largely to increasing divergence between public and private capital ownership, with the top 10% owning 100 times more than the bottom 10%, leading to more unequal wealth distribution (Stiglitz 2012). The 2019 *World Economic Forum* actually ranked inequality among the top five challenges that society faces, and even higher than climate change as a global risk. This makes it a serious issue and one which deserves more attention than it has effectively received, especially in linguistics (Toolan 2018; van Dijk 1994).

Like poverty, inequality is a relative concept and defies easy definition (Kress 1994). Its conceptualization includes social, economic, and political issues. For the sake of simplicity, this research adheres to the dictionary definition of inequality expressed in relation to numbers, size and status: for example, the *Oxford Lexico online* dictionary defines inequality as the 'difference in size, degree, circumstances'.[1] In fact, the terms and lexical items which emerged from the corpus closely conform to the above citation,

[1] https://www.lexico.com/definition/inequality

for instance, the evaluative notions *the top 1%* and *bottom 99%* are recurrent items in the corpus.

Bearing in mind the current socio-economic trends, this chapter addresses how *economic inequality* is approached and explained in the media, mainly by journalists, on the assumption that a country's policies are generally related to wealth and the economy, and are indicative of the state's intervention to mitigate forms of social divisions.

The framework outlined in the next section is directed towards answering the study queries, in order to provide a systematic account of how ideological positionings and argumentative moves are achieved linguistically.

2. Theoretical framework

I discuss here some general theoretical issues regarding the relationship between inequality, discourse, and communication, implying the need to draw eclectically from different frameworks.

The underlying premise, in line with socio-constructionist theory (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1995) is that media texts serve as advocates of social change and reflect the hegemonic discourse of society. Thus, this paper assumes that newspapers impact significantly upon people's attitudes towards societal issues. What is more, media discourse tends to display 'new attitudes as habitual, by making readers perceive certain events or societal changes as inevitable', (Gomez-Jimenez 2018, p.2) or even imperceptible (van Dijk 1995). I hypothesize that this 'naturalizing' tendency may be stronger in the right-of-centre UK press, which supports and welcomes the political and economic changes happening in the UK in the last two decades, as discussed in the analysis section.

We can also consider for the purpose of this paper studies which have contradicted the widely held assumption that broadsheets are typically associated with notions of neutrality and objectivity (Bednarek 2006; White 2006). These studies show how newspaper texts have the potential to influence 'assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be' (White 2006, p. 37). Similarly, Stubbs (1996) sees all utterances as attitudinal, in which writers 'encode their point of view' (Stubbs p.197). What is more, newspapers make every effort to negotiate alignment and rapport with a diverse readership, achieved through resources of engagement by which dialogic relations with the reader are carefully tempered. This paper looks at a particular aspect of the engagement process, in which positions may be challenged, dismissed or concurred (disclaim and proclaim propositions), observing one salient pattern, that of concur/concede-counter structures. In such structures, the writer signals concurrence with the reader on an issue only to counter the proclamation with another argument that may refute the first one (Martin, White 2005). In other words, the writer sets up an argument in order to demolish it by means of specific lexical choices or patterns, often headed by adverbials (for example, *certainly, naturally, of course*) used to guide the reader to concur. Adverbials are often juxtaposed with proclamations associated with some form of countering an argument especially in newspaper discourse, and it is no surprise that these phraseological argumentative moves are salient in the inequality debate, in which writers adopt a stance towards value positions. Hence, a qualitative study also needs to take account of the point of view of value systems and the subsequent linguistic resources deployed (White 2006).

As economic inequality involves socio-political and economic issues and practices, the approach here is in the spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 2015). CDA's main purpose is to clarify the ideological potential of language and its influence on society and to enhance understanding of social issues, such as: class (Toolan 2016), religion, race and immigration (Baker *et al*. 2013), gender (Caldas-Coulthard, Moon, 2010), motherhood (Gomez-Jimenz 2018), *inter alia.* Recent research on inequality discourse in the media has emerged mostly from a neoliberal perspective of inequalities. Baker and McEnery (2015), for instance, identify the main discourses in Twitter responses to the TV programme *Benefits Street*; Watt (2008) analyses the discourse of council housing tenants and how they are portrayed in the media as a socially excluded 'underclass'.

Van Dijk (1994) was among the first to advocate a framework which featured the analysis of discourse structures, strategies, and linguistic choices as micro-phenomena connected to macro-phenomena like *inequality*. One of his most provocative assumptions is that the discursive reproduction of inequality is largely controlled by various elites, not only political or corporate elites, but also scholars and journalists (1994, p.22). In this way, dominant groups may control actions and minds, operating by manipulation or persuasion, through the production of social cognitions, as well as through processes of "inferiorization", marginalization, and exclusion. Moreover, dominance needs continuous legitimation, which is usually discursive, communicative, and highly ideological. These are processes that we can see operating in this case study illustrated in the results section 4.

Although there is a variety of literature from critical discourse studies which have discussed the connection between power and inequality (Toolan 2016, 2018; Gomez-Jimenez 2018), there is still a dearth of scholarship on the discursive construction of *economic inequality* in the press. This paper hopes to contribute to the field, identifying the extent these patterns are typical in the genre, and comment on their evaluative aspects and implicit ideology aimed at influencing societal attitudes.

3. Corpus, data and methodology

3.1. Corpus and data

Corpus linguistic principles guided the preparation of the corpus and the sub-corpora. The corpus was purpose-built using the search query *inequality* to reflect the current global socio-economic situation in the UK and worldwide. The time period (2016 to early 2019) coincided with the news section headlined *Inequality* recently created in both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph,* signaling the urgency of the issue. Personal news stories or 'hard news' (Bell 1998), as well as news articles related to 'Brexit' were removed so as to circumvent overt political discourse which may skew the information and the outcome. In this way, two comparable sub-corpora were built: one consisting of the texts such as editorials and other argumentative sub-genres from the broadsheet *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* (a middle-market tabloid), totaling 49,431 words, and the second consisted of texts from the *Guardian* (recently turned quality tabloid), totaling 51,370 words (Table 1). These newspapers were freely accessible online. Initially, I had intended to download only articles from the *Telegraph,* but it put up a pay-wall while accessing the articles, so in order to make both sub-corpora similar in total tokens I also collected articles from the *Daily Mail* which had a similar stance to the *Telegraph.* This made the sub-corpora quantitively more comparable.

Newspaper – corpus 2016 - 2019	**Size – total tokens**	**Number of articles**
The Telegraph	27,630	15
Daily Mail	22,365	21
	49, 995	36
The Guardian	51,370	39

Table 1
Summary of newspaper corpus data (2016 – 2019).

3.2. Methodology

The study integrates quantitative and qualitative discourse research methods, joining together the methods derived from corpus linguistics (CL) and discourse analysis, following frameworks such as those outlined by Partington *et al*. (2013) and Baker *et al.* (2013).

Admittedly, it is a small corpus, but this facilitated a manual analysis of all the articles. One of the advantages of CL quantitative retrieval techniques is that they identify quite a lot of data and unveil patterns which may otherwise be unperceivable to the naked eye. This combination of methodology is particularly replicable on large corpora. The drawback is that

CL retrieval may not capture everything and may miss something essential (Partington 2010; Baker, McHenry, 2015). For example, the concept of *inequality* can be expressed in other ways, such as *injustice, discrimination, unequal*; or some argumentation patterns use structures which are difficult to catch (for example, rhetorical questions such as *what's wrong with lowering taxes on the rich?*); or concede-counter patterns not marked by the presence of the usual adverbials (for example, *the trouble is the gini index is misleading*). Therefore, I could not count on CL software to retrieve everything in relation to my purpose, but I was able to analyze the most salient patterns which emerged in the corpora, mainly through collocate and concordance analyses. This consented the interpretation of various patterns of usage and the implications these might have on how readers interact with the issue of inequality in news texts.

Once downloaded, the texts were formatted into plain text files, labelled by newspaper, date of publication, and uploaded as a sub-corpus onto the software programme *Sketch Engine* (Kilgariff *et al*. 2004). The first step was to generate lemmatized word frequency lists for the two sub-corpora, which then became the basis of comparison. The resulting frequency lists and grammar sketches of high frequency lemmas were followed up using *Concgram* (Greaves 2009) to retrieve more information about dominant configuration patterns which led to a qualitative description of the data.

As mentioned in the introduction, I also draw on previous research on patterns associated with the rhetoric of argumentation (Bednarek 2006). More specifically, presupposed assumptions on argumentation strategies are considered as a spring-board for the analysis, with a starting point based on a pre-established group (list) of adverbs and contrastives (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; Simon-Vandenbergen, Ajmeer 2007), many of which appeared within the collocational and colligational profiles of *economic inequality*. Once the most frequent adverbials were retrieved (such as, *of course, obviously, but, however, yet*), an automated search was carried out in the texts for other candidate adverbials (*certainly, undoubtedly, though, while*), followed by a manual analysis of the concordance lines, the immediate context and expanded co-text.

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1. Quantitative data

The first stage was to retrieve the frequencies for the lemma *inequality* in the two sub-corpora and draw up a word sketch with the most frequent collocations and grammatical colligations. Colligation refers to a grouping of words based on the way they function in a syntactic structure. This type of pattern analysis is useful for placing the collocates into semantic syntactic functional categories (Halliday 1994).

Table 2 presents the top left (modifier) collocates in both sub-corpora, measured by frequency.

Newspaper Corpus 2016-2018					
The Telegraph/ Daily Mail	Total freq.	Relative freq.%	*The Guardian*	Total freq.	Relative freq.%
gender	41	0,098	economic	16	0,032
income	41	0,098	income	15	0,031
economic	10	0,024	wealth	10	0,020
wealth	10	0,024	gender	6	0,012
health	6	0,014	increasing	5	0,010
rising	5	0,012	rising	5	0,010
lower	4	0,010	world	5	0,010
poverty	4	0,010	against	4	0,008
British	3	0,008	health	4	0,008
growing	3	0,008	wage	3	0,006
reducing	3	0,008	financial	3	0,006
wage	3	0,008	increase	2	0,004
world	3	0,008	crime	2	0,004
against	2	0,005	fueling	2	0,004
earnings	2	0,005	social	2	0,004

Table 2
Top 15 left collocates of *inequality* in each sub-corpus.

We can see the results show items which overlap in the two sub-corpora reflecting a general trend for economic terms in this period of time, for example *wealth, income, finance, financial, economic, earnings, wage*.[2]

For a more complete picture of the narrative surrounding *economic inequality*, I considered the whole corpus and organized the collocates (including colligates) within textual proximity of *inequality* into systematic semantic categories (Table 3). This helped narrow down the areas for a more detailed qualitative analysis. The Collocation/Concordance tool in *Sketch Engine* was able to capture all nearby collocates. Obviously, any cut off point is arbitrary. For example, a fixed e word range at 15 to the left and right context, with the minimum frequency of 1, obtained 3, 068 collocates ranked

[2] Although the collocation *gender inequality* ranks high in both sub-corpora, signaling its value in the news, I do not discuss this issue here. I am certainly aware gender is linked to inequality in terms of economic discrimination, but its investigation and why it appears twice as high in the conservative newspapers is beyond the scope of this study. The item *gender* certainly deserves more attention than this study is able to give. A simple hypothesis for its re-occurrence in the *Telegraph/Daily Mail* could be due to the fact that the country in the period was run by a female prime minister, Teresa May, and there are frequent references to women entrepreneurs.

according to statistical measure.[3] Of course, it is not possible to report all the collocates here. I scrolled the first 1000 words, and made a representative selection of the most recurrent nouns, adjectives, adjuncts and verbs (frequency numbers in brackets). Sample collocates of low frequency are reported here, which nevertheless tell a story in the inequality debate. This kind of semantic syntactic category reflects a Hallidayan notion of functional categories which combines syntactic and semantic knowledge (Halliday 1994).

Category	**Collocates**
Wealth/ income /finance	*income (93), wealth (61), economic (53), tax/es (35), wage/s (15), pay (15), financial (14), economy (9), earnings (6), housing (29), inheritance (6), households (5), mortgages (4).*
Measure, quantity, size	*poverty (35 - including poverty level/line/rate/ trap), top (29), levels (26), gap (18), unequal (16), % (13), data (12), percent (13), bottom (13), growth (12), measures (10), gini (9), lowest (6), threshold (6), income bracket (2).*
Identity: status/class	*gender (40), middle class, squeezed middle, benefits, women (11), working class, elite, rich (25), social (19), poor (18), poorest (16), richest (13), the rich (11), women (11), maternity (4), black, white, Indian, lot in life (1), underclass (1).*
country//region	*world (31), US (24), countries (23), UK (13), Britain (9), Europe (9), London (8), Switzerland (7), Yemen (5), Germany (5), Africa (4), Northern Ireland (4), China (4), Cardiff (1), Grenfield Tower (1).*
nationality	*American, British (6), Scotland, Russian, Africa, Asian, Europe.*
religion	*Muslim (5).*
Attribution	*Stiglitz (23), researchers (13), Angus Deaton (10), Piketty (8), Nobel (5), Archibishop (4), Pope (3), academics, economists (15), journalists, Tories, government (8), IMF (7), Trudeau (7), Teresa May (6), Corbyn (4), Trump (3), Labour , MP, Oxfam (4), OECD, Johnson(2), Credit Suisse (1), Bank of England (1), experts (1).*
Lexico-grammatical markers	*according to (26), as far as, from the point of view of (1).*
Reporting verbs	*said (22), claim (16), mention (8), believe (5), report (5), challenge (1).*
Adverbials/connectives	*but (45), of course (22), obviously (10), surely (3), really (2), naturally (2), indeed (2), against, yet, however, though, while, between.*
Verbs – gerund	*rising (16), increasing (12), reducing (9), growing (7), tackling (5), fueling (4), obsessing (4), eradicating (2), widening (2), worsening (2).*

Table 3
Semantic categories of sample collocates of *inequality*.

[3] *Sketch Engine* uses T.score (for frequency) and logdice values (for significance). See Kilgariff *et al.* (2004) for an explanation of statistical measurements.

In sum, we can see economic-related words as a dominant semantic category in the narrative of *inequality*, but also *measurement*, *quantity* and *status*, for example, *top 1 %/ bottom 50%/90%, middle-class, working class, the poor*. Another prevailing semantic category is 'source attribution', a device for strengthening information reliability (*Stiglitz, Piketty, Oxfam, Archbishop of England, the Pope, Credit Suisse*, *IMF*). The fourth semantic category I discuss here is the frequent colligation of *inequality* with conjunctions and adverbials such as *but, inevitably, indeed, naturally, obviously, of course, while, yet*. These colligation patterns reveal important pragmatic and rhetorical functions. The following section (4.2) attempts to analyze these collocates in order to unravel the stylized patterns of argumentation and ideological positioning idiosyncratic to each sub-corpus, leading to interesting insights into writer engagement and reader alignment/disalignment.

4.2. Dominant argumentation patterns

This section presents a comparative analysis of the sub-corpora. However, first a concgram analysis of the word *inequality* (520 instances) is carried out in the total newspaper corpus. Table 4 reports the top 2 word concgram configurations (after removing prepositions and verbs), retrieved by the software *Concgram* (Greaves 2009). Here two particular patterns are focused on, namely, the high frequency concgram configurations *but/inequality* (46 instances) and *top/inequality* (29 instances). These patterns are considered because on close examination of the concordances and expanded text they frequently occurred in a discourse of defending or legitimizing government policies, or on the contrary denying and rejecting their effectiveness.

2-word concgram		**total freq.**	**relative freq.%**	**2-word concgram**		**total freq.**	**relative freq.%**
inequality	and	170	0,20%	inequality	world	35	0,03
inequality	income	82	0,08	inequality	top	29	0,03
inequality	gender	51	0,05	inequality	countries	26	0,03
inequality	wealth	50	0,05	inequality	levels	22	0,02
inequality	not	47	0,04	inequality	social	21	0,02
inequality	but	46	0,04	inequality	new	19	0,02
inequality	economic	44	0,04	inequality	poverty	17	0,01
inequality	US	40	0,04				

Table 4
Top 2-word concgrams for *inequality* in the newspaper corpus.

What is more, co-occurring lexical items 'serendipitously' led to the unfolding of other recurring patterns with the same pragmatic function (Partington 2010), fundamental to the construction of argumentative propositions in the inequality debate. A recurrent pattern was that of high frequency co-occurring adjuncts, adverbials and conjunction constructions, co-occurring with the lemma *inequality* (for example, *of course/ but / inequality*) or similar patterns with *naturally / obviously / undoubtedly / really / surely / however / yet.* With reference to the second pattern, the noun and adjective *top/bottom* are high frequency lexical items in both sub-corpora, often occurring in the clusters *the top 1 %/ the bottom 99%.*

A qualitative examination of expanded texts in each sub-corpus led to the detection of two dominant pragmatic functions which emerged from the co-text analyses (discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2): i) the manipulation (spinning) of statistical data for the newspaper's communicative purposes; ii) concur/concede-counter patterns deployed to carry forward a point of view, first through concurrence and reader alignment and then by attacking and knocking down the opponents' argument. The presence of both types of argumentation patterns confirm recent studies in newspaper discourse (Breeze 2016; White 2006), but in this corpus these structures varied in intensity and distribution according to the newspaper.

4.2.1. Interpreting statistical data: top/bottom/inequality

We can begin by comparing and interpreting the high frequency clusters *the top 1 %/ the bottom 50%/90%* in the two sub-corpora, reflecting different value systems and ideologies. Figure 1 presents sample concgram configurations for *inequality/top/bottom.*

1	the population between the global bottom 50% and **top** 1%." The economists said wealth **inequality** had
2	so this data greatly underestimates the scale of **top** incomes. This has a large effect on **inequality**
3	might "drive economic **inequality** at the **top**, because those at the very **top** of the economic
4	to wealth and **inequality** among the UK's **top** 1% - and reveals that even when you're rich, you
5	of the income distribution than at either the **top** or the **bottom**. As for the period since 2007-08,
6	Pew. Read more: Guess How Much More Money the **Top** 1% Make than the **Bottom** 99% Middle class keeps

Figure 1.
top/inequality/bottom concgrams in the corpora.

A manual reading of expanded text showed that *top* and *bottom* mainly refer to people, places, regions and countries (for example, line 3 *people at the top/ those at the top*/). The evaluative function of these terms emerges later in the qualitative examination of expanded text. The newspapers discursively construct *top* and *bottom* according to their *doxa* and expected readership. Of relevance is how *the top / top / the bottom / bottom* act as orientational/ontological metaphors or metonymy, constructing a 'container' or 'box' in which people *at the top* live, or people *at the bottom* are excluded from (Kress 1994). Similarly, people live *above* or *below* a certain threshold and need *to get into, out of poverty* (for example, *in the top/bottom income* *bracket, the gap between the top and bottom, get into the top 1%*).

The following expanded concordance lines (examples 1 - 3) illustrate how *top/bottom* are positioned ideologically, especially when juxtaposed alongside statistics and external sources of attribution (underlined here).

(1) The World Inequality Report, published by French economist Thomas Piketty […] which drew on the work of more than 100 researchers around the world, found that the richest 1% of the global population "captured" 27% of the world's wealth growth between 1980 and 2016 […]. "Whereas the income share of the top 0.1% has more than quadrupled and that of the top 1% has almost doubled, that of the bottom 90% has declined". *The Guardian,* 14 December 2017.

(2) Guess How Much More Money the Top 1% Make than the Bottom 99%. […] The amount of wealth needed to be considered part of the global 'elite' is not a fortune worth billions or even millions of pounds, […]. According to the Global Wealth Report 2018 by the Credit Suisse Research Institute, only a net worth of £669,735 ($871,320) is needed to be classed as being in the worldwide top 'one per cent'. *Daily Mail*, 2 November 2018.

(3) All in all, inequality remained stable last year. There wasn't even any of the middle-class hollowing-out that so many professionals constantly worry about: incomes grew slightly faster towards the middle of the income distribution than at either the top or the bottom […], Kallum Pickering, an economist at Berenberg Bank. *The Telegraph*, 27 July 2016.

The excerpts present data on *the top 1%/bottom 99%*, but their interpretations are at odds with each other. Above all, the ideological dimension differs. The *Daily Mail* and *Telegraph* do not describe the widening income gap and distribution of wealth as a plight of concern, as the *Guardian*. In excerpt (1) the *Guardian* journalist attributes the source of the data to '*over 100 researchers'*, including the top economist Thomas Piketty (see underscores). The reporting verb *said* evokes a neutral and balanced approach.

In excerpt (2) the same data are used by the journalist of the *Daily Mail,* but for a different communicative purpose. The headline *Guess how much more money the top 1% make than the bottom 99%?* somewhat downplays the seriousness of the issue. Here the *top* and *bottom* are spoken of in a jocular way, as in some sort of quiz show, which targets an audience interested in reading about millionaires and billionaires. In other words, the news value is 'entertainment', aimed at appealing to the fantasies of readers who are interested in *the 1% club*, and who are probably pro-government anyway. The emphasis on the nexus *money, worth* and *people* pertains to a neo-liberal discourse suggesting that 'people are only worth the money they have'. This is part of the 'normalizing' discourse, sometimes imperceptible to the daily reader (Toolan 2016). In excerpt (3), the *Telegraph* is preoccupied with the *middle* rather than *the top* or *bottom.* It constructs a *growing middle* in which the world is generally richer, implying that the gap between the *top* and *bottom* cannot be increasing (leaving out much of the story). Therefore, inequality cannot be as bad as it is made out to be (that is, *There wasn't even any of the middle-class hollowing-out that so many professionals constantly worry about.*) Here the journalist discredits *professionals* (experts and academics) but resorts to his/her own reliable source of attribution, namely, an economist from the Berenberg Bank, to reinforce the *false myth* of rising inequality in the UK.

Excerpts (4) and (5) present exactly the same source of data, but from different viewpoints, illustrative of how interpretation clashes.

(4) Oxfam said billionaires had been created at a record rate […], at a time when the bottom 50% of the world's population had seen no increase in wealth. […]. "The concentration of extreme wealth at the top is not a sign of a thriving economy, but a symptom of a system that is failing the millions of hardworking people on poverty wages […]". *The Guardian*, 22 January 2018.

(5) Once again, Oxfam gets it wrong on global inequality and poverty. <u>Some people</u> are concerned with inequality – that is, the ratio between the richest and poorest in any given circumstances. Me – I've always been more concerned about poverty, – <u>you should be wary</u> of Oxfam's report, […] which <u>claims</u> the eight richest people in the world have the same wealth as the bottom 50 per cent. *The Telegraph*, 16 January 2018.

The lexical items *top* and *bottom* juxtaposed alongside other evaluative items, carry strong positive or negative connotations, depending on the ideological stance. The *Guardian* reports Oxfam's criticism of *a system* that has failed to provide for the population's *bottom* population, unveiling *grotesque inequality'*. On the contrary, the *Telegraph* uses the reporting verb *claim* which evokes a dubious stance towards Oxfam's data. Indeed, the *Telegraph* accuses *Oxfam* of *getting their statistics wrong again*, suggesting that Oxfam's data is controversial, false and may even be manipulated by 'left-wing ideology' therefore people need to be *wary* of Oxfam's interpretation of poverty which may be a 'conflict of interest'. The journalist gives a subjective opinion *Me* and *I think*, pulling along the readers by providing an argument which 'makes sense', as opposed to *some people*, and by dialogically interacting with the reader, for example, *you should be wary*. The journalist in this way appeals to the 'moral foundations' of poverty, not 'numbers' or 'ratios' in contrast to the *Guardian's* objective statistical reporting.

As we can see, what emerges from the sample excerpts is that informational reliability proves to be irrelevant, in that epistemic status and the steadfastness of knowledge are not necessarily the "primary determining communicative motive" (Martin, White 2005, p. 105). In other words, statistics and numbers can be spun for any purpose or intention, drawn up to make any case the writer wants the reader to hear. Despite the reference to attribution, external sources are manipulated in the name of *doxa* and the putative audience. Therefore, what looks like objective attribution is in actual fact subjective and evaluative (Bednarek 2006; Hunston 2001) and forms part of the argumentative pattern which manipulates the data to align and satisfy reader expectations, according to the ideological beliefs of the journalist and newspaper.

All in all, to conclude on the concept of *the top 1%* and *bottom 99%*, although the widening economic gap is a major concern for the left liberal newspapers, the discourse of *top/bottom %* is viewed very nearly 'normal' or 'inevitable' in the conservative newspapers, reflecting an ideology which accepts *economic inequality* in times of economic growth, in the expectation of widespread prosperity. What becomes quite clear as the exploration unfolds is the intricate intertwining of argumentation, discourse, and ideology, interacting in complex ways, exposing systematic patterns acting as carriers of information, used to convey a line of vision of the writer, and his/her view of the social world (Vershueren 2012).

4.2.2. Concur/concede-counter argumentation patterns:of course…but

A recurring pattern retrieved by the software programs *Concgram* and *Sketch Engine* was the co-occurrence of the items *but/inequality,* frequently combined with certainty adverbials, and most often *obviously* and *of course.* (Figure 2 presents sample configurations). Paired rhetorical structures representing concurrence and concession, headed by certainty adverbials, and counter statements headed by contrastives, are standard in the genre of opinion columns and editorials and tend to follow a stylized pattern (Breeze 2016; White 2006). However, the newspapers differ in the intensity, frequency and distribution of these argumentative structures, at least as far as the discourse of inequality is concerned. Some patterns are idiosyncratic to one sub-corpus than the other. The concede-counter pattern consisting of adverbs and conjunctions occurred regularly in the *Telegraph/Daily Mail corpus* and to a lesser extent in the *Guardian.* Concordance analysis followed by expanded text analysis led to further insights and allowed the patterns to be systematically analyzed.

1	age of poverty, **inequality** and mass starvation. **But of course** this was nonsense. For **the** vast
2	common political view that **inequality** is rising, **but the** Institute for Fiscal Studies has found this
3	Topics **Yes, some people really struggle, but inequality isn't the problem ALLISTER** HEATH
4	of snakes and ladders, so how do you feel? Grim, **obviously- but,** as we learned last week, not as grim as
5	be good for the third children of poor families. **Obviously** it would reduce their numbers **but** those who
6	**But** why? What is so bad about **inequality? Obviously,** we are all in favour of the less well-off

Figure 2.
*but/inequality/of course/obviously/*concgrams – *The Telegraph/Daily Mail.*

The most frequent pattern encountered in the *Telegraph/Daily Mail* sub-corpus was that in which the proposition or concession came first, headed by an adverbial of certainty such as *of course*, *obviously*, *naturally*, or *certainly*. This was followed either almost immediately or at some instance by a counter-statement involving a contrastive, usually headed by *but*, and often including a denial with the negative particle *not*, as in lines 3 and 4 (Figure 2). Other frequent contrastive markers include *however, still, yet, while.*

Most often locutions marked by *of course*, *naturally, not surprisingly, admittedly, certainly,* and *undoubtedly* are used to emphasize what can constitute a possible common ground shared by the writer and reader. This type of concurring formulation is dialogic. However, at some point later, the writer withdraws and snubs what he/she just presented as agreement by using a contrastive or countering proclamation. This appears to happen quite a lot in any discourse which is arguing a belief and position (Martin, White 2005), particularly in such a controversial subject as inequality, and especially understandable in the *Telegraph* and *Daily Mail*, where the journalist assumes that most readers agree with the government's policies. In this way, we can say the argumentation markers are used to prime the reader (Hoey 2005) to expect alignment or disalignment over a certain view.

Excerpts (6) and (7) below are examples of the main type of concur/concede-counter structures where a concurrence (agreement) or a concession is typically made and followed by a counter move.

(6) Half of us think there is a big gap between the richest and the rest and that it has a negative effect on the economy. Two thirds are in favour of a maximum pay ratio. <u>But why?</u> What is so bad about inequality? <u>Obviously</u>, we are all in favour of the less well-off becoming richer. <u>But</u> that is a different matter. The poor are, and have been, getting considerably richer [...] the improvement has been <u>positively</u> sensational. *The Telegraph,* 27 April 2016.

(7) <u>Indeed,</u> the pace of technological change may well mean things get worse before they get better, […]. No amount of top-down State initiatives, and no amount of fiddling with the tax and benefit systems, can change_that. <u>Of course,</u> there is still a role for government**.** <u>But</u> it would be a terrible mistake to introduce the kind of quotas so beloved of the Left, […]. *Daily Mail,* 3 December 2017.

The examples above from the *Telegraph/Daily Mail* corpus illustrate recurring rhetorical moves involved in the argumentation around *economic inequality* debates. There is a constant tug-of-war created by the journalist who assures the reader that it is quite understandable to be concerned and frustrated about the gap between the rich and the poor. In excerpt (6), *half of us* heads the concurrence proposition that a lot of people (including the journalist himself) can see there is an *obvious* gap, thus establishing a common ground of moral concern (that is, *obviously we are all in favour of the less well-off becoming richer*). The journalist then steps back, so to speak, to indicate a rejection of what was presented as a natural assumption, by introducing the counter-argument with the rhetorical question *but what is so bad about inequality*? This invokes a normalizing discourse, meaning 'we have always had inequality, isn't it part of history?' No answer is expected, but in this way, the writer rejects the *negative effect on the economy*. The counter proposition again headed by *but* introduces the writer's argument that *inequality* has to be put into historical perspective to prove that 'the poor in truth have been getting richer'.

Likewise, in (7) the locution used to signal concurrence is marked by the adverb *indeed* used to express emphatic agreement by acknowledging the difficulties. *Of course there is a role for government* concedes the need for state intervention, but the next proposition attacks the type of state intervention that is attributed to left-wing ideas, '*beloved to the Left'.* Although state intervention is generally an acceptable notion, the ideological dimension is constructed by the writer aligning with readers who reject any intervention representing 'leftist' ideology.

Intensifiers and emphatics, generally found in sensational news, have a powerful persuasive effect (for example, *positively sensational* in excerpt 6). It is not possible here to analyze the pragmatic function of all the adverbial markers in the corpus used to make some kind of concurrence or invite agreement. I point out here only some common emphatics which emerged, and ranked according to frequency: *deeply, in fact, completely, fully, indeed, positively, really, sincerely, surely, strongly, totally, utterly, very much, with conviction, without any doubt.*

Excerpt 8 is marked with annotations (italicized text in parentheses) and exemplifies the rhetorical patterns of concur/concede counter moves typical in the conservative newspaper sub-corpus.

(8) Listening to some strident Left-wing commentators, who talk as if Britain were some nightmarish Third World dystopia, I wonder if they have any sense of history at all. (*set up them v. us, appeal to common knowledge, align with expected readership)*, […]. Of course, Britain today is far from perfect, and life for those at the bottom can still be a struggle against hardship, anxiety and deprivation. […]. (*concede/concur, align with the 'bottom' readers*).

Yes, too many people rely on food banks. And yes, too many young people struggle to find rewarding jobs, get on to the property ladder or carve out a meaningful role in society (*concessions, inclusion/exclusion discourse*). Yet all too often, in our love for national self-flagellation, we forget the fundamental fact about modern Britain, which is that most of us lead warmer, healthier, richer and more comfortable lives than any generation before. (*counter argument, inclusive we/our/us, dialogic, reader alignment*) - Only three years ago, the BBC's Norman Smith […] claimed (*reporting verb evokes dubious*

> *information*) the Coalition Government's spending cuts were taking Britain back to the 'land of The Road to Wigan Pier', [...].
> But of course this was nonsense. (*rejection of Smith's argument, closing down alternative viewpoints, appeal to common sense of the readers*). For the vast majority, the world of the recent past, in which millions of people fought a daily battle against hunger, darkness, damp, disease and dirt, has mercifully disappeared (*counterargument, categorical rejection of other viewpoints)*. *Daily Mail*, 4 December 2017.

On the whole the language of the journalist in the *Daily Mail* is strong and emotional (for example, *nightmarish third-world, self-flagellation, despair, deprivation, disease, struggle*), evoking negativity, with the end aim of convincing the reader that the journalist's point of view is the only one worth having. The first proposition begins with categorical criticism of the lack of historical perspective in the inequality debate. The writer makes a provocative statement questioning the knowledge and intelligence of the 'left', *I wonder if they have any sense of history at all*. In this way, the writer appeals to the reader's 'better sense' of history and events, predicting a commonsense response before advancing the rest of his/her view. The second proposition follows with a series of concession markers: *of course, yes, and yes*, with the gist being that a life of *hardship* is a legitimate opinion to have: *of course things are not perfect* (under the Tory government) and *yes there are food banks, yes people struggle,* in a gesture of solidarity in contexts where the writer may anticipate disagreement on the part of the reader, at least initially. These certainty markers are a way of acknowledging the admissibility of an idea and showing that the writer is prepared to make concessions in terms of human rights in order to establish a particular position that the writer shares with the projected readers. Yet the counter statement argues that Britain, in truth, is on the whole 'wealthier and richer' and 'the poor are richer than in the past', discarding Norman Smith's opinion as *nonsense*. The writer ends with a denial which rejects all that has gone before, closing down any other line of argument. Since the reader has been assumed to agree with the three judgements headed by *of course* and *yes,* the reader is strategically positioned to agree with the final proposition (even if it runs in the opposite direction).

Rhetoricians have long known the importance of addressing a universal audience while simultaneously centering on a particular audience (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969). In this case, the writer realigns with the readers in the attempt to gain as broad a consensus as possible with the knowledge that many readers do generally agree with the stance of the newspaper. What is more, some readers may be among *those at the bottom,* and even resistant to the writer's primary position, but persuasive rhetoric enables the writer to enlarge his/her catchment area.

On the whole, concede-counter patterns were found to be most frequent in the *Telegraph/Daily Mail* sub-corpus, accounting for many of the instances retrieved. In the *Guardian,* the combination of adverbials occurred to a less extent, and often with other rhetorical strategies at play, for example source attribution and links to hypertexted reports.

The *Guardian* journalist in example (9) below is commenting on a previous comment by a conservative minister who advised poor families to have fewer children.

(9) For those harbouring some doubts about this approach, I'd recommend reading Charles Dickens's Little Dorrit, published in 1857. […]. A wee night out in the Campsie Fells […] would be good for the third children of poor families. Obviously it would reduce their numbers, but those who survived would get an early lesson in not expecting too much from the state. *The Guardian*, 28 October 2018.

(10) But, to Stiglitz, UBI is a cop-out. […]. "If we don't change our overall economic and policy framework, what we're going towards is greater wage inequality, greater income and wealth inequality […] and a more divided society. But none of this is inevitable". *The Guardian*, 8 September 2018.

In excerpt (9) the journalist criticizes the conservative MP for his 'shocking' ideas on poverty, conceding ironically *obviously it would reduce numbers*, *but* there is not much to expect of the current government. Excerpt (10) shows a common rhetorical pattern used by the *Guardian.* The journalist discredits data acclaimed by the opponents by referring to a credible source, in this case the Nobel prize winner Stiglitz who claims inequality is not at all 'inevitable'. This rhetorical strategy is common in both sub-corpora, but the *Guardian* tends to have more hyperlinks to official reports with the aim of reporting a 'true and fair view', to reassure readers that they speak the truth.

All the excerpts above illustrate the main function and special role of the concur/concede counter feature in the dialogic process of argumentation, along with the role they may have in constructing the ideological dimension of the text (Amossy 2009; Verschueren 2012).

Other features and lexical choices combined to create other rhetorical sub-categories of the concur-concede counter pattern. However due to space constraints these patterns are not reported here, but I just mention, for example, the juxtaposition of opposites within a phrase, evoking rhetorical contrast (White 2006), such as *family breakdown/social ills v. social progress/technological advances/benign effects*; the use of short digressions such as ironic, sarcastic exclamations, to invoke reader alignment, for example, *But so what! you don't say*; and the use of rhetorical questions by which the writer assumes that no answer needs to be supplied for a particular question, the answer being so obvious.

5. Conclusions

The combination of corpus-driven retrieved data and qualitative descriptive analysis, has proven to be useful as a methodology for challenging hypotheses and carrying out an in-depth investigation into argumentative discourse. With reference to the sub-corpora, retrieved patterns involving recurring lexical items serendipitously led to other patterns, guiding the research in a particular direction.

To refer back to the aims of the study and the research questions, what emerged from the corpus shows that *inequality* in recent years is represented predominantly by economic-related terms, evident from the high frequency collocates *income, wealth, the top 1 %*. This representation has given rise to explicit ideological positioning and specific argumentation structures recurrent in the narrative of *economic inequality,* where journalists construct their arguments in favour of, or against government actions. The quantitative analysis comprising the identification of key lexical, semantic and grammatical clusters, uncovered chief linguistic markers indicating rhetorical argumentative moves which contribute to the pragma-dialectical relationship involved in the construal of audience engagement. In particular, two dominant argumentative strategies emerged in the corpus: spinning statistical data for the newspaper's own ideological and communicative purpose, and deploying persuasive rhetorical concur-counter patterns to defend or fend off arguments in the inequality debate.

A comparative analysis highlighted the differences in the distribution and intensity of these patterns in the two sub-corpora. For example, concessive-counter patterns, a dominant pattern in which adverbials of certainty (*obviously, of course*) headed a concession made to align the audience followed by a counter statement headed by a contrastive, such as *but, yet*, are particularly frequent in the case of the right-of-centre newspapers, suggesting that the journalists are prone to 'charge' ahead to legitimize government actions in the economic inequality debate.

All in all, the linguistic investigation of this case study has proven that newspaper discourse is far from being neutral and objective (White, 2006). Although this is to be expected of the sub-genre of opinion columns, editorials and commentaries that do not purport to be neutral, it is not really what we would like to assume of ethical journalism practice. Undeniably, journalists cannot always guarantee the truth, but getting the facts right is one of the cardinal principles of journalism, along with 'a true and fair view'. Instead, we have seen how even objective claims become enmeshed with the communicative purpose of the newspaper. For instance, the *Guardian* which has a tradition of subduing its language to cultivate a 'neutral' approach of 'balanced reporting', nevertheless remains true to its left-leaning liberal ideology and readership. There are examples of where it does not hesitate to use data to discredit opponents of their views, such as *there are lies, damned lies, and statistics*. In truth, the journalist always has a putative audience in mind, which he/she needs to align and engage with using pragma-dialectical patterns of argumentation and ideological positioning, as we saw with the example of *the top 1%* notion. Although the analysis revealed evidence of dialogic engagement in a broad sense, there is a fair amount of 'monoglossic' (White 2006) assertions, verging on subjective reporting. By this, I mean that arguments are presented and constructed only to be discarded or rejected in a counter move, leaving little room for alternative viewpoints. This is apparent in both sub-corpora, but it is much more frequent in the dailies which defend and support the government in office, sometimes resorting to strong, emotional and evaluative language. The *Daily Mail* is particularly sensational as shown by examples reflecting the news value of 'entertainment'.

What becomes quite clear is the normalizing narrative of all the newspapers in the corpora, albeit in different ways, for instance, *what's so bad about inequality*? (The *Telegraph*). The *Guardian* at times challenges the traditional view and calls for a reversal of the trend, for example, Stiglitz says *inequality is not inevitable.* However, both sub-corpora appear more intent on defending, denying or discrediting ideological positions rather than presenting solutions to the problem of economic inequality. In this sense both represent a neo-liberal discourse (evident from the predominance of the economic narrative), with few alternative ideas for a process of reversibility. This can be said to reflect current processes in globalization, which do not offer new models of social development, as long as globalization is sustained by the neo-liberal economic consensus. This explains why inequality is often depicted within a discourse of inevitability, normalized by newspapers albeit perhaps unintentionally, which may have a damaging effect on society because the habitual makes society complacent. Such circumstances could lead to the enforcement of dogmas like 'there will always be inequality', 'there will always be someone who has less than someone else'. In this way, inequality becomes acceptable, which makes it difficult to bring about change.

In sum, the identified argumentative patterns are important for our understanding of ideological debates. On the whole, the study has endeavored to carry out a detailed analysis aimed at a better understanding of argumentative strategies, which are ideologically loaded and value-laden, which guide the reader to accept the writer's beliefs. The phenomenon of inequality is particularly representative of this complex intertwining of discourse, argument, and ideology.

Bionote: Ersilia Incelli was awarded the national qualification for Associate Professor in 2013. She currently teaches EAP/ESP in the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome. Her research interests lie in discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, socio-linguistics and intercultural communication, particularly within the fields of academic, media, and professional discourse. Her most recent publications include, "Disseminating 'green' knowledge: patterns, meaning and metaphors in the discourse of eco-cities.", in the volume *Scholarly Pathways. Knowledge Transfer and Knowledge Exchange in Academia* (Linguistic Insights Series, Vol. 264, Bern, Peter Lang, (2020), and 'Popularizing the Higgs Boson: a corpus-assisted approach to reporting scientific discovery in online media', in *Corpora*, Vol. 13.3. Edinburgh University Press, (2018). She was managing editor for the 2017 and 2018 editions of the *Annals of the Department of MEMOTEF* (Sapienza University Press), a research journal of the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome.

Author's email address: ersilia.incelli@uniroma1.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 101-122
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p101
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it, © 2021 Università del Salento

EXPLORING IDEOLOGICAL MESSAGES IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS AND NEWS REPORTS ON THE FIRST HUMAN GENE-EDITING CASE[1]

JEKATERINA NIKITINA
UNICAMILLUS, ROME

Abstract – This chapter explores evaluative standpoints, opinions and potentially ideologically charged messages in newspaper editorials and news reports covering the birth of the first human gene-edited twins. The corpus under analysis consists of British tabloid and broadsheet news reports and editorials covering the case. The analysis is carried out applying the combined paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, Argumentation Theory and Appraisal Theory, with a predominantly linguistic focus. The evidence adduced indicates that most news reports and editorials pass negative evaluative messages starting from their headlines and ending with the local textual structures. The readership is oriented towards a given interpretation of the event using negative judgment and negative affect derived from the headline. The texts of news reports and editorials demonstrate overlapping sequences of evaluation and argumentation. News reports tend to provide the reader with a more explicit yet depersonalised evaluation of the event, as the responsibility for the opinion expressed is shifted to third parties through the mechanism of attribution. Editorials, on the other hand, tend to argue the preferred outlook by syntactic structures and, specifically, concessive constructions and concur-counter patterns.

Keywords: news reports; editorials; appraisal; CDA; argumentation; gene-editing.

1. Background

Media discourse has always been a strategic place for the study of power relations and inherent ideologies (Fairclough 1995), even more so, when the topics covered by the media are of a sensitive and ethically charged nature. Journalists writing about events characterised by scientific uncertainties and disagreements are vulnerable to sources of information with clashing

[1] This study contributes to the national research programme "Knowledge dissemination across media in English: Continuity and change in discourse strategies, ideologies, and epistemologies", financed by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research for 2017-2019 (nr. 2015TJ8ZAS).

viewpoints, which can undermine the notions of balance and fairness in favour of sensationalism (Allan 2002, p. 72).

In her influential work on scientific journalism, Nelkin (1995) observed that science journalists working for the daily press are in pursuit of dramatic stories and breaking news. Little has changed since then, and coverage of science-related events has a great potential for “elbowing its way onto the front page” (Russell 2010, p. 19). The shift from traditional to online news (Hermida 2010; Russell 2010; Trench 2007) has brought about strict deadlines, which have made journalists rely heavily on pre-packed accounts of events, such as press conferences or news releases (Murcott, Williams 2012), which are often stripped for quotes. At times, science journalists are not able to do “in-depth reporting” (Russell 2010, p. 16) in the new digital realm. In addition, science-related news reports may be written by part-time journalists or reporters with other specialisations (Crow, Stevens 2012; Meyers, Davidson 2016). Besides such extensive at-source knowledge mediation, editors may change news stories “to fit their judgments about how to maximize reader interest” (Nelkin 1995, p. 108). In other words, news reports, despite their declared informative communicative purpose and knowledge dissemination potential, are subject to the inclusion of ideologically charged messages on account of the inherent selectivity of newsworthy elements (Allan 2002, 2009; Garzone 2014; Nelkin 1995).

On the other hand, another newspaper genre – the editorial – has the openly argumentative communicative purpose of “influencing the opinions of the readers” (van Dijk 2017, p. 208) as it provides commentary and evaluation of the event, “setting forth opinions and ideas” (Garzone, Degano 2008, p. 23), rather than reporting facts in an impersonalised and objective “reporter voice”, typical of news reports (White 2012). Being explicitly subjective, editorials feature a complex overlapping between argumentation, discourse and ideology (Breeze 2016, p. 2). As a media genre, an editorial differs from a news report (McCabe, Heilman 2007; van Dijk 1985) in its lack of a conventional structure (schema or superstructure, van Dijk 1989, 1992), even though van Dijk does identify a number of moves, dividing it into a) definition of the situation, b) evaluation and c) conclusions (van Dijk 1992, p. 244). Despite the amount of attention paid to this genre, most studies are case-based, with an exception of Le (2010), who provides a theory of editorials (van Dijk 2017).

This study provides an overview of how news reports and editorials write about the birth of the first gene-edited twins, which forms the factual background to this study. From the point of view of media coverage, such an event as the birth of the first humans whose genes were edited is of particular interest because of its ethical and scientific complexity. In November 2018, the global community was shaken by the announcement of the birth of twin baby girls, whose genes were edited to make them HIV resistant at the embryo stage. The person responsible for the editing and for bringing the project to term was a Chinese scientist, He Jiankui. The news was leaked on the first day of the Second International Human Genome Editing Summit in Hong Kong, where the global scientific community gathered to showcase the recent developments of the technology (discovered only in 2012), which allows to cut out undesired elements of the DNA and replace them with healthy ones. Soon afterwards, He Jiankui talked at the Summit, confirming the news, and the attending scientists released multiple interviews. This controversial case elicited a strong public reaction, which generated popularised explanations of the procedure in news reports, relaying information and opinions of the summit attendees, and was chosen as a topic for multiple newspaper editorials on account of its ethically challenging nature.

2. Aims and methodological framework

This chapter aims to explore the construction of ideological messages in news reports and editorials on the first human gene-editing case. How are such messages conveyed through the headlines and text of news reports and editorials? Are there any differences between news reports and editorials, and between tabloids and broadsheets? In particular, the study focuses on opinions and evaluative standpoints in terms of their linguistic and discursive realisation.

The study adopts a multi-perspective analytical framework combining methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2003; van Dijk 2008, 2017), and Argumentation Theory (van Eemeren, Garssen 2012; van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2003), drawing on Pragma-dialectics and Argumentation in Discourse (Amossy 2005, 2009). The possibility to combine paradigms of discourse analysis with argumentation theory is illustrated in multiple studies (Amossy 2009; Degano 2012; Fairclough, Fairclough 2011; Reisigl, Wodak 2001; Wodak *et al*. 1999; Wodak 2009). For instance, Degano (2012) shows how both perspectives are reconciled in a study with a linguistic focus, and Amossy (2005) advances the combination of the two theoretical approaches under the label Argumentation in Discourse, where "verbal means are used not only to make the addressee adhere to a specific thesis, but also to modify or reinforce his representations and beliefs, or simply to orient his reflection on a given problem" (Amossy 2005, p. 90). Argumentation in Discourse shares with CDA the assumption that a different choice of linguistic codification leads to interpretation suggestions, bias, slant and, possibly, ideological manipulations (van Dijk

1998; Fairclough 2014) "insofar as they try to orient the audience's ways of seeing and judging the world" (Amossy 2005, p. 90).

The idea of judging the world through the discursive reconstruction of the event as a text is central to this study, and here I draw on Appraisal Theory (Martin, White 2005), grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1994). According to Appraisal Theory, *judgment* is a subtype of *attitude*, "a framework for mapping feelings as they are construed" (Martin, White 2005, p. 42), which interprets attitudes to people and human behaviour (Martin, White 2005, p. 52). This category is consonant with the notion of *ethos* in the Aristotelian tripartition of means of persuasion, which appeals to ethics (Amossy 2001). According to White (2012, p. 57), in western English-language news journalism, attitudes are frequently passed on through quotes and attributions, making the rest of the text "strategically impersonalised", especially in broadsheets. However, it is acknowledged that evaluative meanings are not confined to the words of quoted sources only. In journalistic discourse, seemingly factual phrases may acquire an axiological value, often by association or implication (White 2012, pp. 57-58). The evaluative potential of such texts along with their (over-)reliance on attributions is a well-established feature of modern science journalism. Knowledge mediation of science-related stories in journalistic discourse has elicited some criticism among the scientific community; it was even suggested that scientists should replace science journalists to avoid such transformations of scientific content (Barel-Ben David *et al*. 2020).

As this work adopts a multi-perspective approach, I operate with methodological tools that are common to Appraisal Theory, Discourse Analysis and Argumentation Theory. Categories that perform the interpersonal function (Halliday 1994) in argumentation include forms of evaluation (Hunston, Thompson 2001), and these are also used within the pragma-dialectical approach (Degano 2012, pp. 10-11). As for the intersection with CDA, this methodology "has an approach that can be considered ethical" (Degano 2012, p. 19), on account of its interest in the linguistic codification of relations of power in society. Consequently, it can be attuned to Appraisal Theory, which is "helpful in disentangling the dialogic mechanisms by which writers stake out their own position and nudge readers towards compliance" (Breeze 2016, p. 2). This study applies both approaches without isolating the argument and the appraisal, respectively, from the language or the meaning, hence they are compatible with discourse-analytical interpretations. Whenever different categorisations are assigned, two coders are consulted and the intercoder agreement is specified (see Section 4.1).

Although the main methodological framework of this study is qualitative, I use corpus linguistics tools for lexical search and text analysis

(Sections 4.2 and 4.3), alongside and after the close reading stage. I draw on studies which apply corpus-based methodology to the study of argumentation in the discourse analytical perspective (Degano 2007, 2012; Mazzi 2007; O'Halloran 2009) and to the synergy of the above approaches with Appraisal Theory (Breeze 2016; Le 2010).

3. Materials and study design

The study analyses a small corpus of newspaper texts created using the Lexis Nexis database and electronic versions of single newspapers. The main criterion for the collection of texts was the topic: only texts overviewing the case of first gene-edited babies were selected, using "gen* editing" and "He Jiankui" as search parameters. Previous research has indicated that a vast number of texts deal with the topic of gene-editing in general (Nikitina 2020). Such an overwhelming number of texts would make a prevalently qualitative analysis challenging. As the study focused also on the attribution of responsibility, the selection was restricted to texts explicitly mentioning the name of the Chinese scientist as a "specified" social actor (Calsamiglia, López Ferrero 2003). The time was set between November 26, 2018 – the day when the news about the twins' birth was leaked to the press – and January 21, 2019. However, 90% of texts in the corpus were written between November 26 and 29, 2018, as "the newer the news, the newsier it is" (Rensberger 1997, p. 13). The corpus was subdivided into three parts, namely, Broadsheets, Tabloids and Editorials, see Table 1.

The Broadsheets corpus includes twenty-five news reports from a selection of British newspapers: *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. The Tabloids corpus consists of twenty-one articles from several British tabloids: *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Evening Standard* and *The Mirror*. These newspapers were chosen on account of their popularity and easy retrievability online for the public at large, based on the assumption that, today, digital science journalism is one of the primary sources of information on science and technology (Barel-Ben David *et al*. 2020, pp. 1-2). The Editorials corpus includes seventeen editorials. As there were not enough editorials from the UK exclusively, several other editorials from major world publications were added to make the corpora more comparable in terms of their dimensions. Consequently, the Editorials corpus includes texts published in different national editions of *The Times*, *The Observer*, *South China Morning Post*, *Washington Post* and *The Herald*. Since the extra-UK part of the corpus is numerically insignificant and all texts are instances of "English-language journalism" (Makki, White 2018), the Editorials corpus is treated as contextually homogeneous, despite potential geo-cultural variation.

The sub-corpora were normalised using MS Excel sheets to 20,000 tokens to render all frequencies comparable.

	Broadsheets	**Tabloids**	**Editorials**
Texts	25	21	17
Tokens	18,785	18,924	11,042
Types	2,823	2,171	2,446
Ave. Text length (w)	751	901	650

Table 1
Corpus composition.

The analysis is articulated in two parts: first, it deals with headlines that are understood here as semantic macro-structures (topics) of news reports and editorials (van Dijk 1988). Second, local structures are analysed for the presence of opinions and evaluative standpoints through the use of reported speech and lexical cohesion in terms of strategies of argumentation and legitimation.

4. Findings

4.1. Headlines

Newspaper articles' headlines, as most titles and headings, fall under the category of paratexts, which represent an "'undefined zone' between the inside and the outside, […] an edge, or, as Philippe Lejeune put it, 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text'" (Genette 2001 [1997], p. 2). The declared purpose of headlines is to define the main topic and to summarise the contents of news articles, yet as they draw attention to the content, they may convey an ideologically biased message (van Dijk 2017, p. 209) through a range of specific linguistic means. Consequently, they have the potential to orient the readership towards one or another interpretation of the event, because "[t]he selection of a term is never innocent, and it is rarely devoid of argumentative purpose" (Amossy 2009, p. 315). Thus, headlines represent the first opportunity for journalists to communicate specific ideologies to readers (Bell 1991; van Dijk 1989).

Table 2 below displays the percentage of headlines that conveyed a positive, a negative or a neutral attitude towards the event. The table indicates individual assessment by two coders, the mean value and the intercoder reliability.[2] The latter equals 90% on average, which measures up to a high reliability of rating (Cho 2008, p. 345).

Attitude	Rating by	Broadsheets	Tabloids	Editorials
Positive	Coder A	4%	0	6%
	Coder B	8%	0	12%
	Mean value	**6%**	**0**	**9%**
Neutral	Coder A	24%	14%	18%
	Coder B	28%	24%	23%
	Mean value	**26%**	**19%**	**21%**
Negative	Coder A	72%	86%	76%
	Coder B	64%	76%	65%
	Mean value	**68%**	**81%**	**71%**
Intercoder reliability		92%	90%	88%

Table 2
Attitude in headlines.

The criteria for the assessment of headlines are grounded in Appraisal Theory (Martin, White 2005) and, more specifically, rely on the category of judgment (Martin, White 2005, p. 42), that is to say the negative or positive evaluation of human behaviour and character by reference to social norms of acceptability. The headlines were classified into three macro-categories: positive, see example (1), negative, see example (2), and neutral, see example (3). However, annotations of discourse in linguistics differ from annotations in other fields, such as medicine, for instance, in that they involve a certain degree of interpretative openness (Hoek, Scholman 2017, p. 2). In addition, since the headlines were annotated as autonomous units, their brevity and pragmatic richness (Isani 2011) might increase cases of coder indeterminacy. Consequently, a third category – labelled "neutral" – was introduced to cater for titles where different interpretations are possible. In such headlines attitudinal variation may stem from elsewhere in the text and may hinge on "the reader responding with a particular inference" (White 2012, p. 59) as in (3) – is it positive that the scientist edited eleven embryos before the final experiment or not? In addition, "neutral" coding was reserved for cases when the headline evoked both positive and negative sides of the event, as "the peril and promise" in (4).

(1) *Don't dismiss* gene editing on account of one rogue case; He Jiankui's work on Crispr babies has been condemned. But the *beneficial possibilities in his work are endless* [The Observer] [3]

[2] The intercoder reliability, expressed in per cent, is calculated as the number of agreement scores divided by the total number of scores in MS Excel.
[3] Emphasis, in italics, has been added by the author, in all examples.

(2) China's '*unethical'* experiment to create gene-edited babies could *spell disaster for humanity* [The Telegraph]

(3) Scientist edited genes in 11 embryos before twins were born [The Times]

(4) The *peril and promise* of gene editing [Editorials – Washington Post]

An insignificantly small number of headlines were positive (on average, 6% in broadsheets, 0 in tabloids and 9% in editorials).[4] A multi-pronged interpretation was possible in 19%-26% of headlines. The key trend, undoubtedly, revolved around negativity, with the highest concentration of negative headlines in tabloids (81%) and the lowest in broadsheets (68%), marking a difference between these two newspaper types.

As the prevalently adverse attitude was pinpointed by both coders, a second round of rating was carried out to identify its type. Appraisal Theory divides the category of *judgment* into *social sanction* and *social esteem*. The former judges 'veracity' (how truthful someone is) and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is), and the latter evaluates "'normality' (how unusual someone is), 'capacity' (how capable they are) and 'tenacity' (how resolute they are)" (Martin, White 2005, p. 52). In this study, the 'doom and gloom' outlook was solicited in a variety of ways (see Table 3), playing on the lack of propriety (illegality and immorality) and the corresponding negative social sanction, as well as on the lack of normality (demonisation) leading to negative social esteem. In addition, some headlines banked on a blend of negative social sanction and social esteem (mixed), while others invoked the lack of tenacity and instability, combining negative social esteem and a discursively created negative affect (unpredictability). Table 3 presents the assessment of negative headlines by both coders and the mean value of their assessment. The intercoder agreement is 93% on average, which is highly reliable (Cho 2008, p. 345).

[4] The mean value of the rating by both coders is used here and elsewhere in the text.

Attitude	Type of negative judgment	Rating by	Broadsheets	Tabloids	Editorials
Social sanction	Illegality	Coder A	50%	16%	0
		Coder B	50%	25%	0
		Mean value	**50%**	**21%**	**0**
	Immorality	Coder A	22%	17%	62%
		Coder B	19%	19%	46%
		Mean value	**21%**	**18%**	**54%**
Social esteem	Demonisation	Coder A	11%	39%	0
		Coder B	12%	44%	0
		Mean value	**12%**	**42%**	**0**
Social sanction / esteem	Mixed	Coder A	11%	28%	0
		Coder B	13%	12%	9%
		Mean value	**12%**	**20%**	**5%**
Social esteem / affect	Unpredictability	Coder A	6%	0	38%
		Coder B	6%	0	45%
		Mean value	**6%**	**0**	**42%**
Intercoder reliability			94%	94%	91%

Table 3
Negative attitude in headlines.

The illegality trope spiked in broadsheets, with half of headlines tackling the scientist's legal transgressions, as in examples (5) and (6). Depicting the scientist as a non-law abiding person, who fakes forms (6) and could face the death penalty (5), serves as a premise for arriving at a negative evaluative standpoint as to his personality, and his research, by extension. Under the pragma-dialectical view of argumentation, this type of argument would fall under the symptomatic type, because violating the law is symptomatic of people who lack propriety.

(5) Chinese scientist who genetically edited babies *under armed guard* amid fears he could *face death penalty* [The Telegraph]

(6) Gene editing baby doctor *faked forms* [The Times]

Similarly, headlines building on the lack of ethical standards (7) and low moral ground (8) serve as a premise for a negative evaluative standpoint concerning the quality of research and the personality of the researcher. Again, these headlines nudge the readers towards viewing He Jiankui as an untrustworthy and ethically troublesome figure.

(7) *Ethics and safety* are key with *probe into claims of gene editing* [Editorial – South China Morning Post]

(8) An *experiment* to create the world's first gene-edited babies *undermines public trust* [Editorial – The Times]

Both illegality and immorality tropes coalesce into the central premise in broadsheets and editorials, where negative sanction totals up collectively 71% in broadsheets and 54% in editorials. A fair divergence emerges: editorials appealed predominantly to the ethics of their audience through the trope of immorality (54% of cases), and broadsheets targeted the readers' logic through the trope of illegality (50% of cases). In other words, editorials and broadsheets relied almost exclusively on sociocultural values, which goes in line with previous findings (Le 2010, p. 23). By contrast, both sociocultural categories in tabloids amounted collectively to 39% of cases only (21% for illegality and 18% for immorality). Such a divergence may be tentatively read as a strategy to cater for the different readership of these newspapers.

Explicitly derogatory lexis (9) spearheaded the trends in tabloids (42%). Along such clear-cut demonisation and even dehumanisation (10), 20% of tabloids' headlines made recourse also to the trope of illegality or immorality (11). On the contrary, no demonizing headlines and only 5% of mixed headlines appeared in editorials, drawing a clear distinction between news reports and editorials.

(9) *MONSTROUS*' Chinese scientist who created '*mutant* gene-edited babies' FIRED for his rogue experiments - but ANOTHER woman is still pregnant [The Sun]

(10) China's modern-day *Frankenstein babies* – and a new genetic experiment that could *wipe out mankind* [Daily Mail]

(11) *Disgraced* Chinese scientist who performed '*monstrous'* gene-editing on human embryos is living *under armed guard amid fears he could face the DEATH PENALTY* for his *heinous experiment*, claim scientists [Daily Mail]

In addition to ethically charged headlines, editorials deployed the strategy of balancing between the negative social esteem and the discursively created negative affect in 42% of cases. By pointing out the insecurity about the consequences of gene-editing application, editorials appealed to pathos, to a certain extent (12). This strategy distinguishes editorials from news reports, in whose headlines it was either absent (tabloids) or insignificant (6% in broadsheets). Under the pragma-dialectical perspective, this type of headlines could be paralleled to causal arguments: the scientists gaze into the future because this technology/its application is fraught with unknown factors, impinging upon the sense of security of humankind. In other words, instead of targeting the personality of the scientist, editorialists set a stage for public discussion, presumably to stimulate the readers to think about possible foreboding outcomes.

(12) Editing the future of the human race; Scientists look at the ways in which genetic engineering technology could play out. [Editorial – South China Morning Post]

Negative appraisal emerged as the main tendency, yet the sub-corpora diverged in the use of premises. A net distinction was traced between the quality and popular press, and several trends were found that were specific to editorials only.

4.2. Opinions and evaluative standpoints in news reports

A close reading confirmed the widely acknowledged peculiarity of news reports: to shift the responsibility for derogatory lexis and strong opinions using direct and indirect speech via the mechanism of “attribution” (Sinclair 1986) or “projection” (Halliday 1994, p. 250). Example (11) in the previous section is a case in point: the phrase “claim scientists” at the end of a strongly phrased title illustrates how such a denial of responsibility, along with a negative assessment, often started from the headline. The trend was further substantiated in the body part of news reports. The quantitative part of the analysis indicated a particularly prominent role (see Table 4) of *verbal processes* (Halliday 1994), also known as *communication* or *speech act verbs* (Biber 2006), in news reports. These verbs, see examples (13) and (14), belong to a “special subcategory of activity verbs that involve communication activities” (Biber 2006, p. 247) and include such verbs as *say*, *tell*, *call*, *describe*, *claim*, *explain*, *mention*, etc. News reports abound in such verbs to convey an opinion belonging to a third party distinct from the journalist, in a clear attempt to arrive at an “absolution from responsibility”, which has become so commonplace in modern journalism (Calsamiglia, López Ferrero 2003, p. 149). Editorials, conversely, used comparatively few communication verbs to convey evaluative standpoints and opinions, relying on other discursive strategies (see 4.3).

	Broadsheets	**Tabloids**	**Editorials**
Communication verbs	401	562	134

Table 4
Normalised frequencies of communication verbs in the top 400 words.

(13) Prof Julian Savulescu, from the University of Oxford, *said*: “*If true*, this experiment is monstrous. These babies are genetic guinea pigs.” He *added*: “This experiment exposes healthy normal children to risks of gene editing for no real necessary benefit.” <u>And</u> Dr Sarah Chan, from the University of Edinburgh, *called* it a cheap publicity stunt and *branded* it “despicable”. [Tabloids – The Sun]

(14) "It is impossible to overstate how irresponsible, unethical and dangerous this is at the moment," *said* Kathy Niakan, a scientist at the Francis Crick Institute, in London, who was present at the summit. "There was a worrying lack of oversight or scrutiny of his clinical plans before he started human experiments and a complete lack of transparency throughout the process". [Broadsheets – The Guardian]

Although the reliance on other sources might seem proof of the reporter's impartiality, it is evident that, by preferring some quotes over others, journalists are responsible for "giving a slant to what is said" (Calsamiglia, López Ferrero 2003, p.149). A clear pattern emerged as to the use of communication verbs along with attributed evaluative standpoints, exemplified in (15). First, the author of the quote was introduced by the title "Dr" or "Prof" followed by the expert's name and his or her affiliation (underlined) making this source "specified" (Calsamiglia, López Ferrero 2003). Next, a communication verb was placed (in bold), followed by the appraising point, in inverted commas.

(15) Dr Kiran Musunuru, a gene-editing expert at the University of Pennsylvania, **described** it as "unconscionable", and **called** it an "experiment on human beings that is not morally or ethically defensible". *And* Dr Eric Topol, of the Scripps Research Translational Institute in California, **said**: "This is far too premature. We're dealing with the operating instructions of a human being. It's a big deal." *But* Harvard University's George Church **said** HIV is a "major and growing public health threat", and **described** the gene-editing experiment as "justifiable". [Tabloids – The Sun]

The expert's affiliation and title adjacent to the quote serve a legitimating function, leading the readership towards trusting the appraisal in light of the expert's weight in the field. Such source descriptors inherently invoke attitudinal assessments because the attributed material is presented as associated with a trustworthy source (White 2012, p. 60). Remarkably, tabloids use such honorifics three times more frequently (normalised frequency=249) than broadsheets (NF=80), relying heavily on the credit associated with academic ranks.

In tabloids, the quotes act as standpoints, without any specific data elaboration from the journalist, and they are linked by the conjunction "and" placed sentence-initially. Typically, such placement of standpoint serves the cross-legitimation function, as the combined expertise of two or more scholars conveying a similar opinion reinforces the assessment provided. However, there are cases when such quote-embedded opinions are juxtaposed using the contrastive conjunction "but", (15). The peculiarity of these cases is that the journalists do not convey their own opinion but merely re-arrange the quotes of the others, attributing the responsibility for the content of such opinions to external sources, and adding only conjunctions to clarify whether the opinions are consonant (“and”) or opposing (“but”). Such selection and re-arrangement of quotes are not devoid of ideological implications, because it is the journalist who puts these propositions into play, even though the attitudinal content is not directly attributed to the reporter.

Against this background it is truly noteworthy how He Jiankui’s statements were rarely used as quotes in tabloids. His stance was conveyed using indirect speech mainly, (16), and frequently relying on the communication verb *claim* with negative connotations, defined as ‘non-factive’ by Hyland (2002). By using *claim*, journalists question the factual status of the following information, thus contributing to the overall adverse assessment by stepping back from the quoted source (White 2012, p. 62). Alternatively, news reports with negative headlines cut the scientist’s quotes extracting the ‘juicy’ pieces only for sensational effect, as is exemplified in (17), thus depriving the scientist of his voice. Such a technique may be construed as biased, bordering on ideologically charged, because it leaves the scientist in a marginalised position in the general heteroglossic background of the texts (Bakhtin 1981), that is to say in the general diversity of voices and viewpoints.

(16) Of course the scientist in question, He Jiankui, an associate professor of biology at China’s Southern University of Science and Technology, does not *describe* it like this. *He claims* he is responsible for a medical breakthrough that can render newborns immune to infection by the HIV virus. He did it, *he said*, using a cutting-edge technique called CRISPR (or Crispr-Cas9 to give it its full name) to change the babies’ DNA before they were born. [Tabloids – Daily Mail]

(17) But speaking at a genome summit in Hong Kong, *Jiankui said* he was *“proud”* of his work. He *also said that “another potential pregnancy”* of a gene-edited embryo was in its early stages. [Tabloids – The Sun]

Contrariwise, broadsheets, and specifically broadsheets with positive headlines (see Section 4.1), provided the readers with fuller quotes from the scientist, thus enabling him discursively to defend his standpoint (18), using reporting verbs without an expressed evaluation.

(18) The study participants are not ethicists, He *said*, but “are as much authorities on what is correct and what is wrong because it’s their life on the line.” “I believe this is going to help the families and their children,” He *said*. If it causes unwanted side effects or harm, “I would feel the same pain as they do and it’s going to be my own responsibility.” [Broadsheets – The Daily Telegraph]

Consequently, another distinction emerged between tabloids and broadsheets. Tabloids, together with derogatory lexis in headlines, tended to deprive the scientist of his voice. Cropping his quotes to the ‘spicy’ bits created a slanted representation and, arguably, an imbalance of power, as it reduced the dialogic nature of reports. The inclusion of fuller quotes, which characterised broadsheets with positive or neutral headlines (see 4.1), created a more ‘objective’ representation of the event, or at least involved less mediation from the original source’s message. The heteroglossic backdrop included also the scientist’s voice, so dampening the effect of an overall inequality in power.

4.3. Opinions and evaluative standpoints in editorials

According to van Dijk (1988, p. 177), lexical choice is “an eminent aspect of news discourse in which hidden opinions or ideologies may surface”. Similarly, Fowler (1991), working in the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1994), suggested in his analysis of news discourse that alternative linguistic patterns have different values with ideological implications. This study relies on the assumption that lexical cohesion choices have a potential ideological discourse function.

The editorials made systematic recourse to the dynamic process of lexical cohesion to shape the meaning of texts and to contribute to its overall ideological construction. The close reading stage revealed a strong tendency to convey opinions and standpoints using lexical cohesion and, specifically, connectives with predominantly adversative meaning and the meaning of contrast, such as *but, while, although, though*, *however*. Although other structures were used likewise, this study focuses on the most recurrent of them to assess qualitatively their embedding patterns. Table 5 illustrates that such connectives are in pole position in editorials while relatively lagging behind in tabloids.

	Broadsheets	**Tabloids**	**Editorials**
Connectives	131	93	170

Table 5
Normalised frequencies of connectives with adversative meaning / contrast.

These connectives frequently co-occurred with the adverbials of certainty, such as *obviously*, *certainly*, *clearly*, *definitely*, *evidently*, *of course*, etc. The co-occurrence of adversative/contrastive connectives with adverbials of certainty created so-called *concur-counter patterns* (Breeze 2016), namely patterns where different standpoints are presented argumentatively through shifting alignments to cater for a different readership (19, 20, 21). These patterns added to the heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981) of editorials.

(19) It is, *of course*, everyone's hope that the twin girls will grow up healthy and happy, *but* the possibility that they may face potential health risks cannot be overlooked. [Editorial – South China Morning Post]

(20) *Certainly*, any alteration to the germline should be undertaken only with the greatest of care and with far more knowledge than we currently possess. Hence the condemnation of He. *But* the possibilities inherent in genome-editing techniques to help prevent and treat disorders, from cystic fibrosis to cancer, are tremendous. [Editorial – The Observer]

(21) The prospect of genetically eliminating crippling diseases is *certainly* appealing, *but* this promise masks a darker reality. [Editorial – The Philadelphia Inquirer]

Concur-counter patterns go in line with rhetorical concessives (König 2006), used to concede the first assertion and to emphasise the second opposing one. For instance, in (19) the editorialist agrees with the hope for the healthy future of the twins, which is discursively marked by *of course*. However, the next statement counters the previous one and concurs with another part of the readership, the one preoccupied about the potential health risks. Similarly, in (20) *certainly* flags concession that caution is advised when dealing with gene-editing techniques. Yet immediately *but* shifts the alignment and expressly acknowledges the positive possibilities of the technology. The concordance search traced such co-occurrences also in cases where the adverbial of certainty was not placed sentence-initially, as in (21). Curiously, although the corpus of editorials at hand is small, the ratio of co-occurrences of adversatives/contrastives with adverbials of certainty is consonant with previous findings by Breeze (2016) on a larger corpus, thus confirming her hypothesis that this pattern may be peculiar to the editorial genre. No such co-occurrences were found in news reports.

Along with the above concur-counter patterns, editorials also used classical concessive constructions to mingle two different opinions in a single sentence. The conceptual basis of concessive constructions, to summarise König (1988, 2006), lies in the assertion of two situations (facts) against a background of conflict or incompatibility. Typically, the rhetorical effect of concessive constructions is that the opponent's premise is accepted, but its consequences are not accepted (Mazzoleni 1990, p. 23). According to Garzone (2005, p. 137), from the ideational point of view, "[…] concessive constructions are typically used to present inhomogeneous or contrasting eventualities and data, conferring upon them a degree of coherence, also thanks to the pragmatic inference required for understanding the utterance itself. Among other things, they allow to present together negative and positive aspects as equally inescapable sides of reality". In the texts at hand, editorialists topicalised the dominant (negative) assertion by using a contrastive framing, which inherently implied a subjective and evaluative slant.

Some of such constructions employed the so-called ‘stance bundles’ (Goźdź-Roszkowski 2011, p. 138-139), for example *it is* phrases, followed by an evaluative adjective, which activated attitudinal content. For instance, in (22) the hypotactic construction with *while* is followed by the conceded statement *is undeniable*, with a stance bundle *it was not wise* in the main clause. Other concessive constructions belong to the rhetorical type (23; 24) and are signalled by the modal verb *may*. Such constructions typically are built around the inference that “it is not the factual content of the two clauses that is incompatible”, but “the conclusions or arguments that are based on these assertions” (König 2006, p. 823).

(22) W*hile it is undeniable* that biologist He Jiankui made a significant breakthrough in genetic modification, *it was not wise* of him to proceed in haste. [Editorial – South China Morning Post]

(23) He’s work *may be unethical, but* there is nothing ethically superior in condemning future generations to terrible medical conditions if it were possible safely to eliminate them. [Editorial – The Observer]

(24) He *may be convinced* that he got this splice correct, *but* there is no certainty that it will not have other effects. [Editorials – The Japan Times]

As epitomised above, the information flow could typify the event both in a negative light (22, 24) and in a positive light (23), with the former tendency prevailing. Such standpoints reflected the chief orientation given at the level of headlines (see Section 4.1). The representation of the opposing view was typically discursively construed as irrelevant due to the inherent conflict with the following standpoint, the one supported and topicalised by the editorialist. Consequently, on the surface both premises were discursively presented; however, only one was given a real weight. Often, the disputed assertion was not even flagged by a concessive connective (25, 26), making such sentences virtually indistinguishable from adversative sentences with a paratactic link (König 2006, p. 823).

(25) Genetic research holds the promise to prevent, cure, and even eliminate disease. *But* when it is used to create made-to-order “super children,” we have crossed a moral line from which there may be no return. [Editorials – The Philadelphia Inquirer]

(26) This all sounds good, *but* the technology is still in its infancy – especially in its application to the human germline. [Editorials – The Irish Times]

Clearly, advocating one viewpoint and rebutting the opposing opinion is a subtler way of influencing the opinions of the readership, which allows editorials to fulfil their persuasive potential. Skilful juggling with various concessive moves enables the editorialist to achieve an effective argumentative strategy and to advance a possibly ideological position without appearing straightforwardly biased. Arguably, it requires the audience to navigate prudently through the propositions put into action.

5. Conclusions

This study stemmed from the assumption – amply supported in the literature on science journalism – that media coverage of controversial science, such as the case of the first gene-edited twins, would inescapably tap into some kind of knowledge mediation and clashing viewpoints. The study sought to contribute to the scholarship directed at describing and explaining the linguistic realisation of alternative standpoints and potentially ideological messages in science news using a combination of insights from Appraisal Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and Argumentation Theory. The findings reveal the mainstream negative portrayal of the event with some 'duelling' undercurrents. The resultant picture ranges from explicitly evaluative to implicitly ideological, with a varying degree of argumentation involved. Despite the declaredly different communicative goals – to report and to persuade – both news reporters and editorialists introduced elements of evaluation and a certain degree of strategic manoeuvring in the same experiential content at a variety of levels.

The first layer of visibly attitudinal elements was represented by headlines. They acted as semantic macro-structures (topics) preparing the readers for a specific response and perception of the event. Contrary to the viewpoint that news reports are written in an impersonalised 'reporter voice', where straightforward evaluations are restricted to quotes, most headlines passed on an explicitly attitudinal message. As headlines were created by journalists and in most cases were not directly attributed to third persons, their evaluative nature suggested a potentially ideological slant. Predictably, most headlines expressed a negative judgment, but it was conveyed through different evaluation patterns marking a watershed between the quality press and tabloids. Negative attitude ranged from a predominantly openly negative social esteem in tabloids, attacking at times the scientist's personality rather than his work, to prevalently negative social sanction in broadsheets and editorials, invoking unacceptability of illegal or unethical actions. Most headlines exploited the symptomatic relationship between one facet of the event and the mainly adverse conclusion. Besides social sanction, the editorials sub-corpus also featured headlines with negative affect, passing thus a more personal and covert message and exploring also causal arguments appealing to the logic of the readers.

Attitudes from headlines found further support in the text by local structures conveying opinions and standpoints. News reports and editorials diverged significantly in the use of reported speech as a responsibility shifting mechanism. In keeping with previous research, news reports, and tabloids in particular, attributed evaluative points to third parties. Interviews were extracted for ‘juicy’ and sensational quotes, and these advanced specific value positions. A peculiar detail was identified: tabloids did not use He Jiankui’s full quotes, leaving him in a downgraded position against the overall heteroglossia. Along with an aggressive portrayal of the scientist in headlines, the silencing of his voice created an imbalance of power. This is not to suggest that broadsheets and editorials presented an entirely ‘objective’ picture. These newspaper types employed lexical cohesion and syntactic structures to orient the message, resulting in more subtle, yet tinged, messages, requiring more careful navigation from readers. Finally, the research identified a specific pattern for editorials only, used to concede with one position and to counter it within the same utterance. Concur-counter patterns, and more generally, concessive constructions, seemingly represented both sides of the coin, although only one part of the statement seemed to carry more weight, rendering such patterns potentially ideological if the socially preferred message was placed in the rhetorically strong position.

In general, the blunter the attempts to sway public opinion by the choice of linguistically charged words and expressions were, the less power the texts had over potential ideological implications, and *vice versa*. Even though it would be simplistic to assume a direct relationship between a public response and a more or less obvious ideological framing of the event, some trends emerge. On an overt-covert influence cline, the tabloids could be tentatively defined as the most deliberately evaluative, but strategically impersonalised, as part of the attitudinal burden was unloaded onto third sources. On account of often blatantly derogatory lexis, and lack of elaborate syntactic constructions, news reports in tabloids appeared to be the least manipulative and, to the discerning eye, quite easy to see past. The editorials, conversely, wielded the least overtly evaluative lexis with the highest potential for ideological manipulations, because the preferred message was dexterously presented in a stronger rhetorical position, rebutting argumentatively the dispreferred premise or conclusion.

Bionote: Jekaterina Nikitina holds a PhD in Linguistic, literary and intercultural studies in European and extra-European perspectives from the University of Milan. Her academic interests include specialised discourse and translation studies, with a particular insight into specialised phraseology. She works on LSP theories and applications, knowledge dissemination dynamics, legal discourse, discourse of healthcare, medicine and bioethics. In her research, she applies qualitative and quantitative, specifically corpus linguistics, analytical approaches. Currently, she is a Research Fellow at the Saint Camillus International University of Health and Medical Sciences (UniCamillus, Rome), where she lectures in Medical-Scientific English. Her published academic work includes publications on legal translation, dissemination of bioethical knowledge, popularisation of scientific topics through a range of channels, with a focus on medically assisted procreation and gene editing.

Author's address: jekaterina.nikitina@unicamillus.org

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 123-150
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p123

FRAMING ARGUMENT FOR SPECIALISED KNOWLEDGE: INTERACTIONAL METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN ECONOMICS AND LAW RESEARCH ARTICLES

GIROLAMO TESSUTO
UNIVERSITÀ DELLA CAMPANIA "LUIGI VANVITELLI"

Abstract – This chapter examines the patterns of interactional metadiscourse use in the disciplines of Economics and Law, and draws upon Hyland's (2005a) analytical framework of metadiscourse markers along with other integrative frameworks in an approximately 160,000-word corpus of social science empirical research articles in these fields. Both distributional and functional analyses of metadiscourse resources show that there are similarities as well as differences between the two disciplines in terms of how writers structure their argumentative texts for their readers, and how they draw on their understandings of these resources to report the results of their original study to their readers. It is argued that metadiscursive use may be accounted for by the epistemologies behind the existing qualitative and quantitative methods of empirical research alongside a range of experiential, social and identity-shaping variables of the writers involved in this kind of argumentative genre. By contributing additional evidence to current published research, this study aims to provide a greater understanding of metadiscourse in the argumentative writing practices of the research article.

Keywords: discourse and genre; argumentation; metadiscourse.

1. Introduction

Research on metadiscourse has often focused on cross-disciplinary comparisons and presented intricate findings of how academic writers from different disciplinary communities follow different conventions for knowledge construction and communication (Becher, Trowler 2001; Hyland 2005a, 2005b, 2010), and how disciplinary branches exhibit different epistemological traditions and research methodologies (Abdi 2011). Besides rhetorical self-reflective expressions of metadiscourse in academic discourse studies (Aguilar 2008; Hyland 2005b) on the differential use of metadiscourse in different types of academic writing have shown that it is influenced by the writers' linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Dahl 2004; Li, Wharton 2012), the conventions behind disciplines and genres (Abdi 2002;

Bondi 2010; Fu, Hyland 2014; Gillaerts, van de Velde 2010; Hyland 2005a, 2005b; Salas 2015; Tse, Hyland 2006), and the publishing contexts (Mur-Dueñas 2011), with significant differences found in the expression of interpersonal values through personal pronouns (Lorés-Sanz 2006) and evaluative markers (Mur-Dueñas 2010) within EAP intercultural rhetorical studies. However, metadiscourse analysis has also provided a gateway for understanding the interactional activity done in the genre of academic legal case notes (Tessuto 2012) and the genre of academic legal blogs (Tessuto 2015a), medical research blogs (Tessuto 2020a), and research and publication ethics cases (Tessuto 2020b).

When it comes to the high-stake genre of academic research articles, the effective use of metadiscourse devices to achieve a rhetorical purpose not only depends on understanding the different kinds of research argument that are shaped across the established practices of disciplines and their discourses, but also hinges on a shared knowledge of disciplinary contexts and practices between writers and readers. In research articles, where readers are not just passive recipients of textual effects, data must be organized by writers into meaningful patterns for readers to share cultural, academic, and rhetorical practices. These texts are the channels through which writers build an evidentiary argument to convince the readers of their own thesis, or their main hypothesis, as is in science, and often result in the article research designs and methods being either qualitative, quantitative, or mixed in approaches. But because discoursal decisions are influenced by the enquiry patterns and scientific knowledge structures of individual disciplines, effectiveness in making metadiscourse choices provides the basis for acceptable forms of argument in research articles produced for a target disciplinary community, and similarly fits the "persuasive" and "argumentative" nature of metadiscourse in academic writing (Hyland 2005a, p. 5).

Just as academic research articles look for persuasion in textual practices and provide a more nuanced understanding of disciplinary communities, so too they align with the traditional logic and philosophy theories of "argumentation" that define several components of an argument, such as *claim*, *support*, and *warrant* (Toulmin 2003; Walton *et al*. 2008). This is because science and scientific discourse involve the construction of theories that provide explanations for phenomena that are open to refutation, and emphasize the importance of arguments about the interpretation of evidence and the validity of knowledge claims. So, in a typical research article, the writer's use of, for instance, *warrant* statements that provide a link between *data* and *claims*, or *backing* statements that strengthen the *warrants*, inevitably contains traces of disciplinary activities that foster the process of writer's justification and elaboration of evidence and support the reliability of knowledge claims for persuasive purposes in response to highly sophisticated scientific arguments. Among these components, a *backing* statement is the kind of evidence that research article writers need to collect in any proper investigation, so that the various steps that can be taken in defense of a standpoint (such as *claim*, *support*, *warrant*) significantly help these writers to develop an effective line of argument that their audience is likely to find persuasive. Within a pragma-dialectical framework of argumentation (van Eemeren, Garssen 2011, p. 5), these procedural forms of argument suggest that writers of research articles not only "secur[e] communion with the people the argumentative discourse is aimed at", but most importantly they "achieve certain communicative and interactional effects on an audience" in science and scientific discourse. So, looking at the role of argumentation in scientific writing tells us a lot about how writers seek to present themselves and appeal to their readers in relation to their topics available from within the boundaries of their disciplines.

But the metadiscourse practices employed to frame arguments in the rhetorically-loaded aspects of research article writing are not foreign to the important identity-or voice-constructing activity in academic discourse. In this sense, some approaches to 'voice' range, for instance, from the notion of voice as writer identity and 'self-representation' that is discursively constructed in all forms of writing (Ivanič, Camps 2001, pp. 2-8), voice as "the amalgamative effect of the use of discursive and non-discursive features" that form "a significant component of identity" (Matsuda 2001, pp. 40-41), to voice as an important aspect of identity that is indexed through the use of linguistic resources such as hedges, boosters (Biber 2006; Hyland 2005a). So, if an important implication of such different, but complex perspectives is that identity is discursively and dynamically constructed, it follows that the ways research article writers engage with the use of different metadiscourse resources play a key impact in the discoursal construction of their identity in scientific writing. At the same time, they help to give identity to their disciplines by contributing to the social relations that organize the authors' academic practices.

Given that metadiscourse is an important tool for the analysis of disciplinary orientations in written academic discourse, further opportunities arise from the need to examine the role played by argumentative metadiscursive elements in the important genre of academic research articles from two specific disciplines. To this end, the study in the present paper has the following objectives:

1. To evaluate the similarities and/or differences in the use of metadiscourse markers between Economics and Law research articles and the ways they frame research argument for specialized knowledge.

2. To examine the rhetorical use of metadiscourse markers and the ways they enable scientific writers to represent themselves and their readers in this kind of argumentative discourse alongside the negotiable nature of relationships and writer identities realized by individual linguistic choices.

Prior to answering these questions, I will first indicate the empirical material and research method employed. Then, I will undertake the analysis and discussion of the findings for these questions and draw conclusions.

2. Corpus building, methodology and procedure

2.1. Corpus building

The analytical data for this study came from a synchronous corpus of English-medium, multiple-authored academic research articles (RAs) from the social science fields of Economics and Law available from the Oxford Academic Open-Access platform and the Wiley Online Library. Three reputable peer-reviewed journals were selected from each discipline, with the Economics journals including *The Economic Journal*, *Economic Policy*, and *The Econometrics Journal* supported by Oxford Open, and the Law journals consisting of *The British Journal of Criminology*, the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, and the *Law & Society Review* secured by Wiley (Table 1). Two equal-size corpora were built for both disciplines through the random selection of 10 RAs of Economics and 10 RAs of Law (see Table 1) published between 2015 and 2019, exemplifying the category of lead articles in a corpus of 20 samples.

Only the research articles in the two subcorpora were downloaded from the electronic versions of the relevant journals and converted into Rich Text format for computer storage. In this procedure, only the main text was kept for each article, meaning that its title, abstract, figures, tables, notes and references were removed from the current analytical data. As a result, as determined by the word count option in WordSmith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2015), the Economics corpus comprises 85,063 tokens and the Law corpus 78,637 tokens (total: 163,000 tokens), as shown in Table 1.

	Economics subcorpora	Law subcorpora
No. of Journals and Titles	*The Economic Journal – Economic Policy – The Econometrics Journal*	*The British Journal of Criminology - Journal of Empirical Legal Studies - Law & Society Review*
No. of RAs from selected Journals	10	10
No. of RAs taken from each Journal	EJ: 4 – EP: 3 – EcL: 3	BJC: 4 – JELS: 3 – LSR: 3
Publication years of RAs	2015-2016-2017-2018-2019	2015-2016-2017-2018-2019
No. of tokens	85,063	78,637
Total	163,700	
No. of sentences	2,782	2,123
Total	4,905	
Mean (in words)	28.34	35.72
Total	64.06	

Table 1
Quantitative data of RAs corpus- Word Smith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2015).

2.2. Contextualizing the corpus data

The journals selected for the current corpus share a common commitment to reporting empirical research based on observed and measured phenomena by deriving knowledge from actual experience rather than from theory (Creswell 2009). Essentially, this means that empirically-oriented research in the samples relies on a mixture of quantitative and qualitative forms of data collection and analysis through direct and indirect observation or experience in each of the two social science disciplines, involving surveys, case studies, ethnographic or observational methods. To exemplify this in the current datasets, Economics writers determined, for instance, the role of technological substitution in low-wage labour markets, or Law writers investigated the contribution of small claims courts to enhancing access to justice, and in both cases their purpose was to elicit changing conditions, perceptions and findings about the phenomena under study. By so doing, writers in the ongoing corpus systematically combine inductive (qualitative) exploratory work with deductive (quantitative) data, so that the nuances and mechanisms underlying the themes may be examined in more detail.

This way of devising empirical studies in the corpus tie writers to the standard Introduction-Method-Results-Discussion (IMRaD) format of article writing (Swales 1990), or appropriate variations thereof, as necessary to structure an academic argument within the paper and provide an evidence-based position, and/or perspective on the topics. This way of adopting the IMRaD format and structuring an academic 'argument' around quantitative/qualitative methods naturally situates the writers' disciplinary studies on a basic continuum between the sciences and the humanities academic knowledge disciplines (Coffin *et al.* 2003), signifying that Economics and Law papers are as much a part of experimental, quantitative methods of data analysis adopted from the sciences as are the more interpretative, qualitative methods of data analysis adopted from the humanities.

2.3. Analytical framework and data coding

To address the two research questions both in qualitative and quantitative terms, this study relied on the five interactional metadiscourse markers provided in Hyland's (2005a) taxonomy, namely, *hedges*, *boosters*, *attitude markers*, *self-mentions* and *engagement markers*, which in themselves perform "rhetorical" and "pragmatic" functions (Hyland 2005a, p. 25).[1] These metadiscourse categories, as exemplified by their surface lexical realizations shown in the Appendix, were analysed as follows:

- *Hedges*: features which limit the writer's full commitment to a proposition and which indicate his or her evaluation of non-factivity in the discipline as a result of the epistemic status and value of the statements. Hedges were realized by such lexico-grammatical forms as epistemic modal verbs, lexical verbs, adjectives, adverbs, including those used to manipulate precision in quantification, and nouns.

- *Boosters*: features which increase certainty about propositions and which provide a certain rhetorical balance with hedges. Unlike hedges, which "indicate the writer's decision to recognize alternative voices and viewpoints and so withhold complete commitment to a proposition", boosters therefore "allow writers to close down alternatives, head off conflicting views and express their certainty in what they say" (Hyland 2005a, p. 52). In the current corpus, boosters comprised epistemic modal auxiliary verbs, lexical verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, serving to accentuate the writer's epistemic stance and promote solidarity with readers as well (Hyland 1998; Peacock 2006).

- *Attitude markers*: features which express the writer's affective evaluation of propositional information in a variety of evaluative stance expressions revealing agreement, importance, surprise, obligation, and so on. They were signalled by deontic modal verbs, attitude verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. Because writers recognise new ground for

[1] Another study by this author (in preparation) has focused on the interactive metadiscourse markers (Hyland 2005a) realized in the same corpus of RAs.

knowledge and claim originality for work done in the current disciplines, some fine-grained distinctions were also made within this taxonomy. So, differently lexicalised attitude markers (for example, *consistent, new, novel, noteworthy, robust, significant-ly, valid*), were also analysed and interpreted as realising the meanings of "'significance' (that is, relevance, importance) and 'assessment' (namely, acuity, efficacy, novelty, interestingness, validity, strength, quality" (Mur-Dueñas 2010, p. 62), providing writers with another component of rhetorical expression and solidarity in this kind of academic writing.

- *Self-mentions*: features which convey the extent of authorial role or identity of scholars though the exclusive first-person pronoun (*we*) and possessive adjective (*our*). In the absence of implicit and indirect means (for example, *this author*) in the textual data, reliance on self-mentions is the most explicit means by which writers fulfil several different rhetorical functions in their writing, ranging from discourse organization, marking the writer's role in the research, to negotiating knowledge claims (Harwood 2005; Hyland 2002b).

- *Engagement markers*: items which focus more on reader involvement in the text. They were signalled by inclusive reader pronouns and possessives for the construal of authorial presence and knowledge making (Harwood 2005; Hyland 2002b; Kuo 1999; Tang, John 1999), directives for instructing readers to behave in a particular way, rhetorical and real question forms for engaging readers overtly, and asides for interrupting the flow of text (Hyland 2005a).

This range of interactional metadiscourse features was chosen to understand how the scholars as authors make "explicit interventions to comment on and evaluate material" (Hyland 2005a, p. 44) and involve readers collaboratively in textual construction, creating four elements of communication: writer, reader, language and reality (context). Such an understanding, then, provides a response to the interpersonal component of argumentative writing in the academic genre where the social and intellectual activity of disciplinary writers becomes part of a consensual knowledge.

All of the textual data in the present corpus were read and identified for their potential metadiscourse features between the two disciplines. Once it was decided that a given feature qualified as metadiscursive, it was labelled under the categories outlined above. Then, individual items were searched for electronically in the whole corpus using WordSmith software (Scott 2015, 6.0), and almost 300 total instances were obtained for those items. After retrieval, each instance was carefully analysed in context to make sure that it functioned as a metadiscourse marker in the text and could be included in the frequency counts of each of the categories as discussed immediately below.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Interactional metadiscourse data by frequency: overall patterns

As shown in Table 2, the frequency analysis of metadiscourse categories reveals a total of 5,918 interactional metadiscourse items in the whole corpus, where they rank slightly higher in the Economics (3,063) than the Law subcorpora (2,855).

Category and Subcategory	**Economics**		**Law**		**Combined subcorpora**	
	N°	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
Interactional metadiscourse						
Hedges	1,363	44	1,212	42	2,575	43
Boosters	584	19	531	19	1,115	19
Attitude markers	476	16	504	18	980	17
Self-mentions	128	4	153	5	281	5
Engagement markers	512	17	455	16	967	16
Total	3,063	100	2,855	100	5,918	100

Table 2
Frequencies of interactional metadiscourse markers in Economics and Law social science research articles.

If we look at the overall incidence of individual metadiscourse markers in the whole corpus, we will see that hedges hold the lion's share in the data (43%) while boosters rank as the second most frequent devices (19%) followed closely by attitude markers (17%), engagement markers (16%), and self-mentions along the way (5%). We see that writers are ready to be more cautious by hedges than assertive by boosters about their claims and arguments in research reporting, and are less likely to express an attitude to what they say, address readers by engagement markers, or to intervene with personal presence by self-mentions. If we turn to the incidence of metadiscourse markers in each discipline, we see that they are almost evenly distributed between the two fields, suggesting how academic writing conventions change little from one discipline to another. On the whole, these frequency counts are largely consistent with the findings of other studies on different types of academic writing across disciplines (Hyland 2005a; Khadije, Reza 2017; Khedri, Konstantinos 2018; Lee, Casal 2014; Tessuto

2012), where interaction is created through the social and discursive practices of individuals.

In general, therefore, and as will become increasingly clear throughout, the frequency analysis of metadiscourse patterns shows the important role they have in managing writer-reader relationships and reflecting discipline-specific knowledge-making practices in the genre.

3.2. Interactional metadiscourse resources by frequency and function

With these data in hand, let us now look more closely into how the broadly variable frequencies of interactional metadiscourse strategies are realized functionally in the empirical research article used for effective argumentation and persuasion by disciplinary writers.

3.2.1. Hedges

To begin with hedges, the most heavily used interactional metadiscourse subcategory in the corpus (43%), Table 3 shows overall that epistemic modal verbs tend to be the most frequent devices (48%), with epistemic adverbs accounting for a fifth of all such devices (21%) down to epistemic adjectives (17%), epistemic nouns (8%) and epistemic lexical verbs (6%). However, the distribution of these features is kept almost uniform in each discipline.

Hedges	**Economics**		**Law**		**Total**	
	N°	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
modal auxiliary verbs	636	47	589	49	1,225	48
lexical verbs	85	6	73	6	158	6
adjectives	249	18	188	15	437	17
adverbs	269	20	277	23	546	21
nouns	124	9	85	7	209	8
Total	**1,363**	**100**	**1,212**	**100**	**2,575**	**100**

Table 3
Frequencies of hedges in the corpus.

Implied in these findings is the fact that the writer's commitment to the truth value of the statement through hedges is mainly a lexical phenomenon, and different devices like *may*, *suggest*, *probable*, *perhaps*, and *assumption* inventoried in the data have the rhetorical effect of weighting the expression of this commitment depending on how the writers qualify the epistemic value of the statements and pragmatically position the writer-reader relations. So, while lexical hedges enable writers to establish a protective boundary against their readers potentially holding different views around a topic, the rhetorical effect of hedging is also variously achieved in evaluative *that* constructions (Hyland 2005a; Hyland/Tse 2005), or extraposed structures with *that* or *to*-infinitive clause patterns (Biber *et al.* 1999; Hewings, Hewings 2002; Kaltenböck 2005) controlled by different epistemic predicates for expressing the writer's opinion or stance.

In the examples below, different kinds of lexical hedges play a significant role in expressing the writers' tentativeness attached to the propositions and evading responsibility for their scientific claims and arguments:

(1) We divide the treatment effects by the proportion of immigrants that could possibly be mobilised to vote by the treatment […]. (Eco)

(2) First, we allow for $\psi j \geq 0$ and, second, we allow for the possibility that $\gamma \neq \beta$; that is, the wage-setting rules in the two sectors may differ in the relative weights placed on productivity versus education. (Eco)

(3) This is more likely to happen when there is a pure public-sector premium that is increasing with worker qualifications. (Eco)

(4) Devolving power to 'active citizens' would reasonably improve effectiveness and generate new democratic accountabilities and scrutiny. (Lw)

(5) However, while the number of areas with a scheme seems to have remained comparatively stable, […]. (Lw)

Not only do these epistemic devices indicate the writers' evaluation of factivity of the knowledge claims and present information as an opinion rather than an established fact, they also help the writers to make predictions about how readers are likely to subscribe to those claims from within the boundaries of a disciplinary discourse. Because of the need to lessen the force of the writer statements, this kind of metadiscourse turns on the social and epistemological assumptions of empirical writers and readers' uptakes – both leading to the appropriate sense of meaning and rhetorical appropriateness.

Lexical hedges are also used to limit the qualitative nature of the claims, as in (6-7), or to manipulate precision in quantification (8):

(6) There is mixed evidence on somewhat higher paying occupations, where […]. (Eco)

(7) However, co-productive relationships and activities are various and complex, and their contribution may be more or less allied to the core task of a public service. (Lw)

(8) And at the same time, household membership has been falling—from 80% in 1988 to about 40% by 2010–11. (Lw)

Moreover, the ability to modulate scientific claims and bring readers round to speculative possibilities can also be seen in the grammatical phenomenon of hedging realized by evaluative *that*-constructions. In the examples below, writers are being prudently involved in the reporting of research and attributing the evaluation of material in the *that* clause to either themselves through a verbal predicate (9), or attributing the source of evaluation to an abstract entity such as a research model (10):

(9) We argue *that* conservation areas in England are particularly amenable to the proposed methodology. (Eco)

(10) Our baseline calibration indicates that most of this premium is attributable to different distributions of education across the two sectors. (Lw)

Likewise, writers are also removing themselves as human subjects from the evaluative source of research and attributing the evaluation of material to other peoples' studies, thus handling their discourse in various ways and displaying their stance towards the relevant information:

(11) Studies have suggested *that* participation in anti-crime initiatives, including NW, is facilitated where residents have favourable opinions towards the police […]. (Lw)

Alongside these realizations, making commitments to hedged claims becomes evident in the syntactic instances of *it*-extraposed *that*-clauses shown below. Structures like these allow the writers to obscure their source of opinion and foreground their evaluative (epistemic) stance towards the proposition in the projecting clause, and at the same time to present a generalizable, negotiable source of the comment to the evaluative entities under discussion:

(12) It is likely *that* these trends not only wash out non design locational factors but also external visiting effects, […]. (Eco)

(13) It may be assumed *that* citizens' beliefs about the police are related to their willingness to engage in anti-crime measures […]. (Lw)

(14) So, overall, it appears *that* patent litigation in this early period was not particularly prone to macroeconomic forces […]. (Lw)

We therefore see how hedging strategies pave the way for more contextually diverse outcomes, as writers seek to manage discourse by constructing effective lines of argument around their own subjectivity and range of possible alternatives to better answer questions for the intended audience. These strategies, then, show the major work they do in building a shared evaluative context between writers and readers, and become part and parcel of a formalized schema where arguments arise from the patterns of inquiry and empirical research itself.

3.2.2. Boosters

In addition to attending to the most visible hedges, writers do not shy away from other communicative strategies and invest their scientific claims and arguments with a convincing degree of certainty through the interactional resources of boosters which, as seen in Table 2, account for the second-ranking interactional metadiscourse subcategory in the corpus (19%). In line with this, Table 4 shows that verbal boosters represent the most frequent devices overall (48%), with such lexical verbs as *demonstrate*, *find*, and *show* falling into the category of 'research acts' (Hyland 2002a), and conveying the writer's belief in the reliability of information. These rhetorical features are followed by modal boosters (18%) realized by the modal operator *will* (expressing the writer's most definite degree of certainty), by the inferential *must* and *could/could not* modal verbs (the writer deducing that a future state or event is the most logical or rational outcome), and by *should/should not* (the writer believing that a state or event is reasonable to expect). Next in the overall frequency are adjectival boosters (16%), such as *absolute*, *clear*, *obvious*, adverbial boosters (14%), such as *always*, *never*, *plainly*, down to miscellaneous forms (4%), such as *well-known/established*. As with hedges seen before, boosting features are also evenly distributed in each discipline.

Boosters	**Economics**		**Law**		**Total**	
	N°	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
modal auxiliary verbs	103	18	96	18	199	18
lexical verbs	271	47	262	48	533	48
adjectives	96	17	89	16	185	16
adverbs	85	15	72	14	157	14
miscellaneous	18	3	23	4	41	4
Total	**573**	**100**	**542**	**100**	**1,115**	**100**

Table 4
Frequencies of boosters in the corpus.

The fact that boosters are less than half as frequent as hedges suggests something of the writers' intentions to convey the right amount of self-assurance 'as and when' required to draw readers into the research topic and promote interpersonal solidarity in the unfolding arguments. Taking appropriate control of these evaluative devices can be seen in the lexical boosting examples below, with the writers presenting their propositions as highly warrantable, and yet ruling out alternative opinions to their own.

(15) Because exclusive consumers are more valuable for the platforms, their tastes will be strongly represented in platforms' offerings, while overlapped consumers' preferences will be under weighted. (Eco)

(16) This certainly indicates incremental pricing as a robust and important result as multi homing consumers become more prevalent. (Eco)

(17) In fact, various planning policies aim at preserving or creating public spaces of particular heritage value or [...]. (Eco)

(18) In overview, given international recognition of the non-random spatial distribution of crime, there is a clear basis to expect neighbourhood variance in the crime drop. (Lw)

(19) Obviously, changes in tier composition can have a significant impact on tier performance. (Lw)

(20) We confirm these findings. [...] Significant differences between neighbourhoods are still evident when these area characteristics have been accounted for, with a residual neighbourhood variance of 0.52. (Lw)

But this way of strengthening the writer's epistemic stance and the value of scientific claims for a general reader agreement is also made available by grammatically realized boosting strategies. So, in the examples below, we see writers indexing an expression of stance through *that* complement clauses, foregrounding the factual status of their own or other researchers' interpretations and results in disciplinary-sensitive perspectives:

(21) Our direct test found *that* regulation was not a primary cause of declining dynamism/churn. (Eco)

(22) It is clear *that* the power of a test that uses GLS detrended data is higher than its OLS based counterpart for all cases, [...]. (Eco)

(23) In such a setting, it is well known *that* higher costs arising from a minimum wage hike unambiguously lead to less local low skill employment [...]. (Eco)

(24) We find, however, *that* litigation risk is not significantly related to the incidence of director liability protection, [...]. (Lw)

(25) Gillan and Panasian (in press) show *that* greater director insurance is associated with a greater risk of being sued. (Lw)

(26) This study's findings establishes *that* discriminatory sentencing practices exist. (Lw)

As is clear, boosting is also particularly important in these grammatical realizations since writers are committed to revealing personal involvement in the presentation of findings through pronouns (21, 24), establishing the neutrality and objectivity of what they report through impersonal *it*-subjects (22, 23), or selecting animate (25) and inanimate agents (26) for their propositions.

Thus, in our account, these boosting strategies not only provide writers with the means to present the evidential reliability of information obtained from personal experience or from others in the ongoing empirical research, but also structure their social interactions in the genre, where discursive practices are always about the explicit development of an argumentative position and follow the course of rhetorical persuasion. In the light of this, hedges and boosters can be seen to adjust for a subjective and objective evaluation of material to anticipated reactions from community readers and to facilitate readers' retrieval and verification of the knowledge claims made by writers in research reporting.

3.2.3. Attitude markers

As seen in Table 2, attitude markers are the third most common subcategory in the corpus (17%). Table 5 shows overall that adverbs (45%) take precedence over adjectives (39%), followed by lexical (10%) and modal verbs (6%). Of these, adverbs also function as sentence adverbials and adjectives as subjective complement in sentences with expletive *it*-clauses. Even though Table 5 reveals no substantial variance in the distribution of these features in individual disciplines, the range of attitude markers realized by *have to*, *must*, and *should* deontic modal verbs, attitude verbs (for example *agree*, *disagree*, *hope*, *prefer*, *expect*), adverbs (*admittedly*, *hopefully*, *unexpectedly*), and adjectives (*critical*, *important*, *remarkable*) is relevant to activate evaluative stances towards the topic-related entities, while also positioning readers to supply their own assessments.

Attitude markers	**Economics**		**Law**		**Total**	
	N°	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
modal auxiliary verbs	26	6	37	7	63	6
lexical verbs	43	9	51	11	94	10
adverbs	226	47	219	43	445	45
adjectives	180	38	198	39	378	39
Total	**475**	**100**	**505**	**100**	**980**	**100**

Table 5
Frequencies of attitude markers in the corpus.

Along these lines, the need to provide a personal evaluation of material and encourage readers to participate in the scientific dialogue can be seen with the writers below overtly intervening through an exclusive *we* pronoun juxtaposed with attitudinal and modal verbs:

(27) While we agree *that* it would be of theoretical interest to be able to remedy these caveats, we believe that, for all practical purposes, it would make little difference. (Eco)

(28) We prefer the long difference/distributed lag specification because the estimates better capture the dynamics [...]. (Eco)

(29) We can hope—but cannot test—*that* this also leads to improved balance on unobserved covariates. (Lw)

(30) We expect, by contrast, *that* a fee cap that significantly reduces the wages of risk will reduce access to legal services, [...]. (Lw)

(31) To provide valid critical values, we must ensure *that* the distribution of the bootstrap test statistic is a consistent estimator of the null distribution of the test statistic whether or not the null hypothesis is true. (Eco)

More specifically here, writers are not only establishing their affective attitude towards certain entities of their own research parameters and representing disciplinary value positions in writer-reader relationship, they are also relating to their status or authority as construed by the pronominal reference.

More than that, attitude is also most explicitly signalled in other ways. So, the examples below give accurate depictions of the writers commenting on what they regard to be ‘disappointing/regrettable’ (*unfortunately*), and ‘arousing curiosity or interest’ (*interestingly*) in the treatment of their own realities and activities of research:

(32) Unfortunately, these results generally led to bidirectional indicators for the same variables as the main specification, [...]. (Eco)

(33) Interestingly, even in stranger cases, the majority of rapes were perpetrated in the victim’s home. (Lw)

Similarly, we see writers imparting an element of what they think of as being an ‘unexpected fact’ (*surprisingly*), something 'worthy of notice’ (*remarkably*), or ‘sufficiently notable/important’ (*significantly*) in their research treatment:

(34) The equilibrium outcome is surprisingly simple, even though platform best replies involve various different regimes running [...]. (Eco)

(35) What transpires is that the local asymptotic power functions are remarkably the same unless the number of regressors is [...]. (Eco)

(36) Startups contribute <u>significantly</u> to this reallocation process. (Eco)

(37) After the transformation, the skewness statistic was −0.73, which was <u>significantly</u> lower than the value of 8.13 prior to the transformation. (Lw)

There is little doubt that these examples have the effect of staking the writers' scientific claims and arguments to tangible topics and bringing readers round to their evaluative perspective, informed by the empirical area covered.

But because the existing research article publications tend to make singular knowledge claims of similar kinds in the disciplines, writers also strive for establishing the "significance" and "assessment" (Mur-Dueñas 2010, p. 62) of research work using differently lexicalised attitude markers to create different rhetorical effects. These writers therefore appear to be making explicit statements about the 'relevance', 'quality', 'strength', and 'originality' or 'novelty' of their own research methods and findings which themselves break new ground in the unique nature of knowledge contributions:

(38) This finding is <u>robust</u> to a number of adjustments such as our preferred long difference/distributed lag specification, [...]. (Eco)

(39) Therefore, the chi-squared distribution provides <u>valid</u> critical values for the implementation of QLR tests. (Eco)

(40) An <u>important</u> caveat: we compute the wages of risk based on the full fee, independent of the payment of any referral fee. (Lw)

(41) Furthermore, we propose a <u>new</u> optimal non-lattice distribution for the wild bootstrap suggested by GM2009, [...]. (Lw)

(42) In this regard, patent litigation is especially <u>noteworthy</u> to study because of its overall importance to the economy. (Lw)

Obviously, claims like these are not made and accepted *ex ante* simply by virtue of publication, but are accepted and negotiated *ex post* by the community audience through reading and subsequent engagement. So, the choice for 'importance'/'novelty'-marking adjectives is as central to the genre as claims of substantive content in the disciplines. This alliance of rhetorical features not only serves to build prosodies of attitudinal meanings with the writers' personal evaluations of the topics, but also draws readers round to the writers' assessments of the significance and validity of their own academic work done as part of their intellectual inquiry. At the same time, though, claims for 'importance' or 'novelty' appear to be as much of the writer's own promotional style as the promotional culture itself that lies behind this type of academic writing.

3.2.4. Self-mentions

Representing the least frequent subcategory in the corpus (5%), self-mentions exemplify the authoritative role writers are willing to portray in their field of study. Table 6 shows, overall, that this role is most commonly realised by the exclusive first-person use of the plural *we* pronoun (65%) down to the related form and frequency of possessive determiner *our* (35%), with the distribution of these exclusive cases being fairly identical in individual disciplines.

Self-mentions	**Economics**		**Law**		**Total**	
Exclusive:	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
we	86	67	97	63	183	65
our	42	33	56	37	98	35
Total	**128**	**100**	**153**	**100**	**281**	**100**

Table 6
Frequencies of attitude markers in the corpus.

Following these data, rhetorical self-mentions plainly reflect the nature of collaborative research on which co-authored articles are based, so they provide the most visible stance and identity role of 'writers as creators of their own work' in line with their qualitatively and quantitatively focused papers. Besides explicit markers, such as first-person pronoun, some inanimate and abstract subjects (for example, *this study/article*) express the identity and view of the author indirectly.

Deployed reiteratively across the structural parts of the articles and possibly influenced by the academic standing of writers, exclusive pronouns are mostly clause-initial and naturally align with several different rhetorical functions they perform in the texts, including those related to sequencing and announcing goals achieved by the discourse-organising function of (interactive metadiscourse) frame markers that fall outside the scope of this analysis (for example, *We divide our analysis into five parts. First, we consider...*). Thus, viewed within the Introduction sections below, the explicitly persuasive use of exclusive self-mentions helps the writers intrude into the piece of research they co-authored by stating the discoursal goal of the study (43), or by describing a viable research procedure (44), and in this way they provide writers with coherent devices for emphasizing the importance of their own contribution through the major themes under research:

(43) <u>We examine</u> the extent to which technological substitution affects the employment and wage outcomes of individual low wage workers in the Current Population Survey. (Eco)

(44) We assessed the validity of these effects and distinguish among two potential mechanisms that govern them. [...]. Our research utilizes a distinctive and robust experimental design which draws on a sample of 331 legal experts [...]. (Lw)

On other occasions throughout introductory sections, exclusive self-mentions are also effective devices to state the authors' results and make knowledge claims, once again highlighting their distinctive contribution to the research process:

(45) Our analysis directly speaks to this trade off in that we demonstrate that the net effect of regulatory cost and design value is positive of the average conservation area [...]. (Eco)

(46) What we found was that every police force in England, Wales and Northern Ireland (but not Scotland) used out of court resolutions to respond to domestic abuse in 2014. (Lw)

Just as these authorial roles through self-mentions mark out personal research agenda in competence-defining criteria, so too they provide an opportunity for the writers to contrast their own important contributions with previous studies by defending the research niche created by themselves throughout Literature Review sections:

(47) However, unlike other findings in the job polarisation literature, the loss of low wage routine cognitive jobs during our period of analysis has been largely offset by employment growth in other similarly paid jobs[...]. (Eco)

(48) Thus, our findings challenge any assumptions about there being a straightforward linear relationship between crime rates and NW or disadvantage and NW. Instead, we conclude that citizens will participate in NW where the 'conditions are right'. (Lw)

We therefore see that authorial presence through exclusive self-mentions enables writers-as-researchers to gain credibility in their presentation of research purposes, data, method, findings and conclusion, helping them build a consistent authorial identity drawn upon the regularities of their empirical research practices.

3.2.5. Engagement markers

Finally, representing the fourth-ranking metadiscourse subcategory in the corpus (16%), engagement markers focus the attention of readers by shortening the distance between the writer and the reader. Table 7 shows overall that writers meet the readers' expectations by engaging them as discourse participants mostly through reader pronouns (591 - 61%), comprising more cases of inclusive first-person plural *we* pronoun (50%) alongside related forms of object pronouns *us* (18%) and possessive pronoun *our* (32%). While this greater use of reader pronouns is manifest more among the Law writers (324 times), we find that 32% of all directives (311) are used to attract the reader's attention mostly by imperative verbs (67%), as opposed to obligation/necessity modals (19%), or predicative adjectives for expressing importance/necessity (14%), with questions (4%) and personal asides (2%) being dotted here and there around the articles.

However, these figures are not equally distributed over the two disciplines since writers in the Economics subcorpus make far more use of imperative verbs (83%) than their fellow colleagues (39%), while the Law writers are more willing to use obligation/necessity modals (35%) and predicative adjectives (26%) as well as questions (7%) than the Economics writers (modals: 10%; predicative adjectives: 7%; questions: 2%).

Engagement markers	**Economics**		**Law**		**Total**	
	N°	*%*	*N°*	*%*	*N°*	*%*
Reader pronouns (*inclusive*):						
we	134	50	161	50	295	50
us	45	17	64	20	109	18
our	88	33	99	30	187	32
Subtotal	**267**	**100**	**324**	**100**	**591**	**100**
Directives by:						
a) imperative verbs	169	83	41	39	210	67
b) predicative adjectives for importance/necessity in *that* or *to*-clause or passive constructions	15	7	28	26	43	14
c) obligation/necessity modals in *that* or *to*-clause or passive constructions	21	10	37	35	58	19
Subtotal	**205**	**100**	**106**	**100**	**311**	**100**
questions	10	2	35	7	45	4
personal asides	12	2	8	2	20	2
Total	**494**	**100**	**473**	**100**	**967**	**100**

Table 7
Frequencies of engagement markers in the corpus.

In line with these findings, the examples below reveal just how inclusive pronouns encourage the audience to appreciate the writers' own perspectives with regard to the research topics under investigation and draw on common knowledge and principles:

(49) We further assume *that* productivity at *N* and *R* is capped for a specific occupation – i.e. a PhD physicist will be no more productive as a cashier than many high school graduates. (Eco)

(50) Our assumptions reflect four important modelling choices. First, we are ruling out on-the-job search. (Eco)

(51) While there are currently no nationwide statistics on police occurrences involving domestic abuse and same-sex partners, we suggest *that* this should be the focus of further research. (Lw)

(52) An appreciation of this helps us to see the inventive strategies employed by participants to display family despite imprisonment. (Lw)

In this way, the examples provide effective rhetorical strategies to establish a valuable, persuasive degree of personal engagement with one's audience.

But other opportunities for interactional communication are also made available by directives, with the functional uses of imperative verbs "referring [the readers] to another text" through a "textual act" (Hyland 2002c, p. 217), or directing them "to understand a point in a certain way" through "cognitive acts" (Hyland 2002c, p. 217), thereby creating a rhetorically persuasive rapport with readers in the ongoing topics.

(53) Indeed, NW is supported by national infrastructure (see, e.g., Author *et al.* + Year). (Lw)

(54) Note that our definition requires that an occupation state's wage bin is fixed over the panel, although […]. (Eco)

(55) Suppose, to take an extreme example, *that* second tier firms obtain their cases entirely by referral […]. (Lw)

Likewise, other directive-functioning opportunities for impersonal interactions in the texts (rather than a more visible presence of the writers through inclusive self-mentions, as seen above) are made available by predicative adjectives and modal verbs, as in:

(56) It is also necessary *that* any spatial policy affecting only a specific type of zone within a neighbourhood is implemented uniformly across neighbourhoods. (Eco)

(57) It is important *to* unpick what the terms 'restorative justice' and 'community resolution' mean in terms of policing […]. (Lw)

(58) It *should* be remembered *that* *C* might change over time as, for example, customers require fewer non routine workers […]. (Eco)

Examples like these not only efface the writers' discernment of 'importance', 'necessity' or 'obligation' in the extraposed *to* or *that*-clauses, but also carry the readers through a dialogic dimension of argumentation in their research work since writers intervene to direct readers to some action or understanding and persuade them to accept their claims stated in those clauses.

Finally, we can see writers seeking to manage the structure of their arguments and drawing their readers into the research problem with an immediate reply through questions (59), or establishing part of their argument through parenthetical personal asides (60):

(59) Have they lost the capability to innovate and add value or is the only change at these switching firms the lack of production activity? Our findings emphasize that the focus on employment at manufacturing firms overstates the loss in manufacturing-related capabilities that are actually retained in many firms that switch industries. (Eco)

(60) This conflation across force recording systems (and arguably also in terms of each force's use and understanding of the terms) is why we have coined the broader term 'out of court resolution'. (Lw)

To sum up, different interactional meanings are created by the strategic use of engagement features, which are influenced by academic traditions and formalised argument structures in the two fields. These rhetorical features, in turn, provide a grasp of disciplinary mechanisms in the writing of the genre and the ways Economics and Law writers are able to construct a community-situated identity for themselves.

4. Further discussion and conclusion

This study has examined the significance and role of interactional metadiscourse resources in research articles belonging to two comparable disciplines, Economics and Law. It has revealed that these resources engage readers with the rhetorical and persuasive objectives of their empirical research reporting, and provide the tools for framing research arguments that are unique to the special interests and concerns of the writers in areas of specialized knowledge.

The corpus-informed distributional and functional analyses show that there are broad similarities, as well as minor, interesting differences in this kind of metadiscourse use between the two disciplines, pointing to the ways Economics and Law writers do interactional work and achieve diverse rhetorical outcomes in the genre. So, while Economics and Law writers are far more interested in engaging readers with their ideas presented tentatively and prudently by hedges, they are nevertheless involved in strengthening their claims and positions and consolidating their research more strongly by boosters, expressing their personal evaluation of information. Along with this, they are stressing the saliency and originality of their research by attitude markers, and encouraging reader involvement in the text through engagement markers. Only on very few occasions do writers convey their credibility to write authoritatively by self-mentions. In this way, then, writers provide sufficient cues to project a shared academic context through an argumentative and interpersonally evaluative stance on their research topics, and to acknowledge the rhetorical and pragmatic distinctiveness of the context and culture-dependent genre by establishing a connection with like-minded readers.

These findings also suggest that the inclusion of a coherent set of interactional metadiscourse resources in the sample corpus is as much a part of the writers' rhetorical decisions made in the texts as are the discrete epistemologies that rule over qualitative and quantitative methods of empirical research employed in such disciplinary contexts. This is to say that there are clear criteria for justifying a mixture of observational (quantitative) and interpretive (qualitative) methods of data collection and analysis in systematic arguments. Through this, important economic or legal issues are discussed in the writers' common experience with interactive texts and valued for the role they play in research publications. After all, engaging in an argument through these data analytical methods is crucial if empirical writers are to investigate a phenomenon, determine the amount and types of evidence required, or the value and meaning of the research findings, and to finally see how well they yield predictions that are consistent with their 'self-observed' behavior and 'interpretive' judgment about the topics they study in the fields. At the same time as writers are holding allegiances to quantitative and qualitative research paradigms for specific argument forms and displaying an orientation to the significance of the ideas expressed in the genre, their research practices are themselves relevant to make pragmatic assumptions about how social reality should be studied and what can be regarded as acceptable knowledge.

In reflecting the writer's own methods of research, this writing process thus involves creating a text that develops the writer's point of view on, or interpretation about a situation being investigated (qualitative research design), and relies on empirical evidence acquired by observation or experimentation to justify the writer's new claims, objectively (quantitative research design). By the same token, this process forms the motivation for the social interactions expressed consciously in the metadiscursive features of texts, thus creating persuasive discourses by which writers ensure "communion with the people the argumentative discourse is aimed at" (van Eemeren, Garssen 2011, p. 5). There comes a point when this writing process homes in on discipline- and method-sensitive patterns of investigation in the genre writing where specialization and ways of knowing in the professions are built on their own terms.

Even though there are clear epistemological criteria for bringing the writers' research practices home via metadiscursive language, appealing to a like-minded community of readers from within an identifiable mixture of qualitative and quantitative tools is not without implications. As seen, differently mixed arguments like these make it clear that the Economics and Law social science writers are virtually responding to "no single method of enquiry […] or definitive set of concepts that uniquely characterizes each particular discipline" (Becher, Trowler 2001, p. 65) to which they belong, since their methodological concerns overlap with those employed in the sciences and the humanities academic fields (Coffin *et al.* 2003). So, even by recognizing that empirical work is unique to their special concerns in this form of argumentative writing, these writers can adopt methods from the sciences, and apply these to their data sources to provide a broader and more complete vision of a problem, and in this way they create specialist knowledge, establish relationships, and gain credibility by giving identity to their respective disciplines.

It follows that the argumentative style of metadiscourse can tell us about the mechanisms for regulating genre production and use in the Law as well as in Economics social science disciplines, and how this style might go some way towards shaping a dynamic identity conveyed by representation and construction of self (Ivanič, Camps 2001) in the accounting of specialised discourse. This kind of identity not only creates meanings in the genre writing and reflects on the workings of language, it also offers an understanding of the ways in which genre writers negotiate the practices from other culturally and epistemologically available tools as part of a personal endeavour. And this provides the boundaries within which the writers' identities are valued in the disciplinary and discursive practices of the genre.

The findings of this study need to be understood within the context of a relatively small corpus approach to representing analytic generalizations of metadiscourse. Even though metadiscourse-analytic categories and features remain controversial in the existing literature, the findings of this study are likely to offer greater insights into the disciplinary writing practices of a major academic genre, and may therefore contribute additional evidence to the current body of scholarship in the field on the fundamental role of metadiscoursal resources in argumentative academic texts. There remains a dependence on metadiscursive categories and features that are indexed across individual sections of the chosen articles.

So, future research may specifically be done with a view to understanding what writers and readers bring to those texts, emphasizing again that the field-specific standards of the disciplines have an important influence on social activity and interaction over time. Beyond the analysis of single metadiscourse categories, these field-specific standards arising from an adaptation of mixed methods also become a clear contender to the traditional, theory-testing or knowledge-building research performed in the Law social science articles, where writers essentially depart from the traditional genre of theoretical legal research and shift towards the "blending of several valuable concepts, methods, theories, data, and tools from other disciplinary sites" (Tessuto 2015b, p. 23).

Bionote: Girolamo Tessuto is Full Professor of English Linguistics and Translation at the Department of Precision Medicine of University of Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli' where he is also Director of the Centre for Research in Language and Law (CRILL). He also teaches in the Law Departments of the University 'Luigi Vanvitelli' and the University of Naples 'Federico II'. Besides memberships of several academic and professional associations, he is a member of the Clavier Research Centre (Milan), an editorial board member of various international English linguistics journals, and chief editor of the *Legal Discourse and Communication* peer-review international series. His research interests focus primarily on (critical) discourse analysis of academic, professional and institutional genres in legal, medical and healthcare contexts, and English for Specific Purposes. His published academic work comprises research monographs and several publications appearing as research papers, book chapters, co-edited volumes, and book reviews.

Author's address: girolamo.tessuto@unicampania.it

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Corpora

The Economic Journal (Oxford Open)
<https://academic.oup.com/ej>
Economic Policy (Oxford Open)
<https://academic.oup.com/economicpolicy>
The Econometrics Journal (Oxford Open)
<https://academic.oup.com/ectj>
The British Journal of Criminology (Wiley)
<https://academic.oup.com/bjc/issue/51/1>
Journal of Empirical Legal Studies (Wiley)
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/17401461>
Law & Society Review (Wiley)
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/15405893>

Annex

Metadiscourse markers as exemplified by their surface lexical realizations	
1. Hedges	
a. Modal auxiliary verbs (epistemic)	that is, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *should*, *would*
b. Lexical verbs	for example, *appear*, *believe*, *indicate*, *postulate*, *suggest*
c. Adjectives	for example, *apparent*, *likely*, *possible*, *probable*, *unlikely*
d. Adverbs	for example, *broadly*, *largely*, *mostly*, *perhaps*, *occasionally* including items used to manipulate precision in quantification, for example, *about*, *approximately*
e. Nouns	for example, *assumption*, *claim*, *likelihood*, *possibility*, *suggestion*
2. Boosters	
a. Modal auxiliary verbs	that is, *could not*, *must*, *should*, *will*
b. Lexical verbs	for example, *confirm*, *determine*, *find*, *know*, *show*
c. Adjectives	for example, *clear*, *definite*, *evident*, *obvious*, *undeniable*
d. Adverbs	for example, *always*, *by all means*, *never*, *necessarily*, *plainly*
3. Attitude markers	
a. Modal auxiliary verbs (deontic)	that is, *have to*, *must*, *should*
b. Verbs	that is, *agree*, *disagree*, *hope*, *prefer*, *expect*
c. Adverbs	for example, *admittedly*, *desirably*, *hopefully*, *interestingly*, *unexpectedly*
d. Adjectives	for example, *adequate*, *critical*, *important*, *noteworthy*, *significant*
4. Self-mentions (exclusive)	that is, (exclusive) *we*, *our*
5. Engagement markers	
a. Reader pronouns	that is, (inclusive) *we*, *us*, *our*
b. Directives	imperative verbs (for example, *note that*), predicative adjectives in *that*/*to*-clause, obligation/necessity modals in *that*/*to*-clause
c. Question forms	
d. Asides	

Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 151-172
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p151

SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
Exploring the discursive construction of the *Facebook Manifesto*

ILARIA MOSCHINI
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI FIRENZE

Abstract – The aim of the chapter is to investigate the rhetorical construction of the nearly 6,000-word message posted by Mark Zuckerberg in February 2017 to his personal profile on the social media he co-founded. The post is entitled *Building Global Community* and features an open letter addressed to all Facebook's users where he envisions the strategic role of the platform as the "social infrastructure" for civic participation. The document has been defined by many a "manifesto" as it is a public declaration of policy and aims, and its textual structure is more similar to that of political speech than to a status update on a social networking site. In order to analyze it, the paper adopts a critical multimodal approach – which is a perspective that merges critical discourse analysis and multimodality to study contemporary political discourses that are communicated not only through political speeches or news items and where argumentation is realized making use of language in combination with different kinds of semiotic resources. In particular, the paper explores how verbal and visual codes, together with the digital platform's affordances, are used to shape the image of Facebook as a socio-political space. Indeed, the post features a complex ideological and rhetorical construct that is articulated linguistically, digitally and multimodally, and that interweaves a cognitive theory of history, the Habermasian conceptualization of the public sphere and the notion of artificial intelligence in a frame that depicts the social medium as the enabler of participation for civically engaged global communities.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis; Facebook; multimodality; social media discourse; US political discourse.

1. Introduction

In February 2017, the CEO of Facebook (henceforth, Fb), which is the world's most popular social networking site (Clement 2020), posted a nearly 6,000-word message to his personal profile on the social media he co-founded. The message was entitled "Building Global Community" (Zuckerberg 2017) and has been considered since its publication a "manifesto" (Ahmed 2017), that is, a public declaration of policy and aims, like the ones issued before an election by a political party or candidate. In their work, Rider and Murakami Wood (2018, p. 640) explicitly define it a "political manifesto", and, more precisely:

> […] a coherent political […] statement about ubiquitous social media and the future of government in an era characterized, in terms of conventional nation-state politics, by a turn to authoritarianism.

The message detaches itself from the social media textual tradition in many aspects, from its length to the information layout and the signature. Indeed, the post is very long and, even if it does not make use of all the 63,206 characters granted as a limit to all Facebook's status updates since November 2011 (Protalinski 2011), it far exceeds the ideal length of an average update that is estimated in the range of 40-80 characters (Wong 2018). In the text, Zuckerberg envisions for the platform he created the critical and strategic role of the "social infrastructure" for the civically engaged global community of tomorrow.

The aim of the present paper is to analyze how verbal and visual codes together with digital affordances are used to frame the role of the platform as the future world "social infrastructure" and the relationship between the digital platform, its technical resources and the concept of civic participation. From a theoretical and methodological point of view, I adopt a critical multimodal perspective (van Leeuwen 2013, 2014), an approach that merges two fields of applied linguistics, critical discourse analysis and multimodality, in order to investigate discourses that are communicated "not only through political speeches and news items but through entertainment media [and that make use of] different kinds of semiotic resources" (Machin 2013, p. 347).

The critical multimodal discourse analysis of the *Facebook Manifesto* which is carried out in the present paper follows the model outlined by Machin and van Leeuwen (2016) for the social semiotic analysis of contemporary multimodal political discourse. These authors describe critical multimodal discourse investigation as a three-stage process that forms a "kind of loop [where] the investigation can begin at either end of the process" (Machin, van Leeuwen 2016, p. 251). The first stage starts from the verbal or, more broadly, the multimodal evidence that the text provides. The second stage focuses on meaning and involves interpretations that need to be argued for in terms of the provenance of the signs that are used, their meaning potential – that is the range of possible meanings – and the how that potential is actualized in the texts. The final stage features a socio-cultural reflection on the wider significance of the text in the context of society. Indeed, this type of analysis seeks to integrate a "knowledge of language and other semiotic modes", a "knowledge of culture and history", and a "knowledge of sociological theory" to understand the role of multimodal discourse in social life (Machin, van Leeuwen 2016, p. 254).

In the present paper, I analyze Zuckerberg's message starting from a brief outline of the social media basic features that helps contextualize the investigation of the elements of the *Manifesto* which adhere to the generic tradition of status updates on Fb (that is a post on a profile's wall on the social networking site) as well as the elements which deviate from such constraints. Then, I concentrate on the analysis of the five sections of the *Manifesto* that constitute its body of the text. In line with Machin and van Leeuwen's model illustrated earlier in the section, the textual analysis is functional to explore the complex ideational construct of the message and aims at reflecting on the impact of the social medium on civic participation.

2. The main basic features of Facebook

The rise of social network sites (henceforth, SNSs) marked a change in the way online communities are organized: from communities of interests that were structured by topics or topical hierarchies (such as early public online communities like Usenet and public discussion forums) they became "personal (or 'egocentric') networks, with the individual at the center of their own community" (boyd, Ellison 2008, p. 219). Indeed, in the words of boyd and Ellison, "social network sites (SNSs)" – now more commonly described as "social media" – are "web-based services that allow individuals to, firstly, construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, then also articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and, finally, view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (boyd, Ellison 2008, p. 211). Originally, the main feature of such networks was not to "allow individuals to meet strangers, [it was] rather that they enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks", even if the label ''friends'' can be misleading, as the "connection does not necessarily mean friendship in the everyday vernacular sense, and the reasons people connect are varied" (boyd 2006). Indeed, according to danah boyd, SNSs are "networked publics" (boyd 2011, p. 39), that is, public groupings which are structured by the logic and reality of computer networks.

Originally, Facebook was founded as an exclusive community service for Harvard students and it was modelled on yearbooks, a type of book that is published annually by many American high schools and colleges to celebrate the past school year. The first version of the social network was created as a sort of substitute for the official electronic version of the yearbook or "facebook", that is the colloquial term used by students of some American universities to define the electronic directory with their photos and basic data

(Carlson 2010). In these books, students are identified by means of their pictures and information, and each of them is usually given the same textual space: such a semiotic structure encodes the representation of a group of peers which, in the case of American Ivy League college students, constitutes a very elitist group. The Fb social media platform rhetorically reproduces a similar tenor structure, as signaled by the word “friends”, the term chosen to identify registered users. In addition to this, people who decide to become members of the platform can create their own personal page (“profile”), where they can upload personal information and write comments and share messages with people who belong to their circle of friends (https://newsroom.fb.com/products).

From this basic description of the main original features of the social media, it is possible to grasp how the design of the digital tool combines the yearbook model with another textual model, the web genre of diary blogs that started circulating in the late nineties in the U.S. (McNeill 2005). Structurally, a weblog, or blog, can be defined as a “frequently modified webpage containing individual entries displayed in reverse chronological sequence” (Herring *et al*. 2004, p. 1) where, as a consequence, the most recent post appears to be the first. As argued by Puschmann (2013), even if blogs have aged and have been merging with newer forms of Computer-Mediated Communication, like status updates on social networking sites, “some linguistic properties of blogs are highly stable” and, more precisely, “the core cohesive element of a blog is time [since] blog entries are paradigmatically linked by chronology [that] acts as the governing organizational principle for information in blogs” (Puschmann 2013, p. 91). As regards personal encoding, Puschmann underlines that “with relatively few exceptions, a blog is a controlled discourse environment belonging to an individual and shaped largely by his or her personal tastes and needs; therefore, the needs a blog fulfills are more individually shaped than in most other genres of public expression” (Puschmann 2013, p. 98).

3. Elements of the *Manifesto* that recall the generic tradition of status updates

The elements in the post “Building Global Community”, Zuckerberg (2017), that recall status updates in timelines are: the small profile image that features the informal image of the sender represented while smiling; the temporal marker (“February, 16, 2017”) that evokes the reverse chronological order of blogs and the world icon which acknowledges that the privacy of the text has been selected as “public”, that is anyone accessing the profile can see it (see Figure 1).

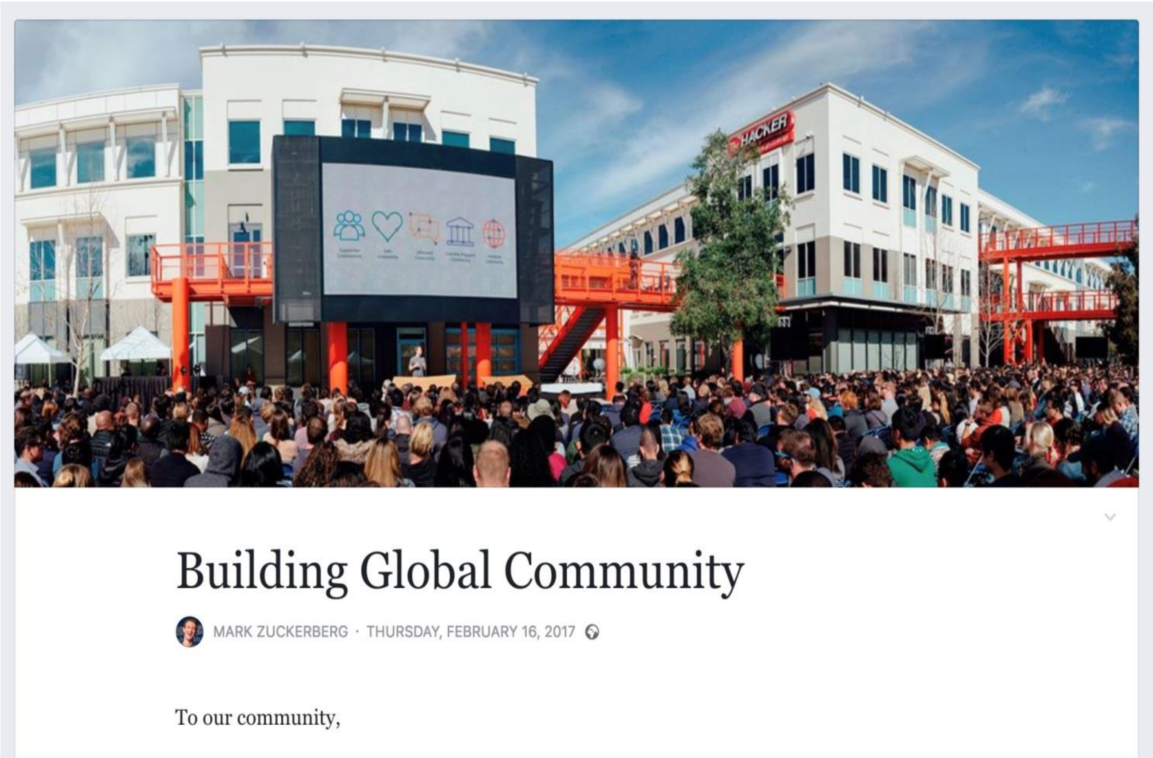

Figure 1
Facebook Manifesto's Image, first scroll of the webpage.[1]

The text also features an iconic component which is given 'salience' by the position in the layout that sets it in the first scroll of the page. The image is panoramic and unframed and features a representation of a speech given by Zuckerberg. It is possible to identify the physical context as the Facebook headquarters in Menlo Park thanks to the orange infrastructure that culminates in the vintage sign on the right stating "The Hacker Company" (Tsotsis 2012). More precisely, the place can be identified as the Hacker Square, the most important public space of the campus which is referred to as the "meeting place" of the Fb community in the press releases presenting the new buildings.[2]

To understand the symbolic and semantic value of the setting, it should be noted that the expression "meeting place or house" which is used to describe the square is the exact translation of the Hebrew *bet kneset* – synagogue – the place where the people meet and convene, and also that the expression "meeting house" was chosen by the English Puritans as an alternative for Church to identify the place of both the spiritual and the

[1] See https://www.facebook.com/notes/mark-zuckerberg/building-globalcommunity/10154544292806634 (11.10. 2019).
[2] See Fb's media gallery, https://newsroom.fb.com/media-gallery/menlo-park headquarters/hacker-square/ (12.04.2020).

political power of a community. Such a model has influenced extensively all digital discourse rhetoric in the Bay area, which Fred Turner defines as a "countercultural neo puritanism" (Turner 2018). In addition, the square is the place where the community meets to begin hackathons, "the nonstop jags of creative programming that are an institution not only at Facebook but all over Silicon Valley" (McCracken 2012). Such a function is highlighted by the word "hack" which has been paved in a mosaic of enormous tiles. From a grammatical standpoint, the term "hack" can be both a noun and the imperative form of the verb, thus featuring an exhortation to keep the hacker spirit alive and to foreground the so-called "hacker way", an ideological construct according to which libertarian-minded programmers change the world for the better through the crafting of smart lines of code without being constrained by established rules.

Returning to the post, the image suggests a representation of Mark Zuckerberg while addressing Fb's internal community in their meeting place and, more precisely, while pronouncing the "Building Global Community" speech. Indeed, in the picture, the pictorial perspective assigns the screen a salient position due to its *central* position in the image. The five icons depicted on the screen (see Figure 2) are loaded with 'information value', that is to say they act as the nucleus of the information mainly conveyed through the verbal semiotic mode. Each icon, in fact, visualizes one of the five different sections of the speech, namely "supportive communities", "safe community", "informed community", "civically-engaged community" and "inclusive community", thus shaping its main ideational structure. Hence, the icons help create a logical relation between the visual and the verbal components of the message, acting as intersemiotic cohesive devices of correspondence (Liu, O'Halloran 2009, p. 385).

Figure 2
Facebook Manifesto's Icons.[3]

The icons are stylized and convey a conceptual representation of ideas (Kress, van Leeuwen 1996, p. 79). They also feature some small blue nodes that recall the visual representation of the structure of system networks, the model used for describing real networks which mathematicians have been developing since the 1960s and which translates the world into terms of

[3] See https://www.facebook.com/notes/mrk-zuckerberg/building-global- community/ 10154544292806634 (12.10.2019).

nodes and links (Barabási 2011, p. 1). It is a visual representation which echoes boyd's definition of social media as communities structured by the logic and reality of computer networks (boyd 2011).

The picture of what we can assume is Fb's internal community gathered in the Hacker square for the public address, combined with the first line of the verbal component of the post "to our community" (see Figure 1), on the one side, clarify the semantic ambiguity of the possessive adjective, as it is intended to be a reference to the exclusive community there gathered. On the other side, the world icon mentioned above, which disambiguates the privacy status of the update as public, makes the internal and the global communities overlap, in what can be seen as a more formal, top-down institutional discourse. This is detached from the personal, leisure-centered, peer-to-peer register of the social network, as illustrated in the next section.

4. Elements of the *Manifesto* that depart from the generic tradition of status updates

As previously mentioned, the post is exceptionally lengthy compared to social media textual standards. It also features a highly rigid structure in terms of *dispositio*, with an introduction, a body of text comprising five sections, which work both as 'proposition' and 'confirmation', and a conclusion, with a summing up and emotional exhortation. At the layout level, 'compositional' meaning is constructed through the system of 'framing', and in particular by means of the framing device of lines. On the one hand, these appear to separate the different verbal sections and thus help define their distinct information value; on the other, they connect each icon with its related verbal counterpart within the multimodal text. The use of this framing device therefore facilitates the 'intersemiotic translation' of abstract iconic meaning into concrete verbal meaning.

Moreover, the line with all the five symbols in Figure 2 functions as the visual introduction to the conclusion of the message and, hypothetically, as a marker of its function of summing up the contents. Even if the image anchors the text to an oral presentation, as it depicts Zuckerberg addressing his audience, the post presents features of written language in terms of lexical density and nominalized processes. Information is also 'packaged' so as to highlight the informative components of the post, making use of bullet points which clarify the way it has been structured throughout the text and suggest a "systematic breakdown of things into core elements that can be coordinated as in a list" (Ledin, Machin 2015, p. 8). Fonts emphasized in bold suggest a preferred reading of the contents. Font is specifically used to make meaning (Bezemer, Kress 2008), through font size in the case of the five titles of the different sections and through the 'font effect' of bold to emphasize both the important role played by Fb, and the different communities it contributes to building.

> […] Bringing us all together as a global community is a project bigger than any one organization or company, but Facebook can help contribute to answering these five important questions:
>
> - How do we help people build **supportive communities** that strengthen traditional institutions in a world where membership in these institutions is declining?
> - How do we help people build a **safe community** that prevents harm, helps during crises and rebuilds afterwards in a world where anyone across the world can affect us?
> - How do we help people build an **informed community** that exposes us to new ideas and builds common understanding in a world where every person has a voice?
> - How do we help people build a **civically-engaged community** in a world where participation in voting sometimes includes less than half our population?
> - How do we help people build an **inclusive community** that reflects our collective values and common humanity from local to global levels, spanning cultures, nations and regions in a world with few examples of global communities? […] (emphasis in the original)

These elements help balance the fact that, alongside the referential component of the post, namely the reality to which the message refers, its expressive nature is manifest, as the post aims primarily to express the thoughts and the beliefs of the sender and of the company he represents. Indeed, the text is also signed by the encoder with his first name. Such a signature is an unusual component of status updates, since the identity of the sender is generally expressed by the profile elements of the pre-given templates in Facebook posts (namely, first name, surname and profile image for individual persons). It also seems to be aimed at recalling the personal, peer-to-peer register of the social network, mentioned above. As regards the intended audience, the world icon, which can be found near the temporal marker of the Fb template in Figure 1, illustrates the privacy status set for the Newsfeed update as public: this means that – as mentioned above – "anyone on or off Facebook" can see it according to the platform privacy settings.[4]

In Figure 1, the signs that describe the intended audience are: the icon, the community gathered in the Hacker Square inside the Company Headquarters and the explicit recipients of the message that are specified in

[4] See Fb's Basic Privacy Settings & Tools, https://www.facebook.com/help/325807937 506242 (12.04.2020).

the title and in the first line of the post “to our community”. All these signs appear in the first scroll of computer/mobile screens, that is the most salient part of the layout of a message. However, these signs are a vehicle for a different message and play upon a semantic ambiguity which sees the intersection of three distinct (even if somehow overlapping) communities: people who work at Facebook, platform users and the entire world. The same ambiguity is reiterated at a verbal level in the use of personal pronouns and adjectives. Indeed, the first-person plural, “we” occurs 169 times, the adjective “our’” (together with derivate words) occurs 113 times and they are used to refer to the small group of the Facebook team. “We at Facebook”, to the community of Facebook users or to the entire humanity. An example is given in the first lines of the post, which read:

> On <u>our</u> journey to connect the world, <u>we</u> often discuss products <u>we</u>’re building and updates on <u>our</u> business. Today <u>I</u> want to focus on the most important question of all: are <u>we</u> building the world <u>we</u> all want? […] (emphasis added).

Here, at first, the personal pronouns and adjectives are used to refer to the Facebook team, and help frame the company as a collective horizontal entity which is in line with the image of the community of hackers previously mentioned. The second part of the quotation features a semantic shift and the introduction of ambiguity, since – in the self-addressed question – we move from the reference to the restricted internal community of tools designers and producers to an inclusive “we” which seems to comprise both an example of *nosism*, as if it were a sort of editorial “we”, with the global audience the message is addressed to. Such a strategy is repeated throughout the text, especially in the introduction and in the conclusion where the new role that the encoder envisions for the social media platform is explained and, given the circular structure of the text, repeated. Indeed, in the introduction Zuckerberg affirms:

> […] History is the story of how we’ve learned to come together in ever greater numbers – from tribes to cities to nations. At each step, we built social infrastructure like communities, media and governments to empower us to achieve things we couldn’t on our own.
> Today we are close to taking our next step. Our greatest opportunities are now global – like spreading prosperity and freedom, promoting peace and understanding, lifting people out of poverty, and accelerating science. Our greatest challenges also need global responses – like ending terrorism, fighting climate change, and preventing pandemics. Progress now requires humanity coming together not just as cities or nations, but also as a global community. This is especially important right now. Facebook stands for bringing us closer together and building a global community. […] **In times like these, the most important thing we at Facebook can do is develop the**

> **social infrastructure to give people the power to build a global community that works for all of us.** […] (emphasis in the original)

The “next step” that Zuckerberg mentions is rhetorically constructed as both the new company aim, literally, the “next focus” (“our next focus will be developing the social infrastructure for community”) of the company as illustrated in the new company mission, and as the ‘natural’ and ‘logical’ conclusion derived from the premises he gives in his version of philosophy of history. Indeed, he provides a comprehensive interpretation of the development of human history as a cognitive process and as a progressive linear process towards social infrastructures which are larger and more complex. In such a context, social networks are described as the final outcome of a historical process which is given truth-value by the syllogistic structure of the argumentation and by the verbal selection which expresses the highest level of modality (for example, “progress now requires humanity coming together […] as a global community”). Moreover, when Zuckerberg explains that “history is the story of how we’ve learned to come together in ever greater numbers – from tribes to cities to nations”, his message features an intra-vocalized indirect endorsed quotation of the work of the Israeli historian Yuval Noah Harari and, in particular, the theory of history reads as heavily informed by Harari’s New York Time’s bestseller book, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Human Kind* (2015 [2011]), which he had recommended in one of his earlier posts. Hahari’s book aims at exploring the reasons why *Homo Sapiens* took over the earth in the framework of evolutionary biology according to which humans survived because they learned to cooperate in ever bigger communities.

The use of quotations, together with the heteroglossic references to authoritative sources, have the function of strengthening the force of the proposed argumentation. Zuckerberg exploits this rhetorical strategy several times in his speech, when, in the five sections that make up the body of the text, he cites “research” as the source of data and information on the basis of which the company has been adopting decisions so far, like in the examples quoted below.

> *Research shows* that some of the most obvious ideas, like showing people an article from the opposite perspective, actually deepen polarization by framing other perspectives as foreign./*Research suggests* the best solutions for improving discourse may come from getting to know each other as whole people instead of just opinions -- something Facebook may be uniquely suited to do./ *Research suggests* reading local news is directly correlated with local civic engagement (emphasis added).

He also exploits it when quoting the words of Abraham Lincoln in the concluding remarks of his post:

> I am reminded of President Lincoln's remarks during the American Civil War: “We can succeed only by concert. It is not ‘can any of us imagine better?’ but, 'can we all do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, act anew”.

The quotation of Founding Fathers’ statements is a common feature in US political discourse. In this case, President Lincoln’s 1862 message to the Congress before issuing the *Emancipation Proclamation* is used to underline the exceptionality and novelty of the historical moment humanity is witnessing by establishing a parallel with the American Civil War and, in particular, with the executive order that changed the federal legal status of the millions of enslaved African Americans who were living in the Southern States. The quotation refers to a complex ideational-thematic bundle as it comprises the idea that action is necessary, that action needs to be innovative (thus partially resembling the basic tenets of hacker culture) and that such an action aims at liberating people.

Returning to the role that the encoder envisions for the social media platform, the company can contribute to such a defining moment by setting up the new social infrastructure, which is portrayed as the final step in the historical process that proceeds from tribes to the global community. The aim of Facebook is thus presented as that of a facilitator that helps humankind in the (inevitable) journey towards the realization of the first global community and, to facilitate the process, Zuckerberg declares that he is committed to promoting communities that are “supportive, safe, informed, civically-engaged and inclusive”. He goes on to specify the details of these five sections of the body of the text, which I deal with in the next section. However, the strategy to frame the arc of history as inevitable, “progress requires humanity coming together not just as cities or nations, but also as a global community”, in a way almost resembles the Hegelian modern state and is external to the will of the encoder. This detaches responsibility from the company, which only has the role of making an (inescapable and positively valued) process easier by driving its development from a technological standpoint.

At a verbal level, this is also marked by the abundance of mental clauses in the introduction and in the conclusion, which shape the image of the sender more as a SENSER than as a DOER: “many of us are reflecting”/ “we learned”/ “I am reminded”/ “I hope”. Moreover, the personal perspective of the encoder expresses a high level of commitment, which is reinforced by a lexico-semantic chain, “stand”/ “commit”/ “responsibility”. The speaker is obviously interested in negotiating intersubjective space for a social position favorable to Facebook and the encoder expresses a stance toward Fb commitment via the social values attributed to the path humanity at large is destined towards, "we have made great leaps"/ "at each step we learned how […] to accomplish greater things". The solutions, the tools that the company are offering, are evaluated positively through the enabling capacities associated with them, and the company hopes they will be endorsed by its users, all the better by "global society at large". Zuckerberg concludes his remarks with a token of rhetoric-of-anti-rhetoric when he regards as a rare opportunity the fact to be sharing the above-mentioned path with Fb users, "It is an honor to be on this journey with you". He also acts as a people pleaser when he thanks the members of the social media community and, given the blurred boundaries of the identities of the recipients, discussed previously, the entire world that actively cooperates in the enfranchising mission of building a global community facilitated by Fb tools.

5. Values, social contracts and tools: an analysis of the five sections of the *Manifesto*

In the five sections of his speech, Zuckerberg illustrates the roadmap towards the creation of the social infrastructure for the global community, which is described many times as a "work in progress" and the concept is reinforced by the lexical selection of many progressive verbal forms, starting from the title: "building", "bringing", "reflecting". The five sections are introduced by the five self-addressed questions mentioned in Section 3, which are directly related to the different aims of the social infrastructure, that is to favor the creation of "supportive", "safe", "informed", "civically-engaged", "inclusive" communities. At a rhetorical level, the questions construct the identity of Fb as a helper, an enabler in a set of challenges which cannot be solved by a single social entity.

In the first section, entitled "Supportive Communities", a connection between civic participation and the use of social media is established. Indeed, this thematic formation represents a fundamental tile in the early stages of the digital utopia. It also recalls what Henry Jenkins affirmed in his famous blog post "'Geeking Out' for Democracy" (2009) regarding civic-engagement and digital platforms. His post starts from quoting Robert Putnam's narrative of cultural decline according to which television has to be blamed for eroding the strong social ties that the post-WWII generation created, where previously people gathered together in places like bowling alleys; we are guilty of creating a world where people spend more time in their homes and less time involved in communal activities. In Jenkins' view (2009), platforms like Facebook, YouTube, and *World of Warcraft* favor the reconstruction of the above-mentioned ties as they are "reconnecting home-based media with larger communities, bridging between our public and private lives [thus] offer[ing] us a way to move from media consumption towards cultural participation". In Zuckerberg's words (2017), online communities can "strengthen existing physical communities by helping people come together on-line as well as off-line" and can combat the deterioration of the social fabric which has occurred since the 1970s. Social media are thus portrayed not as social networking sites to be used for private circles, but as platforms with a social purpose, as they can strengthen the "many mediating groups that bring us together and reinforce our values", (Zuckerberg 2017), and, as such, the very term "social" re-acquires its original semantic denotation.

The conceptualization of civic engagement seems to be in line with that of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, according to whom the "public sphere" is the domain of social life in which public opinion is formed and that, in principle, is open to all citizens. Private conversations can also give rise to a public sphere when people are free to deal with matters of general interest, as well as when citizens are free to assemble and express their opinions (Habermas 1989, p. 203). The public sphere is thus located in civil society and is "where people can discuss matters of mutual concern as peers, and learn about facts, events, and the opinions, interests, and perspectives of others in an atmosphere free of coercion and of inequalities that would incline individuals to acquiesce or be silent" (Fleming 2000, p. 304).

This involvement helps to develop individual autonomy and creates a politically relevant public opinion that can act as a limit to the power of the state. The central part of civil society comprises a "network of associations that institutionalizes problem-solving discourses on questions of general interest inside the framework of organized public spheres" (Habermas 1996, p. 367). The importance of civil society is deeply connected with the idea of democratization as, in Habermas's view, the members of society need to come together and discuss to reach a consensus where they construct the public sphere.

As already highlighted, by using SNSs, individuals seek to maintain and increase their social networks (boyd, Ellison 2008), while, to build stronger communities both online and offline, Zuckerberg highlights that individuals need to be engaged in groups that represent "meaningful social infrastructure in our lives". The role of Facebook in strengthening such supportive communities is a technical one as it features the implementation of a system that can suggest groups to Facebook users, as "most don't seek out groups on their own", together with the development of the new tools for groups admins, namely those who administer a group, which he would later present during the first Community Summit. The textual pattern of the entire section is a PROBLEM^SOLUTION one and the solution offered is technical, that is to develop digital tools that are "not for passive consumption but for strengthening social connections" and, thus, the fabric of society. The technicality of the solution is made less obscure and remote by a wide selection of examples where the personal experiences of many individuals are described in order to shorten the rhetorical distance with the audience and to portray the company and its CEO as caring and involved in the lives of Fb users.

The second section, “Safe Communities”, features a similar PROBLEM^SOLUTION textual structure; however it shifts the focus from companies or organizations to national governments when it comes to the possibility to solve problems, as it affirms that “today’s threats are increasingly global, but the infrastructure to protect us is not [as] no nation can solve them alone” (2017). According to Zuckerberg (2017) “humanity’s current systems are insufficient to address these issues” and there is a “real opportunity to build global safety infrastructure […] building artificial intelligence”. What is worth highlighting here is the reference to system thinking, that is the idea that “the material world can be thought of as an information system and modeled on computers” (Turner 2006, p. 15), which emerged in the US government-funded research laboratories of World War II and, in particular, “around the Radiation Laboratory at MIT”. The same laboratories that saw the emergence of computing in the US and the related hacker culture. Indeed, system theory was the contact language of these interdisciplinary laboratories and stemmed out of Norbert Wiener’s cybernetics. In his book, *The Human Use of Human Beings. Cybernetics and Society*, Wiener described cybernetics as a field focused on “the study of messages as a means of controlling machinery and society, the development of computing machines, certain reflections upon psychology and the nervous system and a tentative new theory of scientific method” (Wiener 1954 [1950], p. 15).

As Kevin Kelly explained (1998), out of cybernetics arose an “almost mystical understanding of the power of information and information systems” and the so-called “computational metaphor”, that is the idea that “all materials and all processes are actually forms of computation”. This is a corollary to the substantial homogeneity between machines and biological organisms which was postulated by Wiener and Bigelow in the WWII Rad Lab when “conceptualizing pilots and gunners as servomechanisms” (Turner 2006, p. 21). As Kelly highlights, (1998), such a metaphor is deeply intertwined with the development of Artificial Intelligence, not only because “biological reproduction and evolution were described by researchers in wholly computer-science terms [during] the first Artificial Life Conference in 1987”, but because “biological things could be simulated by computers so well”.

Returning to Zuckerberg’s post, he seems to be adopting a stance similar to that of Wiener, who stated that society is a system and that “society can only be understood [and changed] through a study of the messages and the communication facilities which belong to it” (Wiener 1954 [1950], p. 16). Moreover, Wiener affirmed that “in the future, development of these messages and communication facilities, messages between man and machines, between machine and man and between machine and machine, are destined to play an ever-increasing part" (Wiener 1954 [1950], p. 16). The systems implemented by Facebook to keep communities safe, such as the Safety Check, or the infrastructure for collective action, together with the AI researching systems that they are being developed to review online contents, have to be interpreted through the above-mentioned lens of the computational metaphor of cybernetic origin. As for the tenor structure of the section, Facebook crafts for itself the image of the helper that is willing to "serve the needs" of national governments that call on them to activate such safety nets in their countries. It is a social infrastructure which, according to the CEO, "the global community needs", and should not be activated on demand, but be made permanent ("over time, our community should be able to help during wars and ongoing issues that are not limited to a single event").

The third section, "Informed Community", is focused on the sharing of "new ideas" and "enough common understanding" as the prerequisite to the creation of meaningful communities. Here, the fundamental Fb mission of connecting people together is implicitly described as an enabler of the freedom of speech principle, one of the inalienable rights granted to the people in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and one of the rights granted by the first Amendment to the *US Constitution* ("giving everyone a voice has historically been a very positive force for public discourse"). At the same time, the role of Fb regarding the "two most discussed concerns […] about diversity of viewpoints (filter bubbles) and accuracy of information (fake news)" is realized in an opaque way. Indeed, the implicit assumption appears to be that the mediating mechanism of information sharing is 'transparent' and almost natural, since only the act of connecting people who have ideas is mentioned, and not the Newsfeed algorithm. Fragmentation seems thus to be rhetorically constructed as one of the results of the positively connoted freedom of speech and sharing of ideas: "[giving everyone a voice] has also shown it may fragment our shared sense of reality". As O'Neil makes clear (2016), algorithms are marketed as true, scientific, objective facts and associated with mathematics; however, they are models, sets of instructions to solve problems step by step expressed in formal language, but chosen by those who have coded them.

The Newsfeed finds its roots in advertising-based business models and has been accused of tailoring information, foregrounding contents that could 'please' the audience as the users' behavior suggests. The mediating role of the platform seems thus to be disguised and the information patterns that occur are presented as the natural outcome of the intention of individual Facebook users more than the results of algorithms ("our community will identify which sources provide a complete range of perspectives so that content will naturally surface more”). Regarding the “accuracy of information”, Zuckerberg admits that there is “misinformation, even outright hoax content on Facebook” and that they are fighting it “carefully” since, on the one hand, the line between “hoaxes, satire and opinion” is not clear and since, in a “free society”, it is important for people to have the power to share their opinion. They will thus, as a company, “focus less on banning misinformation” and more on “surfacing additional perspectives”.

Such choices are discursively supported by a double reference to “research” as an authoritative source since high POSITIVE value is associated with research as the systematic study of materials and sources to establish facts and reach new conclusions. If these references are associated with a high technical value, the lack of specific details of the works he might want to refer to transforms them into rhetorical voices, rather than into authoritative and recognizable sources. It is a practice which would not be accepted in the scientific community someone discursively engages with.

The fourth section, (“Civically-Engaged Community”, opens with an axiomatic structure which features the highest level of truth-value, both in terms of the strengthening of the idea of the necessity to engage in civic participation and in the kind of social infrastructures that “must be built”. The ambiguity of the semantic extension of the term “social”, which expresses the idea of belonging to societies, but that can also be related to social media, is here played upon by the selection of the passive form combined with the deletion of the agent. As for the types of social infrastructures that are necessary, Zuckerberg divides them into two broad categories, the first one “encourages engagement in existing political processes” – we are, then, dealing with a national dimension; the second one aims at “establishing a new process for citizens worldwide to participate in collective decision-making”, and the focus is on “community governance” on a global scale. Semantic ambiguity is played on here, the notion of ‘community, which can be a token of political language as well as a term of digital jargon.

It is possible to infer the implied value scale embedded in the classification if we intra-textually connect it with the historical framework that sets the ideational cornerstone of the entire text. Indeed, history is portrayed as a process that proceeds from tribes to the global community and, as a corollary, nation states are implicitly valued as outdated, as a heritage of the XIX century in the (inevitable) journey towards the creation of a supra-national entity. In such an ideational context, Facebook can offer a testimony on “how community governance can work at scale” since it is the “largest global community”. In the rest of the text, examples are given of the tools that have already been established and used to support voting across the world and he also announces the creation of new tools that would be developed to strengthen “local civic engagement” and to “connect with representatives at all levels”, since social media is “becoming the primary medium for civic communication in the 21st century” just as TV was in the 1960s.

One of the tools that was presented a few weeks after the publication of the post was the menu feature iconically named “Town Hall” that offers a “simple way for users to find and connect with their government representatives on a local, state and federal level” (Perez 2017). The advocacy was developed for US users and attempts to strengthen civic-participation and facilitate the dialogue between Fb users and legislators by helping users find and contact the elected representatives in their areas at both local, national and federal level (at least those who have a Fb account). A detailed analysis of the app is beyond the scope of the present paper; however, it is important to highlight that the name chosen for the tool reinforces the rhetorical construction of the social media as the place for the administration of government and that, in North America, the term “Town Hall” evokes the direct democratic rule that originated in colonial New England and that lies at the foundation of American constitutional history (Lutz 1980). At the same time, the use of the app ideationally maps a solitary activity onto a collective action when actually the practice lacks the collegiality the name itself recalls.

The last section, “Inclusive Community”, focuses on the improving of guidelines for what is appropriate and inappropriate on Facebook, that is on the “Community Standards” which, as the video on the related Fb page states, “decide what and who should be removed” from the platform.[5] Indeed, Fb is described as a “community of people”, not “just technology or media” and the values expressed in the Community Standards which every user accepts while creating a profile on the social media is portrayed as a sort of ‘social contract’. This aims at reflecting the “cultural norms of the community”, embodying the “leading principle” of sharing more. In this section, Zuckerberg also acknowledges the cultural shift that has occurred in the platform which, from a site for private connections, has turned into a “source of news and public discourse”. At the same time, while advocating a global community and global standards, he also asserts the need to “evolve towards a system of more local governance”, especially in places where different cultural norms, such as in Europe, the Middle East or Asia, are in place.

The kind of global government envisioned combines Artificial Intelligence and a “system of personal control” over users’ experience. According to Zuckerberg, the “approach is to combine creating a large-scale democratic process to determine standards with AI to help enforce them”. Such a “large scale democratic process” ensures that all the users could decide how they “would like to set the content policy for themselves”, as in a

[5] See Fb’s Community Standards, https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards (12.04.2020).

"worldwide voting system". For "those who do not make a decision" the default will be established by the choices of the majority of people in the region, "like in a referendum". The parallelism created between the setting of the users' profile rules and the act of voting, together with the repeated use of political jargon, make the representation of Facebook as a socio-political space strong and reinforces the concept, here expressed, that Fb could be a model of "how collective decision-making may work" in the (inescapable) global community of tomorrow.

6. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the rhetorical construction of the "Building Global Community" message posted by Zuckerberg in February 2017, where he envisions the role of the platform as the future world "social infrastructure". Since its publication, the post has been considered a "manifesto" that is, a public declaration of policy and aims, and its textual structure appears to be more similar to a political declaration than to a status update on a social networking site. Indeed, the post far exceeds the ideal length of an average status update and features a highly rigid structure in terms of *dispositio*, with an introduction, body of the text that comprises five sections and even a signature. It also presents a high lexical density and information is 'packaged' to highlight the informative components making use of bullet points, while emphasis at the level of fonts suggests a preferred reading of the contents. The iconic component of the post, which is given salience from its position in the layout, represents Zuckerberg while publicly addressing an audience in the Facebook headquarters, thus framing the verbal component of the post as a public speech. It is a verbal component which, as described above, presents features in terms of informativity, nominal processes and layout that are typical of a written or, at least, a written-to-be-spoken text. The elements of the post that recall status updates in timelines belong to the Fb layout and are the small profile image of the sender, the temporal marker that evokes the reverse chronological order of blogs and the icon that displays the privacy that has been chosen for the post. The image of the sender shows Zuckerberg while smiling; such an informal register rhetorically reduces distance with the audience and is more in line with the genre of social media posts, while the world icon from the Fb layout acknowledges that the privacy of the text has been selected as "public". This choice makes the internal and the global communities overlap and helps shape the text as a formal, top-down programmatic discourse. Indeed, from the analysis, it has emerged that, at ideational level, the definition of the platform as the future world "social infrastructure" goes beyond the boundaries usually associated with social network sites as the tools that organize and make already existing off-line connections visible.

In more detail, in his message, Zuckerberg crafts for the social media the role of helper in the progressive linear development of human history towards larger and more complex social infrastructures (that is from tribes to the global community), and the accomplishment of the mission is strictly related to the creation, the spread and use of the technological tools produced by Facebook. At the same time, the text repeatedly plays on the ambiguity of the semantic extension of the term "social", which expresses the idea of belonging to societies, but which can also be related to social media. Indeed, social media are described as the enablers of the strengthening of the social fabric and, in particular, of that civic participation which has been central in Habermasian terms to the US socio-political experiment since its beginning.

In the last sections of the text, the above ambiguity is made clear via the rhetorical construction of the social media as the place for the administration of "community governance" on a global scale, which is described as a collective decision-making process aided by Artificial Intelligence. According to Zuckerberg, this process could function as a model for world nations since "Facebook is the largest global community" and "humanity's current systems are insufficient to address global issues". At the textual level, the mediating role of the platform seems to be disguised and the information patterns that occur are presented as the natural outcome of the intention of individual Facebook users more than the results of algorithms. It is a rhetorical representation which is in line with the conceptualization of algorithms as true, scientific, objective facts and associated with mathematics. However, algorithms are not only sets of instructions to solve problems chosen by those who have coded them (O'Neil 2016), but the recent data scandals have revealed that the relationships between social media platforms, users' data and civic participation are far less straightforward.

Bionote: Ilaria Moschini is Assistant Professor in English Linguistics and Translation at Università di Firenze and holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics from University College London (UCL). She has published articles in leading international journals, edited sections and book chapters on US political and institutional discourse, media/new media language, critical discourse analysis and multimodality. She has authored a monograph on the linguistic evolution of the American myth (*Le Lettere* 2007) and is co-editor of a volume on Mediation in digital environments (Routledge). She is member of editorial boards in indexed journals in the areas of linguistics and multimodality and has been visiting scholar at the Center for Multimodal Communication at the University of Southern Denmark. She has participated in national and European research projects and served as the head of the Florence research unit for the European Erasmus + project EU-MADE4LL "European Multimodal and Digital Education for Language Learning" (2016-2019).

Author's address: ilaria.moschini@unifi.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 173-194
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p173

THE DISCURSIVE TOPICALISATION OF TRUST, ETHICS AND IDEOLOGY IN EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES

CHIARA PROSPERI PORTA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "LA SAPIENZA"

Abstract – This chapter investigates the discourse of the EU law-enforcement agency, Europol, and the ways in which trust, ethics and ideology are engaged in communication in order to achieve institutional legitimation through the discursive construction of 'danger' and 'emergencies'. The analysis considers a corpus of annual reports published over the last ten years (2008-2018). The relationship between the production of security discourse, institutional responsibility and credibility will show how trust discourse can be either rooted in insecurity or safety and deeply rely on the categories of ethics and ideology, according to the specific circumstances and communicative needs of the organisation. Quantitative and qualitative findings will reveal how lexical and phraseological key features, as well as a dichotomy created through the use of polarisation strategies, can shape contrasting *ingroup* or *outgroup* identities/roles, alternatively feeding credibility or discredit, on the issue of safeguarding European security. This linguistic interplay will discursively extricate the harmful potential of criminal forces' ideological agenda, legitimise repressive control measures as ethically acceptable, as well as empower Europol's trustworthy image and propagandise its beneficial role in the fight against crime and terrorism.

Keywords: trust; ethics; ideology; law-enforcement discourse; polarisation strategies; legitimation strategies.

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between discursive practices in the context of European societal security and the categories of trust, ideology and ethics. The study is based on a corpus of annual reports published from 2008 to 2018 by the EU law enforcement agency Europol, whose decisions and modalities of action not only form the basis of European security discourse, but also involve issues of supra-national social control, while shaping a 'security identity' (Waever 1995). In this way, security is discursively interconnected with the legitimation of identity, credibility and trust among the national authorities (Candlin, Crichton 2013).

The interference of organized crime and terrorism in the EU context has contributed to social insecurity and represents the most serious threat to the wellbeing of Member States, where cooperation and coordination have not effectively met a common response, in terms of the perception of danger and institutional analysis of the problem (Baker-Beall 2014, 2016). Hence, in the conceptualisation of European security, intelligence measures and operations may background the ideal of ethical behaviour and be discursively legitimised through the voice of institutional expertise and reliability, with a view to promoting institutional trustworthiness among European citizens in the ‘war on terror’ (Jarvis 2009), as well as in exhibiting a certain organisational conduct to pre-empt the escalation of specific threats.

As a matter of fact, the role of trust and credibility is embedded in the formation and maintenance of relationships among law-enforcement institutions, Member States and people, as well as in the ethical cooperation and exchange of investigative practices in the fight against crime and terrorism. Since trust not only involves institutional responsibility, but also moral credibility and recognition, it can be mediated through strategic communication in the production of security discourse and sourced by the appeal to a shared set of values either rooted in insecurity or in safety; similarly, trust can be variously fed or depressed by the authorship’s discursive representation of emergencies and the audience’s acceptance of control measures.

Security discourse also engages a two-fold dimension of ‘security identity’, which comprises the supranational *self* representation of the law-enforcement agency and the description of *other* national intelligence partners when engaged in combating criminal organisations. The ideological sense of ‘togetherness’ and cooperative behaviour between supranational and national entities necessarily include the ways in which these representations of the *self* and the *other* may strategically emerge or not in the discursive release of documents about security. For this reason, the supranational law-enforcement agency may project itself within the community by disclosing its proactive role in accomplishing its security mission or by putting on a good face in the case of failure. It may also shift blame onto other intelligence partners for having lacked an adequate sense of cooperation.

For this reason, the aim of the study is to investigate how, during the dissemination process, law-enforcement communication realises trust, ethics and ideology in security reports and the strategies deployed at the institutional level in shaping the discourse of security, in order to serve a trustworthy/positive or negative representation of roles/identities.

2. Theoretical framework: trust, ethics and ideology in security issues

It is well-known that the socio-political environment, ethical ‘frames’ and ideologies affect the dynamics of institutional knowledge and the production of discourse (Kress 2010, p. 19), and in so doing, regulate the standards of conduct or organisational practices (Downe *et al.* 2016, p. 898). In setting operational guidelines and issuing policies at the communicative level within the institutional agency or body, specific conduct can be endorsed or sanctioned and the dimension of trust also be engaged in order to shape people’s views of other people/groups, make cohesion, and build cooperative relations (Gambetta 1988; Good 1988). This is a relevant feature which particularly affects the delivery of texts about ideologically and ethically relevant issues because of their stringent implications in specific sectors, such as public security. Good (1988, p. 31) explains how

> In the analysis of trust, we are inevitably drawn to the complex two-way interrelationships between it, in the economic and political fabric of society, and the individuals who constitute that society. On the one hand we may be concerned with its role in the creation of that fabric and its psychological impact on the individual, and on the other we may be concerned with how that fabric and the properties of those individuals can serve to maintain trust and any associated cooperative behaviours.

Especially in the security environment, the role that trust plays on individuals and institutional bodies impacts on their behaviours and actions, thus involving

> […] a modality of human action: a more or less consciously chosen policy for handling the freedom of other human agents or agencies. As a passion, a sentiment, it can be evanescent or durable. But as a modality of action it is essentially concerned with coping with uncertainty over time. (Dunn 1988, p. 73)

Such binary dynamics operated by trust between the behaviour of agents and the role of agencies have attracted scholars’ attention (Candlin, Crichton 2013; Downe *et al.* 2016; Gambetta 1988; Good 1988; Hood 2011; Wenger 1998) both in terms of ontological conceptualisation and in the exploration of the communicative strategies engaged to build a trustworthy relationship between organizations and individuals. Good (1988, p. 33) considers the notion of trust as based on an individual/group’s set of beliefs as to someone else’s action or conduct in a potential future situation, while Candlin and Crichton (2013, p. 2) observe that “trust is always associated with expectations about the behaviour of others that may be more or less founded", and at the same time has an impact on knowledge production. Candlin and Crichton (2013, pp. 9-13) also highlight trust's discursive reliance on intention and choice, its negotiation through conscious strategic communication and the involvement of role, responsibility and accountability associated with any type of identity; they argue that trust encompasses credibility and recognition based on confidence, as well as connotes social/institutional influence, either enabling or inhibiting authority.

Along with trust, ethics has become an integral component in the transfer of knowledge (Garzone, Sarangi 2007), because it delineates questions of correct conduct, particularly in the public sphere, and facilitates the empowerment of ideology in the subsequent implementation of institutional policies (van Dijk 2000). In fact, ethics exerts influence on groups/individuals in issuing guidance about the appropriate conduct to be undertaken, through the sanctioning of negative role models or the endorsement of exemplary behaviour (Joyce 2014). Ethics may also correspond to group-established standards and be imposed on its members as a means of regulating and setting limits on social behaviours (especially those conducts which represent violations or offences against public security), and as such it may be connected to ideology when it positively/negatively enhances

> socially shared beliefs that are associated with the characteristic properties of a group, such as their identity, their position in society, their interests and aims, their relations to other groups, their reproduction, and their natural environment. (van Dijk 2000, p. 12)

Taken together, ethics and ideology provide the context and medium through which people create, maintain and change power and social relations, thus legitimising group conventions and actions in a specific situation or particular domain of action. Ideology in particular, considered as a system of ideas and ideals socially shaping discourses and practices, may give its contribution to organise attitudes, opinions and even prejudices among the members of a group about the negative properties or conduct of others (van Dijk 2000, pp. 14-15), thus generating conflict or struggle.

Several studies have also demonstrated how ethics and ideology can be pivotal in the framing of institutional or professional identity (Loseke 2007; Simon 2004; Spencer Oatey 2007) and the achievement of discursive reliability. Consequently, discourses of trust and the communicative strategies (Hansson 2015, p. 299) used to address public concern about contemporary societal issues may enhance the effectiveness of institutional power in action, and be representative features of ethical/ideological security discourse in specific contexts such as the EU, because

> when people place their trust in systems, they implicitly place trust in the experts associated with those systems, and as a consequence this expert status, articulated in the form of specialist knowledge and expertise, becomes a source of power for the system and for some of the actors that inhabit it. However, this expertise status, and the associated invoking of trust in the system as a whole, may be jeopardised if actors and systems fail to deliver expected outcomes. (Candlin, Crichton 2013, p. 3)

In this way, at the same time that knowledge is disseminated, trust-bearing discourse can help to construct, constrain or jeopardise the idea of an ethical identity, as well as enable community identification, and ideology can be used at the institutional level to emphasise or lessen meanings of *self*-presentation or *other*-presentation (Hansson 2015, 2017; Hood 2011; Prosperi Porta 2018, 2019; van Dijk 2000, 2006; Weaver 1995), when there is the need to prevent the loss of trust, to ethically/ideologically empower legitimacy and facilitate cooperation among public authorities.

To this end, ideology can be functional to the polarisation of group behaviours in positive and negative ways (van Dijk 2000, p. 37) when the authorship aims at endorsing institutional action as inescapable, at making acceptable group dominance and at feeding trust and confidence, especially in those "situations in which significant groups within a society feel threatened […] and try to defend themselves" (Waever 1995, p. 60), such as in matters of European societal security, where for ideological reasons, discourse

> […] constructs an issue as an 'existential' threat. By labelling something as a 'security' issue gives it a certain sense of importance and urgency that legitimises the use of extraordinary measures beyond the norms and practices of everyday politics. (Baker-Beall 2016, p. 192)

Hence, policies may be successfully conveyed appealing to a strong sense of insecurity and uncertainty, by a negative representation of 'otherness' (negative group polarisation) considered as a threat to security or by positive institutional self-representation (positive group polarisation) that normalises a repressive response to crime and consolidates institutional image and public recognition. The speech act of labelling something as 'security' may lead "to specific ways of addressing it: threat, defence, and […] solutions" (Waever 1995, p. 58), at times even encouraging the idea that some threats exceed any possible control (Baker-Beall 2014, 2016; Jarvis 2009). Thus, the connection between precautionary security, exceptional measures and ideological institutional engagement enables the identification of the agency with the promises of implementing effective solutions for the common good of people, and at the same time places trust in the 'securitisation' of a problem. The institution may deliberately create a constant feeling of threat to feed confidence, as well as emphasise commitment in a very complex system of power-relationships, with a view to ensuring Member States' compliance (Jocak, Kochenov 2017). The authorship can recur to other discursive tools such as modalities legitimising authority, value judgments and anticipative strategies of defence in case of any possible blame endangering the law-enforcement agency's construction of a reliable 'security identity' (Waever 1995, p. 65).

In using conscious defensive practices, the authorship may endorse public policies appealing to credibility. Trustworthiness can be ideally validated by institutional recognition and driven by ideology.

Therefore, the national and supranational relations among law-enforcement intelligence and its partners involve different dynamics in articulating trust discourse, in terms of how it is sourced, projected and may be perceived. The following Sections will explore Europol's shaping of trust discourse and its connections with ethics and ideology in the realisation of the EU agency's leadership, as well as in the projection of an accountable institutional identity and in the codification of appropriate response or behaviour to danger.

3. Corpus and Methodology

The corpus is made up of Annual Reports, published from 2008 to 2018 by Europol, whose first issue follows the creation of the European Police office body and the commencement of the agency's activities in the field of defence and security. The corpus amounts to 189,881 tokens and 29,809 types.

Europol's reports are documents issued by highly-trained experts and aim at providing strategic analysis directed to warding off serious and organised crime and terrorism in Europe; they also promote the agency's mission of facilitating cooperation and effectively implementing control measures among Member States' law-enforcement authorities. In the EU, the report genre can be considered as an institutionalised form of communication which guides the social activities of various institutional communities of practice (Prosperi Porta 2018, p. 17).

In the European context of security, the presentation of discourse is targeted either at operators in the field or the lay public; the argumentation of facts and figures accounts for the agency's achievements, the latest intelligence methodologies and techniques used in crime assessment. Documents are released on an annual basis and are available to the public on Europol's website (Prosperi Porta 2018, 2019).

The quantitative analysis relies on current corpus-assisted discourse studies (Baker 2006; Bondi, Scott 2010; Hunston 2002; Partington 2004, 2010; Rayson 2008; Sinclair 1991, 1996, 2003) and considers the lexical salience of words that topicalise institutional trust, ethics and ideology in Europol's group argumentation, so as to shed light on how discourse can be ideologically oriented and engage the idea of a trustworthy supranational body. Analogously, the discursive topicalisation of trust could be morally aimed at favouring cooperation among law-enforcement partners and be sublimated into commitment to security in order to persuade the target audience. To this end, quantitative data related to argumentation about security issues will be obtained with the support of the software Concapp5 (Grieves 2005).

The qualitative analysis instead, aims at exploring the discursive strategies empowering ideology (polarized group representation, evaluation, rhetorical devices) and legitimation techniques (defence strategies, modalities legitimising authority, securitisation discourse), developed by Europol, with the aim of building, maintaining or restoring trust in the circumstances of blame or legitimising their institutional role and actions as 'ethical', with a view to making them acceptable to recipients.

4. Crime strategic analysis in Europol's reports

Europol is a EU agency, active in the fight against the different forms of contemporary crime, including among its major issues a special focus on terrorism.

Europol's relationship with Member States' partners has achieved an increased importance since 2009, becoming progressively prominent in 2013, and re-defined in the period 2014-18, so as to cover under the same umbrella many relevant EU institutions, agencies and their strategic activities.

Since 2008, Europol has published its Annual Reports in order to provide law-enforcement partners, and the public, with an overview of the agency's different activities in the field of EU-wide criminal intelligence knowledge. The dissemination of strategic counter-crime analysis led to the exchange of data through a consolidated type of document, so as to have rapid feedback and supra-nationally guide operations and implement policies in the law-enforcement community. It also informs the wider readership about the agency's activities and achievements.

The oldest documents (2008-2010) are the most extensive, while the latest editions (2011-2018) present a significantly simplified structure and show a progressive reduction in their length, foregrounding particular issues, such as terrorism and cybercrime. Quite unexpectedly, following Europol's recent establishment as the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation in 2017, the 2018 report was further abbreviated to *Europol in brief*, which consists of a short summary of the former report genre. This change may be linked to a careful choice of standardising the key-areas of knowledge in the focus of institutional action and communication (in recent years, specific themes such as terrorism have been given larger prominence by the agency in the form of single monographic publications, probably in order to appeal more to the interests of the intended readership). It may also be revealing of other factors that are worth considering. In fact, it may indicate new policy changes and a possible variation in the selection of information to be shared, following the appointment of a new director in 2018, or a progressive loss of popularity of texts/topics among the recipients. Perhaps, it may also signal a lessened degree of shared 'security' knowledge that could be effectively exchanged for best practice. It may unveil an institutional feeling of inadequacy in dealing with increasing security threats, as well.

5. Quantitative findings

On the basis of the quantitative investigation, it can be said that some nouns, verbs and modifiers build Europol's ideology and encompass ethics on a textual level, when propagandising a trustworthy and accountable institutional identity. Data have been collected according to their statistical degree of salience, as indicated in the following tables.

5.1. Trust-building nouns

As far as nouns are concerned, statistics have proved how some specific trust-building nouns frequently mark discourse, as displayed in Table 1 below.

Noun (2008-2018)	**Raw frequencies**	**Relative frequency per 100 tokens**
support	674	0.3478
cooperation	512	0.2642
terrorism	320	0.1651
security	235	0.0697
protection	166	0.0857
expertise	148	0.0764
coordination	139	0.0717
capabilities	101	0.0521
fight	79	0.0408
surveillance	46	0.0237
trust	14	0.0072

Table 1
Trust-building nouns.

The examination of nouns has revealed how Europol's *support* (674 instances, 0.3478%) to intelligence partners, *cooperation* (512 instances, 0.2642%) among Member States and the *fight* (79 instances, 0.0408%) for societal *security* (231 instances, 0.1192%) register a relevant salience in the corpus, being in clear contrast with the very low occurrence of other nouns which could have been used more frequently to overtly build a trustworthy institutional 'security identity', as in the case of *trust* (14 instances, 0.0072%) and *surveillance* (46 instances, 0.0237%). However, it is interesting to note that, from an in-depth reading of the reports and an examination of frequencies on an annual basis, the occurrence of *surveillance* drastically dropped from 2015 onwards, following the Islamic State outbreak of simultaneous terrorist attacks. The quantitative reduction of *surveillance* could reflect, discursively, the negative impact of possible intelligence failures and the role played by institutional ideology in linguistically toning down or masquerading security errors. It may also signal a feasible sense of institutional inadequacy when adopting ineffective counter-measures against terrorism's unpredictability, and to some extent, may be explained as a sign of trust decline, as indicated by a falling trend registered by *trust*, gradually decreasing from 2013 to 2015 and completely disappearing in 2016-2018 (coinciding with the new rise of terrorist attacks since 2015).

Since security relies on real sources of danger, statistical frequencies indicate the increased necessity for Europol to propagandise the notion of the *fight* (79 instances, 0.0408%) and *protection* (166 instances, 0.0857%), against the proliferation of *terrorism* (320 instances, 0.165%), among Member States, as well as the agency's need to self-project as a leader in the *coordination* (139 instances, 0.0717%) of synergy with intelligence partners, and in the promotion of its analytical or operational *capabilities* (101 instances, 0.0521%).

5.2. Verbs constructing 'security identity' and 'war on terror' discourse

In addition to nouns, some verbs appealing to the agency's ethics and ideology in the accomplishment of law-enforcement duties, have been retrieved in the corpus. Past tenses are frequently used in the narrative, on the institutional side, to describe results and achievements against criminal hubs and constitute typical usage of 'war on terror' discourse (Baker-Beall 2014). The use of past forms helps Europol to successfully disseminate knowledge about its strategic activities, accomplished missions and contribute to shape public confidence. When some of these verbs are used in the present tense or infinitive form they can mark institutional continuity in the security commitment and feed positive expectations about institutional behaviour, which is frequently portrayed as resorting to the power of intelligence capabilities. A short list of the most salient infinitives/present and past forms is shown in Tables 2 and 3 below.

Infinitive/present (2008-2018)	**Raw frequencies**	**Relative frequency per 100 tokens**
secure	143	0.073
arrest	71	0.036
combat	43	0.022
check	37	0.019
coordinate	34	0.017
disrupt	34	0.017
attack	28	0.014
fight	28	0.014
detect	21	0.010
dismantle	19	0.009

Table 2
Present/ Infinitive forms constructing 'security identity' and 'war on terror' discourse.

Past/Past Participle (2008-2018)	**Raw frequencies**	**Relative frequency per 100 tokens**
seized	254	0.131
arrested	180	0.092
identified	155	0.080
coordinated	108	0.055
dismantled	76	0.039
detected	24	0.012
investigated	17	0.008
checked	16	0.0083
intercepted	15	0.0077
disrupted	14	0.0072

Table 3
Past/ Past Participle forms constructing 'security identity' and 'war on terror' discourse.

Linguistic evidence shows how trust, ethics and ideology permeate discourse when a word such as *terrorism* collocates with the verbs related to the notion of battle (*disrupt*, *combat*, *fight*, *attack*, *dismantle*) and securitisation (*secure*, *detect*, *arrest*), therefore emphasising the societal vulnerability deriving from any absence of control, implicitly re-stating Europol's core values and also the need to adopt severe repressive measures. As a result, most of the verbs presented in Tables 2 and 3 involve the idea of criminal destruction and detection so as to feature 'war on terror' discourse and de-legitimise terrorist ideological agenda, while empowering the behaviour of intelligence.

5.3. Evaluative modifiers constructing 'security identity'

Along with nouns and verbs, the use of lexis related to the leading role of Europol in the field of crime, of the agency's operational timing and high-expertise intelligence, often tracks the occurrence of evaluative modifiers (adjectives/adverbs) to positively represent institutional identity in the texts, as well as to project a trustworthy image of vigilance and efficient behaviour aimed at supporting institutional ideology. For this reason, the description of intelligence activities often results in the combination of modifiers with most nouns presented in Table 1, thus emphasising success and justifying the implementation of intense security measures for the common good of people. Some of these modifiers (adjectives) are illustrated in Table 4 below.

Evaluative modifier- adj. (2008-2018)	**Raw frequencies**	**Relative frequency per 100 tokens**
new	484	0.249
strategic	204	0.146
significant	126	0.065
important	120	0.061
high	94	0.048
active	92	0.047
successful	83	0.042
relevant	76	0.039
effective	66	0.034
unique	60	0.031
early	47	0.024
specialised	46	0.023
valuable	34	0.017
timely	27	0.013
efficient	24	0.012
necessary	16	0.008
strong	15	0.007
intensive	11	0.005

Table 4
Evaluative modifiers constructing 'security identity'.

The use of evaluative modifiers ideally contributes to building a reliable institutional identity for Europol, as well as enhancing its image of 'securitisation' and protection, thus feeding institutional consolidation and trust. However, apart from those modifiers registering the highest positions (*new, significant, strategic*), which highlight intelligence innovation, the agency also foregrounds its paramount role in the European law-enforcement environment in terms of operative timeliness, efficiency (*timely, efficient, unique*), as well as credits itself with expertise (*specialised, valuable*) against the different forms of criminality, with a view to positively affecting public trust and recognition. Quantitative findings also disclose the need to convey the existence of a 'security identity' which constantly and strenuously stays focused on the EU societal threats. As a matter of fact, the notion of fighting often interconnects with the reference to the intelligence voice of experience, by reason of ideologically supporting the problematisation of danger; similarly, the discursive act of managing threats as urgent issues feeds confidence in Europol's role as a holistic security actor, whose strategic measures and capabilities are legitimised as ethically credible.

6. Qualitative findings

The qualitative investigation has aimed at identifying the discursive strategies deployed by Europol to shape security through the elicitation of institutional trust, ethics and ideology. The exploration of quantitative data has confirmed the use of group polarisation strategies in the texts (van Dijk 2000, pp. 34-36) to legitimise practice and expertise, as well as to propagandise Europol's image and its 'security identity' (Waever 1995) in the EU. Strategies (Hansson 2017; Hood 2011) can also be utilised to direct the agency's identity towards public consensus around its policies and positions, build trust, and push aside possible sources of blame.

The rising emergence of new threats, particularly those regarding the implications of terrorism and people smuggling, has frequently conceptualised Europol as a trustworthy and efficient security actor, stressing the need to guide intelligence partners through cooperation and to adjust divergent or disharmonised conducts within the law-enforcement community. This need has obviously influenced the terms in which the agency has been projected in the reports to make its role acceptable to the readership when extraordinary repressive measures must be implemented. Therefore, the discursive representation of a proactive identity may be presented as consistently committed to successful operations as well as to European security, or emerge as skilfully driving the decisions of national authorities in the name of its authoritative experience and expertise. Through the agency appeal to operational uniformity, cooperation and coordination in the disruption of terrorism and other illicit activities, institutional ideology, role and values can be enforced as credible because they correspond to the specific urgency of some issues that are exhibited as unavoidable in terms of security behaviour. This feature is shown in examples (1) to (5).

(1) From its founding roots in the early 1990s as the Europol Drugs Unit, the organisation has grown beyond all recognition and developed into an agency of the European Union (EU). Today Europol is […] occupying a central place in

the field of law enforcement cooperation in Europe. It has unique crime-fighting capabilities tailored to combat serious international crime and terrorism. European law enforcement agencies rely on Europol's 24/7 operational service centre. Europol employs some of the best criminal analysts in Europe, produces high-quality strategic and operational analysis and coordinates […] cross-border investigations each year. (EUROPOL 2008, p. 4)

(2) Strengthened by a reform to its mandate and capabilities in 2010, Europol is pioneering a new response to these dangers. Europol acquired a new dynamic on 1 January 2010 when it became a fully-fledged European Union agency […]. This has meant the implementation of a new strategy and new legal status with enhanced powers. As a result, Europol has become more open and accountable and its new legal framework will spell quicker […] cooperation between partners, which is especially important for police work. (EUROPOL 2009, p. 4)

(3) Europol has gained an improved position on the EU stage, partly thanks to the Lisbon Treaty, its new legal status, […] and to the agency's own new strategy and improved capabilities. All of these developments make Europol a unique cooperation partner for EU law enforcement agencies and an important contributor to the EU decision-making process. (EUROPOL 2010, p. 60)

(4) Europol provides expertise on the spot but also develops platforms for expert cooperation in a broad spectrum of law enforcement specialisations. Europol aims to be a pioneer in developing best practice as well as pooling European law enforcement expertise to support national investigations. (EUROPOL 2012, p. 20)

(5) Europol has been constantly improving its capabilities to ensure that its services are continuously available, providing round-the-clock support for its law enforcement partners. (EUROPOL 2016-17, p.64)

In example 1 the narrative used is to construct Europol's trusted identity (*from its founding roots*) according to developing stages which mark key dates in institutional image consolidation and recognition (*has grown* […] *and developed into an agency* […] *occupying a central place in* […] *cooperation*). The leading role in security issues and its operational empowerment is expressed by evaluative patterns (*unique capabilities*, *best criminal analysts*, *high-quality strategic and operational analysis*) which convey positive *self*-representation, while featuring group polarisation (van Dijk 2000, p. 18) between Europol's *ingroup* intelligence partners and *outgroup* criminal members. Institutional values emerge in the 'war' attitude which clearly embodies group knowledge and ideology as applied to the security domain. It is worthy of note how intelligence powers are repeatedly and deliberately designated as *capabilities* (namely armament and people) in all the reports, thus evidencing the fact that in the mind of the institution a proper war has to be fought.

The mention of *capabilities* and the idea of a strongly empowered identity having great potentials are also present in example 2, where trust is built through a sense of supra-national commitment (*strengthened to its mandate*), effectiveness and promptness (*will spell quicker cooperation*), as well as responsibility (*accountable*) to invest in. The evaluative modifier *new* which runs many times through the passage, features the agency in terms of innovation both at the operational and constitutive level (*new response*, *new dynamic*, *new strategy*, *new legal status*, *new legal framework*). Similarly, the notion of laying the groundwork (*pioneering*) for intense intelligence measures against *dangers* expresses the soundness of Europol's indefatigable mission and its image is projected as a great addition to the European group of institutions.

In example 3 the value of cooperation is associated with the representation of a leading institutional role (*an improved position on the EU stage*) which serves a trust-feeding function in the audience. Not only are the intelligence's ground-breaking plan of action (*own new strategy*) and use of refined resources (*improved capabilities*) central to law-enforcement achievements, but it is also the agency's special organization (*unique cooperation partner*), as well as its authoritative conduct (*important contributor*) which make synergic operations (*decision-making process*) possible for the sake of EU security.

A comparable avant-garde approach (*aims to be a pioneer*) in investigations that is combined with immediacy of action (*on the spot*) is also shown in example 4, where cooperation and shared knowledge (*pooling law enforcement expertise*) efficaciously blend with the image of a capillary network and remarkable expertise, in view of supra-nationally shouldering the security burden to sustain national authorities.

In a like manner, example 5 displays how the construction of a reliable 'security identity' may also involve the institutional need for publicising permanent assistance (*constantly improving its capabilities to ensure that its services are continuously available*) and uninterrupted dedication (*round-the-clock support for its law enforcement partners*), thus projecting a law-enforcement image in the act of being caring, omnipresent and happy to oblige.

In the constant attempt to realise a shared security, *ingroup* 'security identity' can be given special value and coupled with the ideological emphasis on institutional desire for a concrete working interaction between Europol and intelligence alliances, as shown in the following examples, 6 to 9.

(6) It was a unique experience to see representatives from the Member States and other partners sitting together with Europol colleagues […] providing real time support to officers in the field, not only in the EU, but much wider. All of us, working day and night, with the simple aim of fighting serious and organised crime together. (EUROPOL 2014, p. 7)

(7) Europol is about a mind-set: a wish to effectively cooperate against terrorism and serious and organised crime and a wish to stand united against the multiple and increasingly complex threats to our internal security. (EUROPOL 2015, p. 46)

(8) Being in the centre of EU security architecture, Europol is constantly upgrading its processes and capabilities to provide effective and timely reactions to evolving security threats. […] Europol had to react promptly to the new security challenges and focus its resources on the pressing operational needs. (EUROPOL 2015, p. 48)

(9) Europol experts worked side-by-side with national authorities at the EU's external borders to strengthen security checks on the inward flows of migrants, to disrupt migrant smuggling networks and identify suspected terrorists and criminals. […] Thanks to our presence in the hotspots, we have developed close and trusted working relationships in Italy. We all learned together how to best manage highly sensitive incidents, including responding to dozens of bodies being unloaded from rescue boats. Although professional relationships have always existed, the constant presence of Europol officers was the crucial ingredient that raised cooperation to the next level. (EUROPOL 2016-17, pp. 22-23)

Group identity is emphasised in example 6 through the discursive polarisation of community cooperation. In fact, the harmonious congregation of a united team (*Member States and other partners sitting together with Europol colleagues*) is featured as a special happening (*unique experience*), where all the participants prioritise the defeat of crime groups. Once again, the agency's ideology aims at propagandising a positive image in the challenge of fulfilling its role promptly (*providing real time support*) as a universal security leader (*not only in the EU, but much wider*). As a result, while the law-enforcement range of action is ideally expanded, its objectives are conveniently announced as a basic security issue (*simple aim of fighting* [...] *crime*), and at the same time, *ingroup* cooperation and full-time commitment are inclusively marked (*all of us working day and night* […] *together*).

In example 7 self-intended positive group polarisation from criminal forces strategically emerges to powerfully persuade the public about genuine institutional devotion, as well as in representing the group and its partners as a desirably united organization (*a wish to stand united*) with its beliefs and values (*mind-set*) which are functional to the fight against criminality. The agency's legitimation as an accountable identity is expressed by the authorial inclusive stance enabled by discourse structures such as possessives, engaging the idea of a common institutional concern (*our internal security*). The presence of evaluative modifiers (in this case adverbs) not only generates reasonable expectations and trust (*a wish to effectively cooperate against terrorism*) about the single-minded dedication to law-enforcement action; it also boosts a sense of suspicion and concretely enhances the concept of danger (*increasingly complex threats*), with the aim of propagandising a shared cognition of national and supra-national joint operations.

Sometimes, as shown in example 8, Europol's *self*-representation may invoke one of the typical metaphors which have an immediate cognitive impact on the readership and have become formulaic patterns in the reports (Prosperi Porta 2019, pp. 145-146), to firmly anchor institutional position in the community of practice. In this case, the authorship displays the *security architecture* metaphor, in order to convey the image of the organisation's structural stability as a shelter that guarantees protection and is the hub of intelligence (*in the centre of EU security architecture*) with which EU law-enforcement partners and activities are connected. The need to legitimate security policies is also linked to the use of some verbs and evaluative modifiers implying that danger may occur unexpectedly (*constantly upgrading its processes* […] *to evolving security threats*) and for this reason, EU security requires an authoritative agency which comes to grips with problems (*to react promptly* […] *and focus its resources on the pressing operational needs*).

Analogously, the topicalization of trust, ethics and ideology is documented in example 9, where Europol strategically reproduces an image of intelligence coalition which adjusts or reduces any possible divergence (*experts worked side-by-side* […]. *We have developed close and trusted working relationship.* […]. *We all learned together how to best manage*), particularly when targeting illegal migration problems such as smuggling and the subsequent rising risk of terrorism. As a matter of fact, it is indisputable that migration has been a very sensitive issue in Mediterranean countries and can represent an evident source of supra-national concern and possible trust deterioration in the case of unsuccessful performance. Therefore, ethics and ideology play a central role when the humanitarian side of institutional behaviour is shown in the act of giving assistance and a shelter to refugees (*responding to dozen of bodies* […] *unloaded from rescue boats*), although constantly keeping the law-enforcement eye on those individuals who may have potentially adhered to terrorist ideals (*identify suspected terrorists*), as well as preventing those illegal migration-related activities from continuing (*disrupt* […] *smuggling*). Once again, *self*-representation reveals the need to underline the expertise pool embodied by Europol in constructing a 'security identity' and is consistent with the concept of a trustworthy leadership (*our presence*), whose expert contribution is considered as dramatically necessary to cooperative relations (*the crucial ingredient* […] *to raise cooperation*). In addition, illegal migration here establishes an ethical discursive link between terrorism as an "emotive act of violence" (Baker-Beall 2014, p. 217) and the problem of asylum policies, the latter for the fact of being transformed into a parallel and insidious danger. Consequently, in the reports this adverse perception may involve negative group polarisation of the *other* to de-legitimise *outgroup* actions and promote *self* superiority. This is shown in the following examples 10, 11 and 12.

(10) In 2016 terrorists once again demonstrated that the only thing needed to commit an attack is the will of a radicalised individual. Once Islamic State (IS) began to lose territory and the first signs of its defeat appeared, its leaders repeatedly called for IS supporters and followers to bring the war to the heartland of Europe and the US by committing terrorist attacks on the soil of coalition members. On top of that, IS operatives and fighters began [...] to enter Europe using - in some cases - the migration flows […]. Europe is faced with a mix of terrorist threats which cannot be dealt by the EU Member States alone. Europol also maintains a link between its terrorism and organized crime databases which enables swift, continuous cross-matching of information, and the establishment of links between investigations. This way a significant number of individuals were identified who had first been reported for organized crime activities and were later reported as terrorism suspects. […] Trusted teams and networks of experts are equally important in the timely exchange of information. (EUROPOL 2016-17, pp. 28-29)

(11) Conscious of their disjointed appearance, the spin-off media outlets are increasingly aware of the need to appear more united and aim to project the image of an IS franchise. With this in mind, they are careful to produce propaganda that carries the hallmarks of IS and mimic the group's official braggadocio. The need to appear more as a monolithic bloc and less like disparate groups […] is even more crucial in light of a long-standing ideological dispute – between the lesser and more radicals within IS – that is currently raging online. (EUROPOL 2018, pp. 12-13)

(12) In addition to the territorial losses inflicted on IS over the past year, 2018 took its toll on the group's digital presence. […] Islamic State has continued to suffer an aggravating crisis over 2018. The decimation of its quasi-state was coupled with major and coordinated attacks against its official propaganda machine. In particular, the disruption efforts […] have continued to curtail the group's broadcasting capabilities, ensuring the wider public has less direct access to terrorist propaganda. As a result, propaganda produced by official IS media outlets has visibly declined - both in terms of quantity and quality. Moreover, its attempts to reach out to anglophone audiences have proved amateurish. […] The current conjuncture does provide a window of opportunity to capitalise on the organisation's disarray. In particular, combating the group's media network should remain a priority. (EUROPOL 2018, p. 27)

In example 10, Europol uses negative polarisation as a form of manipulation (van Dijk 2006) to reproduce *ingroup* trusted power (*trusted teams of experts* […] *in the timely exchange of information*) and discredit the *other* group's behaviour (*leaders repeatedly called for IS supporters and followers to bring the war to the heartland of Europe*), thus linking institutional commitment to legality (*a significant number of individuals were identified*), while raising the doubt in the readership about the existence of *outgroup* concealed terrorists (*IS operatives and fighters began to enter Europe*) who may take advantage of migratory flows just to spread violent extremism. In this way the authorship skilfully anticipates an additional threat worth of being doubly securitised (*first reported for organised crime activities* […] *and later reported as terrorism suspects*), although the process of connecting migration to terrorism may be debatable.

Example 11 illustrates an instance of negative polarisation as applied to the inappropriate propaganda use of different labels and need for re-mediatisation affecting the *outgroup* image of jihadist terrorists. In this case, negative representation of jihadists (either Islamic State or al-Quaeda terrorists) is rendered through the idea of a fragmented identity as a group (*conscious of their disjointed appearance*), which is in Europol's mind clearly far from a close-knit terrorist network. Therefore, *outgroup* is shown as failing to deliver a unified ideological position (*long-standing ideological dispute*); IS ideology and organisation here are featured with all its inconsistencies (*less like disparate groups*) deriving from a dishomogeneous situation (*need to appear more as a monolithic bloc*). Consequently, the *other*'s internal attrition (*long-standing* […] *dispute*) is unveiled and communication is ridiculed as self-referential and boastful (*propaganda that* […] *mimic the group's official braggadocio*). In this way, institutional identity can skilfully emerge and its role gains ground.

In another instance, in example 12, the focus is on the Islamic State's (IS) bad and inexpert utilization of internet resources for the indoctrination of followers (*propaganda* […] *has visibly declined* […] *in* […] *quantity and quality*), so as to juxtapose an appearance of high institutional professionalism on the one side, with the lack of skills and critical inexperience on the other. Therefore, concepts such as Europol's proactive approach (*major and coordinated attacks*) and the IS underestimation of the problem (*attempts* […] *have proved amateurish*) are contrasted (*disruption efforts* […] *curtail the group's broadcasting capabilities*), so as to let *ingroup* coordination and shared knowledge emerge as opposed to *outgroup* disorganisation. This strategy, while usefully safeguarding institutional decision-making identity (Hansson 2017, p. 230), also portraits intelligence experts as being, in turn, in the current position of fruitfully taking advantage of IS deficiencies (*a window of opportunity to capitalise on the organisation's disarray*), thus reflecting well on law-enforcement behaviour and probably with the intent of hiding possible failures. In this way, while describing the *other*'s dismal identity as losing ground and capacity to slay European values and people, Europol's ethical role and accountable identity can be auspiciously publicised in the war for security.

7. Concluding remarks

The findings that emerge from the analysis of Europol's reports suggest some final considerations. The texts analysed have quantitatively and qualitatively reflected the current state of raised societal insecurity in the EU and have conceptualised the organisation as opposed to terrorists according to *group*-polarisation. Europol's positive *self*-representation has often engaged the notion of leadership, coalition and protection, presenting the organisation as a unified group committed to safeguarding European well-being. *Ingroup* polarisation, has been shaped in terms of a trusted identity and ethical conduct and conveyed by the *stability* metaphor expressing a solid and protective identity, but also by verbs involving the notion of *fight* and evaluative modifiers endorsing the fairness of the 'war on terror' and inducing the fears of danger. *Outgroup* polarisation instead, has deliberately affected the representation of terrorists with discredit or suspicion to limit their ideological/organisational potential and has been used to legitimise the agency's freedom "to act on behalf of what […] *they* take to be the rights and interests of the members of a society" (Dunn 1988, p. 83) and thus sustain ideology. In particular, the act of blaming the *outgroup* or crafting the *other*'s behaviour as an additional threat to security, has revealed a possible security inadequacy against the unpredictability of terrorism and the need to emphasise repressive control in the event of institutional deterioration in credibility.

The study also confirms that the discursive propaganda of Europol's leadership not only empowers its role in security, but also establishes beneficial cooperation among its partners and consolidates satisfactory public recognition. However, the securitisation of specific topics in times of terror, such as the problematisation of migration into a security question, has reflected an arguable and inevitably prejudicial nature of intelligence knowledge which is not always easy to receive acceptance from the intended readership and to be ethically translated into action.

Bionote: Chiara Prosperi Porta is an English language lecturer at Sapienza University of Rome. Since 2002 she has taught as Adjunct Professor at B.A. and M.A. levels in the Faculties of Economics, Humanities, Law and Medicine. She has also been assistant researcher of English in the Faculty of Economics and has been teaching English for the Carabinieri International Cooperation Office, as well as technical English in the post-graduate course in Applied Chemistry for the Italian Military. Her interests are mainly in ESP and EAP, with particular reference to scientific discourse and genre analysis, technological genre and communication in professional/institutional settings. She has published widely on these subjects, including a book *European Institutional English*,

Rome (2018) and "Knowledge Dissemination and Ideology in the Discourse of Securitisation and Control in the EU" in RILA vol.1-2019, Bulzoni, Rome (2019).

Author's address: chiara.prosperiporta@uniroma1.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 195-212
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p195
http://siba-ese.unisalento.it, © 2021 Università del Salento

THE DISCURSIVE CREATION OF IDEOLOGY IN THE CONTEMPORARY CHINESE POLITICAL CONTEXT

BETTINA MOTTURA
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO

Abstract – The chapter focuses on a new ideological formulation introduced in 2018 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. The contribution aims at studying the discursive strategy in which the item is embedded, and through which it is promoted, by analysing Chinese political discourse in a diachronic perspective between 2013 and 2019. Using a selection parameter of intertextuality, the author has compiled a corpus of texts (in the Chinese language) through which this multifaceted discursive strategy is constructed. Drawing on the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, p. 89; Wodak 2001, pp. 65-66) in a critical discourse analysis perspective, the paper will show how the discursive strategy performs a synergic action to disseminate the new ideology formulation by addressing two sub-topics, and, in parallel, how the texts intentionally promote two main macro-topics of Chinese political discourse.

Keywords: China; Constitution; political discourse; discourse-historical approach; genre repertoire.

1. Introduction

In March 2018, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China went through its fifth amendment since 1982: a large majority of members of the National People's Assembly of the People's Republic of China voted in favour of adopting the new text. The revised constitutional text included new ideological slogans peculiar to Xi's political discourse: an explicit mention of the leading role of the Chinese Communist Party (Article 1); the duty of public officials to swear allegiance to the Constitution (Article 27); the establishment of a national Supervision Commission entitled to supervise, inspect, and punish public officials violating the laws (a new paragraph in Chapter 3); while the two-term limit for the President of the Republic was expunged (Article 79) (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo 2018).

The 2018 amendment is consistent with the programmatic function historically attributed to the fundamental State Law in China. According to legal scholars, upholding a tradition shared with other socialist countries, in Chinese politics, the Constitution has often been considered a tool to shape the country's future, as well as a text systematizing a patrimony of shared and stable norms (Spagnoli 2019; Zhang Qianfan 2013). For these reasons, several crucial moments in the political history of the People's Republic of China have been accompanied by constitutional amendments and broad debates on the contents and purposes of the Constitution.

The 2018 amendment is fully coherent with the tradition and was embedded in a rich discursive framework. Since the beginning of his first term in 2012, Xi Jinping had delivered multiple speeches focusing on the Constitution and its importance, while the Chinese Communist Party and a number of State organizations had published documents reaffirming the centrality of the Constitution in political life. Besides, these institutional views had fostered a flow of information disseminated by the media – which included newspaper articles, exhibitions, and web sites - and had fuelled a debate on constitutionalism amidst academics and intellectuals between the end of 2012 and 2014 (Creemers 2015; Kellogg 2016; Mottura 2018, 2019). The variety of these texts testifies to the importance of this legal accomplishment in the country's political life.

This chapter focuses on the form and content of the first article of the 2018 Constitution as an important ideological item. Defining discourse as a socially constituted and socially constitutive cluster of semiotic practices situated within a specific field of social action in a diachronic perspective (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, p. 89; Wodak 2001, pp. 65-66), the contribution aims at studying the discursive strategy in which the item is embedded and through which it is promoted, by analysing Chinese political discourse in a diachronic perspective between 2013 and 2019.

Selected in accordance with the parameter of intertextuality, the author will build a corpus of texts (in the Chinese language) in which the construction of the multifaceted discursive strategy takes place. The wide variety of legal, political, and newspaper texts collected in the corpus are identified as realizations of genres belonging to a genre repertoire (Devitt 1991, 2004).

Drawing on the discourse-historical approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, the paper will show how the discursive strategy performs a synergic action to disseminate the new ideology formulation by addressing two sub-topics, namely a renewed centrality of the Chinese Communist Party in national politics, and the promotion of ideological loyalty and cohesion within the elite group. In parallel, it will be demonstrated how the texts intentionally – but indirectly – and with a persuasive intent, promote two main 'macro-topics' (Wodak 2001, p. 66) of Chinese political discourse: the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to govern the country, and the stability of the political system.

2. Research context: a new ideological shift and article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China

In this Section the author analyses the text of Article 1 of the Constitution and relates the linguistic findings to the legal and historical context in order to fully appreciate the scope of the changes which occurred in 2018.

Article 1, after the amendment, reads:[1]

(1) 第一条：中华人民共和国是工人阶级领导的、以工农联盟为基础的人民民主专政的社会主义国家。
社会主义制度是中华人民共和国的根本制度。中国共产党领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征。禁止任何组织或者个人破坏社会主义制度。
Article 1: The People’s Republic of China is a socialist State under the people’s democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.
The socialist system is the basic system of the People’s Republic of China. <u>The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics.</u> Disruption of the socialist system by any organization or individual is prohibited. (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo 2018)

The underlined clause was added in 2018, while the rest of the wording of Article 1 remained unchanged. If we analyse the structure of the sentence, clause 1, 2, and 4 revolved around the People’s Republic of China, as a “State” (*guojia* 国家), as a “system” (*zhidu* 制度), and around relevant social actors and organizations. The ideological driven formulations in these clauses, “socialist”, “people’s democratic dictatorship”, “alliance of workers and peasants”, were used as attributives to define the State and its system. Therefore, in the original text before 2018, the focus was a concrete description of the characteristics of State institutions.

Whereas, in clause 3 – added in 2018 – there is a shift: the subject is the “leadership” (*lingdao* 领导) of the Chinese Communist Party, as a “defining feature” (*tezheng* 特征) of socialism in China. The new formulation introduces in the article a much more abstract perspective, which is not directly related to the characteristics or the functioning of State institutions. Nonetheless, a strong ideological link between the four clauses is guaranteed by the reiterated use of “socialism” (*shehuizhuyi* 社会主义) as an attributive adjective or noun.

[1] The English translation of the article was retrieved from *Chinalawinfo Co. Ltd.*, an online legal information service established by Peking University in association with the university’s Legal Information Center. See http://en.pkulaw.cn/display.aspx?cgid=311950&lib=law. The emphasis (underscored) is mine.

Thus, stating that the leadership of the Party is the most intrinsic trait of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the article affirms that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is crucial for the system's correct deployment, and is necessary for the full realization of the basic identity of the country, that is to say, socialism. Implicitly, it claims the centrality of the Party in exclusively administrating the State: moreover, it prohibits any attempt to reduce its supremacy (Yu Keping 2018, p. 7).

This assumption is fully confirmed by the fact that the clause added to Article 1 is, indeed, a full citation from the *Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party* adopted by the 19th Congress in October 2017, where the final paragraph of the General Principles section *incipit* is:[2]

(2) 中国共产党的领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是中国特色社会主义制度的最大优势。
The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the greatest strength of this system. (Zhongguo Gongchandang 2017)

And again, in the official press conference after the adoption of the amended text of the People's Republic of China Constitution, in March 2018, when a journalist at China National Radio asked the National People's Congress spokesmen why the leadership of the Party had been introduced in the text of Article 1. Shen Chunyao's answer was quite long (according to the records, the oral exposition lasted 9 minutes) and it ended with the spokesman affirming:

(3) 总之，这个修改内容还是非常重要的，体现了党的领导的根本性、全面性和时代性。
In short, the content of this amendment is still very important, reflecting the fundamentality, comprehensiveness, and timeliness of the Party's leadership. (Shen Chunyao 2018)

Several considerations in both legal and historical perspectives further validate the assumption. Simultaneously, intertextual links between the texts belonging from the selected corpus (see Table 1), demonstrate that the pervasive emphasis on the Party leadership in political discourse is both a product of social context and a tool to bring about a new ideological shift.

Prior to the amendment, no mention of the Chinese Communist Party appeared in the articles of the state Constitution: it was only cited in the

[2] The English translation of the sentence was retrieved from the English translation of the *Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party* (revised and adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on October 24, 2017), published by Xinhua. See http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/special/2017-11/03/c_136725945.htm.

Preamble.[3] In legal terms, this change is quite important, as some scholars testify to the intention of the 1982 legislator to consider the Preamble as a transitory text, to be dismissed after the consolidation of the stability of the political system (Zhang Qianfan 2013). Therefore, the first section (that is to say, the Preamble) would not perform the same legal function as that of the following chapters, divided into articles.

Hence, the new formulation of Article 1 is of great importance for the legal and political systems. First, it introduces in the constitutional text a customary norm of an unwritten constitution (from the political system, Jiang Shigong 2010), which subordinated all political activities to the leading role of the Chinese Communist Party since the foundation of the People's Republic of China. Second, it sets a new emphasis on one of the tenets of Chinese contemporary political ideology, formally ratifying the Chinese Communist Party's leading role for the present and affirming its influence on the future of Chinese politics.

Such emphasis on the Party leadership seems to impact long-term processes in the Chinese political system. Even though the Chinese Communist Party has been ruling the People's Republic of China since 1949, the characterization of its function and power in the political arena has undergone broad changes since then. Starting from 1978, several institutional reform plans have been promoted, following three basic tenets: the devolution of power from the central institutions to the local ones, the division of tasks between State and Party, and the institutionalization of cadres' management and administrative procedures.

In this process, one milestone has been the reform of political structures project, presented in 1987 by Zhao Ziyang. The declared aims of the reforms were to reinforce the leadership commitment to increase the efficiency of the political system and to support the realization of economic reforms by stimulating the vitality and spirit of the initiative in every sector of society. One of the main strategies adopted would be a separation of the Chinese Communist Party and the State organs by distinguishing their respective functions. The concrete measures would be a division between decision-making and operational or management activities; a reform of the governing bodies, clarifying their functions; a reform of the institutions personnel system. Since then, the implementation process of this project has not been straightforward, but the basic tenet of the separation of Party and

[3] Since 1982 the *Preamble of the Constitution* – a short historical text that narrates the founding of the Republic and identifies the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as a key political actor – contributes to the legitimation of the structure of the political system, and of the balance of power between its main actors. This function has been strengthened, through the decades, by the insertion in the text of formulas drawn from political discourse, thus sanctioning major stages in the transformation of the role and objectives of the Chinese Communist Party.

State functions, which has been vital for the efficiency of the political system and for economic reform, has not been dismissed. The 2018 amendment of Article 1 seems to drive the country in quite a different direction (Bai, Liu 2020; Guo 2020).

While the characteristic of intertextuality between legal and political texts is not to be considered a peculiar feature of this corpus, especially in the Chinese context, as has been shown, the above-mentioned ideological formulation seems to be a product of the Xi Jinping era. On the basis of this observation, it is interesting to go beyond the convergence between the 2018 Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the 2017 Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, the two most authoritative texts in the Chinese political system, in order to trace a link to other texts and clarify the scope of the discourse-building effort associated with the introduction of the new ideological formulation.

3. Texts and methods

In order to better define the boundaries of the discourse-building effort associated with the introduction of the new ideological formulation, a corpus of texts has been selected from different fields of action (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, pp. 90-91; Wodak 2001, pp. 66-67). The rationale for the selection was intertextuality: they all displayed an explicit reference to the 2018 amendment wording (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, p. 90).

Fields of action	**Textual genres**	**Corpus**
Law-making procedure	People's Republic of China Constitution	Legal language sub-corpus
Party internal development of an informed opinion	Chinese Communist Party Constitution Decisions of the Central Committee of the CCP Xi Jinping speeches	Political language sub-corpus
Formation of public opinion Self-representation	251 newspaper editorials and commentaries (2013 – 2019) Press conference	Journalistic language sub-corpus
	All from the genre repertoire of contemporary Chinese politics	

Table 1
Fields of action and textual genres in the corpus formation.

As shown in Table 1, the data that provided the starting point for this study were retrieved from Chinese law-making procedures and Chinese Communist Party internal opinion-building fields of action, and were analysed in a qualitative perspective against the background of the historical and political context. In order to trace the pervasiveness of the new ideological formulation in Chinese political and media discourses, the analysis was broadened to the field of formation of public opinion and self-representation, and a longer period of time was taken into account (see Table 1).

The inclusion in the corpus of newspaper articles published from 2013 to 2019 first required a quantitative approach. Press articles were selected through an automatic search in the *Factiva database*. Initially, the collection was based on the occurrence of "the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics" (*Zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi zui benzhi de tezheng* 中国特色社会主义最本质的特征) in all journalistic sources published in Chinese simplified characters, from December 1978 to December 2019. [4] No occurrence of the sentence was found before 2013, but in the following years, more than 1740 articles were retrieved. In terms of yearly distribution, the string incidence in the selected corpus had a peak in 2018 (Figure 1).

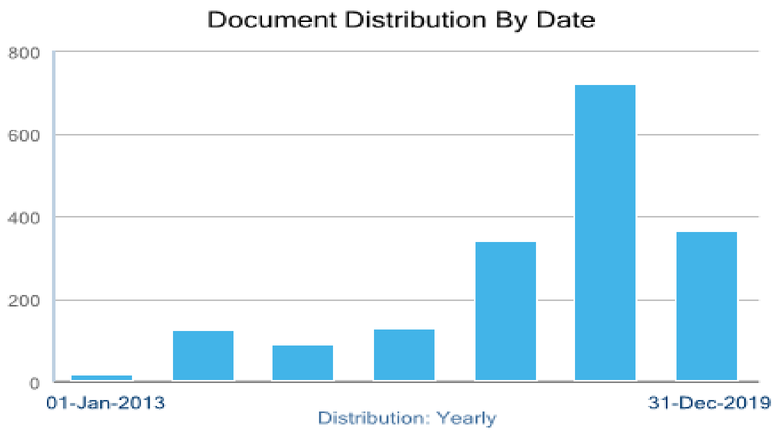

Figure 1
Newspaper articles distribution by year (2013-2019).

A further step in the analysis was to refine the database search by focussing only on editorials and commentaries. These journalistic genres, traditionally linked to the expression of views, have a key role in the promotion of institutional or personal positions in Chinese society (Lupano 2018). The extracted corpus was composed of 251 articles: 54 texts published between 2013 and 2014, 36 texts issued in 2017, 86 published in 2018, and 76 in 2019. In this limited segment of the corpus, the number of texts *per* year grew significantly in the last two years. The data further ratify the hypothesis of a

[4] *Factiva Database* displays a fairly accurate research platform. I limited the search to Chinese simplified-character texts and to the period 1978-2019, as I was mainly interested in mainland China contemporary domestic political discourse.

growing presence of the new ideological item after its inclusion in the constitutional text.

As discussed before, the composite corpus for this paper was created on the basis of the feature of intertextuality. As summarized in Table 1, the process led to data stemming from State and Party constitutions, Plenum decisions, leaders' talks, press conferences, editorials and commentaries: a wide variety of genres rooted in different discourse domains. The hypothesis was that they were parts of the genre repertoire (Devitt 1991; 2004, pp. 54-55) of contemporary Chinese politics, hence they were connected to one another in a sequential chain of action and they concurred to the building of a discursive strategy aiming at disseminating and consolidating the new ideology by fostering consensus on an ideological slogan.[5]

In this perspective, the State and Party constitutions were super-genres, serving as the basis and reference point for other genres (Devitt 2004, 74). Intertextuality linked the paramount legislative and political texts to one another, confirming a sort of dialogue between the genres within the repertoire.

In the following Section, three research questions will be addressed:

1. A genre repertoire ought to be produced by a social group within a particular sphere of activity (Devitt 2004, pp. 77-78). This, then, can constitute a prerequisite for considering these genres the linguistic tools for political cadres' action in China, but the texts were published by different professional groups, such as National People's Congress members, Party leaders, official spokespersons and journalists. How does one define the community which is using those genres to reflect and reinforce its values, epistemology, and power relationships?
2. In a generic perspective, it is commonly understood that each genre has an intended reader. The State and Party organs, as well as the citizens, for the constitutions; the Party members for the leaders' talks; the national and international journalists for the press conference; the general public for the editorials and commentaries published in newspapers. Who are the targets of this discursive strategy over the data?
3. A discursive strategy is usually related to topics (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, p. 88), often linked to one another with a persuasive intent. Which are the manifest or latent topics in the corpus?

[5] In 2004, Devitt states that what she used to call a 'genre set', in her 1991 article, would be renamed 'genre repertoire', as "'Repertoire' is an especially helpful term for this set, for it connotes not only a set of interacting genres but also a set from which participants choose, a definer of the possibilities available to the group." (Devitt 2004, p. 57).

4. Intertextuality in a diachronic perspective

In Section 2, I analysed the new sentence added to Article 1 of the People's Republic of China Constitution in 2018, and I claimed it has introduced a new perspective in Chinese political ideology since the Reform era. In this Section, I will show how the wording of the new slogan appeared in several political and journalistic texts from 2013 to 2019 (i.e. in the Journalistic language sub-corpus).

The journalistic language sub-corpus aggregate observation confirmed that the constitutional amendment increased the circulation of the new formula in newspaper texts, but that a discursive strategy had been promoted by circulating key ideological terms long before its adoption in 2018.

Moreover, most of the retrieved articles were published by *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日报), the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party. Additionally, after the genre-based selection in the press sub-corpus, the proportion of articles published in the *Renmin Ribao* 人民日报 was even higher. As this media outlet is one of the newspapers distributed by national political institutions, the publishing context demonstrated that the circulation of the new ideology in the press was heavily based on a propaganda effort by the Chinese Communist Party itself.

Nonetheless, the targets of the communication flow were both the elite and public opinion. The assumption is corroborated by one of the basic features of Chinese media context. Even though the *Renmin Ribao* 人民日报 as a Party organ is often read by the political elite and its articles are discussed in routine ideological meetings throughout the country, it also has a crucial role in shaping Chinese public opinion. Its commentaries are widely circulated in the media sphere after they appeared in the newspaper. Other mass media, whether radio, television, or newspapers, often have to re-broadcast or reprint the original texts. Therefore, commentaries in the *Renmin Ribao* 人民日报 play a significant direct role in Chinese politics (Wu Guoguang 1994).

The corpus texts highlighted two phases: before 2018, discourses influenced social and political processes and actions as the ideological shift was embedded in an already existing discursive strategy; on the other hand, after the adoption of the amendment, the change in institutional settings shaped and affected discourses (Wodak 2001, p. 66). These mechanisms can be highlighted in selected data in a diachronic perspective (the emphasis and English translations are mine). "The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics" saw its first occurrence in Chinese newspapers in December 2013 when it appeared in a commentary on *Renmin Ribao* 人民日报 front page.

In June 2014, during the 16th Collective Study of the 18th Central Political Bureau, General Secretary Xi Jinping mentioned the principle stating:

(4) 中国特色社会主义最本质的特征就是坚持中国共产党的领导，中国的事情要办好首先中国共产党的事情要办好。实现‘两个一百年’奋斗目标，应对和战胜前进道路上的各种风险和挑战，关键在党。
The most essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is adherence to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. <u>To do well in China</u>, we must first do well in the Chinese Communist Party. To achieve the goal of the "Two Hundred Years" struggle, and to <u>cope with and overcome the challenges</u> on the way, the key response to these risks and challenges lies with the Party. (Xin Xiangyang 2015)

In September 2014, in a speech celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the National People's Congress, Xi Jinping once again emphasized the formulation. A few days later, in a speech celebrating the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, he subordinated the future development and progress of the institution to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party on all democratic parties, groups, ethnic groups, and social strata, mentioning the same principle.

A further step in affirming the ideological importance of the slogan was taken in October 2014, when the sentence was included in a highly official political document. The *Decision on Several Important Issues Concerning the Comprehensive Promotion of Governing the Country by Law,* adopted by the 4th Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, stated: [6]

(5) 党的领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是社会主义法治最根本的保证。
The leadership of the Party is the most essential trait of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and is the most fundamental <u>guarantee for Socialist rule of law</u>. (Zhonggong Zhongyang 2014)

These citations of the slogan in political documents are milestones in the process of incorporating the new ideological formulation in the Party canon as a first step towards its broader diffusion through the media. Henceforth,

[6] The English translation of the sentence was retrieved from the English translation of the *Decision on Several Important Issues Concerning the Comprehensive Promotion of Governing the Country by Law* (Adopted at the 4th Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on October 23, 2014), published by China Copyright and Media. See https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2014/10/28/ccp-central-committee-decision-concerning-some-major-questions-in-comprehensively-moving-governing-the-country-according-to-the-law-forward/.

the expression "the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most intrinsic quality and essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics" appeared in a wide variety of political and journalistic texts. For example, leaders' talks mentioned it and articles were published in specialized journals to clarify the meaning and scope of the role attributed to Party leadership (for example: Ding Junping 2017; Xin Xiangyang 2014).

Moreover, the collocation of the linguistic string I searched for appeared to be quite coherent in all articles. Looking closely at a selection of texts we can find explicit references to the principle linked to different topics:[7]

(6) 办好中国的事情，关键在党。中国特色社会主义最本质的特征是坚持中国共产党领导。
The Communist Party is the key to do things well in China. The most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics is adherence to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. (2013)

(7) 中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，就是中国共产党领导。充分发挥党总揽全局、协调各方的领导核心作用，这是我们国家各项事业取得胜利的根本保证。
The most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Giving full play to the core role of the party in overseeing the overall situation and coordinating the leadership of all parties is the fundamental guarantee for the success of our country's various undertakings. (2014)

(8) 习近平同志指出：“党的领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是社会主义法治最根本的保证。”党的领导与依法治国是统一的。全面推进依法治疆，必须加强和改进党对依法治疆的领导。
Comrade Xi Jinping pointed out: "The Party's leadership is the most essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the most fundamental guarantee of socialist rule of law." The Party's leadership corresponds to governing the country according to law. To comprehensively advance the rule of law, we must strengthen and improve the party's leadership over the rule of law. (2015)

(9) 这个“治党方略”，核心是加强党的领导，基础在全面，关键在严，要害在治。深刻体认“党的领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征”。
The core of this "strategy for governing the Party" is to strengthen the Party's leadership. The foundation is to be comprehensive, the key is to be strict, and the vital point is governing. Deeply realize "the Party's leadership is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics". (2016)

7 The sample of articles mentioned above has been selected in the corpus on the basis of their publication at the beginning of each year. The rationale was to testify to the continuity in the discursive strategy through the years.

(10) 党员、干部的责任担当是多方面的，但首先体现在全面从严治党上。因为中国共产党的领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，中国特色社会主义政治发展逻辑决定了我们党治国理政的成败取决于管党治党是否严格有效。
The responsibilities of Party members and cadres are multifaceted, but first of all, they are reflected in being strict in the administration of the Party. Because the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the logic of political development of socialism with Chinese characteristics has determined that the success or failure of our Party's governing the country depends on how strict and effective are the management and the rule of the Party. (2017)

(11) 全面从严治党，必须坚持和加强党的全面领导。中国特色社会主义最本质的特征是中国共产党领导，全面从严治党核心是加强党的领导。坚持党的领导，最根本的是坚持党中央权威和集中统一领导。
To administer the Party comprehensively and strictly, we must uphold and strengthen the Party's comprehensive leadership. The most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The core of administering the Party comprehensively and strictly is to strengthen Party leadership. To uphold the Party's leadership, the most fundamental thing is to uphold the Party's central authority and centralized and unified leadership. (2018)

The discursive strategy did not change after the 2018 amendment adoption.

(12) 把蓝图变为现实，必须坚持和加强党的全面领导。中国共产党领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是中国特色社会主义制度的最大优势。新时代推进伟大事业，必须充分彰显这一最本质的特征、充分发挥这一最大优势。
To turn the blueprint into reality, we must uphold and strengthen the Party's comprehensive leadership. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics, it is the greatest advantage of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics. The New Era will promote great undertakings, if we fully highlight this essential trait and give full play to this greatest advantage. (2019)

In October 2019, the *Decision on Upholding and Improving the Socialist System with Chinese Characteristics: Several Major Issues Concerning the Modernization of the National Governance System and Governance Capabilities*, issued by the 4th Plenum of the 19th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Zhonggong Zhongyang 2019), refers to sub-topic 1 by adding an emphasis on hierarchy between political and social actors:

(13) 中国共产党领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是中国特色社会主义制度的最大优势，党是最高政治领导力量。
The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the greatest advantage of the

socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and the Party is <u>the highest political leadership force</u>.

In the examples, fragments of texts of one genre were incorporated into the texts of other genres, giving birth to a sort of dialogue. Intertextuality created cohesion building a discursive strategy, a tie confirmed by the time distribution of the texts' production and by the homogeneity of the collocations of the linguistic strings I searched for in the journalistic language sub-corpus.

As we can see, all selected texts displayed at least one occurrence of both (a) the "leadership of the Chinese Communist Party" (in the Chinese forms: *Zhongguo Gongchandang lingdao* 中国共产党领导; *Zhongguo Gongchandang de lingdao* 中国共产党的领导; *Dang de lingdao* 党的领导) and (b) the "most intrinsic quality" (in the Chinese form: *zui benzhi de tezheng* 最本质的特征) linked together. Further, through *Factiva database* search engine, I verified that the (a) linguistic string incidence in the sources was wider than the contemporary occurrence of both elements. This difference could be explained, on the one hand, by the long history of the ideological relevance accorded to the leadership of the Party in China, as one of the tenets of the Marxist-Leninist background of local politics, or, on the other hand, by the originality of the new formulation revolving around the "most intrinsic quality" of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The following Table summarizes the intertextual embeddedness of the discourses.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Fields of action</th></tr>
<tr><td>Law-making procedure</td><td>Formation of public opinion
Self-representation</td><td>Party internal development of an informed opinion</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3">Social and political actors</th></tr>
<tr><td>State organs</td><td>Journalists
Public opinion</td><td>Party leaders
Party organs</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3">Textual genres</th></tr>
<tr><td>State constitution
Amendment</td><td>Press conferences
Newspaper articles</td><td>Party constitution
Leaders' speeches
Decisions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Overlapping sub-topics
Centrality of the Chinese Communist Party;
Elite group cohesion</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Overlapping macro topics
Legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to govern
Stability of the political system</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2
Multiple dimensions of the corpus related to the 2018 constitutional amendment.

The data confirm that the corpus created for the current analysis can be considered a concrete output of the process of building a discursive strategy in which the new ideology can be fostered and consolidated.

In addition, the examples show that the texts associate the ideological formulation with two topics. In examples (1) through (5), (9), and (10), the topic is a renewed centrality of the Chinese Communist Party in national politics as a guarantee for a healthy political context governed according to the law. Besides, examples (6) through (8) are focused on a strong internal management within the Party as a prerequisite for effective governance of the country. Here, the topic is promoting loyalty and cohesion within the elite group, strengthening ideological and ethical values.

As we have seen, textual topicality links the leadership of the Party to guaranteeing the rule of law, to good governance, and the country's success; in parallel, the quality of its leadership is based on the members' ideological stance and moral virtue. These elements of the employed discourse strategy display a persuasive character as they indirectly call into play two overlapping macro-topics of Chinese politics, both rooted in extra-linguistic variables, such as institutional context and the country's political history: first, the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to be the only political actor entitled to govern China; second, the objective of preserving the stability of the political system.

5. Concluding remarks

In the previous Sections, the complexity of contemporary Chinese political discourse clearly appeared in the analysis of the data revolving around the first Article of the 2018 People's Republic of China Constitution. As we saw, the amended text in the constitutional article is part of a much broader discursive strategy which has been built since 2013 through a composite embedding of texts.

In this framework, as far as the texts themselves are concerned, they are produced in distinct disciplinary fields and are realizations of textual genres pertaining to different specialized languages (of journalism, politics, law, and so on), and therefore have definite communicative purposes and perform specific functions in their respective original domain. Nonetheless, in parallel, and displaying a high level of intertextuality, they work synergistically to promote awareness and consensus among institutional organs and citizens towards the new ideology formulation.

In an analytical perspective focused on the functions performed by genres in social activities, these distinct textual genres, interacting with each other and contributing to one common objective, give birth to a genre repertoire. In terms of authorship, first we observe that the authors of the texts collected in the corpus are members of distinct professional groups. Nonetheless, as shown previously, a closer look highlights that they belong to a rather cohesive albeit heterogeneous community.

The voices of a variety of different professional groups contributing to the genre repertoire represent one single ideal institutional author, the Party-state in its broadest sense. This claim is deeply rooted in the socio-political context of contemporary China. The structure of China's current political system has its origins in a political and discursive continuity between organs of the Chinese Communist Party and organs of the People's Republic of China as a State (Cabestan 2014; Jiang 2010), as well as in the close relationship between media and politics (de Burgh 2017; Xu Jing, Wang Dengfeng 2018). This network between the three organizations clearly emerges in the corpus, especially in the journalistic sources, mostly belonging to the authoritative category of official newspapers (namely, direct emanations of political organs).

Furthermore, on the basis of the main characteristics of the selected genre repertoire, the corpus appears to be unquestionably elite-oriented. This can be confirmed by the selection of genres in use, by the formal language of the texts, and by the high formality of the contexts of publication. As we pointed out previously, elite members are the main recipients of the communication flow articulated through the texts of the corpus, and the effort devoted to the construction of a discursive strategy to promote the new ideological formulation reinforces the values within this social group. Finally, data observation confirms a strategic use of the genre repertoire by the discourse community of political cadres in order to foster internal cohesion and strengthen power relationships within society at large.

However, despite the main orientation of the textual data, the intended recipients are not limited to the restricted circle of the political elite. The general public is a second target of the discursive strategy, as its long-term efficacy is based on public acceptance and positive public opinion towards the new ideological item. As mentioned in the introduction, throughout the same period, the emphasis on the importance of the constitutional text for Chinese society as a whole was publicized through a variety of communicative channels and programs (Mottura 2019).

By way of conclusion, the immediate purposes of the discursive strategy were to affirm a renewed centrality of the Chinese Communist Party in national politics (sub-topic 1), and to promote loyalty and cohesion within the elite group (sub-topic 2). Moreover, the long-term objectives of the genre repertoire were to reinforce the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to govern the country (macro-topic 1), and to guarantee the stability of the political system (macro-topic 2). Based on this perspective, drawing from Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2001), the analysis of the relationship between the corpus texts, genres, discourses and the extra-linguistic social and historical variables could be divided into the dimensions showed in Table 2.

The rich and multifaceted genre repertoire amplifies and strengthens the programmatic and legitimizing function performed by the constitutional article in the Chinese political context. Thus, the genre repertoire becomes an effective tool in building the discursive strategy in which the new ideology is embedded and consolidated. It fosters political awareness and consensus in a time when a progressive centralization in multiple aspects of the exercise of power seems to emerge, promotes trust in central institutions, and strengthens the stability of the political system.

In an historical perspective, the existence of one social group producing such a multifaceted genre repertoire confirms that, despite the previous commitment to promoting a growing separation between the functions of the Party and those of the State, in recent years, the trend in internal politics has led to a growing convergence between the functions of the two main institutional actors.

Finally, on the basis of the corpus selected for this study, we can affirm that in the Chinese political background, the discursive context incessantly produced and disseminated by a multifaceted discourse community stemming from the Party-state, strengthens the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party to rule the country by spreading new ideology formulations through the strategic use of a genre repertoire.

Bionote: Bettina Mottura is Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Culture, is scientific coordinator of the Contemporary Asia Research Center (CARC) at the University of Milan and is a member of CLAVIER. Her research interests focus on the field of discourse analysis, which she primarily applies to the Chinese media and public institutions discourse, in combination with other methodological perspectives. Chinese Culture and its contemporary representation are other key areas of interest. In the field of media discourse, she has co-edited a Special Issue of “Languages Cultures Mediation” on *Emerging Chinese Theory and Practice of Media* (2018, with H. de Burgh and E. Lupano), and an edited collection: *Media & Politics. Discourses, Cultures, and Practices* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2017, with L. Osti and G. Riboni). She has co-authored a book on contemporary Chinese culture and institutions (Carocci 2016, with A.C. Lavagnino) and authored numerous articles which have appeared in journals and edited collections.

Author’s address: bettina.mottura@unimi.it

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Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 42 (2021), 213-218
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v42p213

ENDNOTE

SUSAN HUNSTON
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The question of how communities of individuals form opinions and how they are influenced by what they read and hear is a key issue of our time. Whether the topic is belief in a political message or acceptance of a vaccine, and whether the source of information is the press, live speeches, or social media, how the public is informed and influenced is a crucial question. It is a political question (are voters informed, persuaded or manipulated) and a commercial one (which products do consumers trust), and the answer is based on the study of language.

The studies in this issue elucidate how discourse strategies are used to persuade individuals and communities to adopt particular views of the world. Each paper addresses a specific topic and gives detailed information about how issues such as economic inequality (Incelli), or international trade (Bowker), or scientific malpractice (Nikitina), are constructed in discourse. The papers also, however, advance discussions about the integration of a variety of approaches to the study of argument and attitude and exemplify how the combined approaches might be applied in specific contexts.

As the papers in this issue demonstrate, the interest in how language influences opinion goes back as far as Aristotle (see Bowker); Aristotle's insight into how speakers achieve influence rested then, as with researchers today, on the categorisation of strategies (into *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*). The most obvious heirs of Aristotle's concerns are proponents of argumentation theory (see Bowker and Degano), who similarly categorise, and assess the effectiveness of, strategies of argument. Substantial contributions to the discussion from Linguistics had to wait for the recognition that language is a social, meaning-based phenomenon – a social semiotic in Halliday's words – as well as a mental one. Halliday's theory of language explicates how language both reflects and constructs our understanding of the social and physical world (Halliday 1978; 1994). He modelled the systems of resources available to a language community as a whole, showed the intersection of those systems with context in the theory of register, and demonstrated the consequences of language choices in individual texts. Halliday's theory of Systemic-Functional Linguistics provided a framework for Critical Discourse

Analysis, providing a mechanism for connecting the lexico-grammatical features of individual texts with the ideology, values and assumptions of societies and communities (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995).

Most of the papers in this issue make use of corpus linguistics, either as the main methodology used (e.g. Tessuto) or alongside other methods (e.g. Prosperi Porta). Both quantitative and qualitative aspects of corpus linguistics are used. Quantitative corpus studies indicate the statistical salience of words or categories of words in sets of texts. For example, Prosperi Porta identifies the most significantly frequent nouns in a corpus of Annual Reports issued by Europol. She shows how these nouns collectively present a particular impression of the organisation. Incelli quantifies the collocates of the word *inequality* in UK news reporting, again demonstrating that these reflect the preoccupations and assumptions of the newspapers concerned. Qualitative work reveals typicality and variation in patterning. Tessuto, for example, obtains instances of *we* and *our* (or 'self-mention') in academic texts, and notes that they are used with a limited set of rhetorical functions, such as stating a research goal or implying positive evaluation of a research procedure. Of particular importance to the papers in this issue is the role of corpus studies in identifying attitude in text. This is both a quantitative process, where the frequency of markers of stance are compared across corpora (e.g. Tessuto), and a qualitative one, where the gradual accumulation of attitudinal meaning is observed through concordance lines (e.g. Degano).

A key feature of most of the papers in the issue is that they articulate a dialogue between approaches. Tessuto's paper is based on both quantitative and qualitative Corpus Linguistics in the study of metadiscourse. The papers by Bowker and by Degano integrate Corpus Linguistics and argumentation theory. Those by Prosperi Porta and by Incelli combine Corpus Linguistics with Critical Discourse Analysis. Nikitina's paper uses the Appraisal framework from Systemic-Functional Linguistics along with Corpus Linguistics. The papers by Mottura and by Moschini explore concepts of intertextuality and genre that are crucial to the complementarity of corpus and discourse. In terms of the topics covered, the papers focus on the politics of the international community (Prosperi Porta; Bowker), national politics (Degano, Incelli, Mottura), science and society (Nikitina), social media (Moschini), and academic discourse (Tessuto).

Each of the papers in this issue offers an independent response to the challenge of identifying persuasiveness in emerging discourses. Although each makes a unique contribution to the whole, some overall messages emerge. I shall focus on three here.

The first and most obvious point is the mutual enrichment of corpus and other approaches to the study of persuasion. The practice of using corpus methods to support Critical Discourse Analysis is well established (Baker

2006), as is the use of corpora in the study of appraisal (O'Donnell 2014), stance (Conrad, Biber 2000; Hyland 2005) and evaluation (Hunston 2011). Both are well illustrated in this collection.

Bowker articulates the debate between approaches most explicitly. She contrasts argumentation theory, which operates at a relatively high level of abstraction, and linguistics, which identifies markers of stance. Comparing texts on the same topic from three genres (legal treaty drafts, Wikileaks, and Friends of the Earth International), she uses corpus-based semantic profiling as a starting point for the analysis of argumentation patterns. Degano similarly bases her study of UK newspaper articles about the 2016 EU referendum on argumentation theory, using frequent lexis to identify recurring arguments or topoi. Incelli adopts the observation by van Dijk (1994) that micro-phenomena such as linguistic choices are integral to social macro-phenomena such as inequality. She uses an exploratory, sometimes 'serendipitous', corpus-based methodology to identify the argumentation strategy of concede-counter pairs and the manipulation of statistical data. Nikitina links corpus searches with the Appraisal framework (Martin and White 2005) in comparing broadsheet and tabloid newspapers and news reporting with editorials. From normalised word frequency she notes that tabloids are most likely to cite evaluative comments and that editorials are most like to employ concur-counter patterns. Prosperi Porta examines lexical frequency in a corpus of reports by a Europe-wide law enforcement agency to support her argument that the reports discursively construe the agency as a collaborative, expert organisation that works effectively to protect citizens. In all these papers, corpus techniques such as finding frequent words, phrases and collocations permit large amounts of text to be processed. They also encourage the recognition of patterns that might remain hidden if the data were not investigated in this way. Corpus methodologies thus provide evidence for conclusions drawn about the discourses under investigation and lead to new conclusions.

Secondly, the issue illustrates the value of different methods and approaches within corpus linguistics itself. Many of the papers combine quantitative and qualitative techniques, but there is considerable variation within them. Tessuto's paper builds on the corpus tradition of comparison between corpora. He calculates the frequency of a set of lexical resources that express interactional metadiscourse (Hyland 2005) in corpora of empirical research articles taken from Law and Economics. Information about the proportional frequencies of the different categories of metadiscourse and the frequency of their different exponents is used to argue that these disciplines are similar to one another and that both draw on a natural sciences model to construct persuasive rhetoric. This is turn implies the primacy of natural science research methods even in a social science context. In contrast, Mottura traces a phrase that was introduced into the constitution of the People's Republic of China in 2018 – translated as 'the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics' – through a multi-genre corpus including newspaper articles from 2013-19. A quantitative point is made, as the phrase is shown to increase dramatically in frequency up to 2018. However, Mottura's main point is to establish a sequential chain of texts and a dialogue between genres, which links 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' to 'leadership of the Communist Party'. She demonstrates how an interlocking chain of statements prepares the ground for the new wording of the constitution. Moschini's paper sets a single 6,000 word text known as the Facebook 'manifesto' in its generic context. By discussing this text in relation to others she goes beyond the individual instance to argue for the 'neo-Puritanism' of social media. Like Mottura, Moschini emphasises the importance of intertextuality and multiglossia in the construction of a persuasive message.

This use of corpora to trace the development of an idea through intertextuality and the replication of a small chunk of text is somewhat in the tradition of Teubert's (2010) highly qualitative approach to corpora as discourse, which places emphasis on the integrity of each constituent text and its unique context. Like Teubert, Mottura demonstrates how meaning accrues to a phrase based on all the contexts in which it is used. The contrast between Tessuto and Mottura is not simply between quantitative and qualitative emphases but between different ideas of what a corpus is. For Tessuto (and Hyland), a corpus is a 'bag of texts'; corpus software manipulates the data, for example in concordance lines or word frequency lists, removing each instance from its original context. For Mottura (and Teubert), a corpus is an ordered chain of texts, each of which maintains its integrity as a text.

The final point to be made about this collection of papers is the opportunity it affords for reflection on the issue of interdisciplinarity. This is because most of the papers have an element of 'meta-disciplinarity' about them, as they discuss the task of combining theories, methods and approaches to achieve the most valuable account of the data. Two of the papers at the workshop at which the papers in this issue were presented (Hunston 2019, Sarangi 2019) focused on interdisciplinary research. Sarangi examined the importance, benefits and challenges of interdisciplinary research. He discussed models that seek to account for variation in how disciplines related to one another. A key point of his paper was the difficulty of achieving equality between disciplines when it is common for one discipline to subsume or exploit another. The papers in this issue demonstrate the possibility of complementarity rather than competition; they illustrate the potential 'non-duality' of interdisciplinary research, where there is no 'better' and 'worse' approach. This means partly that theories and methods from different research perspectives can be combined. It also means that different accounts of the same data – a ‘corpus’ account, an ‘argumentation’ account, and an ‘appraisal’ account, for example – can be held to be equal in truth and in value, so that insights from each can be obtained. As Klein (2008) among others has noted, interdisciplinary research is often collaborative. The papers in this issue demonstrate the value of a single researcher drawing on and respecting a range of models and methods.

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