Persuasion in Public Discourse

EDITED BY
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Persuasion in Public Discourse. Cognitive and functional perspectives
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Persuasion in Public Discourse

Cognitive and functional perspectives

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Table of contents

Persuasion across times, domains and modalities

Theoretical considerations and emerging themes

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1. The nature of persuasion: Theoretical underpinnings

The art of persuasion has fascinated scholars for more than two thousand years. And for more or less the same time, scholars have been interested in the numerous persuasive tactics utilized in different time periods in various cultures, communities, genres, and discourse types (Packard 1957; Pettegree 2005; Dillard and Pfau 2002; Lunsford, Wilson and Eberly 2009, etc.). Despite the discoveries and further advances in various communication technologies, from the printing press in the 15th century, through telecommunication machines in the 19th and 20th centuries, up to the most recent state-of-the-art devices and applications, the nature of persuasive communication is still grounded in the three rhetorical appeals described by Aristotle in the 4th century BC (Furley and Nehamas 1994). The speaker's character and image (*ethos*), the appeals to the audience's emotional state (*pathos*), and the strength of the logical arguments (*logos*), when properly applied in the social, cultural, and political context of a given text, still represent rhetorical devices that in modern communication take advantage of verbal and other semiotic resources that participate in conveying persuasive intentions. However, we observe that as theories of persuasive rhetoric develop, a comprehensive study of the traditional triadic concept is still lacking, especially in terms of multimodal and multidisciplinary approaches. This is exactly the gap we attempt to fill in editing the present volume: to showcase the diversity and multidisciplinarity of persuasion in public discourse, and the actual methodological approaches used.

This volume understands persuasion as a *social phenomenon* (van Dijk 2006) that consists in interaction between social actors (the persuader as the initiator of a persuasive communication and the addressee or audience as the target of persuasion) in a public environment. The term *public environment* covers a broad spectrum of communication events that happen in the public sphere. The diversity

results from the variety of genres analyzed in the volume as well as from the spread of digital communication that has blurred the boundary between the public and private domains. In addition to traditional genres such as political speeches, news reporting, and advertising, all of which target a broad audience and are delivered at rallies or presented on TV or in press (as analyzed in the chapters by Žmavc, Calle Rosingana, Sebera and Lu, A'Beckett, Ng, Pelclová, and partly Antović), the book also provides analyses of texts that range from public speeches and book reviews addressed to a limited audience of scholarly experts (Plastina, Dontcheva-Navrátilová and Mur-Dueñas), through medieval medical recipes addressed to scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries (Kuna), to dyadic interactions between the complainant and the respondent taking place online (Hopkinson) and to anonymous viral videos (Veloso and Feng, and partly Antović). Our volume thus offers an array of perspectives on persuasive strategies in the ever-changing character of public communication, drawing attention to both traditional and newly-emerging genres and providing the reader with a novel insight into the practices of persuasion in contemporary society.

At a different but not mutually exclusive level, persuasion is also seen as a *cognitive phenomenon* since every persuasive message intends to change, modify or coordinate the addressee's system of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors. But it is important to understand that persuasion does not necessarily alter a person's political preferences or consuming habits; it is also about strengthening or (re)confirming the addressee's existing belief, knowledge and ideology, such as confirming their preference for a particular coffee brand or a political party. In accordance with Mulholland (1993: xiv), who claims that "persuasion will take into account and allow for differences in viewpoints", this volume asserts that persuasion can inform the audience of the system of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors of other members of a given community, thus inviting them to consider opinions that differ from their own. Even though persuasion is about influencing someone's mental state (O'Keefe 2002), it represents an ethically and morally correct form of influencing, unlike coercion, propaganda, or manipulation (Şutiu 2011). In van Dijk's (2006) terms, persuasion is a legitimate form of mind control, in which "the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please" (2006: 361). This means that persuasion is a *liberal process*, i.e. one which allows the persuader to choose which rhetorical appeals will be combined in order to address the addressee's intellectual and emotional capacities. The persuader is free to select verbal and non-verbal means of communication through which he or she legitimizes what is proposed in the interaction (Săftoiu 2015: ix). At the same time, the addressee is autonomous as far as whether to act as implied in the message (O'Keefe 2002: 5) and free to decide whether they consider the argument or emotive appeal to be strong enough for them to align their mental state with that of the persuader. Their decision is,

of course, further determined by the context in which they receive the persuasive message, as accentuated and discussed in some of the chapters, e.g. by A'Beckett or Mur-Dueňas.

Owing to the possibility of employing a wide range of semiotic resources such as words, pictures, images, and gestures, as well as intonation and other auditory resources such as familiar musical themes, some of our studies also explore persuasion from the *semiotic point of view*. It is important to realize, however, that persuasion is not inherent to language (Jucker 1997: 123) or to any other semiotic means of communication. The persuader needs to consider the medium through which the message will be delivered as well as to carefully choose and combine all the semiotic resources available. In terms of speech act theory, persuasion represents *a type of indirect speech act* (Walton 2007, Jucker 1997). Östman (2005) states that persuasion is inherently implicit because the persuader hardly ever communicates the intention directly. Instead, the persuader suggests, conveys, or implies. In other words, the persuader organizes semiotic resources in structures that enable the addressee to infer the intended meaning. Simultaneously, the inference requires the addressee's active engagement in the message decoding process. As a result, it can be said that persuasion is a co-creative and co-active process, requiring both the persuader and the addressee for meaning-making (Larson 2007; Simons 2001).

Following the notion of the aforementioned tenets of persuasion being social, cognitive, and semiotic, this volume features several investigations into persuasive strategies in the public sphere as partially presented in the panel entitled *Persuasion in public discourse: Cognitive and functional perspectives*, organized by the editors as a part of the 2014 CADAAD conference in Budapest, Hungary. The volume addresses the topic of persuasion in public discourse from a comprehensive range of theoretical approaches, both functional and cognitive. On the functional side, it works with topics ranging from classical rhetoric analysis, Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, through pragmatic facework and rapport management, to functional audio-visual narratives. On the cognitive side, framing, conceptual metaphor, Mental Space Theory and Conceptual Blending are included. In addition, among the cognitivist approaches, this volume presents an important aspect of persuasion that has escaped the attention of previous literature: the *intersubjective* dimension (in the sense of Verhagen 2007). That is, if the social and the cognitive dimensions are of importance to the persuader and the addressee, then the various lexico-grammatical means employed in the process of persuasion may be considered typical constructions of intersubjectivity that communicates the viewpoint and the belief of the persuader. On a methodological note, the book offers a wide array of approaches to diverse primary sources. First of all, all contributions are based on authentic data from a wide variety of languages, including English, Czech, Spanish, Slovene, Russian, Portuguese, and Hungarian, which extensively shows

how persuasion works in different real-world language settings. Second, the data are all *representative* of a certain culture or time period, with the various choices of data well justifiable – for instance, advertising texts, public speeches, book reviews, Youtube videos, etc. Third, diverse qualitative and quantitative methods are included, which allows us to showcase different effective ways of studying persuasion in public arenas such as politics, marketing, academia, journalism, and online communities.

2.   Emerging themes in persuasion research

Given the scope and the theoretical concerns of the analyses presented, the book endeavors to initiate an interdisciplinary dialogue of (critical) discourse research, promising a multidisciplinary contribution to the study of persuasion in the public sphere. Note especially that the value of the volume does not lie in the mere presentation of pick-and-mix approaches, but in the fact that a systematic collection of papers can help the reader identify common themes and current theoretical innovations that we consider potentially useful in persuasion research.

In the present volume, each of the chapters addresses from a different perspective our central concern of what persuasion is and how to analyze it, each making a pertinent contribution. What is more important, however, is that each chapter adopts a different (though somewhat overlapping) theoretical approach to real-world data. Below are listed some common theoretical means in the chapters that we have identified as potentially useful. The chapter summaries are available in Part 3 of the current volume. As is reflected in the title of the book, we approach the issue of persuasion from the two general perspectives of cognitive and functional linguistics, two major umbrella approaches to persuasion that we deem worthy of exploring.

Considering the abovementioned indirect nature of persuasive communication, all the texts investigated in the volume were produced and delivered to their audiences with a persuasive intention. This means that the choice of lexico-grammatical features as well as of the visuals and musical themes was determined by the objective of aligning the audience's system of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors with that of the persuader. Therefore, the persuasive intention of the semiotic resources analyzed in the texts was taken for granted by all the studies presented in the volume (for further details on the persuasive intention of linguistic features, see Jucker 1997: 123).

In order to make a persuasive text functional, all the chapters agree on the fact that it is important for the persuader to capture the audience's attention, to establish credibility, and to gain their trust, which might be seen as a challenge in

a competitive environment of public discourse. Following systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1994), the success of persuasion depends on how the persuader manages the *interpersonal* and the *ideational* functions. While the former enables the persuader to guide the aspects of *tenor*, i.e. to establish and maintain distance, social status and stance, the latter allows him or her to construct the aspects of *field*, i.e. how the persuader experiences the world of reality as well as the world of his or her imagination and project this experience into verbal and non-verbal communication structures. To achieve the intended perlocutionary effect of persuasion, both these functions are then underlined by the aspects of *mode*, i.e. guided by the *textual* function that comprises the internal organization of a text in terms of nominal and verbal groups, syntactic relation, and cohesion.

Since it emerges from the contributions that the aspects of credibility and trustworthiness are essential characteristics of persuasion in public discourse, the unifying element of the chapters lies in the contributors' interest in Halliday's (1994) *tenor* and *field*. Since these tenets are approached through various perspectives in this volume, our functional perspective interlinks systemic grammar with the persuasive strategies of classical rhetoric (for more details on persuasion in this discipline in public discourse, see Lunsford, Wilson and Eberly 2009; and van Eemeren et al. 2014), pragmatics (based especially on the notion of Goffman's *face* [1967] and *politeness* theory by Brown and Levinson 1987), and multimodal discourse analysis (especially its relation to functional grammar as discussed by Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2006, and the importance of musical multimedia as discussed by Cook 1998). The management of *tenor* and *field* is determined by the strategies of *ethos* and *pathos* communicating the persuasive appeal through the persona of the persuader, including his or her stance and viewpoint (see below) on the topic under discussion, or through the audience's emotional state, respectively. At the same time, in terms of pragmatics, the management of *tenor* and *field* comprises positive and negative face needs, while the perspective of discourse analysis examines the discursive practices of semantics and conceptual strategies, which, in the case of multimodal analysis, is extended to the analysis of the visual and musical characteristics of a given text.

As far as the question of how the persuader negotiates the relationship with his or her audience is concerned, the contributors focus on the study of evaluative language mostly through the lens of Martin and White's (2005) *appraisal theory*. As shown in the chapters by Veloso and Feng and A'Beckett, the system of appraisal is natural to persuasion since it guides the addressee to evaluate the situation at issue in the same way the persuader does. In addition to this, in the process of trying to evaluate the state of affairs, *facework management* (Goffman 1967) and *rapport-building* (e.g. Spencer-Oatey 2002 etc.) serve as an effective analytical toolkit. Both the participants' cultural background and the potential presence of

third-parties (overhearers) in public discourse have an impact on which expressions and rhetorical moves the persuader chooses and how he or she deals with both face-threatening and face-savings acts in order to balance the interlocutors' face needs that are at stake by being displayed in public discourse. As discussed by Hopkinson and Dontcheva-Navrátilová, in order to make sure that the evaluation of circumstances does not backfire, the persuader tends to protect the addressee's public self-image by formulating the argument in a less aggressive or imposing manner. In addition, the *genre-based* analysis approach applied in the chapters by Kuna, Dontcheva-Navrátilova and Mur-Dueňas demonstrate that persuasion must be interpreted within its sociocultural context since both the historical and cultural aspects of a persuasive text have an impact on the choice of conceptual categories and rhetorical moves encompassed by a text.

Different views on the importance of the speaker's public self-image are approached through the perspective of *rhetorical appeals*. Even though rational argument and data seem natural in persuasive communication since they provide the audience with clear and unambiguous interpretation, establishing and maintaining the audience's credibility and trust are achieved more through *ethos* and *pathos*. While Žmavc in this volume concludes that it is more convenient for politicians to build upon mutual trust between them and the electorate by ethical strategies, the chapters by Plastina and A'Beckett, both combining classical rhetoric with framing theory (see below), reveal the importance of pathos in addressing the audience's fear if sensitive topics are discussed publicly. The originality of their analyses thus lies in classical rhetoric appeals combined with cognitive linguistic constructs.

Additionally, we observe that the functional approach to *tenor* and *field* within the field of multimodal discourse analysis is examined through the discursive practices of semiotic modes. Based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual modes, Pelclová's chapter – and partly also Veloso and Feng's – conclude that the visual and typographic characteristics of a text help to convey the persuader's viewpoint packaged in the verbal expressions. The chapter by Antović combines discourse analysis with Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), accentuating the importance of recursive musical themes in audio-visual blends in multimedia contexts. Their findings thus open up a new perspective on the persuasive character of semiotic resources in multimodal communication.

On the cognitive side, if we see persuasion as a mental phenomenon, constructs for analyzing semiotically mediated meaning construction are also important. Therefore, in our view, cognitive linguistics offers an effective toolkit for the purpose of analyzing how persuasion works through texts in a real-world context. The volume indicates several linguistic constructs the contributors find essential for analyzing persuasion in public discourse. The first recurrent theme that we identify from the various contributions is *viewpoint* (Dancygier, Lu, and Verhagen

2016), which appears in the chapters by Kuna, Calle Rosingana, Hopkinson and Dontcheva-Navrátilová. The emergence of viewpoint as a recurrent theme in persuasion research is natural, as when the persuader tries to adjust the addressee's mental state, that means to change the addressee's existing construal of a state of affairs. To this conceptual end, either new information that the addressee is not aware of (but the persuader is) needs to be introduced, or currently existing information needs to be presented in a way different from how it is construed by the addressee. By semiotic means, the persuader presents the content of the information from his viewpoint to try to align the addressee's with his own. In some cases, building one's own viewpoint into another is necessary for one's argument to be taken to create a persuasive effect (for illustration, see the viewpoint analysis of news report in van Krieken, Sanders and Hoeken 2016). If we consider the roles played by the persuader and the addressee, persuasion is certainly intersubjective. In this connection, we believe that the concept of face, which seeks to balance the interlocutors' face needs in public discourse, is also relevant to *intersubjectivity*, as it similarly takes into account the interactional dynamics between the persuader and the addressee (Verhagen 2007). Also related to the notion of *construal* is the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008), used in the chapters by Calle Rosingana and Pelclová in this volume and in Lu (2018). Making extensive use of principles of gestalt psychology, Cognitive Grammar draws frequent analogues among linguistic structure, visual perception and conceptualization. To Langacker (2008), the use of language is motivated by general cognitive principles, and we believe that constitutes more than valid grounds for integrating Cognitive Grammar into the study of persuasion, as persuasion is artful and strategic use of language so we believe that can certainly be approached in terms of basic human cognitive principles. In addition, *framing* (Goffman 1974) and *conceptual metaphor* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) are two closely-related cognitivist constructs that stand out, and have been extensively studied in previous literature. Metaphor has been considered a major framing device that guides the addressee to configure a public issue (social, political, education, etc.) in a certain way. As a stable knowledge structure in long-term memory, a frame stores information of entities and events from past experiences and is activated as a conceptual basis for guiding the listener's inference and the development of a conversation. Words are triggers to a conceptual frame and when the words used in a discourse trigger two frames in different conceptual domains, that results in a cross-domain mapping of one domain onto the other and the reasoning pattern in the former domain can be transferred to the latter, thus guiding the conceptualizer's reasoning. The two concepts are extensively applied in the chapters by Plastina, A'Beckett, Ng and Sebera and Lu. The last, but certainly not the least, theoretical construct that we believe is relevant is *mental space* (Fauconnier 1997), which is an important element in the Conceptual Blending

theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), used in the chapters by Calle Rosingana and Antović. Mental spaces are idealized conceptual packets that contain certain aspects of reality. Correspondences (or mappings) between mental spaces and construction of a new mental space out of existing ones are important cognitive processes that guide the development of human reasoning. The mental space is also an important element in viewpoint research (Dancygier, Lu and Verhagen 2016) and we believe that the notion is also highly relevant to the study of persuasion, as a persuasive effect can be achieved by a mixing of elements from different mental spaces (e.g. van Krieken, Sanders and Hoeken 2016).

3.   The overall structure of the book and a synopsis of each section

The book begins with a section presenting a historical perspective on the phenomenon of persuasion, followed by four sections concerning persuasion in different domains (politics, society, marketing, and academia). The last section involves persuasion in modalities beyond the written mode. The structure of the book and synopses of the individual chapters are set out below.

3.1   Part I: Persuasion from a historical perspective

The first chapter in Part I offers an insight into the genre of medieval medical texts in which persuasion represented a genre marker, being fully functional in terms of spreading knowledge among ordinary people. The section also contains a study of current political speeches in which traditional ethotic strategies are revised and reconstructed. In particular, **Agnes Kuna**, in *Patterns of persuasion in Hungarian medical discourse domain from the 16th–17th century*, approaches persuasion as a functional unit typical of recipes, herbaria, and remedy books. These collections of texts disseminated medieval medical knowledge in order to persuade a wide audience that they could heal minor injuries and health troubles. Kuna argues that such texts were complemented with indirect persuasive acts that were meant to emphasize the efficacy and usefulness of a cure or specific medicaments and thus to create a positive attitude. She defines several categories that participate in invoking this positive attitude, such as general positive value, intensity, testedness, and time factors. Her analysis suggests that a diachronic approach to historical materials can offer a broad opportunity to compare how different cultures in different time periods define and select their linguistic representations of persuasive acts. As the title suggests, **Janja Žmavc**'s chapter *Construction of the speaker's persuasive image in public discourse: Classical rhetoric revisited* focuses on persuasion that functions

through a speaker's representative image. In her qualitative study of the prologues and epilogues of two public speeches delivered by two Slovenian Prime Minister designates, namely Janez Janša in 2004 and Borut Pahor in 2008, the author examines whether *ethos* is worked upon as a preexisting category (Janša's speech) or whether it is something that is constructed during a speech (Pahor's speech). These two ethotic strategies are realized by employing different rhetoric tactics, such as *collective ethos* and the speaker's previous achievements or direct and personal addressing and *enumeration*, respectively. Žmavc concludes that the choice is highly dependent on the historical and sociocultural context.

3.2   Part II: Persuasion in political discourse

The section contains three chapters, each attacking the issue of persuasion from a different theoretical perspective, using authentic data from different cultural communities.

First, **Jan Sebera** and **Wei-lun Lu**'s chapter is based on Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004) that explores the usage of metaphorical expressions for justifying an ideology. In *Metaphor as a (de-)legitimizing strategy in leadership discourse: The language of crisis in Winston Churchill's Cold War speeches*, they investigate Winston Churchill's extensive use of the source domains of PERSON, JOURNEY, and BUILDING that enabled him to induce his audience to conceptualize A NATION as A VULNERABLE PERSON, BRITAIN AND THE USA as TRAVELLING COMPANIONS, and THE UNITED NATIONS as A TEMPLE OF PEACE. These metaphorical expressions promoted the argumentative goals of assigning positive values to the UK postwar progress and of justifying the need to maintain strong bonds between the UK and the USA. The authors find that Churchill's systematic use of such metaphors resulted in creating the political myth "United We Stand" that was meant to de-legitimize the communist regime and encourage cooperation among Western democracies. In *Fictionalizing scenarios in political discourse: Catalan self-determination,* **Gonzalo Calle Rosingana** studies the investiture speech delivered by the Catalan politician Artur Mas whose aim was to persuade the audience of the necessity of Catalan autonomy. The author focuses on four areas that he considers crucial for the speech organization as far as its degree of persuasiveness is concerned. By applying Fauconnier's (1997) Mental Space Theory, he explores the usage of time adverbials and complex grammatical structures that enable the speaker to communicate the process of Catalan independence and the reluctance of the Spanish government. Also adopting Langacker's (2008) notion of *focal adjustment*, the author identifies attention-drawing patterns that indicate the agent of failure (the Spanish government), the sufferer (Catalonia), and the consequences (the negative impact on the

Catalonian population). The chapter analyzes the deictic pronouns and verb endings by which the speaker differentiates between *us* and *them*, and thus enhances the bond of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. And finally, Chilton's model of Deictic Space Theory (2014) is applied in the analysis of deontic *must* and *will* and on the repetitive pattern *I know*, by which Artur Mas outlines the ideal future towards which Catalonia should steer. All these cognitive strategies are meant to guide the audience's interpretative processes in accordance with the speaker's intention to accentuate the need for Catalonian self-determination. In *"The end is near": Negative attitudes and fear in political discourse*, **Francisco Veloso** and **Dezheng Feng** argue that in the contemporary digital era, political discourse is construed through the complexity of multimodal texts that influence the collective imagination of the audience, especially if realized in digital public discourse. Their chapter focuses on an anonymous post-apocalyptic video that predicts catastrophic consequences if Dilma Rousseff were to win the Brazilian 2010 presidential election. Even though they stress the cooperation between different semiotic resources, the authors' interest lies predominantly in the language delivered by a disembodied voice-over, identifying it as a semiotic mode carrying the narrative forward. Drawing upon Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory, the authors find that the negative image of Dilma Rousseff is achieved not by the inscribed (explicit) attitudinal language but by the invoked (implicit) attitudinal language. The seemingly objective facts recounted in the video lead the viewers to infer that Rousseff is not the right choice. In other words, the audience is invited to infer the intended meaning, which is not expressed directly. The authors conclude that anonymous political texts circulated in cyberspace extend Wodak's idea of the "fictionalization of politics" (2015: 12) in terms of "uninformative narratives that stir emotions as an expedient to gather support and obstruct a constructive political debate by affecting the collective imagination and public perception of political agents".

3.3   Part III: Persuasion in social context

Part III addresses persuasion in the social setting and with social concerns, containing two chapters. **Anna Franca Plastina**'s chapter, entitled *Reframing as a persuasive device in public speech: Beyond globalized biodiversity*, discusses the reorientation of an audience's socio-cognitive views, using Vandana Shiva's speech on biodiversity conservation, a renowned Indian alter-globalization activist. Based on framing theories proposed by Entman (1993) and Kaufman, Elliot and Shmueli (2013), the chapter shows how Shiva's speech takes advantage of competing gain and loss frames, which are indexed by a sensitive selection of the inclusive *we*, emotively loaded expressions contrasting opposite views of biodiversity, and adjacent sentence

pairs with a repetitive pattern of keywords such as *produce/producing more* and *food supply*. The prevailing frames and linguistic features signify that the intended frame change is achieved by appeals to *pathos*, which suggests that even an academic audience can be persuaded by emotive appeals rather than by *logos*. The subsequent chapter is *Dissuasion by characterization: The "poisoning" of an heroic analogy in Russian public discourse* by **Ludmilla A'Beckett** that addresses the allusive naming of Joan of Arc used in the Russian press with the intention of discrediting contemporary female politicians and celebrities holding an anti-Putin stance, such as the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko; Ksenia Sobchak, a Russian journalist and actress; and Nadiya Savchenko, a prisoner of war in the conflict in Eastern Ukraine who was tried in Moscow on a murder charge. The study combines framing theory (Goffman 1974), appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), and several approaches to metaphor-related theories such as those presented by Ritchie (2006), Cameron (2010), Musolff (2013), and Kövecses (2010). The author identifies four discursive strategies: the incongruence between the traits of the French heroine and the oppositionists, the amplification of problematic features, the exploitation of untrustworthy sources, and gender prejudices. By analyzing contents on discussion forums, she concludes that readers accept this negative characterization and participate in constructing the image by repeating Joan of Arc in their responses.

3.4   Part IV: Persuasion in marketing

Part IV examines persuasion in marketing, a field where persuasion research has a high value with respect to its application. On the basis of the closely related concepts of *facework* (Goffman 1971), *relational work* (Locher and Watts 2005), and *rapport management* (Spencer-Oatey 2002), **Christopher Hopkinson** studies responses to negatively evaluated services published on the TripAdvisor website. The chapter, entitled *Saving face online: Institutional responses to negative customer reviews on TripAdvisor,* studies facework strategies that are employed in order to balance the needs of both the complainants and the respondents (hotel representatives). The author focuses on whether and how this face-need equilibrium also takes into consideration a third party (potential customers). The chapter's contribution to face management studies lies in the strategy identified here as *face compartmentalization*, which operates with *competence face* and *morality face* as important aspects of *quality face* (Spencer-Oatey 2002). The chapter argues that hotel representatives are willing to sacrifice some of their professional competence in order to enhance their morally positive qualities, which results in the potential customer's reception of the service provider as a humanized institution. As for the role played by the potential customer as a third party, the author claims that despite being publicly

accessible, the genre of complaints and responses maintains its traditional dyadic structure. The other chapter in this section, *Constructing the ideal organization: Metaphor in higher education brand communication*, is devoted to the study of metaphor that induces conceptualization of a higher education organization as a humanized institution. Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses's (2010) Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, **Carl Jon Way Ng** understands metaphor as a semiotic resource that is, within the discourse of higher education brand communication, cognitively oriented towards promotional and persuasive intentions. The extensive use of metaphors related to animate and anthropomorphic domains found in the promotional texts of higher education institutions in Singapore reveals that the institutions present themselves in human terms. The interaction between AN ORGANIZATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM and its more specific instantiation AN ORGANIZATION IS A PERSON depicts the institutions as ideal organizations with positive traits such as being dynamic and competitive, having a perspective, and possessing high emotional and empathetic potential. The author claims that such a positive image has an effect on the construction of the ideal addressee, the potential students and stakeholders, of this brand communication.

3.5   Part V: Persuasion in academia

Part V scrutinizes persuasion in academic discourse, a central concern for anyone who operates in academia, where scholars have to present themselves as reliable sources of information in order to enter extensive academic discussions and to obtain recognition and credentials. **Olga Dontcheva-Navrátilová** offers a cross-cultural insight in her chapter entitled *Persuasion in academic discourse: Cross-cultural variation in Anglophone and Czech academic book reviews*, which draws upon Hyland's (2005) practice of balancing between the critique and collegiality recognized within the discursive academic community. In her study of global Anglophone and local Czech book review data, the author pays attention to citation practices (both of the original book under review and of other field-related sources), personal structures (possessive adjectives, or the use of 1st person sg. or pl.), and evaluation acts (both positive and negative). The author concludes that while both culturally distinctive communities exploit the same linguistic strategies, they differ in the rate of occurrence and in the functional specialization of these linguistic persuasive devices. As she explains, the differences result not only from the scope of the potential audience of the two communities, but also from their diverse epistemological and literary traditions. Different cultural and rhetorical conventions are similarly reflected in **Pilar Mur-Dueñas**'s chapter, in which she analyzes research articles on business management published in English by researchers of various

linguistic backgrounds oriented internationally, and in Spanish by researchers oriented towards local audiences. Based on the genre analysis proposed by Swales (2004) and Bhatia (2004), her chapter *Promotional strategies in academic writing: Statements of contribution in Spanish and ELF research articles* focuses on statements of contribution that function as a self-promotional strategy. The author offers a comparison of evaluative lexis (verbs, adjectives, and nouns), logical connectors, and comparative structures that are meant to express a positive evaluation of the research and at the same time to stress the contribution to the field. The data reveals that the evaluative markers are more frequent in the English-written articles than in the Spanish ones, which has an impact on the degree of interpersonality of the given genre. The results indicate that, based on the lower occurrence of statements of contribution, Spanish scholars do not intend to conduct and maintain a dialogic relationship with the Spanish audience, while the scholars that publish in English enter the communicative event with the opposite intention.

3.6   Part VI: Persuasion from multimodal perspectives

Part VI includes two chapters that address persuasion delivered in the form of multimodality in public discourse, focusing specifically on text-image interaction and image-music relations. Basing her contribution on studies on iconicity in language (e.g. Fischer and Nänny 1999, De Cuypere and Willems 2008, etc.) and in visuals (Sonesson 2008, 2010, etc.), and on Kress and van Leeuwen's studies on multimodality (2001, 2006), **Jana Pelclová** investigates the means of the different forms of language, visual, and typographic iconicity that are functional in independent noun phrases in print advertisements promoting food products. Her chapter, *Iconicity in independent noun phrases in print advertising: A multimodal perspective*, reveals four types of iconicity: the iconicity of production process, of ingredients, of variety, and of gustatory perception. All types are motivated by both semantic aspects and structural patterns. Linguistically speaking, these motivational factors are realized by employing both classifying and descriptive adjectives in a sequential order that reflects the chronological order and/or the order of importance of production process and variety, of product uniqueness in terms of its ingredients, and of the gustatory experience. While the means of visual iconicity imitate the closeness of the spatial relation between the product and the consumer, the means of typographic iconicity are meant to reassure the consumer about the harmony and balance of the ingredients with respect to taste. In the last chapter, entitled *Persuasion in musical multimedia: A conceptual blending theory approach*, **Mihailo Antović** makes use of Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) Blending Theory for analyzing the application of familiar musical pieces in unexpected contexts. The novelty of this study lies in the

findings of a recursive process that constructs new meanings by placing old musical themes in new multimodal settings. The process is explained using examples of three well-known pieces of film music, namely "The Anvil of Crom" from *Conan the Barbarian* (1982), "The Imperial March" from *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), and "El Condor Pasa" made famous by Simon and Garfunkel (1970). The author demonstrates how these musical themes, stored together with their original visual and/or textual counterparts in long-term memory as stable blends, emerge as inputs for new, complex blends if located in a completely new context. The recontextualization then results in maneuvering the audience's semiotic expectations in two diametrically different ways. While the recursive process that works with analogical connections between the old and new blended mental spaces results in enhancing the audience's expectations, the one that employs disanalogous connections is meant to deliver a satirical message.

4. Concluding remarks

To conclude, we believe our volume puts forward a compelling case for the need to integrate cognitive and functional linguistics into persuasion research. We see this initiative as the exact value and originality of the entire edited work; given its employment of a variety of contemporary functional-cognitive linguistic frameworks, the volume should be useful to readers interested in fields related to language and rhetoric, such as discourse analysts and historical linguists, as well as specialists in media studies, political and marketing research, and cognitive linguistics, musicologists, psychologists, semioticians, and environmental activists. Persuasion is certainly an art, but we believe that it can be analyzed scientifically from various points of view – that is, using the approach attempted in this volume. This collection of papers is only a beginning; however, we believe that with the wide range of approaches it encompasses, along with the representativeness of the data it includes and the methodologies it employs, this publication will help to define the field. We also believe that the emerging themes and recurrent theoretical constructs identified could serve as useful pointers for scholars who share similar research interests with us.

Acknowledgements

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Persuasion from a historical perspective

Patterns of persuasion in Hungarian medical discourse domain from the 16th and 17th centuries

Agnes Kuna

This study focuses on the persuasive patterns and conceptual domains of 16th and 17th century Hungarian medical recipes. From a theoretical perspective, the study is set in a functional cognitive framework, with heavy reliance on historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics. From a methodological perspective, the research is based on the concept of genre as script, which is an organized form of everyday knowledge, and on the metonymic model of speech acts. From the qualitative analysis of eight historical and representative collections of recipes, three main conclusions were drawn. First, persuasion can be best described with the help of persuasive intent within linguistic. Second, persuasion cannot be interpreted without its sociocultural context. Last, certain persuasive patterns can be delineated that are closely associated with the norms of the analyzed genre.

Keywords: early Hungarian medical recipes, linguistic patterns of persuasion, medical discourse domain, conceptual categories, script, genre, scenario model of speech acts

1. Introduction

Patterns of persuasion, positive communication, and suggestion are among the main research directions of modern doctor-patient communication. These categories describe not only 20th and 21st-century discourses, but they also have a historical basis. Indeed, a key element of medieval and early modern medical practice was the creation of a positive attitude in the patient. To this end, a variety of persuasive strategies were employed, which are amply documented in available records of European medical texts, especially recipes (Alonso-Almeida and Cabrera-Abreu 2002; Jones 1998; Keszler 2011; Kuna 2014a, 2018). The analysis of these texts reveals that the use of efficacy phrases correlates strongly with speaker

involvement, the kind of knowledge being communicated, and the peculiar features of medication at the time.

The main goal of the present paper is to describe the linguistic as well as conceptual categories and patterns of 16th and 17th century persuasive strategies within the medical discourse domain in a cognitive functional pragmatic framework. As for the structure of the analysis, the introductory Section (1) is followed by the presentation of data and the methodology used in the study (2), which situates the data in 16th and 17th century medicine and the emerging tradition of medical texts (3). As acts of persuasion are typically found in medical recipes, the schema (script) associated with this genre is discussed, thereby also establishing the analytic framework of the investigations. In Section 4, both general and specific questions of persuasion are addressed. Afterwards, typical patterns in acts of persuasion and their linguistic representations are analyzed within this general schema (5). The discussion centers on the conceptual categories relevant for persuasion, including GENERAL POSITIVE VALUE, TESTEDNESS, CERTAINTY, TIME FACTOR, AUTHENTICITY/CREDIBILITY, RESULT OF THE THERAPY, and EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT.[1] The chapter does not systematically analyze frequency and prototype effects within persuasive strategies, even though they play a crucial role in the usage-based cognitive framework. The present chapter touches only on the major tendencies in this context (for details see Kuna 2018). Finally, a summary and conclusions follow (6).

2.   Research data and method

The data consists of the representative recipe collections, herbaria and remedy books of 16th and 17th-century medical discourse in manuscript or printed forms. Twenty manuscripts and three prints were examined altogether (see Kuna 2011), but only those that are referred to in this chapter are listed among the references. A considerable number of the examples originate from the *Ars Medica* (AM), the electronic version of which enabled research on a more extensive corpus (Szabó T. and Bíró 2000; for more details, see Kuna 2014a, 2014b).[2] These books are not representative of the scientific achievements or sophistication of the era; rather, they constitute commonly used compilations of useful knowledge about the body,

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1.   Conceptual spheres are marked by small caps, in line with the tradition of cognitive linguistics.

2.   The manuscripts will be referred to by abbreviations given among the sources throughout the chapter. This study used reprints or online editions of the sources. The quoted examples will be referred to by the number of the recipe in which they occur.

illnesses, and therapies. To varying degrees, all of them contain references to the scientific views of the era, folk beliefs, and magical processes.[3]

The data were analyzed with a qualitative methodology. The codes were determined after the analysis of more than 10,000 recipes (over 500,000 words). Eight Psychology MA students who took a course on suggestive communication at the Pedagogical and Psychological Faculty of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, in the spring semester of 2013–14 helped with the validation.[4] Two students identified their own coding categories for words or phrases they regarded as having persuasive or suggestive force. They also provided descriptions for the coding categories. The codes described by the two students overlapped considerably with my own coding criteria. After the conflation and reediting of the two lists of coding categories, six other students encoded the same 100 recipes with the help of exact code descriptions. With the exception of one coder, inter-coder agreement was in the range of 60–90%. The results and the codes are discussed in Section 4. After finalization of the codes, the subsequent qualitative analysis was performed with Atlas.ti 7.2, which is also able to visualize the co-occurrence or overlap of code categories (Kuna 2018). This analysis will only be touched upon in this chapter through a few examples.

3.   The sociocultural background of the Hungarian medical discourse domain in the 16th and 17th centuries

Persuasive communication is strongly dependent on context, age, culture, and genre (cf. Virtanen and Halmari 2005: 4). In order to delve deeper into the persuasive strategies of medical texts from the 16th and 17th centuries, a brief summary of the sociocultural background of contemporary medical discourses may be in order, as well as a description of the main characteristics of medical recipes, since persuasion takes place mostly in this genre.

Medication in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries was characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity. While the traditions of ancient Greco-Roman and Arabic medicine continued, folk healing also played a remarkable role, usually drawing on personal experiences, beliefs, and superstitions. In addition, the influence of organized religion ought not to be overlooked (Benke 2007). Significantly,

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3.   There has been no systematic corpus established yet that would compile Hungarian medical discourse. However, the project entitled "Corpus of Hungarian Medical Discourse", which sets out to edit 16th and 17th-century documents for publication, has been launched by the author in 2015.

4.   I owe thanks to Katalin Varga, Ildikó Belák, Petra Böőr, Alexandra Halász, Mariann Hutter, Fanni, Ágnes Révész, Réka Ruttner and Anna Zély.

healing belonged to the spheres of both science and everyday practice, with the latter engaging a broad spectrum of society.

Those engaging in some form of healing were also a highly varied group. Apart from a small number of physicians, pharmacists, and barbers, most of the healing was carried out by specialists working among the people. Inevitably, this had an impact on vernacular medical literature, in which scientific works accounted for a minority compared to popular recipe collections, remedy books, and herbarium books (see Figure 1; and for more see Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004; and Kuna 2011, 2013, 2016).
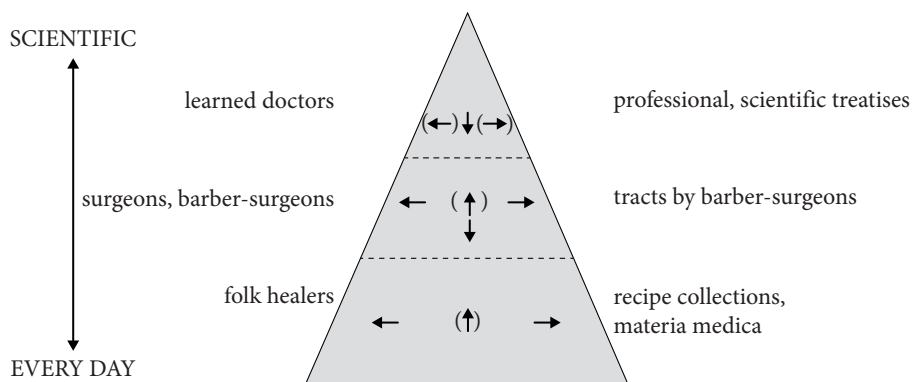
Figure 1. Correlations between the layered structures of medication and medical communication in 16th- and 17th-century Hungary

There are no surviving scientific treatises from this period in Hungarian. Medical writings intended for everyday use became increasingly widespread, in print as well as in manuscript form, both in keeping with the ethos of the era (humanism and reformation) and due to the growing demand for practical help. It is easy to find proof in medical books, surgical texts, herbariums, and recipe collections that giving information with regard to the therapy, as well as persuading and engaging the patient and creating a positive attitude, played central role in medical discourse:

> [Thirteenth century medical authors] were well aware that one of the strongest weapons they had in therapy was the patient's attitude, and they did all they could to keep him in a positive frame of mind without (if possible) actually lying.
>
> (McVaugh 1997: 216)

Acts of persuasion are typically found in recipes in the medical text tradition of the era. These appear in all layers of the text tradition and can be regarded as a central genre within the medical discourse domain (*discourse domain* cf. Taavitsainen and Jucker 2010: 5). The analytic framework for the research is therefore largely determined by the script associated with this genre, presented in the following section.

3.1   The script of medical recipes in the 16th and 17th centuries

Compared to the doctor-pharmacist interactions of today, which have a narrow and strictly professional nature, 16th-century recipes had a much broader domain of application. In many cases, they give early and valuable evidence of doctor-patient communication. In the era under scrutiny, the medical recipe can be considered as a basic-level genre with several subtypes organized thematically or according to typical speech situations (cf. Kuna 2011, 2016). These exhibit varying degrees of standardization (cf. Hunt 1990; Stannard 1982; Taavitsainen 2001). The basic theme of the genre is USEFULNESS and associated KNOWLEDGE. This is elaborated by each subtype and each individual text in a particular way, mostly with respect to a function 'this is what you should do' function, defining specific types of ACTION. As a form of discourse, recipes can be characterized as a joint attentional scene (cf. Sinha 2001) in which the author uses linguistic symbols to direct the addressee's attention to a way to prepare something USEFUL for themselves or a third person. This also establishes the three main participant roles in the script underlying the recipe as a genre: the author in possession of knowledge (usually marked by 1ST PERSON, SG); a healer (prototypically in 2ND PERSON, SG) and a patient (prototypically 3RD PERSON, SG); see Figure 2. The construction of the scene is also greatly influenced by the broader cultural context of the medical text tradition. Together, these components give rise to the schema of the medical recipes of the era (for details, see Kuna 2011, 2016, 2017). This schema is represented in Figure 2. Individual elements can also be profiled or activated in acts of persuasion, as shown in Section 4.1.
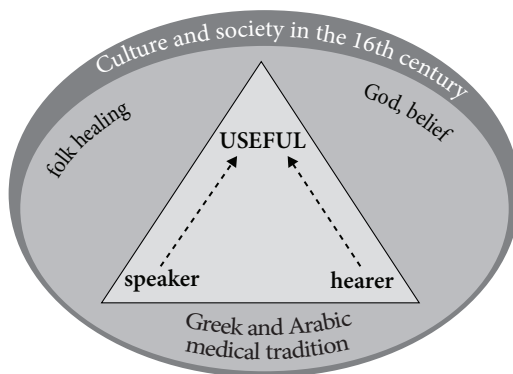
Figure 2. The script of medical recipes from the 16th and 17th centuries

4.   Persuasion in medical recipes

The recipes offer special-purpose practical information (cf. *Fachinformationen* Stannard 1982: 60–65), prototypically packaged into three functional units: (i) *initiator* (what it is for: introducing an illness and its cure at a conceptual level); (ii) *section for instructions* (how much of what, and how: ingredients, measurements, instructions, methods and tools); and (iii) *persuasion* (with an emphasis on efficacy and usefulness); see Example (1) and, for more details, Kuna 2016, 2017).

> (1)   Ver hasrul. Szedgied az cyprust, rutath, tongöri szölöt, eggiot fözd meg feier borban es igia meg. Probatum est.   (TOK 176)
> [Dysentery. Take cypress, rue and red currant, cook them together in white wine and let the patient drink it. This has been tried.]

As functional units, acts of persuasion[5] prototypically appear toward the end of medical recipes. They can be appended to any recipe (e.g. *probatum est* [it has been tried], *próbált* [tried], or *basznál* [it works]) (cf. Kuna 2014a, 2016). The roles and variability of *efficacy phrases*, often of Latin origin, have been widely discussed in the literature (referred to as *efficacy phrases*, *tag phrases*, or *stock phrases*; cf. Jones 1998; Stannard 1982). These phrases have a variety of roles. In addition to creating a positive attitude, they also signal the influence of a Latin source, which is characteristic of the genre. Finally, they provide clues for textual organization as well. In particular, they mark the end of each text so that in a collection of hundreds or thousands of recipes, both the textual marks of initiators (underlining, paragraph symbol, etc.) and those pertaining to persuasion help establish where the structural boundaries lie.

   The prototype for acts of persuasion in recipes is thus characterized by a text-final position. A second crucial property is the highly general scope of the phrases involved, ensuring that they can be attached to almost any subtype of the genre. While they are frequently combined with other kinds of information, they can also appear on their own. The function of creating a positive attitude is not served solely by these highly routinized phrases in the final part of medical recipes. Rather, construals throughout the texts may contribute to this general effect. Persuasion as a function can be regarded as a strategy of the author or a speech act that is primarily aimed at evoking or reinforcing a positive attitude, as demanded by healing. Hence, persuasion and positive language in recipes must be studied in unison (Kuna 2018).

   In general, all language use can be regarded as persuasive (cf. Miller 1980; Östman 2005). However, in a limited sense "[…] persuasion is defined as those

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5.   For the concept of persuasion in cognitive lingusitic approch see detailed Kuna 2018.

linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behavior of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree, the beliefs and behaviors of persuaders included" (Virtanen and Halmari 2005: 5; see also Kinneavy 1971: 211; Jucker 1997: 122). In the case at hand, this means changing or reinforcing the patient's attitude to the medicine or cure. All three elements of the classical Aristotelian typology can contribute to this effect. The source of persuasion may be the speaker or other authorities (*Ethos*), the suggestive nature of the message (*Logos*), or the emotions and knowledge of the addressee (*Pathos*) (cf. Aristotle [1984]; for more, see Oláh 1986; Petty and Cacioppo 1986; and Varga 2011). Persuasion is predominantly indirect and implicit. Linguistic research tends to focus on the persuasive intent, even though the actual persuasive effect or the eventual persuasion of the audience depends on a number of other factors besides linguistic activity (Jucker 1997: 122–123). This is even more apparent in the analysis of historical texts, as the impact on the audience is more complicated to measure or evaluate. The present study attempts to shed light on the patterns of persuasive intent in the 16th and 17th-century medical discourse domain by taking into account the contemporary sociocultural background of the texts. The description of the actual impact cannot be set as a goal for research.

Persuasion can be regarded as an indirect speech act (cf. Ortak 2004; Kuna 2018), so it can be understood through the scenario model of speech acts (cf. Panther and Thornburg 1997, 1998). According to this model, speech acts are scenarios of which even a part can evoke the whole schema metonymically. A central feature of persuasion in recipes is positive value attribution (cf. Ortak 2004: 149). With respect to the medical recipes under study, a positive attitude can already be detected in the general schema of the texts: providing KNOWLEDGE so that the recipients can ACT in a way that is USEFUL in their situation. The conceptualization of persuasion can be helped by other diverse elements of the script of the recipe, more specifically of the schema of HEALING. Therefore, the balance between body and soul, the origin or cause of the disease, the course and passing of the illness, the knowledge and experience concerning the healing process, its participants, the therapy, or the healing methods and tools can be foregrounded. According to the scenario model, the persuasive function is elaborated mostly metonymically. Positive value attribution happens upon the activation or co-activation of certain elements in the whole script. On the level of conceptualization, thus, the emergence of certain traits, including GENERAL POSITIVE VALUE (*good, useful*), a TRIED METHOD (*tried*), CERTAINTY (*certainly*), CREDIBILITY (*thus says Galen*) or THERAPY RESULTS (*has been healed*) can be observed (for more details, see Kuna 2014a, b and 2016).

In the next section, these categories and patterns will be discussed and illustrated by examples.

4.1 Categories and codes of persuasion in 16th and 17th century Hungarian medical recipes

4.1.1 *General positive value*

In both folk healing and more scientifically oriented medication, verbal suggestion plays a key role, with its firm basis in positive language (Oláh 1986: 178–179). The category of GENERAL POSITIVE VALUE represents a highly complex and varied group. In general, the words and expressions in its range may occur in descriptions of illness as well as recipes for it; furthermore, these words and expressions are often not specific to medical discourse. Hence, there is an abundance of words with highly general meanings (e.g. *jó* [good], *gyönyörű* [beautiful], *okos* [clever]). During data collection and analysis, the positive words of the corpus were subclassified into further conceptual categories, yielding representations for the concepts GOOD/NICE/BEAUTIFUL; USEFUL; WONDER/WONDERFUL; CLEVER/WISE; IMPORTANT, FAMOUS (see Table 1).

The conceptual spheres of GOOD and USEFUL had the largest proportion of positive words, of which the former group can be regarded as all-purpose markers of a positive attitude. Grammatically speaking, occurrences of GOOD were most frequently used as attributes modifying nouns, or as predicates with a noun or infinitive serving as the subject. The concept USEFUL was more specifically relevant for recipes than GOOD, since it is also part of the schema of this genre (see Section 3.1). Here, the most frequent prototypical representations were *hasznos* [useful] and *használ* [it works, it helps].[6] The former is typically employed either in an attributive or predicative capacity, often accompanied by other positive words.

Other concepts were WONDER, MAIN/IMPORTANT/FAMOUS and CLEVER. *Csoda* [wonder] was especially used in forming collocations with other positive expressions (cf. (7)). *Fő* [main] typically modified nouns referring to a cure or to doctors (cf. (11)). Hence, it was often accompanied by references to a third party, which also holds for uses of *bölcs* [wise] (see Section 4.1.7).

The category of POSITIVE VALUE is a huge and varied group. According to software analysis it is also the most frequent one (Kuna 2018), in which elaborations of the concepts GOOD and USEFUL are predominant. The examples also revealed that words and categories expressing a positive attitude often appear in clusters, reinforcing each other. In particular, elements evoking a general positive content tend to be accompanied by semantically similar expressions with words pertaining to the INTENSITY, RECOVERY, EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT, and also with references to famous doctors and other well-known figures (Kuna 2018).

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6.   For frequency see Kuna 2014a and 2018.

Table 1. Sub-categories expressing a GENERAL POSITIVE VALUE

Code-No.	Code name	Examples
1.1	GOOD/NICE/ BEAUTIFUL	(2) Táskás sebnek ez igen *jó* orvosság. (AM IV.12b) [This is a very *good* cure against deep wounds.]
		(3) *jó bekötni vele* [it is *good* to tie it on] (MBM 503)
		(4) […] valami *szép* ruhácskára tegye es kösse az fejére (OLO 1) [then put (IMP.- 3SG.) them on some *nice* cloth and tie (IMP.- 3SG.) them on the head]
1.2	USEFUL	(5) májnak minden nyavalyáiról igen *hasznos* ez orvosság (AM I.149a) [this cure is very *useful* against any problems of the liver]
		(6) Törd meg erősen, és italban betegnek add innia és *használ.* (HP 62) [Crush it, and give it to the patient in a drink: *it works.*]
1.3	WONDER/ WONDERFUL	(7) *Csodálatos* fő orvosság ez és igen megpróbáltatott. (AM I.253a) [This is a *wonderfully* strong medicine and has been thoroughly tested.]
		(8) Ez *csodálatosképpen* használ. (AM I. 211a) [This works *wonderfully.*]
1.4	CLEVER/WISE	(9) *bölcs* Aristoteles így írja (AM I.277b) [*wise* Aristotle writes this]
		(10) ezt mondják az *bölcs* fizikusok (AM I.277b) [this is what the *wise* physicians say]
1.5	IMPORTANT/ FAMOUS	(11) sok *fő* orvosdoktorok (AM I. 163b) [many *important* doctors]
		(12) Ez igen fő és *hasznos* orvosság (AM I. 278b) [this is a very *important* and useful cure]
1.6	Other: EFFORTLESSNESS	(13) *minden erőltetés nélkül* kitisztítja az rossz nedvességet (MBM 508) [it cleans the bad humidity *without strain*]

4.1.2 *Intensity*

The category of INTENSITY usually appears along with the above positive expressions; nevertheless, it can also be attached to a negative impact. With INTENSITY, a given effect can be seen as comparatively large, or even excessive.

In the elaboration of GOOD, the comparative adjective *jobb* [better] or the superlative *legjobb* [the best] occur as well, often with a hyperbolic function or to express increased efficacy. The positive meaning can be further intensified by the degree adverbs *igen* and *fölötte* [very much]. The temporal adverbs *soha* [never] and the pronoun *minden* [all] can also intensify the positive or even the negative effect. Moreover, these effects can sometimes be elaborated in stories or third-party opinions (cf. (15)).

(14)   ennél *jobb* orvosság nem lehet   (AM VI.16b)
       [there can be no *better* cure than this]

(15)   Semmi *jobb* orvosságot penig erről nem mond Dioscorides   (AM VI.24a)
       [Dioscorides speaks of no *better* cure than this]

(16)   *igen* használ   (OLO 1193)
       [it works *very well*]

(17)   *soha* oly erős fájdalom nem lehet, kit harmad napig meg nem gyógyít

                                                                (HP 138)

       [there *never* can be a pain so strong that it [i.e. the medicine] won't cure it by
       the third day]

(18)   *minden* mérget kiűz emberből   (MBM 1247)
       [expels *all* poison from the patient]

4.1.3   *Testedness*

A frequent strategy of persuasion in recipes is reference to the tried and tested nature of a given cure or medicine. The patterns employed are often directly lifted from medical books written in Latin (*probatum est*). In 16th and 17th century medicine, testing of course did not mean what it does today; rather, it was usually based on direct personal experience or hearsay (cf. Eamon 1994).

The most frequently occurring linguistic representations are the impersonal forms *próbált* [tried] and *megpróbáltatott* [it has been tried], followed by third person forms anchored to a concrete person (*próbálta*, *megpróbálta* [he/she tried it], cf. (25)). First person forms can appear as well (cf. (19)).

Linguistic representations of TESTEDNESS are typically found at the end of recipes (in 95% of the cases in the analysed data), often in a fixed form, by themselves (Kuna 2018). This is typical for example of the use of *próbált* [tried], *próbált dolog ez* [this is a tried thing] and *próbált orvosság ez* [this is a tried cure/medicine]. These phrases rarely occur as parentheticals in the middle of a sentence and are only occasionally anchored to a concrete person: mostly Hungarian figures emerge in these contexts. The impression of TESTEDNESS can be reinforced by adverbials of time (*sokszor* [many times]), place (*sok tartományokban* [in many regions]) or degree/extent (*igen*, *fölötte* [very much]). It is not uncommon for remarks on TESTEDNESS to combine with other conceptual categories, or even with an elaborate and convincing story or promise. On the basis of their text-final position, schematicity, brevity and frequency, the linguistic elaboration of TESTEDNESS can be regarded as a highly prototypical form of persuasion in the recipes.

(19)   Ez próbat én Teörek János gyakorta *próbáltam*, bizonynak találván.

                                                                (OLO 810)

       [I, János Teörek, *have tried* this method frequently, and found it proven.]

(20) probatum est   (TOK 1)
      [it *has been tried*]

(21) *Próbált.*   (AM I.4a)
      [*Tried.*]

(22) sok tartományokban *megpróbáltatott*   (AM I.298a)
      [it *has been tried* in many regions]

(23) Ez igen sokszor *próbált* dolog.
      [This thing *has been tried* very many times.]   (AM I.15a)

(24) *Próbált* orvosság ez Krechmer János által.   (AM I.160b)
      [This cure *has been tried* by János Krechmer.]

(25) Bebek István *próbálta.*   (AM I.2b)
      [István Bebek *tried* it.]

As a general conclusion, appeals to TESTEDNESS can be viewed as a prototypical strategy of persuasion in 16th century medical recipes. This is supported by a variety of facts, including the use of fixed phrases which can be appended to almost any recipe and the text-final position of the relevant expressions. The elaboration of TESTEDNESS is frequently associated with reference to a concrete credible source (CREDIBILITY) and in a few cases with other conceptual categories reinforcing the function of persuasion.

4.1.4   *Certainty*

Certainty and uncertainty regarding the efficacy of the medicine or therapy also play a role in persuasion. The concept of CERTAINTY does not concern objective truth, but rather the speaker's stance, her attitude to the object in question (subjectivization). The significance of positivity is amply proven by the fact that doubt is only mentioned in a polarized state, i.e. as *kétség nélkül* [without doubt], with a positive meaning. It is a very frequent expression, generally expressing a positive content (but see (32)). The words *kétséged* [your doubt] and *kétségtelenül* [without doubt] also tend to occur in patterns with similar meaning, although in one instance the latter is associated with a sure omen of death.

The expressions highlighting CERTAINTY or TRUTH are part of the author's representation of knowledge. Positive construals of CERTAINTY are predominantly linked to occurrences of *bizony* [indeed, certain(ly)], *bizonnyal* [with certainty], and *bizonyos* [certain] (see examples in Table 2). Except for a few cases where the certainty of death is being profiled (cf. (30), (34)), what receives emphasis is inevitable recovery or the unfailing nature of the cure. Again, there is a tendency for words of a positive, persuasive function to co-occur and support each other. Conceptual contents elaborated along with certainty include RESULT OF THERAPY

(cf. (28), (32)), TESTEDNESS (cf. (29)), and the EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT of the patient (cf. (33)), with references to God or a third person further reinforcing the creation of a positive attitude (cf. (27)).

Table 2. The category of CERTAINTY

Code-No.	Code name	Examples	
4.1	CERTAIN/TRUE	(26) *bizony* orvosság	(AM I. 97b)
		[it is an *unfailing* cure]	
		(27) *bizonnyal* higgyed, hogy Isten meggyógyít	(AM I.160a)
		[believe with *certainty* that God will cure you]	
		(28) Bairus *bizonnyal* írja, hogy ez orvossággal igen sokakat meggyógyított	(AM I. 290a)
		[Bairus writes with *certainty/conviction* that with this medicine, he had cured several people.]	
		(29) Ezt *bizonnyal* tudom, hogy megkísértett dolog, és hamarjában fölötte igön használt.	(OLO 1252)
		[I know with *certainty* that this is a tested idea, and it helped to a great extent very quickly.]	
		(30) *bizonnyal* meghal	(AM I. 13a)
		[he/she will *certainly* die]	
4.2	DOUBT [+ /−]	(31) Álmot hoz *kétség nélkül*.	(AM I.15b)
		[Puts you sleep *without doubt*.]	
		(32) megtisztítja minden *kétség nélkül*	(OLO 94)
		[it will clear it away *without doubt*]	
		(33) Ebben ugyan *semmi kétséged ne* legyen.	(AM I.46a)
		[Have *no doubt* about this.]	
		(34) *kétségtelenül* az olyan meghal	(AM I.109b)
		[*without doubt* such a one will die]	

Next, I consider the categories of TIME FACTOR (4.1.5) and RESULT OF THERAPY (4.1.6) as possible components in acts of persuasion. These two often appear in conjunction.

4.1.5   *Time factor*

Folk healing puts a premium on the time factor; for example, the specification of how many days the therapy should take, or when certain herbs need to be collected (Oláh 1986: 167–166). The preparation of medication is often linked to magic numbers, with the number three (and its multiples) and seven (i.e. treatments lasting seven days or seven weeks) featuring prominently (e.g. *három nap cselekedjed ezt* [do this for three days] AM I.103a). Although such strategies are not without

suggestive power, they were not regarded as instances of persuasion during data analysis: instead the focus was on the time factors associated more directly with the results of the therapy. Within the category of TIME, the most frequent words along the SOON–NEVER axis were *azonnal* [at once], *mindjárást* [before long], *hamar* [soon], and *soha* [never]. *Soha* [never] also raises the issue of polarity. The constructions these words appear in typically profile the positive nature of the medicine or therapy (cf. (35), (36)); however, elaborations of the fatal outcome of a disease are also fairly common (cf. (37)).

(35)   meg nem hagy részegedni *soha*   (AM I.10a)
        [this will *never* let you get drunk]

(36)   *soha* az kórság többé nem bántja, ha Isten akarja   (AM I.31a)
        [God willing, the disease will *never* again harm him/her]

(37)   *soha* meg nem gyógyulhat   (AM I.105a)
        [he/she can *never* recover]

Suggesting quick recovery are the expressions *azonnal* [at once], *hamar* [soon], and *mindjárást* [soon, at once]. They typically specify the time when the therapy takes effect and may be stacked together or occur with other phrases expressing persuasion or a positive attitude. There are fewer cases in which the timing of a negative outcome is linguistically elaborated (cf. (41)).

(38)   a fogad fájása *hamar* elmúlik   (AM I. 83a)
        [your tooth-ache will *soon* stop]

(39)   *hamar* gyógyul véle   (MBM 383)
        [he/she will heal *soon* with it]

(40)   *azonnal* megszűnik a fájdalom   (AM I.3a)
        [the pain stops *at once*]

(41)   *hamar* meghal   (AM I. 137a)
        [he/she will die *soon*]

On the whole, these words expressing the time span of recovery contribute to the elaboration of a positive attitude, a positive outcome; however, they cannot be regarded as prototypical in a persuasive function in recipes. Most of the linguistic representations concerned here simply specify the circumstances of recovery rather than playing any direct role in acts of persuasion. Furthermore, the examples reveal that the phrases in question never occur in a persuasive capacity on their own. Rather, they reinforce or intensify the persuasive effect of other expressions, especially those related to recovery or the RESULT OF A THERAPY.

4.1.6 *Result of therapy*

The patient's positive attitude or disposition can be reinforced by the simulation of positive future scenarios through elaborating the motif of the removal of illness. In this case, the outcome of a given therapy or medication comes to the foreground. The outcome of the therapy is often phrased as a promise; it predominantly features a positive outcome, i.e. healing. The opposite end of the axis is incurability or a fatal outcome, which is not frequently mentioned, but it happens. The promise can be represented metaphorically or non-metaphorically (for details, see Kuna 2014b). When it is a non-metaphorical representation, it usually involves the elaboration of HEALING (cf. (42), (43)).

Healing can also receive a more indirect elaboration, in which the leaving (or disappearance) of the illness is profiled (see examples in Table 3). Accordingly, the illness can be metaphorically interpreted as AN ANIMAL OR FORCE DWELLING IN THE BODY, DIRTINESS, CAPTIVITY, or BURDEN (for details, see Kuna 2014b).

Table 3. The category of RESULT OF THERAPY

Code-No.	Code name	Examples
6.1	HEALING	
6.1.1	HEALING/ RECOVERY	(42) Azt írja Galenus, hogy ezzel *meggyógyul.* (AM I.5a) [Galen writes that with this, *he/she will recover.*]
		(43) Az kinek az szíve fáj. Vedd vizét a rozskenyérnek, és azt igyad, *meggyógyul.* (MOR 69) [Whose heart is aching, should drink the water of rye bread, and *will be healed.*]
6.1.2	PASSING OF THE DISEASE (PASSING, LEAVING BEHIND, EXITING, COMING OUT, FALLING, FORCING TO LEAVE, PULLING OUT, REMOVING, EXPELLING, THROWING AWAY, etc.)	(44) *elmúlatja* az nyavalyát (KP 51) [*it makes* the illness *disappear*]
		(45) *megszűnik* a fogfájás (MOR 214) [the toothache *stops*]
		(46) *megindul* folyása (HP 151) [its flow *starts*]
		(47) a kórság *elhagyja* (TOK 111) [the illness *leaves him*]
		(48) *kihullnak* férgek fogadból (MOR 214) [the worms *fall* from your teeth]
		(49) pestist *távoztat* (OK 62) [*forces* the plague *to leave*]
		(50) *megszabadul* arénától (KP 108) [*gets rid of* a disease of the kidney]
		(51) *elűzi* a melankóliát (KP 23) [*chases* melancholy *away*]

Table 3. (*continued*)

Code-No.	Code name	Examples	
		(52) hályogot *lehasít*	(HP 82)
		[*rips* the cataract]	
		(53) *megöli* az orbáncat	(OK 45)
		[*kills* the rash]	
		(54) *megállatja* ez az fájdalmat	(AM I.177a)
		[pain is *stopped*]	
6.1.3	POSITIVE CHANGE (CLEANSING, STRENGTHENING, DECORATION, BRIGHTENING, WARMING, COOLING, MELTING, DRYING, SOFTENING, EASING, CALMING ETC.)	(55) *kitisztítja* a hurutot	(HP 26)
		[*washes away* the rheum]	
		(56) az szívet *megerősíti*	(AM I.124a)
		[it *strengthens* the heart]	
		(57) *újulást szerez*	(KP 23)
		[it *brings renewal*]	
		(58) ember orczáit *ékesíti*	(HP 82)
		[it *decorates* one's cheeks]	
		(59) szemet *megvilágosítja*	(MOR 232)
		[it makes the eyes *brighter*]	
		(60) *melegíti* gyomrát	(HP 34)
		[it *warms* the stomach]	
		(61) *meglágyítja* a fájdalmat	(OK 34)
		[it *softens* the pain]	
		(62) fő fájdalmat *könnyebbít*	(HP 82)
		[it *eases* major pains]	
6.2	FATAL OUTCOME	(63) kétségtelenül az olyan *meghal*	(AM I.109b)
		[without doubt such a one will *die*]	
		(64) hamar *meghal*	(AM I. 137a)
		[he will *die* soon]	
		(65) hátgerinc csontnak a kiesése igen *halálos*	(AM V.23a)
		[the displacement of the spine is very *lethal*]	

4.1.7   *Authenticity/credibility – the source of persuasion*

Persuasion and the creation of a positive attitude rely strongly on some source of evidence, shared in the form of a given representation of knowledge. Behind this is the general feature of the functioning of language that speakers may choose to represent the world from varying perspectives (for *perspectivization*, cf. Sanders and Spooren 1997). In the categories discussed above, the perspective of the speaker (as a possessor of knowledge on healing) typically prevails, although this may be made explicit to varying degrees (*subjectivization*). However, with regard to TESTEDNESS, we have also encountered strategies of persuasion anchored to a third person (cf.

(24), (25)). In such cases, the subject of consciousness rests with someone other than the speaker (*perspectivization*). Both subjectivization and perspectivization can furnish sources of AUTHENTICITY.

In both cases, the sociocultural context of medicine and the related text traditions play a dominant role. In the data, both appeals to God's will and features of classical medical texts are frequently found. As far as persuasion is concerned, the main feature of this kind is references to Greco-Roman and Arabic authors, which reflects an integral part of scholastic thinking (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998). Although critical voices were increasingly common, famous classical doctors were often considered infallible even as late as the 16th century. A vivid example is the following remark by Professor Dubois-Sylvius from Paris: "the human body may have changed since Antiquity, but Galen cannot have been wrong" (Benke 2007: 107).

The medical texts under investigation provide ample examples of references to famous doctors and other dignitaries. Connected to viewpoint, these linguistic representations can be analysed as quotatives. Quotatives are "elements that attribute some information expressed in their context, to some person or 'personal entity' thus identified as the source of this information, thereby evoking the idea of a speech act relationship between the source and the information" (Vanderbiesen 2016: 46). With quotatives, a speaker underlines the involvement of another source, which can serve the construal of persuasive intent (for other examples of quotatives presented in this volume, see chapters by Hopkinson and Dontcheva-Navrátilová).

In my study of AUTHENTICITY, I analyzed almost 100 personal names. The most popular foreign doctors and philosophers were Galen, Hippocrates, and Dioscorides. In addition, Avicenna, Aristotle, Matthiolus, and a host of other healers and scientists are also mentioned by the authors. These names typically serve a persuasive function, reinforcing the impression that a given medicine or cure has a positive effect.

The most frequent linguistic construal for specifying the source of evidence is direct speech (personal name + *mondja* [says], *írja* [writes], occasionally *dicséri* [praises], cf. (69), (70)). Sometimes, the main clause functions as a parenthetical remark. Notes on the author's attitude to the truth of the proposition were also common (cf. (19), (66)).

Mention of Hungarian doctors and aristocrats can also contribute to the establishment of CREDIBILITY, typically with the patterns *valaki próbálta* [somebody tried it] (cf. (24), (25)) or *valakinek az orvossága* [so and so's cure] (cf. (71)). Generic references were also sometimes made to healers and their experiences (cf. (72), (73)).

Besides using personal names as anchors, the source of authenticity can also come from a religious domain. In the era under study, both scientifically-oriented medicine and folk healing were influenced by the view that God was the main doctor of body and soul, holding the key to recovery. Examples most frequently profile God's will (cf. (74), (75)) and the patient's faith (cf. (27)).

Table 4. The category of AUTHENTICITY/CREDIBILITY

Code-No.	Code name	Examples
7.1	THE RECIPE'S AUTHOR (1. PRS.SG.)	(66) Ez orvosságot *én, Váradi Lencsés György megpróbáltam*, és igen igaznak találtatott. (AM I.77b) [*I, Váradi Lencsés György* tried this cure on *myself* and found it to be very true.]
		(67) *Magam* probál*tam* dolog. (KP 5) [A *self-tested* thing.]
7.2	SPECIFIC FAMOUS PERSON (3.PERS.SG.)	(68) *Esterházy Pál Uram Revaj Tamást* ezzel gyógyította meg. (MOR) [*Mr. Pál Esterházy* has cured Tamás Revaj with this.]
		(69) Ezt is *Plinius* írja, ez penig *híres doctor* igen. (MBM 411) [*Pliny* writes, and he is a very famous doctor.]
		(70) *Galenus* azt mondja. (OLO 580) [*Galen* says.]
		(71) *Adorján doktor* orvossága. (AM I.96b) [*Doctor Adorján's* cure.]
7.3	GENERAL/ NON-SPECIFIC PERSON	(72) És azt mondják az bölcs *fizikusok*. (AM I.277b) [And that is what the wise *physicians* say.]
		(73) Ezt *egy vénasszony* próbálta (AM I. 295b) [This was tried by *an old woman*.]
7.4	REFERENCE TO GOD	(74) *Isten*nek akaratjábúl bizonnyal használ. (OLO 1252) [*God* willing, this will certainly help.]
		(75) megjavul, ha *Isten* akarja (MBM 200) [he/she'll be cured with *God's* will]
		(76) reá nem ragad az mirigy (ha *Isten* is akarja) (AM III.28b) [he/she won't contract the plague (*God* willing)]

An author may use a variety of sources (including other people's experience or knowledge and even God's will) the basis of persuasive communication. It is interesting that anchoring the message to a third person necessarily implies that the author's responsibility for the truth of the proposition is diminished. However, this has no negative impact on the efficacy of persuasion, since the speaker has transferred the subject of consciousness to a person of high professional or social prestige, or even to God.

The deferral of responsibility can also be viewed as a kind of strategy of detachment originating from the author (as a *referential center*, cf. Sanders and Spooren 1997). Next in the hierarchy are aristocrats and doctors known to the author (and probably to the addressees as well), whose prestige, presumed reliability, and (more or less verifiable) personal experience make for a convincing effect. The expressions

concerned typically instantiate the pattern *valaki próbálta* [so-and-so tried it], reflecting a more direct experience than facts about famous doctors who are remote in place and time. The latter type of information is harder to double-check or verify and its representation is also less direct, with *valaki mondja/írja* [so-and-so writes it/says it] evoking the most typical conceptualizations. Finally, the largest distance and the smallest degree of "verifiability" characterize references to God, who may nevertheless appear as the main source of certainty about the success of recovery. As a general rule, it can be observed that as the distance from the author increases, his responsibility for the shared information decreases. Still, this has no detrimental effect on convincing power, due to the high prestige or social status of those used as sources of evidence.

In addition to external sources, the author's explicitly construed self-representations were examined. The presence of an EGO can be traced in almost every writing but only at a moderate level. Apart from first-person singular personal pronouns, the dominant linguistic markers were verbal inflections for person and number. The relevant verbs typically belong to the conceptual sphere of communication (*mond* [say], and *ír* [write]). The use of first-person plural forms was comparatively sporadic.

4.1.8   *Emotional involvement*

The direct address of the patient, appealing to patient's will and faith, i.e. making a certain kind of emotional impact, can be evidenced in the recipes. The following categories fall under the heading of EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT: making an impact on the patient's faith and emotions, whether positive or negative; or creating a positive or a negative emotional effect by addressing, or involving the patient. A negative effect usually involves the elaboration of fatality or incurability (cf. (79), (80)).

Table 5. The category of EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Code-No.	Code name	Examples
8.1	POSITIVE EMOTIONAL EFFECT	(77) *próbáld meg, hogy elég hajad lészen* (HP 36) [*try it so that you'd have enough hair*]
		(78) *Barátom, nem tréfa ez. Ezt observáld bár meg. Köszvényes barátom, próbáld meg, nem hagysz hazugságban, ebben is, hidd el bár.* (MBM 840) [*My friend, this is no joke. Observe this. My gouty friend, try it, you won't find me lying about this either; believe me.*]
8.2	NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL EFFECT	(79) mert ez igen *halálos* fű (AM I.292b) [because this is a very *lethal* herb]
		(80) Agyvelőnek penig *semmi úgy nem árt*, mint az emésztetlenség. (AM I.2a) [*Nothing is as bad* for the brain as indigestion.]

5.   Conclusion

It is safe to declare that medical recipes from the 16th and 17th centuries exhibit numerous devices or strategies that aim to persuade the patient or reinforce the patient's faith in healing. This can be investigated from the perspective of persuasive intent (Jucker 1997) and from the present-day perspective of interpretation. Persuasion in recipes was usually coupled with positive value attribution; negative outcomes were markedly rare. In negative phrasing (*kétség* [doubt'], *soha* [never]), there was usually polarity, such that even negative phrases conveyed a positive meaning.

The analysis shed light on the fact that persuasion is strongly dependent on the period, context, and genre (cf. Halmari and Virtanen 2005). The authors of 16th and 17th century recipes were driven by helpfulness and benevolence when they compiled the medical knowledge of the era and made it accessible. There were no underlying egocentric or financial motives or manipulative intentions behind the communication taking place during the healing process. There is also evidence that the ethos of the era, the traditional generic text traditions, and the sociocultural background all left their mark on the applied communicational strategies. Faith, trust in the word of famous doctors and members of the aristocracy, and the particular kind of healing are all represented in the analyzed texts.

As the analysis showed, doctors deem persuasion and the creation or reinforcement of a positive attitude in the patient important, as well as the provision of information about the therapy or herbs. Numerous notions attest to this idea, which have been introduced here as encoded categories. For instance, the categories GENERAL POSITIVE VALUE, INTENSITY, TESTEDNESS, CERTAINTY, THE TIME FACTOR, THE RESULT OF THERAPY, CREDIBILITY, and THE EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT can be elaborated. Both the examples and the analysis confirm that individual codes are often applied in combination with others (Kuna 2018)

The research necessarily has some limitations. One major limitation is that the investigation depends on historical data, and thus cannot present persuasion in its "vivid" context and complexity. The analysis is only able to reconstruct the inferred intent of persuasion. However, the research does show that it is worth using the tools and methods of historical pragmatics when describing complex functions of language use such as persuasion in historical periods. The analysis can be supported by present-day investigations of persuasion in a medical context, highlighting similar strategies and different conceptual construals (cf. Varga 2011). In short, this kind of research allows one to analyse medical language use in its historical evolution, building bridges between the present and the past.

The present study made it possible to uncover the persuasive patterns of the 16th and 17th century Hungarian medical discourse domain. In order to do so,

a larger range in medical text tradition and, consequently, more varied roles of addressees will need to be included in the investigation. The analysis can serve the foundation for a history and development of persuasive strategies in medical communication, or it can be built upon in comparative studies if further research is published with regard to other cultures and eras.

Acknowledgements

Sources

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KP = Váradi Vásárhelyi, István: *Kis patika* 1628. In: Gizella Hoffmann (1989), pp. 211–225.

MBM = Becskereki Váradi Szabó, György: *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség* [1668–1703] In: Gizella Hoffmann (1989), pp. 341–434.

MOR = *Mindenféle orvosságoknak rendszedésse* 2nd part of the 17th c. In: Gizella Hoffmann (1989), pp. 459–472.

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Construction of the speaker's persuasive image in public discourse
Classical rhetoric revisited

Janja Žmavc

This chapter presents Greco-Roman conceptualizations of rhetorical ethos in order to show that classical rhetoric, when properly reconstructed in the framework of its (relevant) sociocultural context, can fruitfully contribute to the research and analysis of persuasive strategies in contemporary public discourse. A reconstruction of a model for analysis of rhetorical ethos is proposed and applied to selected contemporary data. The analysis presents a case study of persuasion through character in formal addresses of Slovenian Prime Minister-designates. Two issues are explored in particular: (1) the relevance of rhetorical ethos as a persuasive strategy and (2) the characteristics of rhetorical ethos in these speeches.

Keywords: classical rhetoric, means of persuasion, rhetorical ethos, authority, argumentation, public discourse, political speech

1.   Introduction: *Rhetoric* and *persuasion*

As renowned literary critic Wayne C. Booth pointed out in his book *The Rhetoric of Rhetoric: The Quest for Effective Communication*, it is "hard to think of any academic subject with a history more confusing than that of rhetorical studies" (Booth 2004: 1). According to Booth, rhetoric has faced perpetual ups and downs with regard to its reputation, and these changes are more numerous and more intense than with any other discipline. Regardless of the well-known problematic nature of evaluating rhetoric through different time periods, one can surely agree with Booth's assertion that even today "the quality of our lives, especially the ethical and communal quality, depends to an astonishing degree on the quality of our rhetoric" (Booth 2004: xii). It is a widely-known and well-researched fact within disciplines from the field of (public) discourse studies that the tradition of rhetoric, as the art of successful public persuasion, which dates back to ancient Greece and Rome, has

dominated the entire European (and "Western") culture to the present day. In spite of its highly turbulent development and a variety of new disciplines that focus on the study of public discourse, rhetoric nevertheless remains a fundamental tool of public activity and continues to represent a relevant theoretical perspective in the field of language and communication research.[1]

This chapter explores classical rhetoric as a universal cross-cultural strategy of communication (cf. Kennedy 1998) and more specifically as a system of concepts and principles of persuasion that are anchored in the sociocultural context of public discourse in the Greco-Roman period. A complex system of classical rhetoric was formed gradually over a period of at least 600 years (i.e. from the first proto-theoretical works of Greek logographers and sophists in the sixth century BC to Quintilian's comprehensive work in the first century AD) and in the framework of a broad Greco-Roman sociocultural context, including aspects of their intercultural interactions, in which theoretical findings went together with a rich everyday oratory practice. As such, classical rhetoric became the prevailing communication model in ancient Greece and Rome and represented a universal educational model that was not limited to the period of antiquity, but has had a massive influence on education, public discourse, and certain sociocultural presuppositions in Europe and North America even to the present day (cf. Conley 1990).

The main goal of this chapter is to show how classical rhetoric, when properly reconstructed in the framework of its (relevant) sociocultural context, can fruitfully contribute to the research and analysis of persuasive strategies in contemporary public discourse. It can also offer insight into the sociocultural presuppositions that a speaker must take into account when attempting to persuade an audience in a particular cultural society. Such a perspective embraces a general linguistic pragmatic perspective of rhetoric as a persuasive language use (cf. Verschueren 1999: 46) and corresponds to specific approaches to the study of persuasion as an interactive process in which linguistic choices are made with a specific aim (cf. Östman 2005: 192). Furthermore, as an interactive process, persuasion is "affected by the situational and sociocultural context in which it takes place, and at the same time it helps construct that very context" (Virtanen and Halmari 2005: 3). In terms of classical rhetoric, these aspects can also be recognized within Aristotle's concept of technical means of persuasion – *pisteis entechnoi* (i.e. means that can be found with the rhetorical *techne* or method) and is traditionally known in the form of its subdivisions: (1) as *ethos* – the construction of a speaker's character or trustworthy image, (2) *pathos* – strategies for evoking an emotional response,

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1.   The large corpus of bibliography related to the tradition of research of historical, theoretical, and practical dimensions of rhetoric, includes two recent handbooks in which the latest advances in rhetorical scholarship can be found: *The SAGE Handbook of Rhetorical Studies* (Lunsford, Wilson and Eberlz 2009) and *Handbook of Argumentation Theory* (van Eemeren et al. 2014).

and (3) *logos* – strategies of argumentation (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1355b35–1356a4). In the persuasive process, ethos, pathos, and logos represent three inextricably connected approaches to the persuasive language use in which the (rhetorical) situation is linked together with the speaker and the audience as well as the subject. The dynamics of activation of these approaches in the given discourse (i.e. which approach is foregrounded as a persuasive strategy) and the nature of their linguistic and non-linguistic manifestation (e.g. patterns of word choices, explicit/implicit choices, etc.) depend on the wider sociocultural and situational context in which the discourse is anchored. In other words, whether the speaker, in their persuasive intention, predominantly uses strategies presenting their own character, focuses more on the elements of emotional appeal, or largely relies on means of argumentation depends on the nature of the audience, the concrete situation in which they are speaking, and the moral and social norms of a given society, all of which shape communication practices in a particular time and place.[2]

   This chapter focuses on various conceptualizations of ethos in classical rhetoric, attempting to reconstruct an extended model of rhetorical ethos with the objective of applying this model as a tool for analyzing the use of persuasive strategies in contemporary public discourse. To identify strategies of character presentation, the term *ethotic strategies* is adopted, referring to the linguistic manifestation of a speaker's attempt to persuade through the representation of a trustworthy image.[3] In order to reconstruct a model that could reveal different contextual dimensions of rhetorical ethos as a persuasive strategy as well as the dynamics of their (linguistic) mobilization in the analyzed discourse, Virtanen and Halmari's definition of the term persuasion is used:

> …[p]ersuasion is defined as those linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behavior of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree, the beliefs and behaviors of persuaders included.
>
> (Virtanen and Halmari 2005: 5)

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2.   Acknowledging the cognitive approach to persuasion as one of the main directions in this volume, a reader might find some similarities between the above-described rhetorical perspective of speakers influencing the audience and the research field of "intersubjectivity" in cognitive linguistics, particularly Verhagen's (2007) idea of the communicative function of languge use and the notion of argumentativity, which draws from Anscombre and Ducrot's theory of argumentation in the language system. As Verhagen (2007: 10) says: "[…] engaging in cognitive coordination comes down to, for the speaker/writer, an attempt to *influence* someone else's thoughts, attitudes, or even immediate behavior. For the addressee it involves finding out what kind of influence it is that the speaker/writer is trying to exert, and deciding to go along with it or not" (original emphasis).

3.   The adjective "ethotic" is mostly used in theory of argumentation, in reference to *ethotic arguments* (cf. Brinton 1986). The idea of this chapter is to extend the meaning of "ethotic" to all strategies of persuasion, argumentative and non-argumentative, that explicitly or implicitly contain elements of character presentation.

Since the model of rhetorical ethos in this chapter is grounded in historically based conceptualizations of the character and social role of the speaker, a brief outline of the notion of persuasion in antiquity is in order. The term *persuasion* comes from the Greek verb *peítho*, which in the broadest sense would correspond to "get (someone) to acquiesce in (some belief or action)" (Buxton 1982: 49).[4] In this respect, the notion of persuasion in ancient Greece and the contemporary social science definition of persuasion are relatively close, as they both acknowledge the idea of influencing someone's thoughts. Daniel J. O'Keefe, a leading scholar in the field of persuasive communication, defines persuasion as: "[…] a successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom" (O'Keefe 2002: 5). In ancient Greece, the importance of a connection between persuasion and communication based on a dialogical perspective, which the second part of O'Keefe's definition seems to imply, is evident as well. In the sociocultural setting of classical Athens (i.e. the fifth century BC in particular), public argument, debate, and disputation represented communication practices of great value, along with special types of persuasive discourse which were formed in the context of various social and political structures (i. e. courts, political offices, religious institutions, etc.). Indeed, it is to the Greek conception of *peitho* as a verbal activity in sociopolitical life that the formation of persuasion as an aspect of behavior in a civilized community and the discipline of classical rhetoric should look for their origin.

2.   Rhetorical ethos – a theoretical background

Due to various conceptions of persuasion through character presentation in antiquity and a long tradition of the discipline of rhetoric, contemporary research of rhetorical ethos varies from historical and theoretical approaches to practical instances and possible approaches for analysis (cf. Žmavc 2012: 181–182). A common characteristic of contemporary perspectives is the priority that is assigned to Aristotle's conception of persuasion through character. This holds especially for theories of argumentation (cf. Brinton 1986; van Eemeren and Grootendorst 2004; Walton, Reed and Macagno 2008), as well as for research fields that combine argumentation with other discourse perspectives (cf. Leff 2003, 2009; Tindale 1999, 2004; Amossy 2001, 2009).[5]

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4.   *Peithó* as a noun refers to (1) the proper name of the goddess *Peitho*, (2) a common name of the concept and activity of "persuasion". However, Greek notions of *peítho/peithó* exceed the bald equation with persuasion because of their many denotations, which varied from the sacred to the secular, from personification to abstraction, together with a range of positive and negative connotations. For a thorough analysis of the concept of *peítho/peithó/Peithó*, see Buxton (1982).

5.   For problematic aspects in combining different rhetorical traditions of ethos see Žmavc 2012.

Since rhetorical ethos as a multifaceted concept significantly extends over Aristotle's conception, let us outline its core elements, i.e. those that can be reconstructed from the Greco-Roman rhetorical system. As a rhetorical strategy, ethos in the broadest sense denoted an effective presentation of a speaker's character. The concept of character was an entirely pragmatic category in Greco-Roman society. It was focused on the individual's actions (i.e. not their personal, private, or inner world) and included social categories (e.g. origin, status, occupation, and political orientation). In the context of rhetoric, the effective presentation of such characteristics enabled the construction of a trustworthy and socially acceptable image of the speaker, which directly contributed to the persuasiveness of the contents of the speech. Based on the variety of preserved sources that contain ancient oratorical practices and theoretical perspectives, at least six different conceptions of rhetorical ethos can be identified in the Greco-Roman rhetorical system. The notion of ethos embodied: (a) a discursive construction of the speaker's credibility (cf. Aristotle *Rh.* 1378a6–20; 1356a8–13), (b) a speaker's preexisting moral character (cf. Plato *Gorg.* 503d-e; 504d5-e3, Isocrates *Antid.* 278), (c) a strategy to influence the emotions of the audience (cf. *Rh. Al.* 1431b9–19, 1436a33–39, etc.), (d) a speaker's preexisting social authority (cf. Cic. *De sen.* 61.7.10, *Brut.* 111.4–112.1; Quint. *Inst.* 5.12.10.1–4; Gell. *N. A.* 4.18.3–5), (e) a combined concept, which included different Greek and traditional Roman perspectives (cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.115–116, 2.182, 2.212; Cic. *De or.* 2.183; Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.1).

With the above outlined identification of different conceptions of rhetorical ethos, let us focus a little on another characteristic of the notion of ethos which arises from sociocultural differences between ancient Greece and Rome. The main difference between the Greek and Roman conceptions of ethos can also be understood as the relation between a constructed and a preexisting category (cf. Kennedy 1963, 1972; May 1988; Wisse 1989). Broadly speaking, the goal of a Greek orator was to "discursively" create a trustworthy image where his preexisting image did not significantly interfere with the presentation of arguments, which were typically based on probability. In contrast, an orator from the Roman archaic period (3rd and 2nd century BC) would much rather have used ethotic strategies that were based on his preexisting authority, as they also represented the main part of his argumentation. The reasons for such differences can be explained within two different types of public address: *agonistic rhetoric* and the *rhetoric of consensus* (Kennedy 1998). They originated in two different social orders – the Greek democratic *polis* and the early Roman aristocratic *res publica*. Agonistic rhetoric was closely associated with competitiveness and found its meaning in lively Greek political and judicial debates.[6] Early (i.e. traditional) Roman rhetoric represented a conservative and

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6. For an overview and a contextualisation of the Greek "democratic agonism" see Kalyvas (2009).

corrective force where the authority of the speaker was foregrounded and persuasive strategies were used in order to ensure a consensus. Consequently, the predominant persuasive strategy was the use of the argument from authority (i.e. *ethotic argument*), which served to confirm a viewpoint or to prevent objections, together with the extensive use of other means of character presentation for emotional appeal.[7] As classical rhetoric represents a system of various concepts formed in different periods of the Greco-Roman era, the inclusion of a sociocultural perspective of the role of the speaker's character can fruitfully complement the concept of rhetorical ethos. With a distinction between "agonistic" and "consensual" representations of the role of the speaker, a contextual dimension for investigating persuasion strategies opens, thus enabling an insight into particular sociocultural aspects of the speaker's use of ethotic strategies that belong to the realm of moral and social norms of a certain society.

Bearing in mind different ancient conceptions of rhetorical ethos and a difference between Greek and Roman sociocultural specifics of character presentation, the reconstruction of a model for analysis can be proposed. This reconstruction is based on a definition of rhetorical ethos in which its classical rhetorical and linguistic pragmatic features are combined: *rhetorical ethos is a strategy of presentation of a speaker's character; characteristics and persuasive function of ethos are anchored in the context of moral and social norms of a certain society and are activated in language use.* The reason for including a linguistic pragmatic perspective into a definition of rhetorical ethos is to provide a framework for a more thorough analysis of the character presentation in the given discourse. This perspective enables a better comprehension of rhetorical ethos on the level of the specific linguistic strategies used, as it provides the toolkit for the analysis of contextual aspect of their use. The model for analysis of rhetorical ethos is partially based on Verschueren's linguistic pragmatic approach (cf. Verschueren 2012) and proposes an investigation of several interrelated tasks that include specific linguistic strategies based on classical rhetorical notions as well as features of contextual properties of character presentation:

1. Investigation of the wider social, political, cultural, and historical context from the aspect of the speaker's social role.
    –   What social relations and values in the given rhetorical discourse shape the speaker's use of rhetorical ethos as a persuasive strategy?[8]

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7. According to the above-mentioned ancient notion of character, both traditional Roman "argumentative" and "non-argumentative" ethotic strategies were based on the speaker's social status, age, experience, and influence in public life, as well as his wealth, family reputation, and speaking skills. For a detailed discussion of ancient agonistic and consensual rhetoric and ethos, see Žmavc (2009, 2012).

8. The research question refers to the different social roles that speakers can adopt in a certain society and that have an influence on their use of ethotic strategies. In other words, the speaker's

- What are the predominant elements that relate to the investigated social relations and values and constitute the speaker's trustworthy image in the given discourse?[9]

2. Investigation of specific linguistic strategies of character presentation with regard to the nature of the given rhetorical discourse (i.e. agonistic or consensual):
   - *topoi* of prologue and epilogue as subject matter starting points for character presentation regarding the arrangement[10]
   - figures of speech as ethotic strategies[11]
   - ethotic arguments[12]

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linguistic choices that are relevant for character presentation are always anchored in the wider context. In classical rhetoric, the use of *ethotic* strategies depended on the sociopolitical situation: in Greek *polis*, the role of the speaker's preexisting image in a persuasive process was relatively small; in Roman *res publica*, the speaker's image reflected a strong connection with his social status and authority and therefore highly influenced the persuasive process in terms of foregrounding the *preexisting ethos*.

9. The research questions refer to the identification of constitutive elements of *rhetorical ethos*: (1) the *discursive construction* of a trustworthy image (practical wisdom, virtue, and goodwill), and (2) applying features of *pre-discursive (preexisting) authority* (e.g. reputation, influence, power, social position, and competence).

10. The notion of *topoi* refers to "ready-made arguments" (cf. Rubinelli 2009: 101–109) with the function of producing a certain effect in the audience. In *Rhetoric for Herennius* (1.5, 2.30–31) a systematic presentation of *topoi* shows their ethotic/pathotic function. *Topoi* of prologue are particularly related to presentation of (1) the speaker's character (*a nostra persona*), (2) the character of the adversaries (*ab adversariorum*), (3) the audience (*ab auditorum*), and (4) the main topic of the speech (*a rebus ipsis*). *Topoi* of epilogue are used for (1) amplification of the standpoint (*amplificatio*) with reference to authorities (*ab auctoritate*) or persons relevant to the case (*ad quos pertineant res*), and (2) arousing emotions by presenting the future destiny of the speaker (*oratoris fortuna*).

11. Classical types of word choice for character presentations mostly belong to well-known figures of thought (*e.g. litotes, anamnesis, adhortatio, adynaton, apagoresis, energia, enargia, licentia, praeteritio*). If figures are seen "as better but not unique ways to achieve certain discourse functions" (Fahnestock 1999: 23) any figure can represent a linguistic manifestation of a character presentation. It would simply be up to the rhetorical situation and the speaker to determine the most effective or persuasive manner in terms of presentation of their image.

12. Two types of ethotic argument are known in classical rhetoric: (1) I am A, therefore it is not probable that I would commit X; (2) My adversary is A, therefore you must feel B. For modern research and conceptualizations of ethotic argument as a type of *ad hominem* argument see Walton (1998)

3. Analysis: Towards characteristics of rhetorical ethos in Slovenian political rhetoric

In order to demonstrate the usefulness of the model for rhetorical ethos analysis, a study of the use of the strategies of character presentation in formal addresses of prime minister-designates in the Slovenian National Assembly (2004–2008) is presented. The main objective of the analysis is to determine (1) the relevance of rhetorical ethos as a persuasive strategy for a speaker in particular rhetorical situation and (2) the predominant nature of rhetorical ethos in these speeches (i.e. whether it is represented more as a constructed or a preexisting category). Two speeches have been chosen, in which two candidates for the position of the Prime Minister of Slovenia (Janez Janša in 2004 and Borut Pahor in 2008) appeared with the Slovenian National Assembly at the first extraordinary session after the national election.[13]

In terms of rhetorical genre (or a type of discourse), the speeches of Prime Minister-designates belong to the deliberative discourse. However, due to the occasion, many elements of an inaugural address are present. Thus these speeches demonstrate a fusion of epideictic and deliberative genres (cf. Hall Jamieson and Kohrs Campbell 1985) and to some extent resemble presidential inaugural speeches.[14] The corpus of Slovenian Primer Minister-designates' speeches reveals that they represent a standardized form of address.[15] Delivered on ceremonial occasion (i.e. at the first extraordinary session after the national election), they tend to fuse past and future in present contemplation, affirm or praise the shared principles that will guide the incoming government, emphasize traditional values, employ a dignified style, and amplify or reaffirm what is already known and believed (cf. Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson 1985: 395). Particularly in the introduction and the epilogue, the candidate addresses the audience in such an epideictic manner; in the body of the speech, the future government's program is outlined and contextualized according to the current economic and political situation. However, with regard to the rhetorical situation (to whom, where, and under what circumstances), the role of the Prime Minister-designate enables the speaker not to present themselves merely as a formal announcer of, say, articles of the coalition contract. Apart from

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13. All examples from the analyzed speeches were translated into English by the author. Underlines in the quoted examples are the author's as well. Speeches (as a part of the session transcriptions) are available at the Slovenian National Assembly web site: https://www.dz-rs.si/wps/portal/Home

14. Aristotle also says that praise and deliberation are a part of a common species (*eidos*) who differ only in the form of expression (cf. Arist. *Rh*. 1367b39–41).

15. In the history of the independent Republic of Slovenia (1990–2015), there have been nine addresses by Slovenian Prime Minister-designates.

coalitional promises the speaker can also present their individual traits, views, areas, and strategies that they are going to and/or wish to apply when leading the government, thus making an attempt to establish credit with the audience.[16] Since the formal address of the Prime Minister-designate is publicly broadcast, it represents an ideal place for the introduction of rhetorical ethos as an important persuasive strategy aiming at persuading not only fellow politicians in the National Assembly but a wider audience (i.e. the nation). As will be shown, both speakers employ this strategy in order to establish a closer relation with their audience.

In the following analysis, the focus shall only be on the prologue and epilogue, since these are the two focal points in the speech in which the speaker most commonly and overtly uses such strategies (cf. Corbett and Connors 1999: 73). Among their main rhetorical functions are: (a) establishing credit with the audience and/or to disposing the audience favorably toward themselves (prologue); (b) renewing and/or reinforcing speaker's trustworthy image that has been presented through the speech (epilogue).

Let us now present a few contextual starting points of both speeches and speakers that are relevant for rhetorical ethos analysis.

1. Janez Janša's Prime Minister-designate speech: After three consecutive wins of mandates by the left-wing coalition in 2004, the right-wing coalition won the parliamentary election and Janez Janša, the leader of the right-wing Slovenian Democratic Party, became the Prime Minister-designate. The main political events in that period were Slovenia's entrance into EU and NATO.[17] Janša's speech is long (around 60 minutes). At the structural level as well as at the level of content, he presents topics in a somewhat more intertwined (yet coherent) manner. His presentations of standpoints and descriptions of people and actions might be defined as conventional (without deviations from common and widely acceptable formulations), reserved, however, without an indication that there is a possibility of refuting them. He demonstrates a calm and moderately elevated style, which can be seen in longer sentences and less frequent use of strategies for intensive arousal of emotions.

2. Borut Pahor's Prime Minister-designate speech: In 2008, a coalition of left-wing parties won the parliamentary election, and Borut Pahor, the leader of the left-wing Social Democrat party became the Prime Minister-designate. The main circumstances of his speech are related to the problems of global crisis,

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16. On the importance of constructing a view of a speaker as a certain kind of person in deliberations, see Arist. *Rh.* 1377b25–27, 29–31.

17. Later in 2008, as a head of national government, Janša also took over the Presidency of the Council of the EU.

which became an inevitable topic for every politician at that time. Consequently, the question of dealing with the global crisis represents the main point at issue of Pahor's speech. Pahor's speech was almost half as long as Janša's (almost 35 minutes), he treats the topics successively and with a very clear, sometimes rather rigid structuring. He presents his own standpoints in a predominantly personal light and often presupposes possible refutations (at the explicit level as well). The style of Pahor's speech can be defined as dynamic and motivated, in some parts as an intimate and emotional means of expression, with the use of shorter sentences and explicit linguistic strategies for emotional arousal.

It is evident from both speeches that the audience was familiar with their form, arrangement, and speakers. There are no informative elements of this kind in the prologues, and the speakers address the audience as commonly known public figures with a new political role. The main persuasive goal of each speaker is thus to reinforce the impression that he is trustworthy enough to properly govern the country and to reassure the potentially worried citizens (who did not vote for his party) that, with him as Prime Minister, the country shall be in good hands. Nevertheless, the speeches of both candidates differ especially in the discursive construction of a trustworthy image, that is, in the use of rhetorical ethos. In reading both speeches, it is noticeable that the speakers are intensively adopting different ethotic strategies: some correspond to a *consensual* and the other to an *agonistic* nature of rhetorical discourse.

In Janez Janša's speech, emphasized elements of preexisting ethos can be recognized and the speaker uses them as a means of constructing his trustworthy image. Characteristics like reputation, influence, and experience are presented by connecting himself with reputable people, appealing to past events, and stressing his own merits from the period of the origins of the independent Slovenian state. The prologue is particularly interesting, since one can find strategic language use in the sense of the construction of a *collective ethos* that has an important role in building the speaker's image as a preexisting element, which is also outside the discourse. Janša starts his speech with a benevolent statement listing all of the candidates (including their names) for the position of the Prime Minister before him. He quotes segments from their speeches and presents their merits for the state in terms of what they had achieved as Prime Ministers (also from the opposition). He concludes this rather long presentation with the following words:

(1)   <u>Nastopi vseh dosedanjih kandidatov</u>, ki so bili predlagani in izvoljeni na funkcijo, na katero sem danes sam predlagan, <u>izražajo visoko stopnjo zavedanja</u> realnega položaja, v katerem se je država vsakokrat nahajala in <u>vsakič</u> je bilo mogoče ugotoviti, da <u>so bili v preteklem mandatu narejeni pomembni koraki naprej</u>.

> <u>The service of all my predecessors</u>, elected to the position to which I have been elected today, <u>reflects a high degree</u> of awareness of the real position this country was in every time, and <u>every single time</u> it could be seen that <u>major steps forward were made in the previous term</u>.

In the following segment, he efficiently prepares some space for himself among the company of successful Prime Ministers:

(2) <u>Vedno pa so bile tudi zamujene priložnosti</u> in kar nekaj <u>besed in načrtov</u>, ki so jih oblikovali moji predhodniki je še vedno <u>deloma ali v pretežni meri aktualnih</u>.
<u>However, there were always missed opportunities as well,</u> and more than a few <u>words and plans</u> formed by my predecessors that still, <u>partly or predominantly, remain unaddressed</u>.

He unequivocally softens the possibly controversial claim by acknowledging his predecessors and paying them a final compliment:

(3) Toda Slovenija se je po osamosvojitvi utrdila kot samostojna država, dosegla popolno mednarodno priznanje ter postala članica EU in Zveze Nato. <u>Vsem dosedanjim upravljavcem države gre za to nesporna zasluga</u> in velikokrat se niti ne zavedamo v celoti, kako <u>veliki koraki so bili pri tem doslej narejeni</u>.
Nevertheless, since proclaiming its independence, Slovenia has established itself as an independent state; it has achieved complete international recognition and become a member state of the EU and NATO. <u>Undisputed credit goes to all those who governed the country in the past</u>, often we are not even fully aware of how <u>large the steps are that have been taken so far</u>.

The speaker then complements his "list" (in the spirit of the Roman tradition of presenting the speaker's ethos, such a list roughly corresponds to *imagines maiorum*) by shedding some light on his own connections with important personalities and events from Slovenian political history. Here is an example:

(4) Ko sva se zgodaj spomladi leta 1991, že po opravljenem plebiscitu, s takratnim zunanjim ministrom Republike Slovenije Dimitrijem Ruplom vračala <u>iz tajnega neformalnega pogovora s pomočnikom generalnega sekretarja Nata, sva bila vesela že zato, ker sva na podlagi pogovora bolj presodila kot vedela</u>, da nas Nato ne bo oviral pri osamosvojitvi in da ob uveljavljanju plebiscitne volje Slovencev <u>ne bomo označeni kot, v Evropi in svetu, nevarni separatisti</u>.
When the Foreign Minister at the time, Dimitrij Rupel, and I were coming back from a <u>secret informal talk with the General Secretary of NATO's aid in the early spring of 1991, after the plebiscite, we were happy because based on this talk we presumed rather than knew</u> that NATO would not hinder us in

our attempts to become independent and that by carrying out the plebiscitary will of the Slovenian people we <u>would not be marked as dangerous separatists in Europe and the world</u>.

If the strategies of (1) the depiction of the predecessors' achievements in a fairly positive light, and (2) pointing out key moments in the history of Slovenia as an independent state (and in its current international status) are defined in the sense of positive social values that have a strategic value for the speaker, they can be defined as the *topoi of prologue* for creating his preexisting image. As ethotic strategies, these constructions correspond to the topical principle *topos a rebus ipsis*. Presented in such a way, they arouse affection at the level of indirect identification of audience with the presented persons and events. On the other hand, linking these topics, despite the well-known (ideological) differences between Janša and the former Prime Ministers, gives the impression of an act of goodwill. The speech is performed by the speaker who is known for his strong (right-wing) political orientation and regular verbal clashes with his opponents. Nevertheless, the new political situation, with Janša as the future Prime Minister, enables a successful connection for him with formerly irreconcilable persons, events, and ideas.

Such construction of rhetorical ethos in the prologue, in which *anamnesis* (i.e. the speaker's remembrance of the past) and *ethopoiia* (i.e. the portrayal of the speaker's character thorough his historic achievements and his benevolent attitude toward political opponents) stand out as the main linguistic strategies, presents the speaker as an undisputed authority. It also supports the main claim of his speech, namely, that this trustworthy image (in another place, Janša refers to it as 'competence'), which he is demonstrating as a speaker, is essential for the successful functioning of the country. Audience should believe him because he represents himself as a person with a historical legacy and shows respect and generosity toward his predecessors (who are also his political opponents). The persuasive effect of such ethos is above all in its range. The same elements of authority (based on the speaker's previous achievements) are repeated throughout the speech in the form of more or less unequivocal references. They reach rather successfully into the area of reasoning, in logos, when the typical rules of valid argumentation presuppose a different outcome and not the one to which ethos points, namely, that the given conclusion must be accepted solely because the argument(s) that support(s) it is (are) based on the speaker's *preexisting authority*.

After a long presentation of his image, Janša concludes that the future government and its president are faced with one of the most important terms in the history of the Slovenian state:

(5)   Danes lahko sooblikujemo politiko tako Nata kot Evropske unije. Lahko, ker imamo formalne možnosti, <u>moramo pa za to biti tudi sposobni</u>. Mandat, ki je po oktobrskih volitvah pred nami, je poln izzivov, ki jih najbrž presega samo še mandat prvega demokratičnega oblikovanja slovenske vlade. Prav lahko se nam že v tem mandatu ponudi možnost vodenja Evropske unije, <u>to bi bil velikanski izziv našim sposobnostim</u> in hkrati doslej največja priložnost, da se Slovenija na evropskem in svetovnem zemljevidu uveljavi.

Today we can co-form the policies of NATO and the EU. We can do that because we have formal opportunities to do it but <u>we must also be competent enough for it</u>. The term ahead of us, after the October election, is full of challenges and is probably only surpassed by the term of the first democratic formation of the Slovenian government. We may well be faced with the opportunity to lead the EU in this term, which would be an <u>enormous challenge for our competencies</u> and at the same time the best opportunity to date for Slovenia to establish itself on the European and the world map.

The following can be concluded from the quoted example: the tasks of the future government, to which Janša attributes such exigencies that its tasks cannot be compared to the terms of any previous governments except the first one (note that the speaker uses a strategy of favorable comparison, in which the chosen object of the comparison has extreme characteristics in order to stress to the highest degree what is being compared to it) will be successfully performed only if the country is led by competent people. Such an implication is not unusual in and of itself, since competence is deemed one of the virtues that people self-evidently link with a person's successful performance in any field. Nonetheless, how can the term "competence" be understood in the chosen speech? A preexisting image of the speaker formed within the speech, which extends beyond the speaker himself and his speech (and originates in the perspective of past events, people, and actions) offers one possibility. The function of such an image is to persuade the listeners about the competence of the future government and its president: reputation, influence, and experience (the Romans called these *auctoritas*) are the very virtues that can be seen in Janša's mosaic of images and events. Carefully chosen preexisting elements are used in the speech to build the speaker's image, and (in the given case) this image serves as an implicit reasoning to support his claims. As was shown in the theoretical illustration, this represents one of the fundamental characteristics of the *rhetoric of consensus*.

Borut Pahor's speech barely contains elements of preexisting ethos. Instead, he uses other ethotic strategies to create an image/impression of a competent speaker directly within the discourse. The linguistic manifestations for the construction of such *ethos* in his speech are in particular direct and personal address:

(6)   <u>Popolnoma se zavedam vseh odgovornosti, ki mi jih nalaga ta zahtevna naloga.</u>
<u>Trdno sem odločen, da upravičim vaše zaupanje in pričakovanje naših ljudi,</u>
<u>ki jih tu predstavljate. Zdaj ni zame nič pomembnejšega od tega, da nam vsem</u>
<u>skupaj uspe premagati prihajajoče ovire</u> in pospešeno nadaljevati pot Slovenije
v krog najbolj razvitih in solidarnih držav na svetu.
<u>I am completely aware of all the responsibilities bestowed upon me by this</u>
<u>demanding task</u>. <u>I am determined to justify your trust and the expectations of</u>
<u>our people that you represent here. Right now, there is nothing more impor-</u>
<u>tant to me than for all of us to succeed in overcoming future challenges</u> and to
agilely continue on the path that will bring Slovenia into the circle of the most
developed and solid countries in the world.

as well as word choices that emphasize personal characteristics, such as the explicit
stress of honesty (i.e. *licentia*):

(7)   <u>Naj povem zelo iskreno,</u> spoštovane kolegice in kolegi, jaz osebno imam veliko
več vprašanj, kot odgovorov.
<u>Let me tell you very honestly</u>, respected colleagues, personally, I have a lot more
questions than answers.

Pahor's speech is almost entirely constructed as an attempt to create an impression
of trustworthiness in the speech and with the speech. The impression of a trust-
worthy speaker is the key (implicit) argument of the speech: the listeners should
believe Pahor because he appears to be rational, honest, and well-intended while
giving the speech (i.e. in the way he presents the chosen topics).

   Such a construction of the speaker's image is a typical component of a discur-
sively constructed rhetorical ethos. As a persuasive strategy, it is also closer to the
principles of *agonistic rhetoric* since it renounces the persuasiveness of the argument
based on preexisting authority. Instead, it introduces persuasive techniques with
which the speaker's authority is just being established in the discourse. A frequent
use of *enumeratio* (i.e. dividing a thought or idea within two or more possibili-
ties that contain additional argumentation), which Pahor uses in an emphasized
manner four times, twice in the prologue and twice in the epilogue, illustrates this
nicely. Such threading of claims, structured around anaphorically used adverbs
(*first*, *second*, and *third*), can be explained in the context of the main functions of
the prologue and the epilogue: (1) a condensed presentation of new information
(prologue), and (2) a summary (epilogue). Their primary goal is to give listeners a
more efficient understanding and memorizing of the content. However, as linguistic
strategy, *enumeratio* can be understood in the context of a constructed rhetorical
ethos as well. When Pahor explains in the prologue that, as the Prime Minister, he
(and the government) will pursue the goal of enabling Slovenia's continuation on
the path "to the circle of the most developed and solid countries in the world", he

presupposes a possible counterargument argument, by saying that in the time of global recession this is "a great ambition" and refutes it by redefining it as "grandeur", and further supports it with the positive experience of Slovenia's attainment of independence. He offers no argument for the fact that a similar action would be successful in the current situation as well, but only states the conditions that must be met in his opinion in order to be successful:

(8) Velikopoteznost torej, ne drobnjakarstvo je mogoče samo pod dvema pogojema. <u>Prvič</u>. Da imamo glede prihodnosti jasne cilje in <u>drugič</u>, da zmoremo ustvariti potrebno politično in družbeno enotnost za njihovo doseganje.

Grandeur then, and not pettiness, can only be possible under two conditions. <u>First</u>, we need to have clear goals about our future, and <u>second</u>, we must be able to create the necessary political and social unity to achieve them.

Pahor then further divides the contents of the two conditions and introduces the same figure once more. This time he proposes two independent starting claims in order to be able to treat the controversial point of how the new government should deal with the problems of global recession in the same structured manner, but without a support of arguments, or "reasonable and rational grounds to accept the claim at issue" (Blair 2012: 71):

(9) Popolnoma jasno je, da je treba zdaj osredotočiti vse naše misli na strateške ukrepe Slovenije za reševanje problemov, ki so posledica finančnih in gospodarskih razmer v razvitem svetu, ki mu tudi mi pripadamo. […] Poudarjam pa dvoje. <u>Prvič</u>. Da se na nastalo situacijo ni mogoče odzivati z neko pasivno socialno politiko, ampak samo z aktivno razvojno politiko. <u>Drugič</u>. Da odgovorov na vprašanja, ki zadevajo torej nas in ves razviti svet ne moremo čakati od drugih, temveč jih moramo poiskati tudi sami.

It is absolutely clear that now we must focus all our thoughts on the strategic measures in Slovenia to solve the problems that are the consequence of financial and economic circumstances in the developed world to which we belong as well. […] I would like to emphasize two things. <u>First</u>, one cannot react to the current situation by means of passive social policies but only with active ones that are oriented towards development. <u>Second</u>, we cannot expect answers from others to the questions that concern us and the whole developed world, we must strive for them ourselves as well.

One can see from the quoted example that *enumeratio* as a linguistic strategy reflects the expression of the speaker's structured thoughts, which can imply a demonstration of his comprehension of the matter at issue and/or his wish to present the problem or topic to his listeners as clearly as possible at the level of "logic" and "reasonable connections". At the same time, *enumeratio* works as an efficient strategy for

creating an image of a rational, virtuous, and well-intended speaker who is trying to show his listeners that (1) he knows what he is talking about (by a structured wording of thoughts), (2) that his intentions are honest (a clear formulation can imply honesty of thoughts and views), and (3) that he is favorably disposed towards his listeners (since with such structuring he enables them to follow the content of what is being said more easily). Pahor's claims create an impression of clarity, probability, and a possible acceptance at the structural level due to the clear disposition, which is somewhat reminiscent of an argumentative set, although his claims are not a part of argumentation since they lack its key component: arguments.

4.   Conclusion

Concluding this outline of the characteristics of ethotic persuasive strategies in the addresses of the Slovenian Prime Minister-designates, it can be ascertained that rhetorical ethos presents a relevant persuasive strategy, which in accordance with the rhetorical tradition of the genre of political speech becomes foregrounded in the prologue and the epilogue. A closer qualitative comparison between the addresses of the Prime Minister-designates reflects the differences in the use of rhetorical ethos. In Janša's speech, several elements of *preexisting ethos* can be observed as foregrounded linguistic choices, while Pahor's speech is directed towards a *constructed ethos*. The identification of different ways of presenting the speaker's image with the help of the historically based model for analysis of rhetorical ethos is important because it enables a reconstruction of what, besides the (main) topic of the speech, the speakers (willingly or not) disclose about themselves, and how much, and partly also why they are doing it the way they are. The speaker might want to use one persuasive strategy to replace another (especially logos), or a rhetorical situation may enable them to achieve a closer connection between their preexisting or constructed image and the contents of the speech so that they can efficiently present themselves as trustworthy, which is a substantial reason for the audience to accept the viewpoints they are presenting. Rhetorical ethos is one of the most common forms of persuasion in public discourse and becomes a relevant category especially as a component of argumentation. By following Tindale's (1999: 74) view of the role of ethos in argumentation, that when the character presentation is well grounded and appealed to in a relevant way, ethotic arguments are legitimate and not fallacious, the model for analysis of rhetorical ethos, which includes rhetorical and linguistic pragmatic features, can also be recognized as a useful tool that enables an easier judgment of the validity of arguments. But that may be a starting point for another analysis.

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Persuasion in political discourse

Metaphor as a (de-)legitimizing strategy in leadership discourse

The language of crisis in Winston Churchill's Cold War speeches

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This chapter investigates Churchill's Cold War speeches as a case of how cognitive and corpus linguistics may serve as a useful tool for analyzing how political leaders legitimize their agendas via linguistic means. We find that Churchill's rhetoric makes extensive use of the source domains PERSON, JOURNEY, and BUILDING. The argumentative purpose is at least twofold. First, JOURNEY and BUILDING metaphors give positive value to the country's prospects. Second, the JOURNEY metaphor is found to co-occur with personification, with the purpose of seeking partnership between the United States and the United Kingdom. We conclude by discussing how political leaders linguistically represent and conceptually frame a crisis, especially via metaphorical means, convincing their people of the usefulness of certain proposals and thus legitimizing their agendas, with Churchill as a representative example.

Keywords: Cold War, crisis, leadership, legitimization, metaphor, Winston Churchill

1. Introduction

Leadership discourse is one of the best-researched genres of public discourse, as in most cases, political leaders communicate their values and norms to the entire country in order to persuade the citizens by trying to shape the collective will via a variety of linguistic and rhetorical means. Within the field of ideological research, the persuasive power of political leaders is a well-established area in Critical Discourse Analysis, hereafter CDA (e.g. Hart 2014; van Dijk 1995). Recent years have witnessed a further synergy between CDA and the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993, 2008; Goatly 1997; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kövecses 2002), which together form a more detailed theoretical

framework in CDA called Critical Metaphor Analysis, hereafter CMA. CMA has become one of the main frameworks for analyzing the persuasive effect of metaphor used to promote the ideological goals of the persuader (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Lu and Ahrens 2008; Crespo-Fernandez 2013). Metaphor within CMA is understood as a linguistic device which can shape reality and frame it according to the persuader's goals, thus connecting their ideological agenda with the addressee's already deep-entrenched worldviews and beliefs on the basis of the pathos invoked by the culturally embedded meanings of the metaphors (Charteris-Black 2005).

This chapter employs CMA in a case study of Winston Churchill's Cold War speeches between 1946 and 1955, the early stage of the Cold War crisis. The study is limited to the use of metaphors related to the domains of PERSON, JOURNEY, and BUILDING on the basis of the overall frequency of their occurrence as found in the data. Even though Churchill's rhetoric in general has already been investigated in this paradigm (Charteris-Black 2005; Crespo-Fernandez 2013), primary attention was paid to his speeches given during World War II with relatively limited attention to the Cold War period. We believe that the early stage of the Cold War should be perceived as a continuation of the previous crisis, as resources in Europe were scarce and the western democracies had identified a new enemy behind the "Iron Curtain", as Churchill called it in his 1946 speech. This enemy was the communist regime, whose reaction to the nuclear strikes in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the development of their own nuclear weapons, eventually leading to a nuclear arms race and what Churchill called "the policy of deterrents". In this chapter, we address metaphors as a persuasive device that helped Churchill de-legitimize the communist regime as well as those employed for legitimizing his own political goals. The legitimized political goals include a nuclear arms race, the increase of support for the United Nations organization, in which Churchill envisaged the United Kingdom would hold a strong position, and a strong alliance between the United Kingdom and the United States. We believe that the metaphors Churchill used helped him create the pattern of a specific type of political myth (Edelman 1977; Geis 1987) that laid the foundation for his persuasiveness. Accordingly, we suggest that due attention be devoted to his rhetoric during the Cold War period and the (de-)legitimizing strategies involved in the persuasion of the public through metaphors employed in his speeches.

2.   Analytical framework

The classical sense of metaphor perceived as a purely poetic device was challenged by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who claim metaphor to be a fundamental and pervasive element of human thinking. The motivation of conceptual metaphors is grounded in the everyday human experience and is, from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, "often referred to as the experiential basis or motivation of a metaphor" (Kövecses 2002: 69). Our human experience results in the creation of sets of background knowledge, which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call *source domain* and *target domain*. The source domain is typically the more concrete of the two sets of concepts, whereas the target domain is typically more abstract. The linguistic manifestations of metaphors are revealed in a number of possible linguistic manifestations, i.e. lexical items that *prompt* (in the sense of Lu 2008) the knowledge of a metaphor. This might be shown in the example of ARGUMENT IS WAR,[1] with ARGUMENT as a generalization of the target domain and WAR of the source domain. We know that WAR necessarily includes at least two parties, one of which has to *win* and one of which has to *lose*, and that they require *strategy* for *defending* their position or *attacking* that of their opponents, etc. The italicized items in the former sentence present lexical items prompting the source domain of WAR. These linguistic manifestations are, however, conventionally used with ARGUMENT as a target domain. The human mind can draw parallels between the linguistic cues of both conceptual domains and create systematic *cross-domain mappings*. The mappings help structure the abstract domain in a more readily accessible way. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10), however, stress the relativistic nature of metaphors:

> The very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another (e.g., comprehending an aspect of arguing in terms of battle) will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept. In allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept (e.g., the battling aspects of arguing), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10)

The omnipresence of metaphor in language and its ability to highlight and hide various aspects of different concepts makes metaphors appealing for political leaders, as metaphors enable them to present political activities and entities in a rhetorical way that suits their own need.[2]

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1.   Following the convention in cogitive linguistics, we use small caps for concepts, including domains, metaphors, and frames.

2.   Conceptual Integration or Conceptual Blending Theory developed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) is often perceived as an alternative of the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor in dealing with political discourse (e.g. Hart 2014).

Metaphors may also be combined to create what Edelman (1977) and Geis (1987) call "the political myth" that is based upon "a system of mental representations and processes of group members" called *social cognition* (van Dijk 1995: 18):

1. The Conspiratorial Enemy: "the myth of a hostile outgroup 'plotting to commit harmful acts; which is perceived as 'different, homogeneous, highly potent or omnipotent, and conspiring to harm the ingroup.'"
2. The Valiant Leader: "the view that the political leader is benevolent and is effective in saving people from danger;" and that the leader exhibits "the qualities of courage, aggressiveness, and ability to cope."
3. United We Stand: "the belief that a group–a nation, a state, a party–can achieve victory over its enemies if it will only work, sacrifice, and obey its leaders." (Geis 1987: 26)

All of these myths represent legitimizing and de-legitimizing strategies employed by politicians as simplifications of their ideological goals. The typical vehicle for such myth creation is figurative language in which metaphor acts as the centerpiece. It is notable that all of the above-mentioned political myths share notions of leaders and enemies. The difference among them is in the focus of the individual myths: on the enemy, the leader, and the alliance, respectively.

To explain the function of metaphor as a verbal means of crisis management requires linking the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor with concepts of *framing*, *persuasion*, and *legitimization*.

Framing is a fundamental strategy of persuasive rhetoric (see also Plastina in this volume). It is based on the notion of a *frame* as a conceptual knowledge structure in long-term memory that relates elements, entities, and events in human experience (Fillmore 1982). Framing is thus a cognitive strategy for creating and guiding discourse through the activation of frames that are favorable for the rhetorician's argumentative purpose by linguistic means. Lakoff (2008: 15) says:

> Words are defined relative to frames and conceptual metaphors. Language "fits reality" to the extent that it fits our body-and-brain-based understanding of that reality. Since we all have similar bodies and brains and live in the same world, it will appear in many cases that language just fits reality directly. But when our understandings of reality differ, what language means to us may differ as well, often radically. In politics that happens so often we have to pay close attention to the use of language. (Lakoff 2008: 15)

Lakoff (2004, 2008) further provides guides for democrats to (re)interpreting conservative framing discourses and stresses the importance of using language that helps induce an understanding of the policy to a persuasive end. Other representative studies on framing in political discourse include Coulson (2008), which links it with Conceptual Integration, and Coulson and Pascual (2006), which focuses

on the counterfactual arguments in the abortion discourse in the United States. Tversky and Kahneman (1981) experimentally tested the correlation between the framing of a question and human choice to find that different framings led to very different results in the subjects' choices depending on whether the positive or negative side was highlighted in the question asked.

The influence of framing on decision making makes it an important aspect of persuasion, which is an activity that typically involves two participants, the persuader and the addressee (cf. Pelclová 2010). The persuader's *intention* is to change the addressee's worldview or her understanding of a state of affairs, which is why Charteris-Black (2005: 14–15) considers an act of persuasion as a speech act in which the persuader plays an active role and the addressee a passive one. In the current study, leadership rhetoric functions as a medium for political persuasion in which the political leader acts as the persuader and his audience the addressee, with metaphor being one of the most important rhetorical means of persuasion.

Knowing the addressee's existing beliefs is vital for the persuader's correct choice of metaphors that link either the persuader, political allies, or the proposed policy (the in-group) with concepts that the persuader perceives as positive. Another possible use of metaphor is to link political opponents and/or their policies (the out-group) with concepts perceived as negative. Such conceptual and argumentative linking is called *legitimization* and *de-legitimization*, respectively (Cap 2006; Chilton 2004; Hart 2014; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). The legitimizing and de-legitimizing function of metaphor in Churchill's Cold War speeches is the pursuit of the present chapter.

3. Data and method

The investigated data are taken from three speeches that Churchill gave between 1946 and 1955. These were collected from the website of Winston Churchill's center[3] and are called "The Sinews of Peace", "Council of Europe", and "Never Despair". Given the manageable size of the corpus, we are able to conduct qualitative research on all the texts. More details of the corpus are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. The composition of Churchill's Cold War Corpus

Speech Name	Date	Place	Words
The Sinews of Peace	March 5, 1946	Fulton, USA	5,417
Council of Europe	August 17, 1949	Strasbourg, FRA	2,170
Never Despair	March 1, 1955	London, UK	5,630
Overall			13,217

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3. http://www.winstonchurchill.org

There is homogeneity within the sample, as all of these speeches share the same argumentative goals, namely: to promote the policy of deterrents as a means of disarmament, to unify democratic countries and to prevent war, and more specifically to improve Anglo-American relationships.[4]

Our study was done in three methodological steps in CMA, which consists of metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation (Cameron and Low 1999; Charteris-Black 2004, 2005).

The first step, *metaphor identification*, is based on a manual search with intuition. Results based on intuition from the manual search are then challenged by queries in a reference corpus in order to find whether there is "incongruity or semantic tension [in the use of the keyword] either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels – resulting from the shift in domain use – even if this shift occurred some time before and has since become conventionalized" (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Keywords in Churchill's speeches were contrasted with a BNC search,[5] which served as the general reference corpus in order to find the incongruity and confirm the metaphorical nature of a given keyword by means of investigating its collocations. Corpus queries were conducted in Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004), often relying on the WordSketch function, which provides data on the particular grammatical relations of the keyword in context.

The second step in CMA is *metaphor interpretation*. Metaphor interpretation mostly employs the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor in order to establish "a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them" (Charteris-Black 2004: 37).

The third step is *metaphor explanation*, which aims to describe the social role of metaphor involved in metaphor production and the role of metaphor in persuasion. This involves finding Churchill's motivation for the use of respective metaphorical expressions that relate to his audience's existing beliefs. Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) call this *an anchor* – an already widely-accepted belief of the addressee that might be exploited by the persuader. This, in a sense, is "identifying the discourse function of metaphors that permits us to establish their ideological and political motivation" (Charteris-Black 2004: 39).

Below, we proceed to the presentation of data and a discussion. Section 4.1 discusses PERSON as the source domain, 4.2 JOURNEY, and 4.3 BUILDING.

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4.   Although the speeches were delivered to different audiences and there is a difference in the distribution of source domains in the speeches, we believe that this does not undermine the general observation and claim that we make here–that Churchill makes use of different metaphors for the purpose of legitimizing his political aim, as a representative political leader.

5.   www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk

4.   Findings and analysis

In Churchill's representative Cold War speeches, we identify three important source domains: PERSON, JOURNEY, and BUILDING. Each of them is explicated below.

4.1   Personification in Churchill's Cold War speeches

PERSON is a highly productive source domain with a huge number of various entailments drawing on knowledge of people and their behavior. Such human-related qualities are mapped onto inanimate objects or abstract entities to create an alternative concrete understanding of these abstract entities. In Churchill's speeches, these qualities are typified by the use of lexical constructions such as *marauder*, *sheriff*, *mother*, and *brother*, which draw on the knowledge of human social roles and kinship. Other constructions that invoke metaphors take the form of modifiers (*fraternal* or *vulnerable*), parts of the human body (*arm*), and uses of gender-ascribing personal pronouns (*her*). We argue that Churchill's use of personification has a strong function of (de-)legitimization. This can be seen in Churchill's profiling of communism and war as people who are members of an out-group, in contrast to his use of personification that legitimizes the United Nations organization, including the United States and the United Kingdom, as an in-group.

The first metaphorical keyword in chronological order is *marauder*, which Churchill used twice when referring to the target concepts WAR and TYRANNY (the metaphorical keywords are underlined for the reader's convenience):

(1)   To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant <u>marauders, war and tyranny</u>. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the bread-winner and those for whom he works and contrives.

(2)   Now I come to the second danger of these <u>two marauders</u> which threatens the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people-namely, <u>tyranny</u>. (March 5, 1946)

We argue that the use of *marauder* triggers a conceptual frame of LAW ENFORCEMENT, which is supported by two other metaphorical expressions, *sheriffs* and *constables*, which are used later in the same speech:

(3)   Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without <u>sheriffs</u> and <u>constables</u>. The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force.   (March 5, 1946)

A BNC query for *constable* revealed that some of the strongest collocations are "chief", "sergeant", "detective", "police", "uniform", "patrol", and "deputy", all of which

are part of the LAW ENFORCEMENT frame, with most of them representing the legal hierarchy and "patrol" as a law enforcement activity.

The above excerpts allow us to formulate two metaphors – WAR AND TYRANNY ARE MARAUDERS and INTERNATIONAL ARMED FORCE IS LAW ENFORCEMENT – in the law enforcement frame, in which representatives of law enforcement protect victims from possible harm that could be done by criminals.[6] We argue that the purpose of the metaphor is to promote and advocate an international armed force, legitimizing it as a means of protection from an unseen enemy who is metaphorically shaped as a person that poses a direct threat to people. Creating an enemy is then one of the basic parts of the political myth. None of the myths Geis (1987) describes can function properly without the role of an enemy.

In Churchill's speeches, another obvious instance of personification is the metaphor of *servant* and *master*:

(4)   We have <u>force and science</u>, hitherto the <u>servants of man</u>, now threatening to become his <u>master</u>.   (March 1, 1955)

Science is here metaphorically presented as a person who serves the welfare of people and allows them better living conditions. The threat of *force and science* becoming the MASTER entails potential limitations to the freedom of humankind. Based on the excerpt, we may formulate a metaphor: FORCE AND SCIENCE ARE SERVANTS/MASTERS. We argue that this metaphor functions as a de-legitimizing device against man's excessive reliance on force and science.

Another personification represented in the corpus manifests in Churchill's use of the word *brotherhood*:

(5)   Ultimately, when the essential <u>brotherhood of man</u> is truly embodied and expressed in a world organisation with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that world organization.   (March 5, 1946)

The use of *brotherhood* invokes the metaphor NATION IS A PERSON, because the world organization consists of nations and BROTHERHOOD is an important element in the FAMILY frame. We suspect that Churchill's use of *brotherhood of man* reflects a fixed phrase within the Christian tradition that creates a sense of unity, friendship, and good relationships among people. This use can be further demonstrated by Examples (6) and (7) taken from the BNC:

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6.   What we call "frame" here is what Charteris-Black (2005) calls the "heroic myth" with a *constable* as a rough equivalent of a "hero", whose aim is to prevent crime rather than to punish it. We describe this as a "frame" in order to highlight its conceptual nature.

(6) He was his own master, dedicated only to Christ, who had asserted the broth-
     erhood of man.   (bncdoc#3472)

(7) A fair summary of the whole might be "the brotherhood of man and the
     Fatherhood of God, revealed in Jesus' teaching and example, and set before us
     as the goal which we are called to realise".   (bncdoc#3508)

Therefore, we consider the use of *brotherhood of man* in Churchill's Cold War
speeches a personification, which serves as a legitimizing strategy given the positive
connotation that it bears for this Christian audience.[7]

    The sense of unity evoked by *brotherhood of man* also indicates a more general
pattern of Churchill's Cold War speeches. His whole metaphorical presentation of
the United Nations suggests the importance he ascribes to the unity of democratic
nations. The recurrence of this goal leads us to propose that Churchill's rhetoric is
in accordance with the "United We Stand" myth (Geis 1987: 26).

    In "Never Despair", Churchill uses personification as a legitimizing device for
why the United Kingdom should be armed with both conventional forces and nu-
clear weapons. Consider Examples (8) and (9):

(8) I must explain this term of art. 'Saturation' in this connection means the point
     where, although one Power is stronger than the other, perhaps much stronger,
     both are capable of inflicting crippling or quasi-mortal injury on the other with
     what they have got.

(9) There is no absolute defence against the hydrogen bomb, nor is any method
     in sight by which any nation, or any country, can be completely guaranteed
     against the devastating injury which even a score of them might inflict on wide
     regions.   (March 1, 1955)

The metaphorical keyword is *injury*, which invokes NATION IS A VULNERABLE PER-
SON. The stress on vulnerability suggests an explanation of these metaphors as the
portrayal of nations as potential victims of a nuclear attack in terms of human
experience. In Churchill's talks, this metaphor takes on one more different form,
when *injury* is replaced with *vulnerability* as in (10), (11), and (12):

(10) This should certainly increase the deterrent upon Soviet Russia by putting her
     enormous spaces and scattered population on an equality or near-equality of
     vulnerability with our small densely populated island and with Western Europe.
                                                                      (March 1, 1955)

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7.   In his memoir, *My Early Life: A Roving Commission* (1930), Churchill described his Christian
background (received his education in an Anglican church).

(11) I cannot regard this development as adding to our dangers. We have reached
the maximum already. On the contrary, to this form of attack continents are
<u>vulnerable</u> as well as islands. Hitherto, crowded countries, as I have said, like the
United Kingdom and Western Europe, have had this outstanding <u>vulnerability</u>
to carry.   (March 1, 1955)

(12) They, too, become highly <u>vulnerable</u>: not yet equally perhaps, but, still, highly
and increasingly <u>vulnerable</u>.   (March 1, 1955)

All the five underlined expressions are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor
NATION IS A VULNERABLE PERSON. Our corpus investigation of *vulnerable* in the
BNC revealed two collocational patterns: the first with animate nouns including
person, *people*, *child*, *woman*, or *individual*; the second between vulnerable and in-
animate nouns, such as *area*, *position*, *spot*, or *target*. This division is also reflected
in the BNC possessor of *vulnerability*, where metaphorical uses with *Gloucester*,
Japan, and *Britain* contrast with literal possessors such as *person* and *woman*. This
metaphor is repeated five times in a rather short stretch of text in "Never Despair",
with the most eminent repetition in the last paragraph of Excerpt (12). We argue
that this rhetorical comparison of a nation to a vulnerable person creates a strong
image of the threat of potential attack and is persuasive in the sense that it gives
the audience a reason for developing and accumulating both nuclear and conven-
tional weapons in order to pursue the policy of deterrents, which should lead to an
abolishment of any military practices.

4.2   JOURNEY metaphor in Churchill's Cold War speeches

The use of the JOURNEY metaphor is another important feature in Churchill's Cold
War speeches. The use of JOURNEY metaphor in different domains has been exten-
sively studied, such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), LIFE IS A
JOURNEY (Lakoff and Turner 1989), PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG
A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION (Lakoff 1993), DEATH IS A JOURNEY (Lu 2017)
and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY (Charteris-Black's 2005).

JOURNEY metaphors are used in order to motivate the audience. They have a
strong tendency to present a positive outlook of the target concept, which lies in
the structure of a journey: start – process – destination. Politicians often rely on
such metaphors by trying to present the current state as wrong and hopeless, and
mapping the process of a journey onto their policies as the process that leads to-
wards a destination, which is usually the promise of a better future. Charteris-Black
(2004: 93) argues that JOURNEY metaphors can be persuasive even when linked
with the downsides of the advocated policies, which we claim is an important
de-legitimizing strategy:

> [...] even when negative aspects of journeys are highlighted by the metaphor – such
> as burdens to bear – the effort that is necessary to achieve anything is evaluated as
> worthwhile.   (Charteris-Black 2004: 93)

We find that Churchill's Cold War rhetoric was full of JOURNEY metaphors, most
frequently in "The Sinews of Peace", as a rhetorical means of trying to unite
the democratic world. Churchill used them to appeal to the shared history and
goals of the United States and the United Kingdom. One attempt is shown in
Example (13):

(13) The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with
      an international armed force. In such a matter <u>we can only go step by step</u>, but
      we must begin now.   (March 5, 1946)

Equipping the United Nations with armed forces is in this respect the destination of
the journey; the gradual process of equipping itself is the journey, with individual
steps in order to create a contrastive force against the USSR and its associates. The
BNC search for the keyword *step* showed several collocational patterns. The first
includes, for example, "wooden" or "stone" – modifiers which help to present steps
as parts of a staircase. The second pattern of collocations – e.g. "walk", "door", or
"house" – are collocations for the physical motion sense of *step*. The third pattern
consists of collocations such as "crucial", "logical", and "reasonable" is the most
frequently occurring sense of *step* found in the BNC, which can be understood as
a conventional metaphor for a stage in a procedure.

 The individual members of the UN fulfill the role of travelers, with the US and
the UK presented as their leaders along the journey. In this way, this particular
use of the JOURNEY metaphor creates a persuasive effect in the sense that it reso-
nates with the personification metaphor instantiated by *sheriffs and constables* and
magnifies its "thinking right" effect. The metaphor constitutes, together with the
following lexical metaphors, an overarching conceptual metaphor that POLITICS IS
A JOURNEY which can be also found in (14):

(14) If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all
      the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it,
      let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its
      part in <u>steadying and stabilising the foundations of peace.</u> There is the <u>path of
      wisdom</u>. Prevention is better than cure.   (March 5, 1946)

In this case, Churchill's political aim is to secure peace in the world by means of
uniting the democratic world, with an emphasis on the relationship between the
United States and the United Kingdom, and he achieves the rhetorical effect by
invoking a JOURNEY metaphor via the use of the words *path*, which is a metaphor

keyword for JOURNEY,[8] and *foundations*, a BUILDING metaphor which, in this instance, serves as the metaphorical destination of the journey.

The POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor in Churchill's Cold War speeches varies in its entailments, one of which is BRITAIN AND THE USA ARE TRAVELLING COMPANIONS used specifically by Churchill during the 1940s and 1950s (Charteris-Black 2005). This entailment represents the shared interests and motivations of both countries in the international politics of the era, such as defeating Germany in the war and securing peace in its aftermath:

(15)   If <u>we</u> adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and <u>walk forward</u> in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all <u>British</u> moral and material forces and convictions are joined with <u>your own</u> in fraternal association, the <u>high-roads</u> of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.   (March 5, 1946)

In (15), Churchill highlights the shared values and potential for cooperation in international politics, which co-contributes to the formation of the "United We Stand" myth. The underlined expressions *we, your own, and British* were interpreted in the context of the venue of the speech, which was delivered in Fulton, MO, to an American audience. In this case, Churchill aims to persuade the audience that both nations should have pursued their goals by *walking forward* on *the high-roads of the future*, as joining their efforts would increase their chances of achieving their shared goals. The BNC query into these keywords shows that the most frequent collocations for *road* are "car", "bridge", "accident", "transport", and "drive". These point to the semantic discrepancy between the physical *road* and its metaphorical extension Churchill used in the Fulton speech. The query into *walk* revealed collocations such as "man", "woman", "boy", or "people" as typical agents of walk in a physical motion sense. In this respect, BRITAIN AND THE USA ARE TRAVELLING COMPANIONS should be understood as a *nested* metaphor (Charteris-Black 2005) combining the domains of JOURNEY and PERSON into a lexicalized form.

All these metaphors can be captured by the schematic metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. In use of this metaphor, the destination is to secure peace and prosperity in the world, and the travelers are nations, especially the United States and the United Kingdom, which are in many cases travel companions.[9]

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8.   Interested readers are referred to Kövecses (2002: 137–138) for a discussion on the keyword *path* within a larger context suggesting MEANS ARE PATHS.

9.   What remains unclear is the source concept–one might argue that the source is the political division of nations between western democracies and the communist east, but there is a lack of explicit linguistic evidence for that. The speech needs to be embedded in the larger social context in order to give rise to the proper interpretation.

Another instantiation of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY is (16):

(16)   What ought we to do? Which <u>way shall we turn to save our lives</u> and the future
        of the world? It does not matter so much to old people; they are going soon
        anyway […]   (March 1, 1955)

This metaphor occurs within a rhetorical question, where *way* and *turn* are the
metaphor keywords. This choice among many WAYS suggests the presence of CROSS-
ROADS and the choice of further policy as the way to take, i.e. either *bona fide dis-
armament* or *deterrent policy*, according to the social context. The BNC search for
the keyword *way* revealed collocations such as "go", "home", or "path", all of which
indicate the semantic pattern of a physical path or road. In this case, the country
is conceptualized as a person at a crossroads in the middle of a journey, with the
original political means metaphorically understood as the original destination and
the alternative political means as a new destination in the journey.

Further linguistic manifestations of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY in Churchill's Cold
War speeches include (17) and (18):

(17)   […] if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with
        your own in fraternal association, the <u>high-roads of the future</u> will be clear,
        not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.
                                                                      (March 5, 1946)

(18)   The day may dawn when fair play, love for one's fellow-men, respect for justice
        and freedom, will enable tormented generations to <u>march forth</u> serene and
        triumphant from the hideous epoch in which we have to dwell.
                                                                      (March 1, 1955)

Both manifestations of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY (*high-roads of the future* and *march
forth*) are present in the final paragraphs of their respective speeches in order to
invoke the vision of a bright future that would be the result of morally right behavior
on the part of the democratic world, as a legitimizing rhetorical strategy. The BNC
research for *march* revealed collocations such as "demonstrator", "army", "centre",
"door", "village", or "street" – distinctly marking the primary use of the word to be
associated with human physical motion; the BNC investigation of the keyword *road*
can be found in relation to (15). Specifically, Churchill construes the past political
journey as dark and full of failure, while the journey of the political development
ahead is full of light and prosperity. Given the fact that Churchill's speeches are full
of dysphemism, negative evaluations, and problems, the choice of putting highly
positive metaphors at the end of his speeches provides a sharp contrast as an im-
portant feature of his persuasiveness, because the promise of, for example, a "serene
and triumphant" journey from a "hideous epoch" helps to boost the morale of the
people and urge them to actively support Churchill's ideological goals. It is in this

sense that the JOURNEY metaphor is used as a powerful legitimizing persuasive strategy in his speeches.

We would furthermore like to mention the structure of the JOURNEY metaphor, where only the PATH[10] of the journey is linguistically elaborated. Generally, in his Cold War speeches, there is no mention of the SOURCE or the GOAL but only of the PATH, or the process of travelling, which aims to describe the everyday life experience of people traveling from one place via a path to another, often carrying an object. We claim that the object or burden in the journey is probably the Cold War and its influence on the everyday life of the people who live in fear of potential attack, which makes the metaphor a strong de-legitimizing strategy. We observe that JOURNEY metaphors in Churchill's speeches are generally used in order to motivate listeners towards a change either in POLITICS or in LIFE. The temporal axis is another important dimension in analyzing JOURNEY metaphors and a distinction needs to be made between past, present, and future. We observe that in Churchill's Cold War speeches, and perhaps in political discourse in general, the past and the present are often depicted as a difficult journey with burdens; the electorate are faced with a difficult choice at a crossroads, evidenced by *the **high-roads** of the future will be clear* and *the world population will be able to **march forth** serene and triumphant*, which are promises of a better future and recurrent rhetorical means that Churchill uses to legitimize his policies.

4.3   BUILDING metaphor in Churchill's Cold War speeches

The BUILDING metaphor is the third important rhetorical device of Churchill's Cold War speeches. The metaphor was among the first studied metaphors within the framework of the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, including ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (Goatly 1997), SOCIETY IS A BUILDING (Kövecses 2002) and COUNTRY IS A BUILDING (Lu and Ahrens 2008). The use and function of BUILDING metaphors is schematically similar to that of JOURNEY metaphors, as both are mapped onto an abstract process and profile the effort that is needed in order to achieve a goal. Another similarity is that the BUILDING metaphor, like the JOURNEY metaphor, carries a highly positive evaluation. The metaphorical building is usually a virtuous social concept, such as countries, organizations, or even relationships between people.

We argue that Lu and Ahrens's (2008: 387) structure of COUNTRY IS A BUILDING might serve as a basis for describing the mapping structure that holds for the BUILDING metaphors in Churchill's Cold War speeches, where COUNTRIES ARE BUILDERS, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION IS BUILDING CONSTRUCTION,

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10. Here, by PATH we mean the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema of Johnson (1987).

and UNITED NATIONS IS A BUILDING. In "The Sinews of Peace", Churchill uses *the Temple of Peace* as a metaphor for the United Nations and repeatedly presents it in various linguistic forms; the first one is:

(19)   A world organisation has already been <u>erected</u> for the prime purpose of preventing war. […] We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true <u>temple of peace</u> in which the shields of many nations can someday be hung up, and not merely a <u>cockpit in a Tower of Babel</u>. Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that <u>our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock</u>.   (March 5, 1946)

The first metaphor keyword is the verb *erected*, as corpus evidence shows that the most frequent collocates with *erected* include "barricade", "barrier", "marquee", "monument", and "scaffolding", all of which are, in a sense, a BUILDING of some sort. The use of *shifting sands*, *quagmires*, and *rock* suggest that the FOUNDATION of this building must be solid in order to create a firm and united organization which would not fall apart. Using a corpus method, we are able to verify the existence of BUILDING metaphors in Churchill's Cold War discourse.

We argue that Churchill's use of *temple of peace* invokes a religious conceptualization of the United Nations in the sense that it contrasts with the concept of the Tower of Babel that appears later in the text. The contrast suggests that Churchill consciously created a metaphor that induces an understanding of politics based on the Christian faith shared by both British and American people, while exploiting the biblical myth of how God divided people by dividing language. What is interesting about Churchill's legitimizing rhetoric is that he evolved this metaphor even further:

(20)   I spoke earlier of the <u>Temple of Peace</u>. Workmen from all countries must <u>build</u> that <u>temple</u>. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are inter-mingled, and if they have "faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity towards each other's shortcomings" – to quote some good words I read here the other day – why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else <u>the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse</u> […]   (March 5, 1946)

We argue that Churchill's rhetorical association of political and military cooperation with the Tower of Babel is an important legitimizing strategy. His focus on the relationship between workers from individual member states invokes part of the Babel myth, which is based in CHRISTIANITY, a knowledge structure largely

shared by all European states and many of their former colonies, including the United States. Portraying the United Nations as a modern version of the Tower of Babel is a vehicle for talking his audience into a new enterprise within this organization with a general aim of peaceful cooperation among the members, although paradoxically, the peace that Churchill actually aims at is a military peace, which was discussed in terms of personification with *sheriffs and constables* as a typical instance of legitimizing the United Nation's military attempts.

Churchill also uses a BUILDING metaphor as a legitimizing strategy to strengthen and improve the relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom, with the excerpt including this metaphor already discussed in 4.2 in relation to the *path of wisdom* metaphor, where Churchill speaks about *steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace* by means of the *fraternal association* of English-speaking nations. Understanding the excerpt draws on the background knowledge of both buildings and relationships that are structured with some parts (the FOUNDATION) being more important than others. With the legitimizing rhetorical means, Churchill appeals for a better Anglo-American relationship by presenting it as potentially crucial for the stability of the democratic world, as a BUILDING in which all nations cooperate and achieve peaceful unity as a single in-group. It is perhaps the most influential metaphor in terms of highlighting the cooperation and thus forming the basis for the "United We Stand" myth.

Another important observation is that Churchill's use of the metaphor UNITED NATIONS IS A TEMPLE OF PEACE is a specification of SOCIETY IS A BUILDING and RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS with eight various linguistic realizations, which cover the whole structure of the BUILDING metaphor described in the beginning of this section. The positive evaluation, together with the association with Christian beliefs, is meant to highlight the similarities between individual nations, especially between the United States and the United Kingdom, and to persuasive the democratic world to participate in the worldwide cooperation with the goal of preventing another war.

5.   Conclusion

We hope to have shown how cognitive linguistics can be used as a powerful analytic tool for studying leadership rhetoric. In particular, this chapter adopts a CMA approach to persuasion in leadership rhetoric, focusing on PERSON, JOURNEY, and BUILDING metaphors in Winston Churchill's most representative speeches between 1946 and 1955, a period in the aftermath of World War II and in the early stage of the Cold War. We find that Churchill's systematic use of metaphors contributes to

the persuasive effect as legitimizing and de-legitimizing strategies. Accordingly, we argue that Churchill's combination of these metaphors makes use of the "United We Stand" political myth (Edelman 1977; Geis 1987), attempting to manage the Cold War crisis by inducing the world to prepare against an imaginary common enemy. We believe these speeches have two main argumentative goals.

First of all, the first main argumentative goal of Churchill's Cold War speeches is to persuade his audience to favor the "policy of deterrents" as a response to the development of nuclear weapons, starting a contest between the democratic and communist regimes. To this rhetorical end, Churchill extensively employs personification, including NATION IS A VULNERABLE PERSON, WAR AND TYRANNY ARE MARAUDERS, and some other miscellaneous personifications of abstract concepts. These personifications are analyzed as legitimizing devices, as they prompt negative prospects for the future, and subsequently present the "policy of deterrents" as a necessary action to pursue in order to maintain peace with an INTERNATIONAL ARMED FORCE IS LAW ENFORCEMENT metaphor as an entailment of the policy.

In addition, Churchill's second argumentative goal is to encourage the international cooperation of democratic countries as means of solving the Cold War crisis, to raise the countries' prospects and to maintain peace, for which Churchill employs mostly BUILDING and JOURNEY metaphors. We find that the domain of BUILDING is exclusively used when he refers to the United Nations organization as the *Temple of Peace*, linking it with both peace and the background knowledge of Christianity shared by the English and American cultures at the time. Churchill's aim of uniting the world on the basis of common beliefs and desires has a crux in the Anglo-American relationship, to which Churchill often refers to as a *fraternal association*, and is mostly embodied in the combination of personification and the JOURNEY metaphor, which we formulate as UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE TRAVELING COMPANIONS.

To conclude, the present chapter puts into historical and social context the metaphor study of leadership rhetoric by focusing on Churchill's speeches in a given time span. Most previous studies on leadership discourse (e.g. Charteris-Black 2005; Lu and Ahrens 2008) cover certain leaders over a relatively wide span of time, but as we have shown, a qualitative study of a specific leader's rhetoric in a short span of time can deepen our understanding of how the (de-)legitimizing function of metaphor in leadership rhetoric interacts with its social and historical context.

Although the present study has its share of limitations, we believe that we have shown how CMA can be systematically applied to investigating leadership and crisis discourse. A cognitive linguistic approach to persuasion in leadership discourse is certainly promising, and we expect to see more studies along this line of research in the near future.

Acknowledgements

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Fictionalizing scenarios in political discourse
Catalan self-determination

Gonzalo Calle Rosingana

This chapter shows how political discourse uses covert fictional construals to persuade audiences. It argues that the use of specific linguistic and conceptual strategies guides their interpretive processes to a point where the distinction between reality and fiction becomes unclear. The study focusses on four areas of a specific discourse event and shows that they can assist in the generation of persuasive effects. The chapter deals with the organization of information in the specific speech event, the way attention patterns and focal adjustment collaborate as potential resources of persuasion, the role of deixis in the speech event, and how the deontic force of modal verbs may be minimized to help engage the audience into the belief of the existence of an alternative reality.

Keywords: mental spaces, focal adjustment, deontic modality, political discourse, Catalan self-determination

1. Introduction

The world of politics and the influence politicians exert on society are extraordinary. This chapter is concerned with some of the instruments politicians employ to achieve their objectives and, in particular, with the cognitive and linguistic strategies politicians use to persuade their audiences. More specifically, it tries to explore and identify some of the persuasive strategies that may surface in political performance. To that end, the chapter engages in an analysis of the investiture speech the President of the Catalan Parliament, Artur Mas, addressed to the members of the Catalan parliament in 2012 to persuade them to allow him to assume a leadership role in an eventual democratic and peaceful process leading towards national sovereignty and separation from the Spanish kingdom. At first sight, it appears that the speech event contains no overt, specific feature that would reflect any type of coaxing strategy to help the president encourage parliament to adhere to his project. However, the analysis will reveal that this is not so. The investigation departs

from the assumption that the combination of a number of specific conceptual and linguistic phenomena that were present in the usage event were used as instruments of persuasion. Thus, the analysis focuses on these specific areas, and tries to illustrate in what ways each area cooperates to enhance persuasion. As the speech event incorporates interconnected points that require specific lines of investigation that illustrate diverse forms of linguistic and cognitive behavior in the context in which they appear, it is necessary to select the optimal theoretical framework that best suits the specific point, or area of investigation, in every case. When Evans and Green (2006: 3) refer to cognitive linguistics as "an 'enterprise' because it is not a specific theory" and describe it as "an approach that has adopted a common set of guiding principles, assumptions and perspectives which have led to a diverse range of complementary, overlapping (and sometimes competing) theories", he leaves the door open for the selection of the theoretical approach that best adapts to the object of investigation, which, in the case of the present research, falls into four main areas: first, the information that was selected to configure the real world and the order in which this information was arranged in the speech event (the theory of mental spaces [Fauconnier 1997] illustrates how reality is constructed in discourse practice); second, the role of attention patterns and focal adjustment (Langacker 2007, 2008) and their effect on the interpretative choices of the audience; third, the use of the first-person plural in pronouns, adjectives, and verb forms to convey empathic responses from the audience; and, finally, spatial conceptualization and how deontic modal verbs guide the audience towards covert imaginary worlds that project a feasible future for Catalonia. This last part is illustrated by means of Chilton's deictic space theory (2014).

To place the analyzed speech in context, it is worth knowing that part of the Catalan population has always had the sustained feeling of being discriminated against economically and culturally by the rest of Spain and the Spanish government. The political and economic panorama at the beginning of the 21st century, characterized by a long economic crisis, aggravated the cultural and financial discrepancies between the autonomous Catalan government and the Spanish executive government, which eventually reached deadlock. This resulted in frustration on the part of the Catalan population and invigorated feelings of Catalan identity and sentiments supporting sovereignty and independence from the rest of Spain. One result of this was the creation of the *Assemblea Nacional de Catalunya* (ANC), a non-political, pro-independence association that in 2012 had multiplied its presence in the Catalan social sphere and in Catalan public life. The ANC became, then, the ideological front line of the nationalist process leading towards Catalan independence. In this context of a social shift towards independence, Artur Mas, the leader of the center-right political party *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), made an unprecedented move when he declared that CiU supported independence. The president of the Catalan Parliament called a referendum in November 2012 and

was re-elected president in coalition with the left-wing Catalan Independence Party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC). The Parliamentary Stability Agreement both parties signed included a call for a future vote on self-determination in 2014. It was within this context that the new president-elect, Artur Mas, addressed his investiture speech to the Catalan Parliament on December 20th, 2012.

2. Data and method

This chapter draws on the investiture speech Artur Mas gave on December 20th, 2012. Despite the fact that it was primarily addressed orally to the members of the Catalan Parliament, the present analysis is based on the online written version of the session published by the Generalitat de Catalunya on its official web site, *Diari de sessions del Parlament de Catalunya*.[1] Since the source document is in Catalan, the examples shown in this chapter are displayed in that language, but for ease of reading and understanding, these same examples have been translated into English and analyzed in this language. This is so because, even though there are morphological differences between the languages, namely Catalan inflects future forms whereas English uses, among others, the periphrastic modal form will, there is no difference between what happens at the cognitive level in the source language and in English.

Roughly speaking, the analyzed text contains two broad, distinguishable, though related, areas: the first progresses chronologically from past to future and discloses both the situation of deadlock Catalonia was expereiencing when the speech was given and the growing need for self-governance; the second part details how to implement the specific financial strategies needed to cope with the crisis situation in Catalonia in 2012 and defines the stages for the organization of a future referendum on independence. The second part identifies procedural methods and describes the execution of activities; the first offers more opportunities for analysis.

As stated in the introductory section, the study of four specific conceptual and linguistic phenomena entails a diversity of methodological approaches based on the qualitative study of the textual evidence present in the discourse event under analysis. Each section in the analysis begins with a brief introduction of the most relevant aspects of the theoretical approach that is used. Despite the differences that arise from each independent part of the analysis, it is essential to understand that the analyzed phenomena, far from working in isolation in the speech, interrelate and interweave with each other, and with other existing information.

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1. http://premsa.gencat.cat/pres_fsvp/docs/2012/12/21/16/46/e50713d8-dcc2-43f7-a19c-8eebcf90c502.pdf

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ikvpc7EtJdg

3.   Analysis

3.1   Configuring the "reality world"

The usage event took place in a context in which the participants shared a socio-cultural background as members of the same Parliament as well as their personal and political experiences as part of the contemporary Catalan political scene. Artur Mas took advantage of this by creating a scenario in which the audience was asked to retrieve contextually available information and shared knowledge drawn from this mutual professional/political experience. As a consequence, the scenario the speaker generated was the result of a combination of conceptual images and experiences that were well known to the participants. This recognizable conceptual area is called the *ground*, and served to help the speaker attain his communicative goals since the speech was perceived by the audience as closely related to their reality. The term *ground* (Dancygier 2012: 139) indicates "the presence of the speaker and the hearer, as well as the location of the exchange, its history and goal, and the specific communicative goals of the participants." Within this ground area, the configuration of the reality world starts with an initial mental space that is aimed at reproducing the current "reality" (Hart 2010: 105–106). Mental spaces are (Oakley and Hougaard 2008) "representations of the scenes and situations in a given discourse scenario as perceived, imagined, remembered or otherwise understood by the speaker." The initial mental space is called the *base space* (Fauconnier 1997: 73) and it is made up of four primitives: Base, Viewpoint, Focus, and Event. Fauconnier (1997: 73) argued that the first primitive, the Base, was "an anchor for the configuration" of the speech and a space where the speaker "can easily come back to." As the discourse unfolds, these primitive mental spaces are assigned alternative values by which consecutive mental spaces are generated to adapt to a multiplicity of viewpoints (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016) and alternative focuses, or to cope with other events. The initial configuration of the base space gives the speaker a starting point in space and time – the "origo", as it is known in deictic theory. This metaphorical position is key in the organization of the rest of the speech. Gavins (2007: 36), in text world theory, referred to this deictic center as the "zero reference point of subjectivity (*I, here, now*)". In fact, it is a reference point to express the speaker's embodied conceptual universe. In the usage event, Artur Mas started with a base space that emerged when he uttered the following words:

(1)   *Cat.* [...] em presento davant d'aquesta cambra per formalitzar la meva candidatura [...]
Eng. [...] I stand before this chamber to formalize my candidacy [...]

The base space is thus represented in Figure 1. The mental spaces that are generated later in the speech must be embedded in this base space. These other mental spaces, or frames (Fillmore 1982), also build meaning by establishing links between what is said in the speech event and its correlation with real world events by means of the multiplicity of viewpoints, and modification of focus and events. This way, the real world and the world that originates with the speaker's words connect to form a grounding area that reproduces very familiar bits of reality that will be easily identified and decompressed by the audience. The construals generated this way organize very dynamic mental scenarios that reveal high levels of complexity and abstractness.

Base Space
Viewpoint → Speaker
Focus → I
Event → to formalize candidacy
Time → now (present tense)

Figure 1. Base space

New mental spaces are generally started by grammatical expressions called *space builders*, which (Fauconnier 1997: 40) may vary from prepositional phrases and adverbials to more complex grammatical elements. A space builder such as "One day like today two years ago …" originated a new mental space (Mental Space 1.1) in Artur Mas's usage event.

(2) *Cat.* Avui fa justament dos anys, un dia com aquest, em presentava davant d'aquest mateix Parlament per ser investit president. I en el meu discurs d'ales-hores els plantejava un gran repte de país: obrir la transició nacional basada en el dret a decidir, amb el pacte fiscal com a primer objectiu.
Eng. One day like today two years ago, I stood before this Parliament to be invested president. And in my speech I posed a great challenge: the start of the national transition based on the right to decide, with the fiscal pact as a first objective.

The mental space MS1.1 has a past time reference and took the audience to a spatiotemporal context different from that of the base space, a point in time two years before when this same speaker was addressing the Catalan chamber before the start of his mandate. At that time, the speaker's objective was to advance the autonomous status of Catalonia with two lines of inquiry: to organize a ballot to test if in fact there was a majority feeling of independence among the Catalan population and to agree on a fiscal pact with the Spanish government. The space builder is also a

means of strengthening the correlation between the speech event and that past reality. Afterwards, a number of related mental spaces, MS1.1, MS1.2, MS1.3, … were generated focusing on trajectors that invoke past events. Many of these mental spaces were expressed in the past tense. When assembled together, we can see that the president-elect was enforcing an image of the unfortunate relationship between the Spanish and the Catalan governments; an image that was the result of negative events and the recurring failure of negotiations with the Spanish government on various crucial issues for Catalonia, such as the agreement on a Constitutional Pact, self-governance, and the decision of the Spanish Constitutional Court against self-determination. This is represented in Figure 2, although only the values of mental space MS1.1 are fully developed in this figure.

Base Space
Viewpoint → Speaker
Focus → I
Event → to formalize candidacy
Time → **now** (present tense)

Mental Space 1.1
Space builder: "One day like today two years ago …"
Time – Past (past tense)
Focus – the Constitutional Pact between Catalonia and Spain
Objective – start independence process based on free election and fiscal pact with Spanish government.
Result – Negative

Mental Space 1.2
…
Mental Space 1.3
…

Figure 2. Embedding mental spaces within the base space

Another dimension of MS1.1 is that when Artur Mas addressed the Catalan Parliament, he was not yet president of the Generalitat de Catalunya. However, he altered his footing alignment (Goffman 1981: 128) to gain credibility and advance in his participant status construction; i.e. with his footing alignment shift, making an explicit connection with his role in the past, he was able to transform his speaker status and speak as the former Catalan president. In fact, this new speaker align-ment placed him in a more advantageous position, a position of power.

The linguistic elements that Artur Mas selected in later mental spaces, see Examples (3) and (4) below (represented schematically in Figure 2 by MS1.2,

MS1.3), conveyed overt criticism, disapproval, and disagreement with the Spanish executive government and revealed explicit interest in moving past the limitations imposed by the centralist government of Spain.

(3) *Cat. […]* el pacte constitucional entre Catalunya i l'Estat, tal com el llegia el Tribunal Constitucional i l'interpretava el Govern de l'Estat, no donava més de si.
Eng. […] the Constitutional Pact between Catalonia and Spain, as interpreted by the Constitutional Court of the Spanish Government, could no longer generate further actions.

(4) *Cat.* La sentència del Tribunal Constitucional va tallar de soca-rel qualsevol possibilitat de fer evolucionar Espanya cap a un estat plurinacional.
Eng. The Constitutional Court sentence rooted out any possibility for Spain to evolve into a multinational state.

Context information adds to this shift to new mental spaces (MS2) that focused on other events that started in the past and had been developing up to the moment of speaking. The space builder "Two years later," began the first of these comments with the use of present perfect tense to be followed by a dependent, nested mental space (MS2.1). Examples (5) and (6) account for the results in the present, expressed in the present continuous in (5).

(5) *Cat.* Dos anys després, no només no s'ha refet cap pont, sinó que les hostilitats i atacs a l'autogovern són cada dia més palesos i més intensos.
Eng. Two years later, not only have the bridges of communication been left to be rebuilt, but the hostilities and attacks to self-government are becoming more self-evident and intense.

(6) *Cat.* Les potencialitats de la Constitució per construir un estat plurinacional no s'han sabut aprofitar
Eng. The potential of the Constitution to build a plurinational state has not been taken advantage of.

The reconstruction of experience that Artur Mas devised to portray the background for his speech is indeed complex and, at the same time, key for this discussion on persuasion. It is so, because the selection of the correlating succession of mental spaces that are assembled together models the cognitive construction that will serve as one of the pillars of this investiture speech and its persuasive slant. The arguments and the mental spaces that were generated intertwine with embedded comments, evaluations, and the consequences of events that enrich the explanation.

In this readjusted recount of reality, closely-related images and events are rarely arranged in a neat linear progression in the explanation. Instead, the windings of

the line of thought, introduced by alternating space builders, reveal renewed mental spaces that pop up as the speech requires and are finely interwoven in a perfect linguistic and conceptual fabric.

3.2   Attention patterns

The negative image of the Spanish executive government that is rendered is not limited to the way the usage event was structured or the use of tenses. In (5) above, the president explicitly asserted that expectations had not been met and there was an increasing need to be less dependent on Madrid. Information was, therefore, processed in sentences in a specific way and following similar patterns. The information moved from subjective positive assertions to descriptions of objective negative results of goals that had *not* been accomplished after having been negotiated with the Spanish government. The use of such a method to shape context conditions the attention patterns of the audience and the listener is prone to reach biased conclusions. Attention is a perceptual phenomenon that is considered one of the schematic aspects of experience that is codified in the grammar. Langacker (1987: 115) argued that "attention is intrinsically associated with the intensity or energy level of cognitive processes, which translates experientially into greater prominence or salience." Therefore, when communicating, linguistic expressions make references to familiar concepts, experiences, and situations that are part of our schematic knowledge. When these chunks of knowledge, or frames (Fillmore 1982), are used, the selection of a specific lexical item, expression, or grammatical construction will "amount to qualitatively different mental experiences; i.e. will determine certain meanings in favor of other possible ones within the same frame" (Langacker 1987: 117). Langacker referred to this as "focal adjustment"; it has a decisive effect on the conceptual representation of meaning. Three parameters are involved in the construction of the resulting images: selection, perspective, and abstraction, but for brevity, this chapter will only concentrate on the first. Selection determines those elements in the frame that are central to the message and how they are presented: the "profile" will be the designated entity with maximum prominence, whereas the "base" can be described as the contextual element to conform the profile. At the discourse level, the choice of the first elements in sentences may offer relevant information about the areas of information to which the speaker wishes to give more prominence within the general bulk of information. Thus, selection is also closely related to codification. Evans and Green (2006: 540) illustrated alternative selection and focal adjustment of the same event, "George threw a shoe at the TV and smashed it", and argued that creating alternative conceptual representations

such as "George threw a shoe", "George smashed the TV", "The shoe smashed the TV", and "The TV smashed", the new alternatives preserve the innermost region although there are variations in the scope of predication. When Artur Mas projects his conceptual image of the Spanish government and the relationship between the Catalan and the Spanish administrations, the listeners experience three main patterns of focal adjustment as a strategy to condition understanding and, ultimately, to organize discourse to attain a specific persuasive effect:

1. The first kind refers to an attentional pattern that is found in Examples (3), (4), and (6). It is relevant to point out that those sentences profile topics of discussion that resulted in negotiation failure. The elements that received the most attention, the trajectors, were part of the immediate scope of awareness (IS), such as "the Constitutional Pact between Catalonia and Spain", "The Constitutional Court sentence", and "the potential of the Constitution". In fact, the speaker selected them as the focus of attention and referred to them as the source of the conflict between both executive governments. The speaker (S) and the audience (MPs), though present in the ground area (G), were kept outside the intense line that delimits the attention section (square box with intense line) in Figure 3. In the following figures, MS stands for the maximal scope of attention.
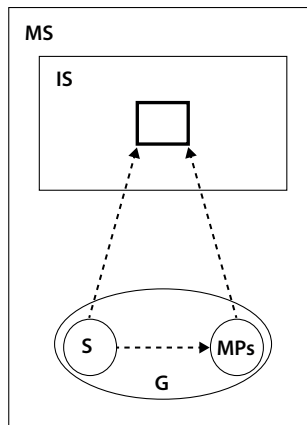

Figure 3. Focal adjustment outside the ground area

Other expressions follow similar patterns, where the profiled element was made prominent to express deep disagreement. Though with less intensity, a similar force is felt with the implicit trajectors "Spain" and "the Spanish government" and the trajector "state" in (7)–(11) below.

(7)   *Cat.* Espanya també hauria d'acceptar que Catalunya no vol ser ni absorbida, ni assimilada ni homogeneïtzada.
Eng. Spain should also accept that Catalonia wants to be neither absorbed nor assimilated nor homogenized.

(8)   *Cat.* Espanya segueix veient-se i interpretant-se amb una mirada i una pulsió centralistes.
Eng. Spain keeps seeing and interpreting itself from a centralist drive.

(9)   *Cat.* […] d'un estat Espanya que ens vol empetitir com a nació,
Eng. …a state [Spain] that tries to minimize us as a nation

(10) *Cat.* […] un estat [Espanya] que dificulta el nostre creixement econòmic i el manteniment del nostre estat del benestar.
Eng. […] a state [Spain] that hampers economic growth and the survival of our welfare state.

(11) *Cat.* És a dir, en tres anys, només en tres anys, se'ns imposa una disminució del dèficit equivalent a 7.000 milions d'euros, gairebé mil euros de mitjana per cada ciutadà de Catalunya, petit, jove o gran.
Eng. This is to say that in three years, only three years have they [the Spanish government] imposed on us a reduction of the deficit equivalent to €7.000 million, nearly a thousand euros on average for every citizen living in Catalonia, no matter his/her age.

2. The second group of expressions profiled the ground area, "Catalonia", with a similar effect. In this group, the metonymic implications of the word *Catalunya* are key for the president to make this lexical choice. With it, the ground area is broadened from the speaker and the members of the Catalan parliament to all the Catalan people, and this includes anyone living in Catalonia and affected by political decisions taken in Madrid. The already negative effect that originated with the attention pattern in sentences in group one is intensified now by exposing this new ground area as abused and victimized. This being so, the immediate scope of predication expands beyond the ground area to encompass everything that is considered the root of the problem, i.e. the central government in Madrid, though the presence of the agent is kept offstage and is not explicitly represented linguistically. This is represented in the graph with a discontinuous line (see Figure 4). Langacker (2008: 261) makes an analogy with vision to illustrate this type of construals and states that "the full scope of awareness consists of everything that falls in the visual field, and the onstage region is the portion presently being attended to. The object of perception, then, is the focus of visual attention – that is, the onstage entity specifically being looked at". The alternation of attention patterns cannot be perceived as an isolated effect that seeks an independent reaction from the audience. It is

meant to work in connection with a variety of other patterns; when all of them are taken into consideration as part of the same fabric, they project a general, more realistic view of the situation being described and strengthen the persuasive effect. This second group of expressions is closely related to the expressions in group one. These lines make an alternative, yet a politically correct tool that reiterates the very same message: Catalonia is suffering. The fact that the entities causing the abuse are not profiled but left implicit in an offstage position does not absolve them of their responsibility.
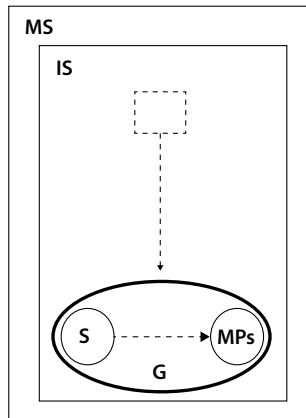

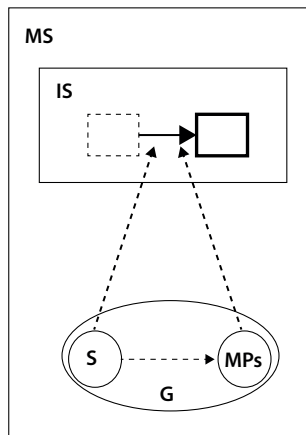**Figure 4.** Profiling the ground *area*

Figure 5. The profiled element is the process/result

(12) *Cat.* una <u>Catalunya</u> que pateix, com tots els països d'Europa, les conseqüències duríssimes d'una crisi econòmica que s'allarga en el temps, …
Eng. a <u>Catalonia</u> that suffers, like all European countries, the consequences of a harsh economic crisis that is taking too long, […]

(13) *Cat.* [una <u>Catalunya</u>] que pateix les conseqüències d'haver de reduir dràsticament la despesa pública per tal de fer front al compliment d'uns objectius de dèficit que li imposa l'Estat de manera desproporcionada, injusta i deslleial, i …
Eng. [a <u>Catalonia</u>] that suffers the consequences of having to drastically reduce public expenditure to be able to tackle the deficit targets imposed by the state that are disproportionate, unjust and unfair, and …

(14) *Cat.* [una Catalunya] que pateix les conseqüències d'haver de fer front al retorn d'un deute de grans dimensions;
Eng. [a <u>Catalonia</u>] that suffers the consequences of having to pay back an enormous debt.

(15) *Cat.* una <u>Catalunya</u> que ha de fer front a aquesta difícil i complexa situació sense les eines de què disposen els estats i amb la sensació creixent que l'estat que hem ajudat a construir ni ens protegeix, ni ens defensa ni ens respecta.
Eng. a <u>Catalonia</u> has to deal with this difficult and complex situation without the instruments that are available to a state and with the growing feeling that the state [Spain] that we have helped build does not protect us, defend us or respect us.

3. The third pattern of attention is characterized by the use of a specific linguistic structure: the passive construction. These constructions guide attention towards either the process itself, or the landmark and the results that are triggered by the process. Analogously to what happens with the sentences in group 2, the agency of the processes is left implicit. Contextual information guides the audience to select the most salient implicit trajector in each case. Expressions like (16) are less common than the passive constructions shown in (17a)–(c).

(16) *Cat.* Ras i curt: se'ns exigeix [per part del govern espanyol] un esforç de contenció sense precedents i d'una envergadura enorme, injusta i desproporcionada.
Eng. In short: it is required [by the Spanish government] from us an unprecedented, massive, disproportionate and unfair effort of contained costs.

(17) a. *Cat.* […] unes previsions econòmiques que no s'han complert […]
Eng. […] economic forecasts that have not been met
      b. *Cat.* […] s'ha mantingut a Catalunya l'IRPF més alt de tot l'Estat espanyol
Eng. […] the Catalan Personal Income Tax, the highest in Spain, has been kept unchanged.

c.   *Cat.* […] la reducció del dèficit s'està fent enmig de les condicions següents, totes elles adverses.
Eng. […] the reduction of the public deficit is being done within the following conditions, all of them adverse.

In the words of Fowler et al. (1979: 185), the world the president-elect depicted revealed that the projected image of the Spanish executive government in the usage event is "linguistically mediated" and "linguistically shaped". The connection of the speech with this adverse recent past provided a circumstantial background that predisposed the speaker to progress in discourse to the following stage of his speech.

3.3   Deictic pronouns and verb endings

The speaker's selection of first-person plural deictic pronouns and first-person plural verb endings to create a polarized system of ideological values proved to be an influential strategy to bias the audience while being perceived as part of the discourse. Appropriate focal adjustment and the selection of first-person plural trajectors place the listener as a fundamental part of the message. The audience was purposely located in the on-stage region of the ground, as if participating actively in the decision-making process and in the implementation of the ideas the president-elect was sharing with them. In the following excerpt from the speech, the referents of the deictic pronouns were not explicit and, therefore, the performer of the action shifted from a focus on individuals or political parties to the collective.

(18)   *Cat.* Sovint se'ns diu que el que hem de fer és no acceptar aquestes condicions tan dures i deslleials i deixar de complir [amb les obligacions que imposa el govern espanyol].
Eng. We are often told that what we have to do is not to accept such harsh and unfair decisions and stop complying [with the obligations imposed by the Spanish government]

In Example (18), both instances of *we* may designate Artur Mas' political party, all the MPs in the Catalan Parliament, the Catalan population in general, or combinations of them. When such trajectors are selected, the agency of the actions is ambiguous and inaccurate and differs from Chilton's assertion (2004: 160) that "it is crucial [for the political leader] to establish who is 'us' and who is 'them'". Having unclear referents has an unconscious, but immediate, effect on the listener; the ground area is broadened and made more prominent to generate an atmosphere of subjective, apparent egalitarianism between the speaker and the audience. As a result, the power hierarchy was reduced here; the speaker and the members of parliament apparently collaborated to reach one same, shared goal. Figure 6 shows

a variety of similar deictic forms taken from the usage event: a total of 173 instances of this type, including first-person plural possessive adjectives, personal pronouns, and verb endings.

First person plural

Possessive adjective	Pronouns	Verb suffix	Number of cases
Nostre (*our*) [masc]			28
nostra (*our*) [fem]			12
nostres (*our*) [plu]			11
	nosaltres (*we*)		5
	ens (*to us*)		20
	se'ns (*us*)		4
		-em (*we*)	72
		-im (*we*)	17
		-nos (*us*)	4
TOTAL			**173**

Figure 6. Quantitative account of first person plural deictic elements

The recurrent use of deictic elements throughout the usage event suggests that its presence must have been motivated. The alternation between the Catalan possessive adjectives *nostre*, *nostra*, and *nostres* (Eng. our) and pronouns *nosaltres* (Eng. we), *ens*, (to us) *se'ns* (us)*,* and the suffix pronoun –*nos* (Eng. us), together with the verb suffixes, –*em* and –*im*, (Eng. we) such as "*defensar–em*" (*we will defend*) or "*pat–im*" (*we are undergoing*), throughout the speech reinforce the mental effect of inclusion, of belonging to a group, of community awareness. Focal adjustment is so strong that the inclusion effect engulfs the listener completely.

The members of parliament had no choice but to agree to be included in the group. Alternatively, as Ward (2004: 282) commented, "*We* intrinsically creates an opposition and exclusion". Whereas the discursive deictic elements grant inclusion and strengthen the bond between those that belong to the community, they also exert an intense, proportional, and dissociative force of exclusion to those outside the group. In the context in which negotiation with the Spanish government was no longer possible, the implicit sense of exclusion was so powerfully felt that it rendered a sense of division and separation. At times in the speech, the split of Catalonia and Spain seemed to have already occurred, as the lines of identity, distinction, and difference were clearly expressed in terms of inclusion/exclusion, as hinted in (18).

3.4   Enabling a new reality scenario

The speech advances chronologically, though not linearly, covering different facets of the past and the present to create an atmosphere out of the combination of what is described with the recollections the audience has of the real events. When dealing with the past and the present, there were adverse, negative recollections that were eventually balanced with other more optimistic, favorable descriptions that created a complementary dimension to the speech as a whole. In a very subtle way, the chamber was guided to envision a fresh, regenerated Catalan sociopolitical reality beyond the limitations imposed by the Spanish executive government. The following lines argue that the covert atmosphere that makes this new reality possible is rooted in the way the deontic modal verb *must* is employed.

(19)   *Cat.* Catalunya ha d'encetar un nou camí
         Eng. Catalonia must set off along a new path

(20)   *Cat.* Catalunya ha de fer la seva pròpia transició nacional
         Eng. Catalonia must make its own national transition

(21)   *Cat.* hem de dependre més de nosaltres mateixos i menys d'alguns altres.
         Eng. […] we must depend more on ourselves and less on others.

(22)   *Cat.* ens hem de guanyar el nostre futur
         Eng. […] we must earn our future

Statements 19–22 use variations of the same Catalan modal verb of obligation, *haver de*, which has equivalent deontic meaning properties to those of the English modal verb *must*. This section shows that modal verbs such as those in the examples have an overarching role in the speech as a whole, not only for the deontic meaning they undoubtedly express, but also for two other inherent features deontic modals are distinguished by and which relate modality with *time* and *epistemic* aspects. Bearing this in mind, the speaker's selection of deontic modals was not a means to express obligation but a way to access an alternative fictional spatiotemporal dimension.

When Artur Mas spoke (19) above, he opted for *must* to communicate an implicit metaphorical force that seemed to push the trajector, *Catalunya* to an indefinite point in time beyond the present. According to Talmy (2000), the energy of the trajector creates a fictive movement that drifts towards the future to access a new time-space scenario.

Figure 7, adapted from Langacker (1991: 242) and also used by Evans and Green (2006: 628) to illustrate epistemic modality, is useful here to show the force dynamic effect produced by the deontic modal verbs. The schematic diagram contains two horizontal arrows that represent time as it progresses. The discontinuous

arrow stands for past time, and the arrow on the right represents the metaphorical movement towards the future that is triggered by the modal verb. In the diagram, S stands for the speaker and G for the ground.
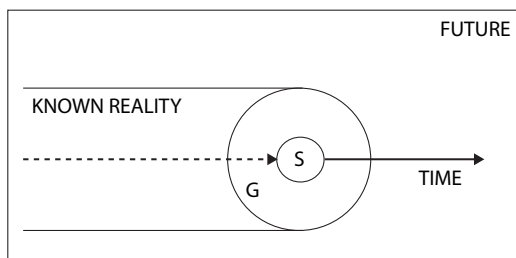

Figure 7. Epistemic modality

Following Talmy (2000), Hart (2010: 158) stated that "Force-dynamics refers to how entities interact with respect to force. It accounts for cause and effect relations in terms of pressure and motion." In the examples used above, the immanent quality of the deontic modals generated a force that guided the conceptualization of reality under new parameters. It is clear, then, that if the deontic use of a modal verb involved an implicit time reference that was neither present nor past, the speaker was conducting the members of the Catalan parliament towards scenarios that blend real events with an altered time order, leaving behind the present reality. This is indeed a twilight area of un-reality.

   The system of three-dimensional space figures, also called Deictic Space Models (DSMs), proposed by Paul Chilton within his Deictic Space Theory (2014) will help to shed light on some aspects related to modality. DST uses Euclidean vectors "to represent (i) spatial locations (position vectors), (ii) movements (translations), and (iii) forces" (Chilton 2014: 13). Although this chapter does not provide a fine-grained explanation of the theory (see Chilton 2014), it is necessary to introduce some of the concepts used within this framework in order to interpret the diagrams that follow. DST integrates three conceptual dimensions: *attentional distancing* from the speaker (S) represented by the d-axis, *temporal distancing* from the speaker represented by the t-axis, and *epistemic-modal distancing* from the speaker represented by the m-axis. The m-axis tries to reflect what the speaker assumes to be the "subjective truth evaluation" and to what extent this evaluation departs from "absolutely true assertions" (Chilton 2014: 37). The epistemic distance that is represented by the m-axis goes from real, at S, towards un-real at the other end of the m-axis.

   When representing example (19) "Catalonia **must** set off along a new path", in terms of attention, the trajector "Catalonia" is the attentional focus and must be represented not at the vertex of the three axes, S, since that point holds the maximal

amount of subjectivity, but at a higher level (see Figure 8). From there, the vector that represents the action of "setting off" points upwards towards the landmark. The action has also been displaced along the t-axis and the m-axis. The vector has moved towards +t at an unspecific point on the line <+t, to illustrate that the action is meant to happen some time ahead of the present, mainly because we can understand that the action is not happening at the time of speaking. There is no doubt that our truth evaluation of the action departs from what is real and true and, therefore, the arrow must be sent to the end of the m-axis, the position of absolute un-true (though not false) assertions.
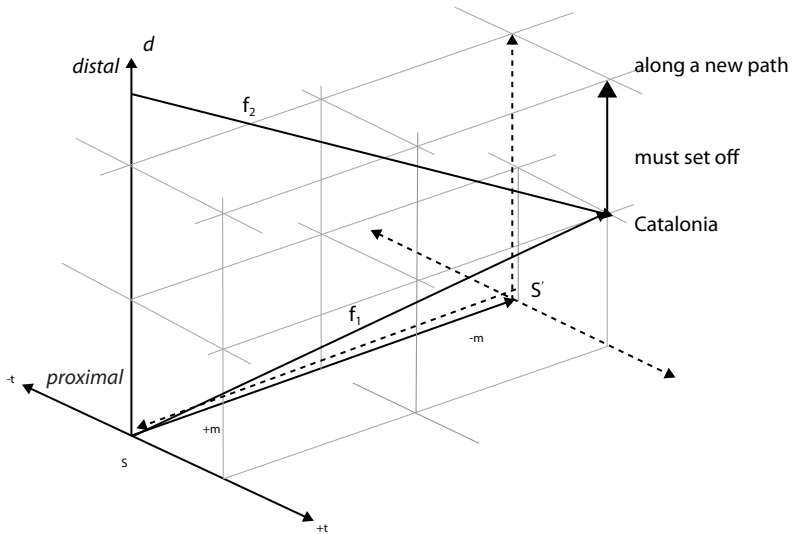

Figure 8. Example (19) "Catalonia must set off along a new path."

Chilton (2014: 274) also discussed the source of the deontic force of *must* and represented it in terms of physical space with two vectors, labelled f_1 and f_2; f_1 accounting for the obligation that emerges from the speaker as a result of exerting authority and f_2, rooting in the topmost area of the d-axis, depicting the force imposed by other power sources, such as social or political forces and moral beliefs. However, the use of modality in context can have specific implications. In particular, in the situation this chapter addressed, the president needed the support of his fellow members of parliament to fight for a common cause and tried to build a prevailing atmosphere of unity, of joining forces, and of encouragement. This objective characterizes, and lessens, the deontic meaning potential of *must* to convert it into an instrument for persuasion. The dimming of the deontic force seems to favor the creation of unreal scenarios. The following passage is an example of this.

(23) *Cat.* Sé que hem de salpar, sé que trobarem moltes inclemències en la traves-
sia i sé que el vaixell no està en les millors condicions. També sé, però, que
hi haurà una molt bona tripulació, de gent que no fallarà, de persones que hi
seran sempre, a les verdes i a les madures, i sé que tindrem un passatge que
majoritàriament és conscient de les dificultats de la travessia, però que està
compromès i il·lusionat per arribar a un millor port.
Eng. I know we must set sail, I know that we will find harshness during the
voyage and I know that the boat is not in its best condition. I also know, how-
ever, that there will be a very good crew of people who will not fail, they will
be there for better or for worse, and I know that the passengers we will have are
mostly aware of the difficulties of the voyage and are committed and excited
to come into a safer harbor.

The rhetoric use of *I know* before the modal limits the deontic force the speaker
exerts, which is why the deontic force f_1 is not present in Figure 9 below. Instead,
vector f_2, representing social obligations, assumes the deontic force in the metaphor
as a result of the stormy relationship between the Catalan and the Spanish executive
governments. The landmark, *set sail,* invokes a metaphoric cognitive domain in
which the listener is expected to blend (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) a number of
abstract metaphorical concepts, such as the movement of time, which is equaled to
travelling by sea; the difficulties, which are conceptualized as bad weather condi-
tions; the vessel, which metonymically symbolizes Catalonia; and the crew, which
embodies the Catalan politicians. Although this is a fascinating conceptual image,
attention should focus on the emerging blended mental space that is configured
just after the deontic modal. In fact, the modal grants access to a new scenario that
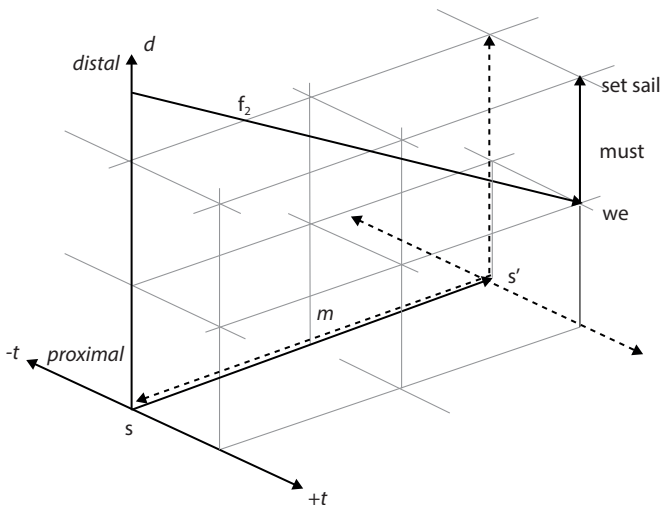will be hierarchically dependent on the deontic structure that hosts it.

Figure 9. Part of example (23) "we must set sail."

Whereas the structures that follow *must* in "we must set sail" are grammatically marked by *will* as actions happening in the future, the meaning of this modal is completely constrained by the deontic force. In DST, Chilton (2014: 42) discusses how to represent future structures. Although aware that future events are essentially less certain than those happening in the present, Chilton (2014: 163) stated that it is "inadvisable to argue for the reduction of tense concepts to modal ones. Indeed, the fundamental structure of the deictic space that DST postulates has time and modality as independent cognitive dimensions." DSM, therefore, opts to not mix time and modality, and treats the future "in terms of shifting point of view rather than modal scales" (Chilton 2014: 156). Figure 10 accounts for the words "We will find harshness during the voyage" following Chilton's approach to represent *will*-future and future tense. This sentence, isolated from its context, expresses the future form *will* with an alternative point of view, placing an alternative S' axis. This new axis occupies an area not far from the S axis, but expressing a small degree of uncertainty, displaced on the m-axis (little epistemic force) and an advanced position on the t-axis, on the +t area. The resulting meaning, however, is that of something that is likely to happen in the future or a prediction.
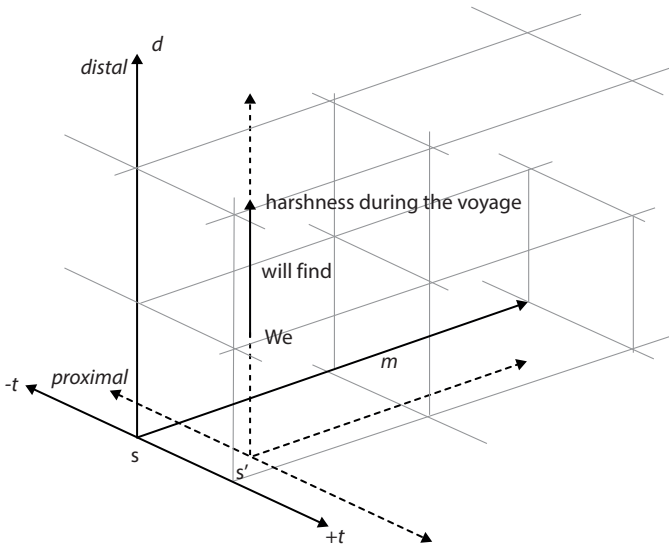

Figure 10. Part of example (23) "we will find harshness during the voyage."

The meaning generated by *will* in Figure 10 is the future, but it differs considerably from the meaning conveyed by Artur Mas using these very same words. In his speech, the meaning of *will* is absolutely constrained by context. The embedded mental spaces governed by *must* cannot simply remain in the initial part of the m-axis to satisfy the implications of the near-certainty area they are entitled to hold; they have to glide along to the end position of the m-axis, where there are

maximal epistemic properties. This was also suggested by Chilton (2014: 170–1) "epistemically distanced mental representations occur in response to tense forms combined with pragmatic contextual factors", who further commented that "…epistemic adjustment is in actual processing a matter of variable on-line adjustment."

When combining Figures 10 and 11 above, the newly generated mental space is nested hierarchically within an engulfing mental space. This should trigger the creation of a new axis, S2, that is rooted at the very same position of the deontic modal representation. At this new axial position, the future structures can replicate themselves recursively while constrained by the properties imposed by the deontic verb. In fact, in linguistic terms, *must* allows the unaltered reproduction of the linguistic structure of *will* as a projection of its "future" structure. However, the difference is that when the starting point is in the position of maximal uncertainty, *will* can no longer hold its epistemic value of certainty and prediction.
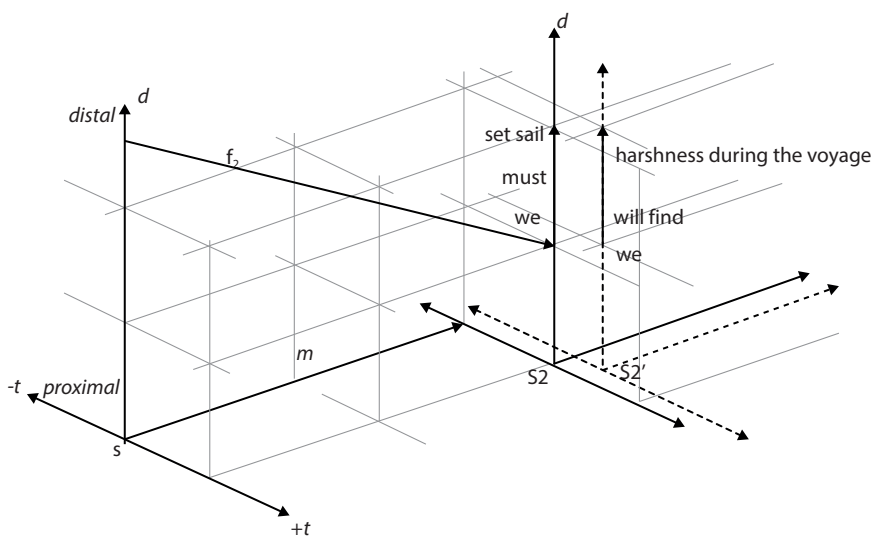

Figure 11. Combination of Figures 9 and 10

Presented this way, the modal *must* may unleash covert, fictional future scenarios that can unfold recursively to generate as much complexity as required. It could be argued that the role of the rhetoric and reiterative use of *I know* helps convey the intended message in the example, and it does indeed, but it is also true that its use is not imperative for the modal verb to introduce unreal situations. As this text was spoken language, the audience was very unlikely to be consciously aware that these fictitious worlds were a fabrication rooted in linguistic performance.

4. Discussion

The situation of conflict between the Spanish and Catalan executive governments was patently obvious at the end of 2012. The possibility of an imminent financial collapse of the Spanish and the Catalan governments, together with the threat of a bailout from the European institutions, a rocketing unemployment rate, and a future outlook deteriorating daily created the perfect combination to sustain Artur Mas's pro-independence argumentative deliberation encouraged by the absolute rejection of Madrid to raise the question of Catalan autonomy on any front (social, political, or economic) or to negotiate the interfering policies that the central government was imposing on Catalonia. Before the speech event, Artur Mas took advantage of his position of president-elect when he stopped the mandate to proclaim himself the spokesperson of a desirable, but unlikely, homogeneous chamber to advance in the negotiations with the Spanish government on Catalan independence. In the speech, Artur Mas set forth a proposal that was presented as the only possible scheme for the Catalan parliament to start a normalized, non-violent self-determination process. His aim was to persuade the members of the Catalan parliament to work collaboratively. Although some may see this as a natural flow of events, others may interpret Artur Mas's behavior as an act of opportunism.

The analysis of the investiture speech sheds light on some relevant areas that were used for persuading the audience. The information that was mentioned in the speech was selected and organized carefully. As presented in the usage event, reality progresses from past to present to portray a Spanish government that has demonstrated its unwillingness to negotiate fundamental issues for Catalonia and is disinclined to negotiate on any related issue. The speech presents a reiterative reconstruction of the failure of these negotiations with the central government and the hopeless situation of impasse that existed at the time of the re-election. In this context, the persuasive tone is intensified by portraying Catalonia as victimized, struggling to move forward to a new reality. As shown in the analysis, the alternation of the patterns of attention allows the proliferation – and the harmonious cohabitation – of a substantial number of examples that depict a negative image while denouncing this specific state of affairs. All of this, however, is not overtly noticeable as far as the audience is concerned.

To attain parliamentary unity, in his dissertation, Artur Mas maneuvered skillfully into areas of common interests rooted in Catalan history and the notion of national identity. The speaker sought an ideologically, though unrealistic, compact and uniform parliament with alliances that surpassed political perspectives and programs. The profuse use of first-person plural pronouns and adjectives as well as first-person plural verb endings accentuated the veiling effect of agency to generate the perception of inclusiveness among the listeners and, at the same time, of

detachment from the Spanish executive government. This increasing polarization between Barcelona and Madrid was strengthened and the effect of exclusion for those who interfere in Catalan affairs was made more and more evident.

In the speech, descriptions were not linear, i.e. they oscillated from non-fictional to fictional stages, and vice versa, with subtle, barely noticeable shifts in time. The same can be applied to references and explanations that, far from working in isolation, were intermingled to codify the speaker's views; views that revealed a desirable future reality for Catalonia; views in which the feeling of inequality the Catalan community suffered from vanished, and the image of a self-sufficient country detached from the limitations imposed by the central government took shape; an encouraging panorama where this independent Catalonia that had managed to splinter, peacefully and democratically, from the kingdom of Spain was a feasible reality, socially and economically. Catalonia was described as a country on the threshold of a promising future, a place where the uncertainties and challenges of the present were seen as opportunities that would sculpt a much brighter future.

In hindsight, the speech message caught the imagination of many. In a gloomy, pessimistic social moment with no future prospects, the expectations such a venture generated were enormous. This positive distorting effect of reality helped many people to escape from the real problems the crisis had created and weakened some of the negative pressure produced by the financial crisis. The Popular Party's constant opposition to everything that came from Catalonia, together with the immobile, undemocratic policies they had implemented, and are still implementing in 2015, have stimulated the separatist fervor to unrivalled rates.

5. Conclusion

The postulated development of events brought forward in the speech was an opportunity, perhaps a well-earned one, for the autonomous Catalan government to fight a centralist regime that had demonstrated its inability to handle the challenges a true democracy may have to withstand. If large parts of the electorates in our societies have lost hope in institutions, it is because there are social leaders who lack vision and preclude others from taking over. If the political reality of a country reaches a stalemate just to satisfy the Establishment, there will always be voices who rise with new ideals to fascinate disappointed voters. In a profound crisis situation, the promise of change towards the positive is persuasive and easily engaging. The analyzed speech goes from undemocratic practices to flawless democratic attitudes, from old national conceptions to new national perspectives, from disillusionment to the delusion of a brighter future; it also crosses the boundaries of time, from the past to the future, and of point of view, from the negative to the positive, and

promises to take steps to reach the epitome of national identity travelling from the real to the ideal. Our democracies should guarantee unbiased and transparent political leaders who are attentive to the needs of their electorates. If an autonomous country such as Catalonia has aspirations to become independent, a proper government should be *deeply* concerned about uncovering the reasons why this is so and find systems that guarantee the necessary democratic means to settle the dispute and to reach a better understanding. This will bring about higher rates of social egalitarianism, fair play, and justice to that society.

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"The end is near"

Negative attitude and fear in political discourse

Francisco O. D. Veloso and Dezheng Feng

Discourse is a constitutive element of politics as a social practice. This chapter analyzes a political propaganda video released during the 2010 presidential election in Brazil during the final week of the run-off between Dilma Rousseff and José Serra. We employ the appraisal system (Martin and White, 2005) to investigate the language used in the video voice-over aimed at persuading people not to vote for Rousseff. The study reveals the discursive construction of a political struggle in Brazil and provides a methodological model for the systematic analysis of public discourse and language structure. Language, supported by other available semiotic resources, is deployed to represent a possible victory by Dilma Rousseff which invokes fear from the audience through negative attitudinal meanings. That benefits her political opponent, José Serra, who emerges from the narrative as the viable choice for the run-off.

Keywords: political discourse, critical discourse analysis, appraisal theory, attitude, fear, Brazil

1. Introduction

Early studies on public discourse focused mainly on oratory, following the classic rhetorical tradition (cf. Zarefsky 2009). Only after 1965 was the scope broadened to study "not discourse of a certain *form* but discourse with a certain *purpose* – calling together and addressing a public" (Zarefsky 2009: 438). Such a shift gains relevance in the contemporary society with the development of innumerable ways to reach the audience and pursue various communicative purposes through digital transformation of means of communication. The expansion in the means of production and circulation of discourse as well as the expansion in the semiotic resources available for the creation of meanings both call for multimodal approaches and the use of linguistic tools as part of the methodology in examining public discourse.

Research on public discourse as oratory has focused primarily on the investigation of language and paralinguistic features such as intonation, gestures, and the

speaker's public image, that is, the orator's *ethos*. In the current information society (cf. Straubhaar, LaRose and Davenport 2013), the available semiotic resources and the meaning-making potential for addressing the public, presenting arguments, and influencing public opinion, as well as crucial elements in the political arena and especially in the context of general elections, have expanded considerably. Faster internet service and a multiplicity of communication platforms have introduced the notion of digital public discourse (cf. Gurak and Antonijević 2009). The process of producing and circulating messages in different formats, such as written or spoken speeches and digital photographs and films, has become more easily accessible for both production and consumption. This digital environment has allowed the proliferation of different forms of public discourse that are not based on logical reasoning and argument, and that should be a key component in political public discourse research. Meanwhile, there has been a proliferation of public discourse aimed at persuading readers and/or viewers through the manipulation of emotions such as fear.

According to Wilson and Eberly's definition, public discourse is the "glue that holds – or fails to hold – a democratic polity together" (2009: 424). Such a definition is consistent with Fairclough's (2014) claim that discourse is a constitutive element of politics as a social practice. Both viewpoints recognize the relevance and centrality of discourse in politics as a social practice. In this chapter, we examine the persuasive strategies deployed in a short electoral propaganda film entitled *Dilma Rousseff 2012 O fim está próximo* ('*Dilma Rousseff 2012 The End Is Near*'), released during the final week of the 2010 presidential general elections in Brazil. We examine how the language deployed in the film's voice-over that carries the narrative forward frames Dilma Rousseff (Labour Party, henceforth PT, following the Portuguese acronym) and her likely victory, considering the polls, on the decisive run-off as a menace to society and democracy. The strategy serves to position her opponent, José Serra (Brazilian Social-Democratic Party, henceforth PSDB, following the Portuguese acronym), as the best possible alternative in that scenario and urges viewers to reconsider casting a vote for Rousseff.

The motivation for examining this video is twofold. First, the video fits the description of rhetoric as postulated by Aristotle: it serves political purposes, in this case serving to affect the decisions of voters when they are about to cast their votes, by claiming that a victory for Rousseff would result in extreme conflicts between institutions and have a negative impact on the country. Second, because the video represents a future scenario for an election that would determine the next president of Brazil, a term that covers the four-year period from 2011 to 2014, it can be examined without the fear that any interpretation still requires the validation of time. It is necessary to consider that the serious economic crisis that started in 2008 affected many countries, including Brazil, at different stages and at different levels.

Therefore, economic predictions could have been based on accurate economic analysis, for instance – however, there is no indication of economic data and analysis being used to support any claims in the video. In this sense, the historical distance allows us to focus on the discourse strategies used to construct the arguments that support the general claim presented in the video as a means of persuading voters.

This video can also be regarded as an exemplary text that is part of the larger structure of a political campaign. It aims to persuade the audience in coordination with other texts, attempting to affect and frame the collective imaginary of its audience, and becoming intelligible through the articulation of systems of meanings (cf. Baczko 1985). This process is increasingly dependent on media representation and on the use of expanding technology and available semiotic resources, and it is not dissociated from relations of power, as it is contingent on the means of production. As a discursive strategy, it creates versions of reality where truth is apparently not dissociated from illusion, and it serves to deconstruct the adversary only to legitimize the rhetor's own qualities, in this particular case the qualities of José Serra, Rousseff's opponent.

Digital public discourse epitomizes the deep transformations contemporary society has undergone in the face of technological changes. Political campaigns and the winning of hearts and votes have evolved from public speeches at rallies and the distribution of official printed material to the employment of social networks. As it has gone digital, public discourse has blurred the lines between public and private lives, as it offers snapshots of the everyday life of candidates or shows them in action as components of campaign moves in different social settings, presentations that are carefully prepared and rehearsed beforehand (cf. Veloso 2016). The functions of public discourse in the digital age have expanded, affecting the very definition of the term "public discourse" and adding new dimensions to the ways political campaigns and contenders relate to voters, to how messages are organized, and to the means by which new technologies are deployed to reach a wider audience, such as the means in the data we examine in this chapter.

Key aspects of contemporary digital public discourse are speed, reach, anonymity, interactivity, opportunity, collaboration, and community (Gurak and Antonijević 2009). Our object of study fits all of these aspects, although two seem more relevant: speed and anonymity. Once posted online, the film benefitted from the speed of the Internet as a platform and social networks as communication media, spreading quickly and reaching a large audience from both sides of the political dispute. The film does not display any political label or explicit signature or authorship; its anonymity was important for advancing its arguments without any liability, accountability, or criticism that it might otherwise have prompted. The timeframe for the film's release was opportunistic, strategically uploaded during the final week of electoral propaganda, just before the decisive run-off.

Brazilian electoral law suspends all sorts of official propaganda such as TV and radio broadcasts 24 hours before the election, leaving very little to no time for Dilma Rousseff's team to articulate a response that would present other possible scenarios as a counter-discourse. Considering that most propaganda material should already have been prepared for circulation, there was very little time to produce any reaction that could achieve the same reach and speed. Interactivity, collaboration, and community are at the core of digital life, and sponsors perhaps rely on these features to augment potential meaning and reach through social network users' comments and other possible actions, such as posting across social networks, thus forwarding it to larger communities.

The political propaganda video selected for this study is examined according to a social-semiotic approach to the analysis of public discourse, one that combines content analysis with empirical data analysis (cf. Hodge and Kress 1988; Bateman 2011; Veloso 2014). As a multimodal artifact, the data makes use of an array of semiotic modes that, operating in tandem, create a coherent text in itself and also in relation to its historical context of production and consumption, which will be further discussed below. Modes can be defined as resources developed and/or appropriated by specific social groups to create meanings (cf. Kress 2009). In the film we discuss here, the modes include image excerpts, graphs, animations, background music, and language, the latter being mainly used in a voice-over that pushes the narrative forward. The voice-over, as an example of a semiotic mode, presents a disembodied voice quality that can be described as tense, soft, low, smooth, and plain in its different qualities (cf. van Leeuwen 2007: 151 cited in Wan 2010: 111). This combination of features contributes to the larger process of semiosis, which creates a scenario and a general feeling of impending doom if the election results favor Rousseff. Because language plays a central role in the narrative, we will focus our analysis on how language is used to affect emotions, as shown in the following section.

As we engage in the critical analysis of the data, we also explore the historical context of production and consumption to argue that a historical view is pivotal in any attempt to critically analyze discourse. Manipulation, whether through emotions or logical arguments, needs to rely on cognitive aspects from the audience in order to find resonance; the rhetor will build his message taking into account the audience's frameworks of knowledge, which will be important for decoding the message (Hall 2006). Our contention is that the notion of "critical" is at times trivialized; some attempts at critical analysis offer elaborated and well-informed interpretations of what is said, but do not delve into the absences and/or tropes that are used to reach the audience based on empirical evidence. These tropes, as we will demonstrate here, are built exactly on previous knowledge and on history.

In the following sections, we will first elaborate on the data and present a brief historical overview of presidential elections in Brazil, in order to provide a better understanding of the context of the production and consumption of our object of study. We will then present the theoretical rationale used for our data analysis and appraisal system and discuss our findings.

2.   Data

In the last days of the 2010 presidential electoral campaign in Brazil, before the run-off between the candidates José Serra and Dilma Rousseff held on October 31, 2010, a short film was released online. The film started circulating online around October 26, 2010, posted on social networks and was available on a campaign blog named *Vou de Serra 45* ('I Vote Serra 45'), listed among the supporting blogs on Serra's official campaign website (Nassif 2010). The objective was clear: it had the rhetorical purpose of affecting the voters' perception of Rousseff, construing her as an unviable candidate by demonstrating what could happen in the event of her winning the election. Although it is filled with speculations about the future, the narrative makes use of language to transport the viewer to a diegetic present that helps to construct a sense of reality. Like a nursery tale, it uses the simple present tense to arrest the imagination and locate it in the 'here and now' (cf. Hasan 1996), attributing to a speculative scenario an aura of reality and certainty, as there is no mitigation of information.

The short film *Dilma Rousseff 2012 O fim está próximo* ('*Dilma Rousseff 2012 The End Is Near*'), opens with a central display of the number 2012 projected over a still, close-up picture of Rousseff slightly faded in the background. The number is presented in a large font size and in a centered position, ascribing its relevance to the narrative. The font evokes *2012* (Emmerich 2009), a disaster film about climate change and its potentially destructive consequences, and it also capitalizes on the prediction, in the Mayan calendar, that the world would end in 2012. The date also performs an important narrative function by locating the story two years into the future so that viewers are allowed to interpret the events that will unfold in the narrative as a plausible future, one that creates a temporal space for the slow process of presidential mismanagement and the abuse of power – a legal condition for impeachment according to Brazilian law, which is the solution presented at the end of the narrative.

Below the number, the sub-title of the film, *O fim está próximo* ('*The End Is Near*'), appears in a small, red font. The choice of color was perhaps motivated by the fact that the Labour Party's official color is red, a symbol of the left and of communism in the Brazilian political collective imagination. Above the number,

the name *Dilma Rousseff* slowly appears as if typed in. The whole composition remains on the screen for 0:10′, and functions as the main argument, the crucial claim presented in the narrative to be further developed through deductive reasoning. The function of the opening screen shot is to set the diegetic time of the narrative and equate Rousseff's image to the negative prospects of the future about to be presented to the viewer.

The narrative is 6:04′ long. It opens to Tomaso Albinoni's *Adagio in G Minor,* as conducted by Jean-François Paillard. Ascribing meanings and feelings to music is a challenging task, as discussed by Mihailo Antović in this volume. However, several studies corroborated the notion that music in a minor mode may evoke or be correlated with feelings of sadness (cf. Bashwiner 2013). In our data, music in a minor mode is paired with sepia-toned footage that might work in complement with other modes to enhance the video's premise that a possible victory by Dilma Rousseff would lead to a period of conflict and crisis at different levels. This mood is set by the first image, which slowly takes shape with the sound of a high-pitched, slow-tempo violin: a picture of Dilma Rousseff emerges at 0:03′. The picture can be classified as an offer (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), an object for appreciation and observation that does not make eye contact with the viewer, as her gaze is turned to the viewer's right, as if looking into the future. Barthes, discussing the appeal of candidates' electoral portraits, argues that the photograph reveals the inner aspects of a candidate, such as "his deep motives, all his family, mental, even erotic circumstances" (Barthes 1973: 98). The gaze to the right establishes an envisioning of the future that is about to be delineated through the filmic narrative.

The scenes that follow rely on a collage of previous images that have circulated in the media, such as TV and newspapers, to identify participants who are not explicitly named, and on computer animations that seem to amplify meanings construed through language. Although these images contribute to discourse semantics, they play an ancillary role; that is, they are not constitutive elements of the narrative. The narrative is solidly grounded in language: by listening to the video, without images, one can still make sense of the discourse, while the opposite is not true. When one watches the video without audio, the presented images lack cohesive ties that allow for the construction of a coherent text in itself. Images do not stand alone as a narrative, while language does. Of course, one can perform a full multimodal analysis of the video, but that would require changes in methodology in order to elucidate new research questions that could, for example, include image and text relations. For more details on persuasive strategies using multimodal resources, see Chapters 12 and 13, by Pelclová and Antović, respectively, in Part VI of this volume.

Therefore, because of the constitutive role of language in the narrative, pushing the narrative forward and explicitly naming and framing Rousseff and her actions in particular ways to stir voters' emotions, we deploy the appraisal system (Martin

and White 2005) since it enables the analysis of evaluative aspects of language. As we will investigate the data at the semantic level, we have produced an English translation of the original Portuguese script transcription. The translation was verified by two independent and experienced translators, to ensure an integrity to the original text regarding discourse semantics.

3.   Presidential elections in Brazil: Democracy, interrupted

On April 1, 1964, a military coup d'état started a long period of dictatorship that interrupted the democratic process in the country. There had been other coups before, but the governments that followed managed to maintain a certain atmosphere of normality, and contributed to the development of a welfare state and the establishment of labor laws, such as those led by the former President Getulio Vargas (1930–1945; 1951–1954). However, the military governments that followed the coup of 1964 suppressed dissent through force, including torture, and the ostensive censorship of TV, radio, music, magazines, and newspapers, being aware of the importance of discourse in creating both consent and dissent. Control over discourse led to the proximity between military dictatorship and media groups, which grew in power and influence. The period, combined with the popularization of television, had a long, lasting impact in Brazilian society, where TV has become an important source of entertainment and information.

Both Dilma Rousseff and José Serra were active political actors during the period, positioning themselves against the military dictatorship. In 1964, Serra was the president of the National Student Union, which explicitly opposed the new regime. Serra had to leave the country and was in exile in different countries, including Chile and France, finally settling in the USA until 1978, when the military dictatorship offered political amnesty (Furtado and Friedlander 2002) and he returned to Brazil and initiated his political career. Rousseff joined the resistance against the military dictatorship and participated in organized guerrilla activities. She was arrested, charged with subversion, and was tortured between 1970 and 1972 (Rodrigues 2010). After being released, she gradually resumed her political life that led her to occupy different positions in state and federal offices when the military dictatorship became more moderate in the late 1970s under President Army General João Figueiredo, the last president in the military dictatorship period.

The years under Figueiredo allowed civilians to get organized and voice their ideas, culminating, in 1984, with the *Diretas Já!* ('*Direct [Elections] Now!*') movement, which organized rallies and massive demonstrations asking for the popular vote to be reinstated. *Diretas Já!* was only possible because the military was willing to hand over power, allowing the emergence of a public discourse calling for

democratic elections that circulated more freely in unions, political party meetings, and the media. Mainstream media, having had close ties with military governments, embraced the movement at a later stage when the process of redemocratization seemed inevitable. In this process, print media was the first to embrace and support general elections and end the military dictatorship. In this process, Globo, one of the largest media groups in the world, joined the campaign at a later stage, giving it significant coverage on TV news, and only then did the process gain momentum and popular support. This worked as a demonstration of the influence of media and television on public opinion. A direct popular vote was not reinstated, despite the demonstrations; in January 1985, the first civilian president, Tancredo Neves, was elected by an electoral college composed of the National Congress and representatives from State Assemblies. Neves fell ill and died before his inauguration as president.

In March 1985, Neves' vice-president, José Sarney, was inaugurated as the first civilian president since 1964. The historical period that extends from 1985 to the present has been named the "New Republic", in clear opposition to the "Old Republic" (1889 to 1930). This implies that there was an absence of democracy for over fifty-five years between republics, and much of that time involved military coups and political crises that prevented the development of the discourses and social practices that would have resulted in a mature sense of democracy in Brazilian society.

The first general presidential elections of the New Republic took place in 1989; Fernando Collor defeated Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in the run-off. A decisive element in Collor's victory was a TV debate organized and broadcast by TV Globo and later edited for prime-time news to favor Collor, who took office in March 1990, becoming the first civilian president elected by popular vote since 1960. His victory was a demonstration of the influence of TV on public opinion. In December 1992, however, the Senate impeached Collor on accusations of corruption. The vice-president, Itamar Franco, took office until December 1994. Fernando Henrique Cardoso (from PSDB) was elected in late 1994 and took office on January 1, 1995 and was reelected in 1998, for a second term that ended in December 2002. Cardoso, although not the first elected president, was the first president since 1945 to go through two terms without any interruption. In 2002, the Labour Party, which emerged in the 1970s from the resistance of the "Metalúrgico" union against the military government, elected Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (from PT), who had run previously in the 1989, 1994, and 1998 elections, losing the last two elections to Cardoso. Lula was re-elected in 2006 and announced his support for Dilma Rousseff, his chief of staff, to run for president in the general elections to be held in October 2010. Rousseff was the first woman to run for the highest political office in Brazil.

Rousseff had, as the main contender, the candidate José Serra. Although Rousseff held a larger margin of votes in early October, the margin did not guarantee more than 50% of the valid votes, and a run-off was called for October 31, 2010, when she finally won the election over Serra.

The period since 1964 has been marked by the dominance of a few media groups over the collective imagination. Political debate has been silenced and control over forms has been established. TV language has become an authoritative voice and has played a major role in electoral campaigns, because they seem to offer not a simulacrum but reality itself. The data analyzed here are produced not simply because of issues of distribution, but because they build on a strong culture of television as a source of knowledge. This culture feeds the collective imagination and it is in this context of media control that our object of investigation was produced, insofar as public discourse is "situated rhetorical practice" (Zarefsky 2009: 433); that is, it is produced and consumed in specific historical contexts that will shape discursive choices and that will make use of the opportunities and the available technical resources. In this case, the last-minute release was an opportunity and profited from the fast changes in the media landscape. If rhetoric, in its Greek classical sense, means communication from one to many, aiming at mass persuasion (Campbell and Huxman 2009), rhetoric largely benefits from the technological revolution and the emergence of a social configuration that gives rise to faster and cheaper production and consumption of digital information.

4.   Appraisal and the language of evaluation

The appraisal system is concerned with modelling how participants in discourse convey how they feel or value things and people (Martin and White 2005). There are three main subsystems: engagement, graduation, and attitude. Engagement refers to resources in language, such as projection, modalization, or concession, that introduce different voices in discourse. Graduation refers to the means by which participants lower, raise, sharpen, or focus their experiences in language, through vocabulary and metaphors, for instance. The third subsystem, that of attitude, will be further elaborated in the next section, as it is the main analytical tool we employ to examine the discourse strategies used to construe Rousseff's public image and to attempt to persuade viewers to agree with their stance on the candidate.

Attitudinal meaning was developed as a subtype of interpersonal meaning (Martin and White 2005). Attitude includes the values of emotional response (Affect), values by which human behavior is socially assessed (Judgment), and values that address the aesthetic qualities of objects and entities (Appreciation). The system is shown as Table 1. Affect is further categorized into dis/inclination,

un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. Judgment can be divided into *social esteem*, which involves sub-categories of normality (how usual/special someone is), capacity (how capable/powerful someone is) and tenacity (how resolute/dependable someone is), and *social sanction*, which is concerned with veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is). Appreciation is formulated in terms of the entity's aesthetic impact, including reaction (is it interesting, attention grabbing, etc.), composition (is it balanced, coherent, well organized, etc.), and valuation (is it valuable, original, etc.). Attitudes can be positive or negative, reflecting the appraiser's stance on events or entities that elicit the attitude.

Table 1. Categories of attitude (Martin and White 2005)

Affect	+/−inclination	+/−happiness	+/−satisfaction	+/−security	
Judgment	+/−normality	+/−capacity	+/−tenacity	+/−veracity	+/−propriety
Appreciation	+/−reaction	+/−composition	+/−valuation		

In terms of how attitudinal meaning is constructed (by words and grammar), Martin and White (2005) distinguish between inscribed Attitude (explicit) and invoked Attitude (implicit). Inscribing means that the Attitude is directly constructed by attitudinal lexis, such as happy, sad, good, and bad; invoking refers to cases where only the "fact" is represented (e.g. "I got the job" to invoke happiness; "he won seven Olympic medals" to invoke capacity; "she donated all her money to the orphanage" to invoke kindness). Acknowledging both inscribed and invoked Attitude makes it possible for cross-coding among Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation (Martin and White 2005: 67). For example, when a military event is appraised as cruel, the negative judgment of the perpetrator is invoked. More importantly, it is also possible to incorporate non-linguistic resources in attitude representation. For example, luxury accessories can invoke a judgment of wealth, and depictions of certain events (e.g. being tortured) can invoke our perception of the characters' emotions or attributes.

Using the appraisal framework, we are able to explicitly model the attitude profile in the video, which provides a solid basis for the interpretation of the stance of the producer. Fifty-seven tokens of attitude are identified, most of which are Judgment (38), followed by Affect (16) and Appreciation (3). The detailed distribution of different types of attitude is shown in Table 2. Overall, the video is mainly concerned with judging the behavior and characteristics of the main character, Dilma Rousseff, in particular, her propriety (how far what she did is above reproach) and capacity (how capable she is as a president). In terms of Affect, the video is mainly concerned with the emotional reactions of various stakeholders (e.g. the general public, the opposition, former supporters, foreign leaders, etc.) in terms of security (their confidence and trust in her) and satisfaction (whether they are happy with her administration). As shown in Table 2, 87.72% of the attitudes (50 out

of 57) are negative; that reveals a strong polarizing discourse, that places the favorite candidate at the lower end of a continuum line. However, this does not mean that the remaining 12.28% of attitudes are positive toward Rousseff. First, among those 12.28%, some are used to refer to other characters, for example, her opposition, Serra (e.g. "Serra is back and is received at Guarulhos International Airport by Lula and Fernando Henrique. A crazed crowd takes to the tarmac"), reducing even less the chances of the candidate retaining any possible positive evaluation from viewers. These numbers are revealing of strategies to diminish a person's reputation in online discourse and to identify some of the resources deployed in public discourse, i.e. the allocation of negative resources – in this case, lexical items, in the semiotic construction of an individual. Second, while she is judged as positive in terms of her capacity in some cases, the positive capacity only refers to the power that goes with her presidency, rather than her capability as president, and the capacity is typically coupled with negative propriety (i.e. the power is used in an improper way) (e.g. "using her majority in Congress, she manages to veto the allocation of federal resources to São Paulo").

Table 2. The distribution of the subcategories of Attitude

	Propriety	Capacity	Tenacity	Security	Satisfaction	Happiness	Valuation
Positive	0	4	1	0	0	2	0
Negative	22	8	3	5	9	0	3

In terms of the construction of attitude, a remarkable feature is that only 7% is explicitly expressed with attitudinal lexis and 93% is invoked by recounting the "facts", as shown in Table 3. In this way, the attitudinal stance of the producers is made more objective as they are not expressing their personal opinions. In persuasive discourse, this seems to be more effective than direct expressions, as the stance is not imposed on viewers, but inferred by them. Aside from using non-attitudinal events to invoke attitude (e.g. "Dilma declares war against the country's main media outlets"), another important type of invocation is the cross-coding among affect, judgment, and appreciation (e.g. using affect to invoke judgment). For example, in "Dilma is booed at all public ceremonies", people's discontentment is invoked, but at the same time, this attitude invokes Rousseff's negative capacity and propriety, which causes the dissatisfaction; in "International analysts change the ranking of Brazil from a rising power to the new Venezuela", this fact first constructs international analysts' negative valuation of Brazil, but at the same time invokes viewers' judgment of the negative capacity of Rousseff's government. Moreover, the naturalistic images which co-construct the "facts" with the voice-over not only make the facts seem more reliable but also reinforce the negative attitudinal meanings.

Table 3. The construction of attitude

	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation	Total
Inscribed	2	1	1	4
Invoked	14	37	2	53

Some examples of the main types of negative attitude – satisfaction, propriety, and capacity – (cf. Table 2) are illustrated in Table 4. In terms of satisfaction, the examples construct the "fact" that Rousseff is disliked by everybody, including the former president, her former allies, the general public, and foreign countries. In terms of propriety, the examples construct the unacceptability of Rousseff's political decisions, including destroying freedom of speech and democracy. In terms of capacity, the examples highlight the economic and social failures under Rousseff's administration, which is interpreted as her incompetence as a national leader.

Table 4. Examples of invoked attitude

–satisfaction	– The former president says he was betrayed. – Former allies begin to change sides. – A crowd takes to the streets to protest strongly in solidarity with the victims of the confrontation. – 2012 goes fast, and the press registers the biggest drop in popularity by a Brazilian president in the history of the Republic. – The USA, France, and England break commercial ties with Brazil.
–propriety	– Dilma declares war against the country's main media outlets. – Dilma sends troops to the Congress. – The tax revenue department and the department of justice ravage the lives of parliamentary opposition and enemies of the "New Regime". – The Congress, which was paralyzed by the governmental steamroller, starts to react.
–capacity	– Brazil faces a pessimistic end of the year, the economy shrinks, jobs disappear, Brazil runs out of steam. – International tourism in Brazil collapses. Crime reaches never-before-seen levels. – International analysts change the ranking of Brazil from a rising power to the new Venezuela.

In sum, the video, by recounting the seemingly objective facts, constructs an extremely negative image of Rousseff, that she is incapable of running the country, that she unethically destroys freedom of speech and democracy, and that she is disliked by everyone. In doing so, the rhetor's attempt to persuade viewers to think that if Rousseff continues as the president, Brazil and all its citizens will be engulfed by unprecedented political and economic crises. Evoking such fear through attitudinal meaning in negative discourse is a common strategy in political campaigns.

Negative political advertising is foreseeable, as it may increase the chances of a candidate "by impairing the position of the competitor" (Merritt 1984: 27). The historical review presented in the previous section demonstrates that the Brazilian social and political environment have not allowed the development of a strong political campaign industry as in the US, for instance, where the use of negative political advertising in political campaigns has increased significantly since the early 1970s (Tak, Kaid and Lee 1997), providing the historical conditions for studies focusing specifically on the effects of negative political advertising in political campaigns. Merritt (1984) studied the effects of negative political advertising to conclude that the strategy might not be effective for a minority party but that it might work in contexts where there are only two candidates in the dispute, as was the case with the 2010 Brazilian presidential election. Merritt (1984: 27) defines negative advertising as that which identifies "a competitor for the purpose of imputing inferiority" or even unsuitability for the position to which they aspire. The concept of negative refers to advertisements that are aimed at "degrading perceptions of the rival, to the advantage of the sponsor" (Merritt 1984: 27). As a discursive strategy, it might favor the sponsor as the one who presents himself as the alternative to the negative characteristics of the opponent, perhaps pushing voters away from the opposing candidate. Negative political messages might contribute to the evaluation of the contenders (Garramone et al. 1990), but they also aim to stir emotions, and as a consequence, they blur the critical and logical thinking required in the process of selecting a candidate.

This study corroborates Merritt's claim that "negative advertising need not even mention anything about the sponsor's attributes. […] Only in a two-brand market will moving customers away from the competition benefit the sponsor" (1984: 27). Although the sponsor is not identified explicitly, the only beneficiary of this piece of propaganda is Rousseff's contender, José Serra, who is introduced in the final stage of the narrative, as a victim of political persecution, the antithesis of the evil embodied in Rousseff as a candidate, the target of the piece of propaganda.

5.   Conclusion

In this chapter, we analyzed an electoral propaganda video, focusing mainly on language in order to unveil the discursive strategies used to present the targeted candidate, Dilma Rousseff. In an analysis of the language using the system of appraisal, the results demonstrated a consistent use of negative properties ascribed to Rousseff that benefit the other candidate, José Serra, who emerges as the candidate positioned on the other end of the polarized representation.

Negative political propaganda might be on the rise due to the growth of social media, which are harder to control and make it difficult to track the origins of a

piece of propaganda. Once something goes online, even if it is deleted from the original website, it might circulate through other sources once it hits cyberspace. Data analysis demonstrates a focus on emotions as the objective of argumentative construction (Micheli 2010), relying on tropes pertinent to Brazilian culture, particularly on recent historical facts. As stated earlier, the narrative, presented through deductive reasoning, relies on established tropes of Brazilian culture.

According to the film, the newly elected president would act not as a democratic leader but a violent dictator who declares "war" against political leaders and the media – the notion of censorship is encrypted in the collective imaginary as inherently belonging to dictatorships, vis-à-vis the very historical trajectory of Brazil. An assertion that Rousseff would approve the decriminalization of abortion and tax churches – two topics explored during that particular campaign – speaks particularly to religious groups to infuse fear and anger among religious communities and their affiliates, to represent the then-potential president a risk to the religious beliefs and economic interests carefully protected by religious institutions.

The narrative construes a government run by Dilma Rousseff as authoritarian, evoking recent historical events such as the military dictatorship that led opposition activists into exile in the 1960s and 1970s, or the escalation of inflation in the 1980s. The narrative presents a close relationship between the federal government and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hugo Chavez, the respective presidents of Iran and Venezuela in 2010. Both countries have been largely represented as authoritarian governments by part of the Brazilian media. The narrative process that aims at eliciting emotions more than logical reasoning therefore relies on previous knowledge that is important to lead viewers to fear a possible victory by Rousseff.

The strategy of instilling fear is not new; even when the tropes are local, the strategy might be global. Wodak (2015), for instance, refers to a politics of fear that, in the context of Europe, is deployed by right-wing parties to raise growing support. These parties construe the other as a threat in terms of religion or ethnicity in order to instill fear in the population and increase support. Altheide (2002: 3) argues that fear has become an important aspect of contemporary society as a framework that permeates discourse and shapes identities and social relations and that is more effective when "message and meanings are part of the broader culture and are recognized and taken for granted by a mass audience" (Altheide 2006: 47).

The data we analyzed here might be a part of the larger process of the "fictionalization of politics" (Wodak 2015: 12). Although Wodak uses the term to explain the blurring lines between the "fictional, the informative and the entertaining" (2015: 12), we suggest here that this fictionalization might also occur in the sense that political propaganda might rely on anonymity as an opportunity created by digital public discourse to produce and circulate texts that do not rely on facts or solid arguments – a desirable and necessary aspect of politics – but on narratives

that stir emotions as an expedient to gather support and obstruct a constructive political debate by affecting the collective imagination and public perception of political agents, in this particular case.

In this sense, more research is necessary in different contexts both horizontally, using large data for quantitative analysis, and vertically, doing qualitative analysis in order to lead to a better understanding of how the language of evaluation – and emotions – are deployed as part of public discourse.

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Persuasion in social context

Reframing as a persuasive device in public speech

Beyond globalized biodiversity

Anna Franca Plastina

This chapter shows how reframing operates as a persuasive device in public discourse to reorient the audience's existing beliefs according to the speaker's viewpoint. The study considers the empirical case of a public speech reframed by a socio-ecological expert to persuade her audience of alternative perspectives on biodiversity. The main aim is to analyze the different types of frame changes intentionally used by the speaker for effective persuasive appeals, and to investigate how these were indexed by linguistic devices and strategies to influence the audience. Qualitative findings reveal a network of linguistic elements at play in evoking frame changes combined with linguistic markers of emotional appeals to influence the audience's preference for the speaker's viewpoint.

Keywords: reframing, persuasion, frame changes, frame competition, public speech, rhetorical appeals, biodiversity

1. Introduction

Public speakers often engage their audience in a critical examination of their own ideologies, knowledge and beliefs, which reflect their "internally persuasive discourses" (Bakhtin 1981) open to the influence of those of others. In these processes, public speakers frame their discourses in ways which persuade the audience "to give favorable attention to [their] point of view" (Osborn and Osborn 1997: 415). Basically, *frames* enable the audience "to locate, perceive, identify, and label events and occurrences" in public discourse, and thus function as "schemata of interpretation" of the real world (Goffman 1974: 21). However, public speakers often make deliberate use of frames as a subtle form of persuasion to prioritize some issues over others, and thereby promote their own interpretation of reality. Frames as persuasive devices thus allow speakers to bias the audience's cognitive processing of information according to their viewpoints.

The present chapter considers frames as the basic constituents of the process of *reframing*, which involves the persuasive process of "[…] shifting an issue away from its conventional 'location' within one set of shared assumptions and reconstruing it within a different set of knowledges" (Macgilchrist 2007: 80). Public discourse prioritizing the socio-ecological issue of biodiversity conservation over globalized biodiversity may offer fertile ground for new research on persuasion when its application takes place through the device of reframing. The unique role played by reframing can, in fact, be seen in drawing attention to the increasing loss of biodiversity, which poses dramatic risks to the quality of human life and to its survival. Given the significant contribution that reframing can implicitly make to this socio-ecological issue, it is thus worthy of much closer attention than it has so far received.

Socio-ecological experts are those who often voice their concerns about biodiversity through public speeches. Alter-globalization activists are emblematic representatives as they are experts committed to opposing the dominant neoliberal ideology of globalization (Pleyers 2010) and advancing alternative perspectives. The way in which these public speakers manage to successfully reorient their audience's socio-cognitive views of biodiversity, however, largely depends on how they reframe their speeches to "struggle for influence within an individual's consciousness" (Bakhtin 1981: 348). Reframing therefore deserves a thorough analysis, which is what this chapter sets out to accomplish. As a starting point, it is important to underline that "the key aspect of frames is what the people are *doing* when they speak" (Tannen 1979: 142, original emphasis). This implies that the communicative process of reframing biodiversity discourse entails four key components: (1) a *knowledgeable agent* (the speaker or persuader) who is identifiable in the figure of an alter-globalization activist; (2) the *agent's goal*, which is largely set to prioritize local conservation over globalized biodiversity; (3) the *agent's public speech* through which persuasion operates towards the end goal of biodiversity conservation; (4) the *other agents* addressed (the audience), who assimilate the public speech, and may ultimately gain consciousness of a new perspective on biodiversity.

This study takes previous research on biodiversity discourse (cf. Plastina 2015) a step further with the specific aim of analyzing how reframing operates as a persuasive device in the public speech of an alter-globalization activist. A case in point is Vandana Shiva's public speech, delivered on the occasion of her being awarded an honorary doctorate in nutritional science at the University of Calabria in Italy. This case appears highly representative of the typical process of reframing, as its four required components are at play: the status of a renowned Indian alter-globalization activist positions Shiva as a knowledgeable agent in the role of speaker and persuader; her end goal is to prioritize biodiversity conservation; Shiva's status and end goal presuppose that her public speech operates through reframing to influence the academic community as her audience, and especially

those members who are largely unaware of the ethical, economic, and social issues at stake in the loss of biodiversity (Menzel and Bögeholz 2009). Based on these premises and following a theoretical introduction to the study, the core part of the chapter analyzes Shiva's public discourse as an empirical case of persuasion in speeches on socio-ecological issues.

2.   Framing and reframing as persuasive devices

As public speakers, knowledgeable agents engage in framing processes to posit their claims and make them convincingly credible to their audiences. These processes rely on the assumption that "the world is not readily categorized […] it is *constituted* in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it" (Potter 1996: 98; original emphasis). In a socio-constructionist perspective, framing can be seen as a dynamic process in which the choice of language plays a key role in making meaning and the frames used by speakers affect the amount of persuasion their messages elicit (cf. Smith and Petty 1996). Basically, as Entman (1993: 52) pointed out, framing involves two key factors:

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to *select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described.
>
> (Entman 1993: 52, original emphasis)

Hence, *selection* and *salience* intimately relate framing to persuasion, and contribute to shaping frames as persuasive devices. According to Barnett (1999: 25), frames "fix meanings, organize experience, alert others that their interests and possibly their identities are at stake, and propose solutions to ongoing problems."

Framing processes have been considered extremely important in understanding social movement agents and their production of meaning (Benford and Snow 2000). The main problem, however, depends on the fact that "we do not see the frame[s] directly, but infer [their] presence by [their] characteristic expressions and language" (Ryan and Gamson 2006: 14). Disclosing the linguistic features through which frames manifest themselves is therefore a crucial step in gaining an understanding of how they operate. In this regard, it is important to underline that not all frames are alike. Lakoff (2006: 12) distinguishes between *surface* and *deep* frames:

> Deep frames structure your moral system or your worldview. Surface frames have a much smaller scope. They are associated with […] modes of communication […] Without the deep frames, there is nothing for the surface message frames to hang on. (Lakoff 2006: 12)

In other words, surface frames are constituents of the framing process, whereas deep frames account for the more complex process of reframing. According to Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch (1974: 95):

> To reframe, then, means to change the conceptual and/or emotional setting or viewpoint in relation to which a situation is experienced and to place it in another frame which fits the 'facts' of the same concrete situation equally well or even better, and thereby changing its entire meaning.
>
> (Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch 1974: 95)

Hence, reframing involves the selection of salient frames to change with the intention of altering the audience's existing frames (cf. Johnston 1995). In this, different persuasive purposes are served by different types of frame changes. Borrowing from the classification proposed for environmental discourses of conflict between direct parties (Kaufman & Smith 1999; Kaufman et al. 2013), five main types of frame changes are identified for present purposes. These include:

1. *Substance* frames, which may be "[…] accompanied by a *complete story* describing how consequences unfold in time […]" (Kaufman and Smith 1999: 170; original emphasis). This type of reframing "[…] affects how one views the world today or potential future states of the world […]" (Kaufman, Elliott and Shmueli 2013: n.p.);
2. *Process* frames, which reflect the way things are done in terms of steps and decisions by other individuals or groups, and thus affect interpersonal interaction;
3. *Characterization* frames, which attribute either negative or positive features to others, and may "significantly differ from how the other parties view themselves" (Kaufman, Elliott and Shmueli 2013: n.p.). Negative characterization frames may lead the audience to delegitimize subjects or to doubt their trustworthiness;
4. *Value* frames, which highlight the relationship between values and interests for the speaker, the audience, and other subjects;
5. *Gain and loss* frames: loss-framed messages, especially laden with fear-arousing appeals, may turn out to be more engaging and thus more persuasive. According to Tversky and Kahneman (1981), as losses loom larger than gains, people are generally more sensitive to losses than to gains.

Moreover, frame changes are effective when they operate in *frame competition* with existing frames in order to shape new opinions (Eder 1996). Conversely, the effects of frames on public opinion can be neutralized (Sniderman and Theirault 2004), unless the results of the competition show that one frame is stronger than others. *Frame strength* is then key to successful frame competition. According to Chong and Druckman (2007: 103), frame strength can be considered "[…] as increasing with the persuasiveness of a given frame. Weak frames are typically seen as

unpersuasive, whereas strong frames are more compelling." Frame strength is also likely to increase when the source is deemed credible (Druckman 2001), and if it does not strongly contrast with the audience's primary frames (Druckman and Nelson 2003). Conversely, "the weak frame may backfire especially among motivated individuals by causing their opinions to move in a direction opposite to the position advocated by the weak frame" (Chong and Druckman 2007: 111).

Frame quantity, or the total number of exposures to a given frame, is another key factor for effective frame competition. Chong and Druckman (2007: 103) classify frame quantity (frequency) into three categories:

1. *asymmetric one-sided*: the public is exposed to only one frame one or more times, and thus to only one side of an argument. For this reason, this category is not involved in frame competition;
2. *dual or symmetric*: the public is exposed to an equal amount of competing frames;
3. *asymmetric two-sided*: the public is exposed to unequal amounts of competing frames.

Public speakers have a range of choices they can make in reframing public discourse, such as selecting different *types* of frame changes, placing these in *competition*, building their *frame strength,* and increasing their *quantity*, and exposing the public to either *symmetric* or *asymmetric two-sided* frame frequency. These choices contribute to a persuasive effect on the audience.

3.   The study: Aim and method

The aim of this study was to analyze which frames were evoked and redefined (Johnston 2011) in Shiva's public speech and how, and what language was intentionally crafted (Lakoff 2014) to introduce frame changes. Two main research questions are addressed: (1) Which frame changes are used to compete for effective persuasive appeal(s)? (2) Which linguistic framing devices and strategies of rhetorical appeal index these frames?

The theoretical methodological approach draws on a combination of framing theory and content analysis. Following a mixed-method research design, a top-down approach – from the macro level of frames to the micro level of linguistic features – was adopted for the analysis of the transcribed speech (Appendix 1). The analysis was carried out in two main steps: in the first step, frame changes, frame competition and the use of linguistic framing devices were examined; in the second, the linguistic strategies used as persuasive techniques to reinforce the reframing process were analyzed.

As for frame changes, the main elements of the text were initially identified as frames enabling the audience to perceive and process information. "The point-of-view dimension" (van Dijk 1980: 3) adopted by the speaker toward these main elements was used to locate frame changes. This was done by mapping text segments in terms of strong/weak selection and salience (Entman 1993). Text segments organized as highly important meaning (salience) were indicators of strong selection as opposed to those with less meaning for the speaker (weak selection and salience). Frame changes were then coded at the macro level according to the five main types of substance, process, characterization, value and gain-and-loss frame changes (see Section 1). At the linguistic level, content analysis was carried out by selecting words whose meaning could be paired with one of the coded categories of frame changes. As Fillmore and Baker (2010: 318–219, original emphasis) note, "the pairing of a word with one of its meanings […] *evokes* a frame and *profiles* some aspect or component of that frame". Thus, lexical expressions profiling the storytelling technique of speech (e.g. temporal markers, past tense verbs) were paired with the substance frame; those indicating how things are done (e.g. active nouns and verbs), or signaling decisions (e.g. discourse markers) were coupled with process frames; positive or negative qualifiers of social actors were paired with frames of characterization; linguistic features (e.g. rhetorical devices) making a point on values were matched with value frames, while lexical items connoted with positive meaning of gain or negative meaning of loss were paired with gain-and-loss frames.

The most significant category of frame changes was then examined for frame competition in terms of quantity and strength to determine how the speech was predominantly reframed. Frame quantity was analyzed through the three variables of main themes, frame frequency (asymmetric one-sided, symmetric, or asymmetric two-sided), and the discursive devices employed by the speaker to contrast opposing views and claim her viewpoint; frame strength was analyzed through linguistic markers of credibility.

Linguistic framing devices were also analyzed to understand how they positively reinforced the process of evoking frame changes. The analysis was circumscribed to the five linguistic devices proposed by Gamson and Lasch (1983) for this functional purpose. These include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images. Metaphors were classified as *dynamic* if they enclosed two or more entities acting in relation to each other, or as *single-valued* if focus was placed on the attributes of a single entity; exemplars were considered as linguistic exemplifications of real past or present events; catchphrases were classified as theme statements or slogans that capture the general meaning of the frame; depictions were defined as characterizing subjects through attributes; and visual images were understood as referring to iconic values.

In the second and final step, linguistic strategies operating as persuasive techniques were identified and classified as rhetorical appeals (*logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*) to determine the predominant modes of persuasion shaping the reframing process. Both linguistic framing devices and strategies of appeals were considered functional with respect to making it more difficult for the audience to refute the speaker's process of reframing the discourse.

4.   Results and discussion

The transcribed speech had 123 sentences (2,362 running words). Results for frame changes, frame competition, and linguistic framing devices are presented in this section.

4.1   Frame changes

Coded data showed that all five types of frame changes were used in the reframing process with different persuasive purposes. The discourse opens with the speaker's personal and ecological story (*my biological life and ecological journey*), and continues later on to provide further biographical details, as shown in Example (1):

(1)   a.   *My biological life and ecological journey <u>started</u> in the forests of the Himalaya*;
(S1)

   b.   *<u>In 1973,</u> l <u>had gone</u> to visit my favourite forests and swim in my favourite stream <u>before leaving</u> for Canada to do my Ph.D.*   (S17)

The past tense verbs (*started*, *had gone*) and temporal markers (*in 1973, before leaving*) are indicators of the storytelling technique used to evoke a *substance* frame for the purpose of affecting the audience's worldview: "a story is a fact, wrapped in an emotion that compels us to take an action that transforms our world" (Maxwell and Dickman 2007: 5). The storytelling technique also functioned as a *master* frame of the entire speech, which "provide[ed] the interpretive medium" through which Shiva was able to "assign blame for the problem [she was] attempting to ameliorate" (Snow and Benford 1992: 139). This was seen to be her core goal as it extended at length throughout her speech (*N* = 38 sentences; 31% of the entire text). While the substance frame did not carry any subjective ideological value, its persuasive intent was to create *frame resonance*, or "strike a responsive chord" (Snow and Benford 1988: 198) in the audience. This facilitated biasing the audience's cognitive processing of information, which evoked process, characterization, value and gain-and-loss frames.

Process frames were mainly evoked through active nouns (*logging*) pointing to the devastating consequences of globalized biodiversity (*landslides*, *floods*, *scarcity of water*), or through adversative conjunctions (*but*) denoting the loss of biodiversity (e.g. *the forests were gone*, *the stream was a trickle*), as illustrated in Example (2):

(2) a. *Logging had led to landslides and floods, and scarcity of water, fodder and fuel;*   (S9)
  b. *But the forests were gone and the stream was a trickle.*   (S18)

The process frames evoked were expected to be socially recognized and accepted by the audience without contrasting with their existing frames about the effects of ecological devastation on humanity.

Positive qualifiers (*forest conservator, farmer, experts*) were attributed by the speaker to family members and, more in general, to biodiversity conservators as opposed to the negative actions (*browbeat and intimidate*) qualifying official authorities as shown in Example (3):

(3) a. *My father was a forest conservator, and my mother chose to become a farmer after becoming a refugee in the tragic partition of India and Pakistan*; (S2)
  b. *The forest officials arrived to browbeat and intimidate the women* (S21); *women* […] *are biodiversity experts, especially in the Third World.* (S120)

These positive and negative qualifiers were thus meant to evoke characterization frames through which the audience was persuaded to delegitimize institutional (male) subjects in order to better acknowledge biodiversity activists, and even privilege the female operators among these. This juxtaposition was also used to highlight opposing values (*profit and resin and timber*) and emphasize those held by the speaker (*soil, water and pure air*) through the rhetorical device of repetition, as indicated in Example (4):

(4) a. *Do you know what forests bear? They produce profit and resin and timber*;   (SS25–26)
  b. *What do the forests bear? Soil, water and pure air. Soil, water and pure air.*   (SS28–30)

The repetition of the question in 4b is intended to engage the audience in a critical re-examination of the values enunciated in 4a. The repeated response reframes opposing values in order to stress the interests of the alter-globalization activist. This mechanism thus profiles the speaker's value frame, and its influence on raising the audience's awareness of alternative perspectives of biodiversity.

Nominal phrases mostly connoted loss of biodiversity as *scarcity* and *burden*, and its natural conservation as the benefits (*food, fuel*) gained from natural elements, thus evoking gain and loss frames, as illustrated in Example (5):

(5) a. […] *the scarcity* meant <u>longer walks</u> *for collecting water and firewood, and*
        a <u>heavier</u> <u>burden</u>;   (S10)
    b. *Women knew that the real value of <u>forests</u> was not the timber from a dead*
        tree, but <u>the springs and streams</u>, <u>food for their cattle and fuel for the hearth.</u>
                                                                            (S11)

Example 5a shows how nominal phrases were used to attribute practical consequences (*longer walks*, *heavier burden*) to the loss of biodiversity. This enabled the
audience to easily construct or recall their interpretation of loss tied to the hardship
of real life. On the other hand, gains in Example 5b placed natural elements (*forests*,
springs and streams) in a more direct relation with the primary needs of all humans,
namely, nutrition (*food for their cattle*) and shelter (*fuel for the hearth*). These helped
profile universal gain frames, which all members of the audience were able to easily
perceive and interpret. Expressions of benefit were also interwoven with linguistic
elements providing evidence of characterization frames (*women knew*) and value
frames (*the real value of forests*) to evoke gain frames more forcefully through biodiversity expertise and values.

    All in all, the decision to evoke all types of frame changes in the speech appeared to be finalized to construct different persuasive appeals. Substance frames
were evoked to promote the *problem definition* of biodiversity, and their persuasive
appeal was shaped by the absence of any initial subjective ideological value, thus
creating empathy with the audience. Process frames were oriented by a *causal interpretation* of globalized biodiversity to convince the audience of its devastating
effects for mankind. Characterization and value frames both served to reorient the
audience's *moral evaluation* of globalized biodiversity by juxtaposing negative and
positive attributes of opposing social actors and values. The speaker's own frames
were subtly evoked to bias the audience's moral judgements, thus leading them to
side with biodiversity activists and their values. Gain and loss frames were mostly
evoked to persuade the audience of the destructive consequences of biodiversity
loss by reframing these as *treatment recommendations* through the benefits of biodiversity conservation.

4.2   Frame competition: Quantity and strength

As the most significant types of frame changes found in the speech, gain and loss
frames were subjected to a competitive analysis of frame quantity and strength.
Results from the analysis of frame quantity revealed the occurrence of three thematic frames, which engaged in distinct competitions: (1) "food supply" ($N = 36$
sentences; 54.6%); (2) "food security" ($N = 21$ sentences; 31.8%); and (3) "nature"
($N = 9$ sentences; 13.6%) with a total of 66 sentences (53.6% of the entire text). Of

these, gain frames (N = 41 sentences; 62.1%) were found to outnumber loss frames (N = 25 sentences; 37.9%), suggesting an *asymmetric two-sided* frame frequency (Chong and Druckman 2007), with the audience exposed to unequal amounts of competing frames.

Linguistic analysis further revealed that frame quantity was mainly shaped at the micro-level through the combined use of the two discursive devices of *adjacency* and *repetition*. The use of adjacent sentence pairs evoking opposing frames of gains and losses strategically forced the audience to perform "a comparative evaluation for preference formation" (Druckman and Lupia 2000: 2). While this close comparison placed contrasting frames in high competition, it posed the risk of neutralizing the persuasive effects of gain frame changes. To avoid this, adjacent sentence pairs were significantly supported by the use of repetition, which functioned as a reframing device, as shown in Example (6):

(6)   a.   <u>*Producing more food*</u> *while protecting biodiversity is precisely what we at Navdanya*[1] *are doing;*   (S53)
      b.   *The so-called "Green Revolution" and genetic engineering have been offered as "intensive" farming, creating a false impression that they <u>produce more food</u> per acre.*   (S54)

In the example, the verbal phrases *producing more/produce more* were regularly placed in adjacent proximity in the text (N = 15 occurrences) to evoke the thematic frame of *food supply*, and thus facilitate the audience's perception of this issue. The main persuasive purpose of the use of repetition was, however, to make the gain frame more robust and appealing by raising doubts (*false impression*) about the effectiveness of *"intensive"* or monoculture farming developed during the 20th-century Green Revolution.[2]

This pattern of adjacency and repetition was not only applied to verbal phrases, but also embedded in nominal phrases linked to the other two main themes of *food security* (N = 10 occurrences) and *nature* (N = 4 occurrences). In the first case, the pattern was introduced to delegitimize the political and economic interests behind monoculture farming by evoking the loss frame of *decline in food security* with the effect of sensitizing the audience to the fact that not all people at all times may have access to safe and nutritious food. This risky condition predisposes the audience to better accept an alternative solution through the repetition of the key concept of food security, which is then immediately reframed to offer *livelihood security* through biodiversity agents (*small rural producers*), as indicated in Example (7):

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1.   The movement for biodiversity conservation and organic farming started by Shiva in 1987.

2.   Monoculture farming refers to the cultivation of a single crop over a vast area and for a long period of time, also by means of genetic engineering.

(7) a. *Thus, both at the level of individual peasant farms and at the national level, the Green Revolution has led to <u>a decline in food security</u>;* (S107)

    b. *<u>Food security</u> is therefore intimately connected to the <u>livelihood security of small rural producers.</u>* (S111)

In the second case, the pattern refers to the transformative process of nature, where the order of *living earth* and *dead matter* is subverted. The loss *transformed* by the *industrial revolution* is reframed as the gain *replaced* by *constantly renewing* biodiversity, as shown in Example (8):

(8) a. *Its contemporary seeds were sown when the <u>living earth</u> was <u>transformed</u> into <u>dead matter</u> to facilitate <u>the industrial revolution</u>;* (S44)

    b. *'raw material' and '<u>dead matter</u>' <u>replaced</u> a <u>constantly renewing</u> and <u>living earth.</u>* (S45)

As for frame strength, persuasion was found to operate by reframing linguistic markers of credibility as shown in Example (9), where the less reliable source of *a myth* is replaced by the trustworthy source of *the UN report*:

(9) a. *<u>A myth</u> promoted by the one-dimensional <u>monoculture paradigm</u> is that biodiversity reduces yields and productivity, and <u>monocultures increase yields and productivity</u>;* (S68)

    b. *<u>The UN report</u> submitted to the General Assembly on 20th December 2010 also confirms that <u>ecological agriculture produces more food.</u>* (S117)

The apparent gain frame of the *monoculture paradigm* is thus weakened by the untrustworthy attribute of *a myth*, which enables the audience to deem *the UN report* as much more credible. Ultimately, the confrontation weakens the audience's conviction that *monocultures increase yields and productivity*, and contributes to strengthening their belief that *ecological agriculture produces more food*.

4.3 Linguistic framing devices

Content analysis revealed that all five types of linguistic framing devices were applied to reinforce the act of evoking frame changes with precise functions. Metaphors were used to closely tie the speaker with the personified entity of biodiversity, and thus had a *dynamic* two-way function, as shown in Example (10):

(10) *<u>Biodiversity</u> has been <u>my teacher of abundance and freedom, of cooperation and mutual giving.</u>* (S38)

The metaphor engages biodiversity in a teacher-learner relationship with the speaker. It subtly reinforces the storytelling technique of affecting the audience's view (substance frame), attributes knowledgeable status to the personification of

biodiversity (*teacher*) (characterization frame), and eventually displays its benefits of *abundance and freedom*, *of cooperation and mutual giving* (gain frame).

Exemplars were used to evoke the substance frame of real past events reproducing peaceful traditions (*songs and poems*), their processes (*composed*) and their agents (*our mother*) to highlight natural elements (*trees, forests and India's forest civilization*) and thus reinforce value frames, as indicated in Example (11):

(11)   *The songs and poems* our mother composed for us were <u>*about trees, forests and India's forest civilization.*</u>   (S4)

Catchphrases as those underlined in Example (12) were mainly introduced to profile changes by opposing gain and loss frames (*destruction* vs. *cultivate and nurture*):

(12)   a.   *The destruction of* <u>*diversity begins in the mind*</u>;   (S42)
        b.   <u>*Being diverse is the new creativity humanity needs*</u> *to cultivate and nurture.* (S123)

Depictions helped reinforce characterization frames of gender (*women* vs. *loggers*) and their actions (*hug* vs. *kill*), as illustrated in Example (13):

(13)   <u>*Women*</u> *declared that they would* <u>*hug*</u> *trees, and the* <u>*loggers*</u> *would have to* <u>*kill*</u> *them before they killed the trees.*   (S7)

Vivid depictions thus easily oriented the audience's social interpretation of biodiversity as a non-violent ecology movement mainly made up of female activists, who were ready to oppose authoritative males, and were willing to give up their lives for biodiversity conservation.

The iconic value of the beauty of nature and its benefits for human beings was expressed through the linguistic device of visual images to evoke a substance frame (*the folk songs of that period*) in which value frames (*beautiful oaks and rhododendrons*, *don't cut these trees*), and gain frames (*they give us cool water*) were more easily nested, as shown in Example (14):

(14)   <u>*The folk songs of that period*</u> *said:* "*These* <u>*beautiful oaks and rhododendrons, they give us cool water. Don't cut these trees*</u>".   (SS12–15)

On the whole, these linguistic framing devices further contributed to building persuasive appeal and to influencing the audience's interpretation, also as they allowed a combination of frame changes to be evoked simultaneously.

5.   Linguistic strategies as persuasive techniques

Emotional appeals, emotive language, and inclusive language were found to be the main linguistic strategies used as persuasive techniques in the speech. These results indicate that *pathos* was the predominant mode of persuasion to engage the audience's emotions and gain their sympathy. Emotional appeals played on the audience's feelings of fear and injustice, calling for alternatives, as shown in Example (15):

(15) a.   *They* [industrial farmers] *produce more <u>toxins</u> and greenhouse <u>gases</u>, and more <u>debt</u>* (S56); *Bio-diverse ecological systems nourished by <u>the sun and the soil</u>.*   (S37)
   b.   [...] *the agrarian <u>crisis</u> and farmers' <u>suicides</u>, to the <u>erosion</u> of soil, water and biodiversity, and to the climate <u>crisis</u>* (S52); *social justice is the path of <u>sustainability</u> in agriculture that we should be taking.*   (S113)
   c.   *We do not reduce vitamin A <u>deficiency</u> with genetically engineered golden rice* (S58); *Biodiversity offers us <u>better and richer options</u>.*   (S59)

These fear-arousing appeals (*toxins*, *gases*, *debt*, *crisis*, *suicides*, *erosion*, and *deficiency*) strongly engaged the audience, and inevitably persuaded them to acknowledge the alternatives of *the sun and the soil*, *sustainability*, and *better and richer options*.

Strong emotive lexis was subtly used to reinforce the contrast between opposing views of biodiversity, thus strengthening emotional appeals, as shown in Example (16):

(16) a.   *<u>genetically uniform</u> monocultures; <u>diverse</u> species used for <u>diverse</u> purposes*
   b.   *<u>non-renewable</u> compound impoverishes the soil; <u>ecological</u> nutrients are renewable*
   c.   *<u>local men</u> [...] <u>colonized</u> by that system, <u>cognitively, economically and politically</u>; <u>women</u> [...] are <u>biodiversity experts</u>, especially in the Third World.*

The systematic use of modifiers was found to deliberately place meanings in opposition, steering the audience's preference for biodiversity conservation (e.g. *genetically uniform* vs. *diverse*; *non-renewable* vs. *ecological, renewable*; *colonized cognitively, economically and politically* vs. *biodiversity experts*).

The persuasive technique of inclusive language was used by the speaker to establish a "we" relationship with the audience, as highlighted in Example (17):

(17) a.   *<u>We need to move away from</u> the Cartesian paradigm of nature as dead fragmented matter*;   (S49)
   b.   *<u>We need to move to</u> an ecological paradigm of nature as living*;   (S50)
   c.   [...] *<u>we not only protect</u> nature, <u>we are better able to ensure</u> human well-being.*   (S51)

Statements 17a. and b. drive the audience towards taking two crucial actions (*move away from* and *move to*). The linguistic strategy of repeating the verbal phrase *we need to* serves a twofold purpose: it appeals to the audience's sense of responsibility through the inclusive pronoun *we* and strengthens the gain frame (*better able to ensure*) in 17c. This step-by-step negotiation of sharable views is extremely persuasive as it does not appear to contrast any person's primary frame of *human well-being*.

Emotional appeals were supported by ethical appeals to credibility (*ethos*) for more effective persuasion. This was mainly accomplished through the speaker's display of her knowledge, competence (Example 18), awareness, and good will (Example 19):

(18) a. *It is from the Himalayan forests and ecosystems that <u>most of my learning of ecology</u> took place;*   (S3)

  b. *As l have described <u>in my book</u> 'Monocultures of the Mind';*   (S43)

(19) a. *I spent every vacation doing 'pad yatras' (<u>awareness</u> walks), <u>documenting and writing reports</u>;*   (S19)

  b. *[…] biodiversity based on living economics, the protection of which has become <u>my life's mission.</u>*   (S35)

Appeals to logical reasoning (*logos*) were made for effective persuasion, mostly by introducing the linguistic strategy of evidence expressed through facts and figures, as indicated in Example (20):

(20) <u>*The UNCTAD-UNEP study*</u> *"Organic Agriculture and Food Security in Africa" <u>found</u> that ecological methods increase crop yields by <u>116%</u> for all of Africa and <u>128%</u> in East Africa.*   (S118)

In sum, the results show that the audience's *public preference* was persuasively reframed by the speaker, and that reframing was indexed by the following main evidence:

– past tense verbs and temporal markers (substance frame), active nouns and adversative conjunctions (process frame), positive and negative qualifiers denoting opposing biodiversity agents (characterization frames), the juxtaposition of opposing values and emphasis of the speaker's values through the rhetorical device of repetition (value frame), nominal phrases denoting the advantages of conservation as opposed to those indicating the disadvantages of globalized biodiversity (gain and loss frames);

– as the predominant type of frame changes, gain and loss frames were placed in frame competition with an asymmetric two-sided frame frequency, which exposed the audience to unequal amounts of competing frames; frame quantity

was shaped by the two discursive devices of adjacent sentence pairs and repetition, and frame strength was operated through opposing adjacent propositions and linguistic markers of credibility;
– linguistic framing devices (metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images) reinforced frame changes, and supported the possibility of evoking different frames simultaneously;
– pathos as the main mode of persuasion was rendered through markers of fear and injustice (emotional appeals), modifiers (strong emotive lexis), and *we* expressions (speaker-audience relationship) as the main linguistic strategies.

These results clearly show how reframing operates as a "discourse viewpoint", whereby "grammatical forms […] work as the lowest-level elements in the construction of higher-level viewpoint" (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016: 38), and how the analysis was crucial in unveiling the speaker's underlying cognitive and linguistic struggle to influence her audience.

6. Conclusions

This empirical study has shown that the emotional mode of persuasion was mainly used to stimulate alternative views of biodiversity. Environmental activists have often shaped their public speeches only through the use of moral suasion, leading scholars to note the ineffectiveness of this method when it is not coupled with other means (Sutinen 1997). This study confirms that the speech was framed to have a strong persuasive effect, stemming from the combination of all three forms of rhetorical appeals. At a universal level, the public speech was particularly structured to impact on the audience's feelings regarding food supply, food security, and nature. In the push and tug involved in producing emotional meaning, the speaker exerted a psychological social influence, using the *disrupt-then-reframe* technique. This involves "[…] both the approach and the avoidance forces by disrupting the resistance so that the target can be made susceptible to a persuasive framing of the offer" (Davis and Knowles 1999: 192). This technique was then supported by coupling ethical and logical appeals for credibility and evidence.

These findings are by no means conclusive; they need to be tested on comparable public speeches in similar persuasive situations. However, they offer new insights into the phenomenon of reframing as a persuasive device deftly employed by alter-globalization activists in their public speeches on socio-ecological issues.

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Appendix 1

Transcript of Vandana Shiva's Honorary Doctorate Acceptance Speech (9th April 2013, University of Calabria, Italy)

1. My biological life and ecological journey started in the forests of the Himalaya.
2. My father was a forest Conservator, and my mother chose to become a farmer after becoming a refugee in the tragic partition of India and Pakistan.
3. It is from the Himalayan forests and ecosystems that most of my learning of ecology took place.
4. The songs and poems our mother composed for us were about trees, forests and India's Forest Civilization.
5. My involvement in the contemporary ecology movement began with "Chipko", a non-violent peaceful response to the large-scale deforestation that was taking place.
6. *Chipko* means to "hug", "to embrace".
7. Women declared that they would hug trees, and the loggers would have to kill them before they killed the trees.
8. In the 1970s, peasant women from my region in the Garhwal Himalaya came out in defense of the forests.
9. Logging had led to landslides and floods, and scarcity of water, fodder and fuel.
10. Since women provide these basic needs, the scarcity meant longer walks for collecting water and firewood, and a heavier burden.
11. Women knew that the real value of forests was not the timber from a dead tree, but the springs and streams, food for their cattle and fuel for the hearth.
12. The folk songs of that period said –
13. *"These beautiful oaks and rhododendrons,*
14. *They give us cool water*
15. *Don't cut these trees*
16. *We have to keep them alive".*
17. In 1973, l had gone to visit my favorite forests and swim in my favorite stream before leaving for Canada to do my Ph.D.
18. But the forests were gone and the stream was a trickle.
19. I decided to become a volunteer for the *Chipko* movement, and spent every vacation doing "Pad yatras" (awareness walks), documenting and writing reports and spreading the message of *Chipko*.
20. One of the dramatic *Chipko* actions took place in Adwani in 1977, when Bachni Devi of Adwani led a resistance against her own husband who had obtained a local contract to fell the forest.
21. The forest officials arrived to browbeat and intimidate the women and *Chipko* activists, but found the women holding up lighted lanterns in broad daylight.
22. Puzzled the forester asked them their intention.
23. The women replied, "We have come to teach you forestry".
24. He retorted, "You foolish women, how can you prevent who are felling know the value of the forest?
25. Do you know what forests bear?
26. They produce profit and resin and timber".
27. And the women immediately sang back in chorus:

28. *What do the forests bear?*
29. *Soil water and pure air.*
30. *Soil water and pure air.*
31. *Sustain the earth and all she bears.*
32. The Adwani "satyagraha", which means non-violent resistance, created new directions for *Chipko*.
33. The movement's philosophy and politics now evolved to reflect the needs and knowledge of the women.
34. Peasant women came out, openly challenging the reductionist commercial forestry on the one hand, and the local men who had been colonized by that system, cognitively, economically and politically on the other.
35. From *Chipko*, I learnt about biodiversity, and biodiversity based on living economics, the protection of which has become my life's mission.
36. The lessons I learnt about diversity in the Himalayan forests have been transferred to the protection of biodiversity on our farms.
37. *Navdanya*, the movement for biodiversity conservation and organic farming that I started in 1987 has saved seeds through creating community seed banks and helped farmers make a transition from fossil fuel and chemical based monocultures to biodiverse ecological systems nourished by the sun and the soil.
38. Biodiversity has been my teacher of abundance and freedom, of cooperation and mutual giving.
39. When Nature is a teacher, we co-operate with her, we recognize her agency and her rights.
40. Separatism is at the root of disharmony with nature and of violence against nature and people.
41. Mechanistic reductionism is at the root of both the ecological crisis and the health crisis.
42. The destruction of diversity begins in the mind.
43. As l have described in my book "Monocultures of the Mind", the failure to see biodiversity and its diverse functions is at the root of the impoverishment of nature and culture.
44. Its contemporary seeds were sown when the living Earth was transformed into dead matter to facilitate the industrial revolution.
45. Reductionism replaced holism, monocultures replaced diversity and complexity, "raw material" and "dead matter" replaced a constantly renewing and vibrant earth, Terra Nullius replaced Terra Madre.
46. The death of nature in the mind allows a war to be unleashed against the Earth and her diversity.
47. After all, if the earth is merely dead matter, then nothing is being killed.
48. We need another learning, another thinking about nature.
49. We need to move away from the Cartesian paradigm of Nature as dead fragmented matter.
50. We need to move to an ecological paradigm of Nature as Living.
51. And when we respect nature and her diversity, when we recognize relations and connections that maintain the web of life, we not only protect nature, we are better able to ensure human well-being.
52. Over three decades of research and practice, we are finding that biodiverse ecological production systems are the solution to hunger and malnutrition, to the agrarian crisis and farmers' suicides, to the erosion of soil, water and biodiversity, and to the climate crisis.
53. Producing more food while protecting biodiversity is precisely what we at *Navdanya* are doing.

54. The so-called "Green Revolution" and genetic engineering have been offered as "intensive" farming, creating a false impression that they produce more food per acre.
55. However, industrial agriculture is chemically intensive, fossil fuel intensive and capital intensive.
56. They produce more toxics and greenhouse gases, and more debt.
57. As the *Navdanya* report -*The GMO Emperor has no Clothes* – has shown, we do not reduce hunger through genetically engineered Bt crops or Round Up Ready crops.
58. We do not reduce Vitamin A deficiency with genetically engineered Golden Rice.
59. Biodiversity offers us better and richer options.
60. To produce more food and nutrition, we need to design production systems which are biodiversity intensive and ecologically intensive.
61. Biodiversity intensive systems produce more food, nutrition and health per acre than industrial chemical monocultures. (*Ref:Health per Acre, Navdanya, New Delhi, 2011*).
62. And by saving on costs of external inputs, they create more wealth per acre for farmers.
63. When measured in terms of contribution to nutrition, health and rural incomes, industrial systems have very low productivity.
64. Ecological agriculture is based on mixed and rotational cropping, and the production of a diversity of crops.
65. *Navdayna*'s work on biodiverse farming has shown that more biodiversity on the farm, the higher the output (Ref.:*Navdayna, Biodiversity Based Productivity:A New Paradigm for Food Security, 2009*).
66. The polycultures of ecological agricultural systems have evolved because more output can be harvested from a given area planted with diverse crops than from an equivalent area consisting of separate patches of monocultures.
67. The monocultures of the Green Revolution actually reduced food yields per acre which previously were achieved through mixtures of diverse crops.
68. A myth promoted by the one-dimensional monoculture paradigm is that biodiversity reduces yields and productivity, and monocultures increase yields and productivity.
69. However, since yields and productivity are theoretically constructed terms, they change according to the context.
70. Yields usually refers to production per unit of a single crop.
71. Planting only one crop in the entire field as a monoculture will of course increase its yield.
72. Planting multiple crops in a mixture will have low yields of individual crops, but will have high total output of food.
73. Not only do biodiverse intensive and ecologically intensive systems produce more food per acre, they produce much higher nutrition per acre (Ref:*Health per Acre, Navdanya, New Delhi, 2011*).
74. Since providing nutrition and nourishment are the main aims of agriculture and food production, nutrition per acre is a more accurate measure of productivity than yield of a commodity in a monoculture.
75. Also the higher nutrition in biodiverse intensive farms further intensifies the ecological processes.
76. A model of nutrition for soils based on heavy inputs of non-renewable NPK (a non-renewable fertilizing compound) impoverishes the soil, our diets and our health.
77. Ecological nutrients are renewable, they will last forever, and we can actually increase their availability by increasing the biodiversity of soil organisms and plants.
78. The main argument used for industrialization of food and corporatization of agriculture is the low productivity of the smaller farmer.

79. However, studies indicate that sustainable diversified small-farm systems are actually more productive.
80. Industrial agriculture productivity is high only in the restricted context of a "part of a part" of the system whether it be the forest or the farm.
81. "High-yield" Green Revolution cropping patterns select one crop among hundreds, such as wheat, for the use of just one part, the grain.
82. These high partial yields do not translate into high total yields, because everything else in the farm system goes waste.
83. Traditional farming systems are based on mixed and rotational cropping systems of cereals, pulses, and oil seeds with different varieties of each crop, while the Green Revolution package is based on genetically uniform monocultures.
84. No realistic assessments are ever made of the yield of the diverse crop outputs in the mixed and rotational systems.
85. Productivity is quite different, however, when it is measured in the context of diversity.
86. Biodiversity-based measures of productivity show that small farmers can feed the world.
87. Their multiple yields result in truly high productivity, composed as they are of the multiple yields of diverse species used for diverse purposes.
88. Diversity produces more than monocultures.
89. But monocultures are profitable to industry both for markets and political control.
90. The shift from high productivity diversity to low productivity monocultures is possible because the resources destroyed are taken from the poor, while the higher commodity production brings benefits to those with economic power.
91. Ironically, while the poor go hungry, it is the hunger of the poor which is used to justify the agricultural strategies which deepen their hunger.
92. Diversity has been destroyed in agriculture on the assumption that it is associated with low productivity.
93. This is, however, a false assumption both at the level of individual crops as well as at the level of farming systems.
94. Diverse native varieties are often as high yielding or more high yielding than industrially bred varieties.
95. In addition, diversity in farming system has higher output at the total systems level than one-dimensional monocultures.
96. Comparative yields of native and of Green Revolution varieties in farmers' fields have been assessed by Navdayna, a Seed Conservation movement.
97. Under conditions of low capital availability and fragile ecosystems, Green Revolution varieties are not higher yielding.
98. Farmers' varieties are not intrinsically low yielding and Green Revolution varieties or industrial varieties are not intrinsically high yielding.
99. Productivity in ecological farming practices is high if it is remembered that these are based on internal inputs and very little external inputs are required.
100. While the Green Revolution has been projected as having increased productivity in the absolute sense, when resource utilization is taken into account, it has been found to be counter-productive and resource inefficient.
101. In terms of "feeding the world" it is becoming increasingly clear that industrial breeding has actually reduced food security by destroying small farms and the small farmers' capacity to produce diverse outputs of nutritious crops.
102. Both from the point of view of food productivity and food entitlements, industrial agriculture is deficient as compared to diversity-based internal input systems.

103. Protecting small farms which conserve biodiversity is thus a food security imperative.
104. Data shows that, everywhere in the world, biodiverse small farms produce more agricultural output per unit area than large farms.
105. Even in the USA, small farms of 27 acres or less have 10 times greater dollar output per acre than larger farms.
106. It is therefore time to switch from measuring monoculture yields to assessing biodiversity outputs in farming systems.
107. Thus, both at the level of individual peasant farms and at national level, the Green Revolution has led to decline in food security.
108. What the Green Revolution achieved was an increase in industrial inputs, which, of course, created growth for the agrichemical and fossil-fuel industry.
109. But this increased consumption of toxins and energy by the agricultural sector did not translate into more food.
110. Today, most of the one billion people who lack adequate access to food are rural communities whose entitlements have collapsed either due to environmental degradation or due to livelihood destruction and negative terms of trade.
111. Food security is therefore intimately connected to the livelihood security of small rural producers.
112. There are proven alternatives to industrial agriculture and genetic engineering, and these are based on small farms and ecological methods.
113. Sound resource-use combined with social justice is the path of sustainability in agriculture that we should be taking.
114. The higher productivity of diversity-based systems indicates that there is an alternative to genetic engineering and industrial agriculture – an alternative that is more ecological and more equitable.
115. This alternative is based on the intensification of biodiversity in place of chemical intensification, which promotes monocultures and, unlike its ecological alternative, fails to take all outputs of all species into account.
116. As *Navdanya*'s work on biodiversity-based organic farming shows, India could feed twice its population through biodiversity intensification (Ref:*Biodiversity Based Productivity:A New Paradigm for Food Safety and Security and "Health per Acre", Navdanya, India, 2011*).
117. The UN report submitted to the General Assembly on 20th December 2010 (*Report submitted to the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food. Olivier de Schutter*) also confirms that ecological agriculture produces more food.
118. The UNCTAD-UNEP study in *Organic Agriculture and Food Security in Africa* (NY/Geneva, United Nations, 2008, p. 16) found that ecological methods increase crop yields by 116 percent for all of Africa and 128 percent in East Africa.
119. Making a paradigm shift from Monocultures of the Mind to a Biodiversity in the Mind and in the World has become a survival imperative.
120. And in this transition, women have a key role, because they are biodiversity experts, especially in the Third World.
121. They are the sources of forgotten knowledge of forgotten foods.
122. And like a biodiverse farm, women live multifunctional lives.
123. Being diverse is the new creativity humanity needs to cultivate and nurture.

Dissuasion by characterization

The "poisoning" of an heroic analogy in Russian public discourse

Ludmilla A'Beckett

The chapter examines public attitudes provoked by the nickname "Joan of Arc" in the Russian press. It argues that media discussions of Joan of Arc's personality type have activated various prejudices among reporters and readers who tend to stigmatize strong-willed, independent, and self-confident women, such as Russian female oppositionists defying Putin's regime. Ultimately these media discussions serve to discredit a movement that endangers the political elite. This chapter is a multidisciplinary investigation of the mechanism of dissuasion, combining framing theory, appraisal theory, and several approaches in metaphor research. The chapter looks at the discourse processes and argumentative techniques engendering evaluative shifts in reading this analogy. The reception-oriented analysis shows that this poisoned analogy has affected readers. Judging from remarks in the comments sections of newspapers, discourse participants tend to reproduce and reinforce most of the authorial disparaging cues.

Keywords: frame, allusion, dissuasion, appraisal, authorial distancing, irony, characterization

1. Introduction

In this chapter, persuasion is understood as the media's influence on the formation of critical opinions about a person. The investigation focuses on the dissemination of disapproval through a specific lexical choice. In the examined texts, authors direct their audiences toward the construction of negative identities and warn about threats to social values. The authors try to inoculate the public against a "disingenuous character". They plant doubts and aversion in the public mind. As Alexander wrote (2009: 49) in some cases the task of the authors is "not to be informative but persuasive, not to 'tell it like it is' but to 'tell it like you want people to believe it to be' […]". In doing so, the authors are attempting to alert the public to a political cause that is presented by oppositionists as a positive and necessary change.

The mechanism of dissuasion is at the core of this investigation. Dissuasion is understood as influencing the audience not to follow some public cause and not to believe a person who represents this movement. In some ways, there is a similarity between the objectives of this chapter and the ones pursued in the chapter by Plastina in this volume. Plastina reviews discourse processes that re-settle a public issue within new conceptual frames and reconfigure a problem within a set of novel assumptions (see also Macgilchrist 2007: 80). This chapter, however, looks at a technique of characterization that does not provide the reader with a competitive choice of frames. The claims about modern Joans of Arc either dismiss the validity of comparisons or foreground the negative aspects of the frame.

The specific lexical choice in this study involves labelling a person "Joan of Arc" in propositions such as "X is Joan of Arc", "X is like Joan of Arc", and "X takes the role of Joan of Arc". A peculiar feature of these propositions relates to the fact that the seemingly flattering analogy is not intended as a compliment or to accentuate positive similarities. On the contrary, these propositions usually infect readers with skepticism. The ostensible flattery not only engenders mistrust of the person being compared but also maligns the pursued course of actions.

At the beginning of this research, numerous comparisons and the nicknaming of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko as "Joan of Arc" provoked my interest (A'Beckett 2013a; A'Beckett 2013c). The interpretations of the message behind the Joan of Arc nickname mainly suggested a negative reading of Tymoshenko's conduct. Only some of Tymoshenko's supporters used the parallel to convey a genuine appreciation of her deeds; the rest of the authors expressed obvious disapproval. It should be mentioned that Tymoshenko reportedly expressed objections to comparisons to Joan of Arc (A'Beckett 2013a: 127). The negative underpinnings of the lexical choice "Joan of Arc" were pervasive in the ostensible "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981), i.e. in the variety of opinions and stances externalized in this parallel. Subsequently, other instances of using this name to discredit public figures transpired in discourse.

2.   Research framework

An interdisciplinary research framework was adopted to explain the persuasive impact of this scornful comparison. Appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005) provided this investigation with tools for reconstructing attitudes toward the proposition that shaped a dialogic engagement in the discourse. Attitude is understood as "emotional reactions, judgements of behavior and evaluation of things" (Martin and White 2005: 35), whereas "engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions" (Martin and White 2005: 35). In the context of this

research, engagement is profiled as a reflection of various authorial intentions for applying the analogy in texts, e.g. negation, contrast, dismissal, derision, and specification. The attitudes of the authors are assessed along the "approval-disapproval" and "appropriateness-inappropriateness" axes. The latter parameter includes both an assessment of the appropriateness of the use of the analogy and the suitability of the role model.

This research goes beyond the traditional scope of appraisal theory. One of the goals was to uncover a shared social experience sustaining and refuting the analogy. It was also important to demonstrate that interplay between the minds of the authors and the readers took place in the discourse. This interplay is understood as the occurrence of "verbal hooks and bolts" or "connectors" insuring the bond between discourse participants in texts. In order to objectivize this bond, this chapter targets similarities in the organization of authorial claims and reader responses to the proposition. The comments sections of newspapers were examined for this purpose. Useful insights were obtained from Cameron (2010a, b), who analyzed the occurrences of metaphors and metaphor-related components in post-conflict reconciliation talks. Cameron argued that in-groupers in public interactions tend to frame the topic of discussion with similar expressions and develop thematically-coherent arguments. The "appropriation" of the other speaker's metaphoric vehicles is testimony that the other's perspective in a conversation has been acknowledged (Cameron 2010a: 20). In other words, the process of aligning the values of discourse contributors often eventuates when interlocutors adopt and adapt each other's interpretative lexis. When readers "redeploy" (Cameron 2010b: 89) the authorial lexis, further reinforcing and elaborating the cues, it can be taken as a sign of reader assent to the authorial viewpoint.

Given that persuasion involves building a memorable frame, the methodological base of this research was extended to frame analysis, which has frequently been regarded as a useful tool for deconstructing the organization of experience in discourse (Goffman 1974: 11; and Plastina, this volume). In simple terms, the frame can be defined as a verbal evocation of familiar concepts, experiences, and situations that are part of our schematic knowledge (Calle Rosingana this volume; see also Ritchie 2006: 184). Accordingly, the analysis of dissuasive processes is based on explicating repetitive "chunks of information" or "schemes of knowledge" that are activated and inhibited in the Russian press in contexts containing the name "Joan of Arc". The "X is Joan of Arc" proposition is used to characterize a person with a different name. This function of the name correlates with the ubiquitous definition of metaphor, i.e. "explaining one entity in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5; Cameron 2010a: 3; Kövecses 2002: 4).

Metaphor is commonly listed as a helpful framing device in discourse, triggering habitual correspondences, otherwise known as mappings (Lakoff and Johnson

1980; Gamson and Lasch 1983; Robins and Mayer 2000; Ritchie 2007: 184–85; Ng in this volume). However, not all of the selected propositions were structured as metaphors. Some of them represent similes. Even though there is a scholarly tradition of differentiating between metaphor and similes (cf. Barnden 2012), they are interchangeable in the collected data and thus are analyzed as similar framing devices. Todd and Low (2010: 34) suggest using the label "metaphor-related component" for discussing borderline phenomena. However, the label "allusion" seems to be a better option for branding the cognitive foundation of this analogy-based characterization. To be more specific, this technique should be called "allusive naming" or "onomastic allusion", explained by Lennon (2004: 128) as "re-using of names to communicate indirectly semantic information associated with the original referent". Since the cognitive base of the allusive naming is not different from that of metaphor, a couple of contemporary approaches to metaphor research are addressed in this chapter.

Several interplays with the three persuasive appeals to the audience in rhetoric, known as pathos, logos and ethos, have to be acknowledged. The emotional appeal of verbal expressions for the audience was customarily studied in rhetoric as a constituent of pathos. In this study, emotional appeal can be translated as an evocation of resentment. Elements of logos, a traditional field of rhetoric dealing with reasoning, have also been traced in dissuasive discourse, e.g. in the instances where slots of the frame "Joan of Arc" have been inhibited through an argumentative technique. Moreover, the characterization has often been presented as the incorporated opinion of a person without credibility. Such instances invoke another field of rhetoric–ethos, which deals with the trustworthiness and authority of the speaker. However, rhetoric alone cannot re-enact the mental experience of discourse participants and explain sways in public perception (cf. Kjeldsen 2013: 23). Hence, the traditional objects of rhetorical analysis have been amalgamated with the apparatus of cognitive linguistics.

It is important to mention that contemporary approaches to metaphor can rely on conflicting assumptions. Two trends embodying polar suppositions have emerged. One of the polar developments is represented by Ng's chapter in this volume. This approach is based on elaborating the conceptual metaphor theory's aspects (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), that promote metaphor as an opener to the mental store of predictable mappings (Cameron 2010b: 79). The supporters of this claim focus on deliberate and conventional use of metaphors, which "serves to reinforce particular conceptualizations rather than effect radical conceptual change" (Ng and Koller 2013: 131). This perspective is also very popular among researchers of visual and multimodal discourse (cf. Popa 2013).

Several other approaches to metaphor examine variations of mapping that are evoked by a semantically-related metaphor vehicle (Ritchie 2006; Cameron 2010a,

b; Musolff 2013, 2014). For instance, Cameron challenges the idea that the semantics of metaphor vehicles are a manifestation of an underlying conceptual network. She argues that interpreting metaphors largely depends on the socio-cultural conventions of the discourse participants, and thus metaphors flag the evolving values of the discourse community.

A very important corollary has transpired in these studies. The context-induced creativity of metaphor (Kövecses 2010) encourages novel readings. The novel readings include discursive shifts in the metaphor evaluative projections. Metaphor users deploy such creativity to illuminate their attitudes and to contest the views of the others. For instance, Porto and Romano (2013: 71) note that the metaphor "green shoots" was positively charged when a pro-government political player uttered it and negatively when a member of the opposition discussed the government initiatives. In the interaction between metaphor and its linguistic and cultural context, features of an idealized prototype are often elaborated, extended, or rejected. For instance, contrary to common expectations, the metaphor "brothers" is regularly used to flag an absence of friendly relations, equality, solidarity, reciprocity, and cooperation (A'Beckett 2012). The ubiquitous interpretative frame that is held by a discourse community does not necessarily instantiates an idealized or primary scene of the metaphor. It can be also added that different speakers often privilege non-identical facets of a concept. Lu (2008) in his study of speeches of two Taiwanese Presidents, demonstrates that the same vehicle can be linked to different conceptual domains when speakers activate dissimilar background assumptions while using relevant contextual prompts in their speeches. The research by Lu heightens the value of the analytical approach to the metaphor interpretation which requires considering the interaction of the stored knowledge and contextual information.

This discussion of polar trends in metaphor analysis which ranges between the identification of fixed features of the concept in its conservative and traditional use and online construction of conceptual variants, does not lead to a pessimistic view of irreconcilable differences in cognitive approaches to discourse analysis (cf. A'Beckett 2014). Rather it shows that the discourse history of a figurative expression may accumulate cases alluding to a distinct template which, nevertheless evolves, incorporates novel social experiences and draws on dissimilar patterns of textual organization (cf. Musolff 2013).

In the light of these observations, it will be unrealistic to expect that the interpretative frame of "Joan of Arc" in Russian discourse is uniform and rests on an unvarying prototypical scene. It is more feasible to expect an emergence of several interpretative frames which are triggered by dissimilar perceptions of the primary scene and manifest various pragmatic stances toward the exemplary model in discussion. When discourse participants attempt to discredit a dissident or an oppositionist they can draw on a comparison with the legendary figure but also

exploit functional variations in conceptualisation of this figure and supply their rendition with dialogic overtones (e.g. ironic, sarcastic, appreciative, teasing and others). In this way a subversive interpretative frame has been built and effectively communicated to the audience in quite a "dramatic" manner.

3.   Research design

This investigation has gone through different stages, reflecting the evolution of media attention to different "emulators" of Joan of Arc and also my own understanding of the discourse processes at play. Initially, the negative branding of Tymoshenko as Joan of Arc generated my interest in the shared values of the discourse community, which apparently did not hold a uniform positive judgement of the French heroine. At this stage, 100 examples were collected from the two most popular Russian newspapers, *Argumenty i fakty (AiF)* and *Komsomol'skaia Pravda (KP)*. These examples were the subject of a quantitative study that reconstructed the interpretative frames imposed by the allusion in the Russian press. The frame contained many variable components and was represented by slots with potential fillers whose frequency was assessed.

The profile of both newspapers was discussed in A'Beckett (2013a: 103–104; and 2013b: 135–136). It can be stated that KP has always addressed youth as its main audience. The newspaper currently functions as a daily tabloid. The newspaper's owners are reported to have close links with Gazprom, the biggest owner of Russian fuel resources and the largest Russian company with strong backing from the Russian government. AiF is a borderline case between the quality press and the tabloids (cf. Bednarek 2006: 13). BBC Monitoring (2008) commented on AiF's standing: "[I]ts mix of political analysis and speculation, patriotic sentiment, high profile interviews, regional supplements and consumer advice has ensured its prominence on Russia's news stands." Overall, neither newspaper has engaged in any serious criticism of the Russian political elite or their decisions.

The first batch of examples was collected between 2004 and 2012. The profile of collected texts varies and can generally be qualified as narratives, reports, reported speeches, reader comments, and dialogues among readers. As such, the compiled collection of texts is indicative of "the virtual conversation within and between communities" (Musolff 2004: 5). A quantitative analysis of the statements with the allusion recreated the distribution of salient features of the frame. Giora (2003: 15–17) defined these feature to be the ones that are at the forefront due to their conventionality, familiarity, frequency, and prototypicality.

The second batch of examples from KP and AiF was motivated by the extensive media coverage of Tymoshenko's imprisonment during the time of Viktor

Yanukovych's presidency and of public protests in Russia against unfair elections in 2011 and 2012 in which several Russian Joans of Arc participated. In this batch, 100 more examples were collected in 2013 that had been published in the newspapers between 2011 and 2013. A search engine was set up to find specific referents: Yulia Tymoshenko, Ksenia Sobchak, Bozhena Rynska, and Tina Kandelaki. This search also brought up some results with Evgeniya Chirikova, who appeared at the rallies together with Sobchak and Rynska. It is impossible to comment on the relative frequency of the proposition in respect to each referent since the second batch of examples was collected through a selective search.

At this stage, the focus of the investigation moved to repetitive argumentative patterns that generate disapproval. It was assumed that variations within the structural components of the conceptual frame would not depart much from those in the model that summarized the first batch of examples. It appeared that the variable constituents had the same propensity to transpire in the new set of examples.

At the second stage of the analysis, a list was compiled of the argumentative techniques that guided readers on the validity of the analogy. The same techniques re-surfaced when a campaign of stigmatizing Nadiya Savchenko was unleashed in the Russian press. Savchenko is a former Ukrainian pilot who was captured by pro-Russian rebels and handed over to the Russian authorities. She has been tried on fabricated charges for the murder of two Russian journalists in the conflict zone in Eastern Ukraine. Examples of negative comparisons between Savchenko and Joan of Arc emerged in 2014–2016 and were followed in the process of reading of the Russian media and social media. This set of examples was not limited to AiF and KP. The number of references to Joan of Arc/Savchenko grows each day as she continues behaving provocatively.

The last stage of the investigation was dedicated to retrieving reader responses to the nicknaming. The original newspaper publications were separated from reader comments. Discussion blogs and comments sections of the newspapers following their introductions of new Joans of Arc were searched for various indications of the audience's reaction to the comparison. This investigation followed discourse processes that planted in the public mind several sets of negative assumptions about female public figures. As such, the information received overshadows their impartial characterization.

4. Biographies: Similarities and dissimilarities

Several women can be named as the main successors to Joan of Arc's fame in the Russian press. Their biographies do not reveal substantial similarities except for one fact: all of them have, in one way or another, challenged Putin's regime and

conservative beliefs about the virtues of his political foundations. The most "prominent" Joan of Arc for a long while was the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, whose "fame" was contested when the so-called Snow Revolution broke up and brought on its "white waves" a new Russian female oppositionist: Ksenia Sobchak. Sobchak, though being one of the main organizers of the protests against unfair elections, shared Joan of Arc's glory with other female participants, including a gossip columnist, Bozhena Rynska, and an environmental activist, Yevgeniya Chirikova. A TV presenter, Tina Kandelaki, was also identified with this name, even though it was a clear case of mistaken identity, as she was a loyal supporter of Putin. The minor "recognition" was also given to a retired Russian politician, Irina Khakamada, who tried to compete with Putin in the 2004 Presidential elections and lost with 3.7 per cent of the votes. Finally, the stigmatizing of Nadiya Savchenko, the first lieutenant in the Ukrainian Ground Forces who was captured by pro-Russian rebels in Eastern Ukraine, was sweeping through the Russian press and social media at the time of her trial.

The most frequent name bearer, Yulia Tymoshenko, has been perceived as the epitome of forces that endanger social stability everywhere. The first mention of Tymoshenko/Joan of Arc dates back to her imprisonment in 2001 on charges fabricated by the administration of President Kuchma. President Kuchma was chiefly viewed by the Russian government as the friendly leader of a neighboring state. Since Tymoshenko was a participant in the "Ukraine without Kuchma" protests, she was commonly chastised by the Russian press as a provocative troublemaker. After the Orange Revolution in 2004, the negative circulation of the nickname "Joan of Arc of Ukraine" increased. The Orange Revolution was viewed by Putin's regime as a mutiny that toppled the Russian favorite, Viktor Yanukovych (cf. Horvath 2011). The Russian press cultivated the view that Yanukovych was a presidential candidate who enjoyed the overwhelming support of Ukrainians and was meant to become the new President. Correspondingly, Tymoshenko received bad publicity in Russia since she was the one who energized the protests against unfair elections (A'Beckett 2013b). After the victory of the Orange Revolution, her disagreements with President Yushchenko in the Orange coalition came under media focus. The Russian press relished the squabbles between the President and the Prime Minister, since they corroborated the perception of the Orange Ukraine as a tragedy and a historic mistake by Ukrainians. The defamation campaign, sponsored by Ukrainian tycoons, Yanukovych's supporters, Yushchenko's administration, and Russian tabloids, in both Russian and Ukrainian, contributed to Tymoshenko's defeat by Yanukovych in the extremely close presidential elections of 2010 (cf. The Economist 2011). After Yanukovych's victory, several criminal cases were opened against Tymoshenko, who was eventually convicted on charges that were not internationally recognized (Amnesty International 2011). Although international

organizations claimed that Tymoshenko's conviction represented "justice being applied selectively under political motivation," several surveys conducted through the Russian media and social media revealed very little sympathy for the former Prime Minister (compare http://maxpark.com/community/129/content/361928). The All Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" party led by Yulia Tymoshenko remains one of the most influential forces in the Ukrainian political scene, even though Tymoshenko lost her second presidential bid to Petro Poroshenko by a large margin. It should be noted that many Ukrainians argue that Tymoshenko is an accomplice in Putin's plot against the Ukrainian nation. The view stems from the fact that Tymoshenko negotiated a gas contract with Putin which had catastrophic consequences for Ukraine. However, if all details of this contract are properly assessed, it becomes obvious that under the circumstances nothing better than this could have been negotiated. The accusation of high treason is a convenient tool for discrediting Tymoshenko to the advantage of her political rivals in Ukraine.

In 2004, Irina Khakamada was also nicknamed "Joan of Arc" or "a Joan of Arc of Russian and Japanese origin". She was a leader of the Democratic Union "Right Forces", which was strongly opposed to the authoritarian policies of Vladimir Putin. Khakamada was presented as the ultimate loser in the struggle with President/Prime Minister Putin and as an inadequate public figure.

The next advent of Joan of Arc in Russia was inspired by the Snow Revolutions (Osborn 2011, White 2011). The demonstrations were organized to protest against the 2011 Russian legislative election process, which many Russians and foreign representatives regarded as flawed (Sperling 2015: 258–259). The December rallies evolved into protests against the third election of President Putin in May 2012. Overall, 27 people were arrested and accused after the protest, known as the Bolotnaya Square rally, for causing "social unrest".

Among the new cohort of Russian Joans of Arc, Ksenia Sobchak is the only one who could be called a prominent and long-lasting female oppositionist of the young generation. She continues her criticsm of Putin's political elite in her journalist opuses and discussion blogs. Like some other participants in the Snow Revolution, she transformed her image and changed her allegiances. Sobchak's father was a renowned politician with democratic credentials. He maintained a very close relationship with Vladimir Putin (Meier 2012; Sperling 2015: 114–117,192–194). Similar to another participant in the Snow Revolution, Bozhena Rynska, and "the Trojan horse from the State Administration" (Amos 2012), Tina Kandelaki, Sobchak was a socialite and a media celebrity. She was also known as "Russia's Paris Hilton". In 2011, Sobchak openly defied her father's friend, Vladimir Putin. Her oppositionist involvement was not fortuitous. In May of 2012, she was arrested at a protest and endured a brief spell in jail. In June of the same year, the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation searched her apartment and humiliated her. Pavel Gusev,

the editor-in-chief of *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, one of the most popular newspapers in Russia, expressed a popular belief regarding Sobchak's motivation for becoming a dissident. Gusev suggested that Sobchak joined politics in an attempt to conceal her past which featured a long trail of scandals. In his view, Sobchak was an attention-seeker, adopting the image of Joan of Arc in order to retain her popularity and change the public impressions about her character (Meier 2012: 3). In 2017, Sobchak announced that she will be running for the Presidency in the forthcoming Russian elections. The claim stirred a controversial response from the Russian public in general and from the opposition camp in particular. Similarly to Tymoshenko, Sobchak is often accused of striking a secret deal with Putin.

Bozhena Rynska, a socialite and famous gossip columnist, was also baptized "Joan of Arc" after attending a protest in December and being subsequently detained by police. Rynska used to work as a lingerie model and gained her popularity by writing for the government newspaper "Izvestia" and by making connections with riches and the powerful. At the beginning of the Snow Revolution, she transformed from a glamour girl to an opponent of Putin. Reportedly, she explained her transformation as follows: "Then I woke up because the Kremlin is in the process of destroying Russia." (Spiegel Online International 2012). After her detention, she posted on her blog "Next time, maybe I'll take along a nail and scratch out the cop's eyes," adding that anyone who messed with her would be torn apart "as if by an attack dog." (Spiegel Online International 2012). However, her political determination seemed to be short-lived. She did not participate in subsequent protests, excusing herself as being a newlywed and spending her honeymoon in Spain. Nevertheless, her brief involvement was sufficient to attract the sarcastic appellations "Joan of Arc" and *не состоявшаяся Жанна д 'Арк*, 'the failed Joan of Arc'. In 2017, Bozhena's husband, Igor Malashenko, joined Sobchack's election campaign for the Presidency. Bozhena Rynska commented that a non-aggression pact with Sobchak had been agreed for the period of this campaign.

Tina Kandelaki, a popular Georgian-born TV and radio presenter, was mistakenly called "Joan of Arc" because some pro-Putin discourse community members took her for one of the protesters. Kandelaki attended a meeting, but apparently she was on assignment from the Kremlin. Kandelaki was supposed to observe the crowd and report back to Putin's administration. However, her mere presence at the rally stirred dissatisfaction among the government loyalists. The verbal attack against her presence at the gathering of the oppositionists was packaged as a comparison to Joan of Arc, since many similarities in the public profiles of Sobchak, Rynska, and Kandelaki could be observed.

The most recent case of demonizing a female public figure concerns a different type of personality: an authentic female soldier with a record of army service in Iraq. Nadiya Savchenko was engaged in military operations aimed at protecting

Ukrainian soil from pro-Russian rebels (BBC Monitoring 2014). Savchenko was elected to both the Ukrainian parliament and the Council of Europe assembly while in Russian detention. Her diplomatic immunity has been ignored by Russia. Her trial for the alleged murder of Russian journalists has become a potent symbol of Ukrainian resistance against Russia. For nationally conscious Ukrainians, she has become a hero, an uncompromising person who defies Kremlin rules. She went on a hunger strike to denounce the lack of justice in Russia and refused to become a part of the deal on swapping prisoners between Russia and Ukraine. Her countrymen genuinely believed that she was a figure of Joan of Arc's standing. However, in a publication by KP, Savchenko was called "a killing machine in a skirt" (BBC News 2014). In their attempts to refute positive comparisons between Joan of Arc and Savchenko, the Russian press and the regime loyalists cast both women as murderers and violent lunatics. Furthermore, many efforts have been made to discredit sources promulgating the positive comparison. Unfortunately, after her release from a Russian prison, Savchenko disappointed many of her supporters in Ukraine and joined the club of controvercial celebrities nicknamed the 'Joans'. As a steadfast soldier she was a more sympathetic figure than a politician who criticised the Ukrainian political establishment but did not offer a viable alternative plan of action.

The portrayal of the women known in Russia as Joan of Arc demonstrates that any resemblances between them are casual or superficial. Some of them can be considered attractive enough to become pop idols, and as such they have been targeted for their glamour. Although the social climbing of Tymoshenko and Khakamada was not as scandalous as that of Sobchak, Rynska, and Kandelaki, rumors tended to magnify their thirst for public attention. The transformed ideals of Sobchak and Rynska could have been represented by allusions to the alleged conversion of Mary Magdalene from a prostitute to a saint promoted in medieval Christianity. Casting the women as Joan of Arc invites predictable skepticism.

Detainment by police or imprisonment is a common prerequisite for comparison with Joan of Arc and at the same time an excuse to mock the extravagances of "high-profile prisoners or detainees" and their alleged PR campaigns. In the case of Nadiya Savchenko, however, the similarities between the two female soldiers, their show trials, and their martyrdom have strengthened the parallel between relations between England and France during the Hundred Years War and contemporary Russia-Ukraine affairs. In this instance and in some examples involving Tymoshenko, it would not suffice to mock the modern emulator. It is important to provide argumentation that would devalue the underlying scheme as a whole. In all of the discussed cases, the nickname "Joan of Arc" has functioned as a conspicuous discourse marker that draws attention to inconsequential details and provokes contentious responses.

5.   Components of the interpretative frame

The nickname "Joan of Arc" in the Russian press has activated the following char-
acterizations: a martyr, a female warrior/soldier, an ascetic, a strong and decisive
personality, a national heroine, a fighter against injustice; an example of self-denial
and of mental disorders. The summary of distributions of referents in terms of
their occupation or perceived career has been represented in Table 1. The table also
demonstrates common fields in which the frame has been used.

Table 1. Distribution of referents

References	Number of references
Female politicians	35
Actresses and artistic personalities	9
Journalists	13
War heroes	5
Unspecific referents or carriers of a specific trait	38

In Table 2, the contexts have been classified according to the major topics intro-
duced. The term "topic" has been understood as a referent (Cameron 2010a: 13)
but also as grounds for comparison between two entities connected by the allusion.
Table 2 represents either the salient traits of Joan of Arc or fragments of her story. In
such instances, the writer could refer to his or her own experience or discuss banal
situations. Sometimes the personal reference was followed by an elaboration of
the resemblance between the women, and hence the name had multiple referential
points and the total count exceeds 100.

Table 2. Components of Joan of Arc's image and story

References to accessories, conditions, situations in the story of Joan of Arc	
Costumes and hairstyle	7
Insanity/paranormal skills	8
Exposure to heat and ordeal by fire	5
Aggression	6
Heroic lifestyle (incl. negation, irony, and teasing)	11
Religious belief	1
Betrayal by allies	5
Imprisonment	11
Disobedience	1
Disrespect for authorities	1

Among the journalists and politicians frequently compared with Joan of Arc are Yulia Tymoshenko (30), Ksenia Sobchak (7), Khakamada (3), Kandelaki (3), and Rynska (3). In general, this comparison is used to introduce a flattering portrait of a woman of French origin (e.g. Ségolène Royal, Sarah Bernhardt, Edith Piaf, Fanny Ardant). The positive comparisons have also included female soldiers in the first and second World Wars and the Russian uprisings of the 18th century. Actresses and women of fashion have often been compared to Joan of Arc, either because they played this role in a film or theatrical production or because they chose an attribute associated with Joan of Arc as a fashion accessory. A certain similarity was a common prerequisite for the parallel, though the basis for comparison was not always unquestionably positive. The highlighted similarities also included disobedience, disrespect for authority, witchcraft, and pugnacity.

The nickname "Joan of Arc" was used in reference to a person a total of 62 times: 46 were instances of derision, jocularity, or controversy. The negative traits introduced with this name include hallucinations, complete androgen insensitivity syndrome, schizophrenia, hysteria, witchcraft, epilepsy, and instances of aggressive conduct. These traits appear in contexts such as: "Are you Joan of Arc?/They call you Joan of Arc. So can you hear voices that nobody else is hearing?" Space limitations preclude me from quoting full examples and their translations. In this section, only a rendering of some of the examples is offered, since the issues are not pivotal for the chapter. More illustrations can be found in A'Beckett (2013c). Most of contentious behavioral patterns are summarized in Table 2 under the heading *Insanity/paranormal skills*.

The distribution of salient properties reveals that the public perception of Joan of Arc is fluid. There is no uniformity even in the perception of her hairstyle or outfit. Moreover, there is a noticeable tendency to view the French heroine as an odd and troublemaking woman. Some authors expressed regret that there were too many Joans and not enough Josephines. Others discouraged girls and women from emulating the French heroine (see full examples in A'Beckett 2013c: 115–118). A public discussion was conducted regarding the likelihood of satisfactory matrimony or friendship with Joan of Arc or a figure of her standing. (cf. Erofeyev 2012).

The traits and circumstances contributing to the heroic prototype can invoke bipolar reactions within the same community. The evaluative patterns triggered by the name diverge. For instance, in the previously mentioned article, "To Marry a Joan of Arc?" (Erofeyev 2012), the paranormal skills of Joan of Arc are presented as "exceptional intuition" by the writer, but are re-cast as "madness" and "perversion" by his interviewer. It is interesting that the fluidity of imaginative features and interpretative categories allows for the extension of some positive characteristics into their negative analogues. For instance, aggression can be viewed as

unnecessary violence and masculinity, non-conformity as disobedience, conviction as wrong-headedness and fanaticism, intuition as witchcraft and mental illness. Table 2 produces a summary of the slots summarizing the traits attributed to Joan of Arc. This section only briefly discusses the fillers of these slots.

6.   Inviting negative judgement: Mechanisms of stigmatization

Four distinctive strategies of conveying negative attitudes toward Joans of Arc emerged. These strategies may overlap and blend within the same fragment of discourse. Nevertheless, the cognitive mechanisms affecting persuasion comprise distinctive argumentative inputs. The arguments inviting a critical response include:

1.   emphasizing that the characteristics of the prototype are incongruent with traits paraded by the replica; accentuating the discrepancy often results in the creation of a humorous effect and irony;
2.   assigning a genuine and flattering comparison to an untrustworthy source;
3.   hyperbolic description of the alleged vices of Joan of Arc, such as pugnacity, madness, or witchcraft;
4.   evoking gender prejudice against strong-willed female leaders.

6.1   Ironic reversal

The most common pattern of evoking negativity is the grotesque representation of the emulator. Stressing the contrast between a modern woman and the medieval messenger entails ironic overtones. New Joans of Arc have been portrayed as having a high sex drive, a passion for luxury, egocentricity, exhibitionism, and other vices. Such traits clash with the conventional image of Joan of Arc, since she has been traditionally portrayed as an ascetic soldier and innocent maid. Hence, the new Joans of Arc do not emulate the prototype but evoke a perception of pompous usurpers. The nicknaming becomes ironic since it is evident that the speaker does not intend to make a genuine comparison. Irony is commonly defined as "a form of negation that does not use an explicit negation marker" (Giora 2003: 72). By using an ironic comparison, the author attempts to build mistrust toward the character and "to infect" the reader with skepticism. The degree of negativity may vary: it can be very subtle, but it is often strong and pervasive. See the following examples:

(1)   [Владимир Жириновский]: "Да она (Собчак) млеет, когда ее хватает ОМОН. Ей нужны жесткие мужские руки, чтоб схватили ее, подержали, потрепали. Да она наслаждается! За решеткой, вот она Жанна д'Арк!"

[Vladimir Zhirinovsky (a scandalous Russian politician-L.A): "She (Sobchak) is thrilled when she is grabbed by the riot police. She needs strong male hands to catch, hold and molest her. She enjoys it! Behind the bar, here she is–Joan of Arc]

(2) Канделаки собой не налюбуется. "Ой, посмотрите, как я красива, а как умна!!! Я же Жанна д'Арк. Сейчас за свободу в костер прыгну, прямо в макияже, прямо на каблуках".
[Kandelaki loves herself too much. "Look how beautiful and how clever I am! I'm Joan of Arc! For the sake of freedom, I will jump into the fire right now–in full make-up and with my stilettoes."]

(3) Вот Божена Рынска, …гламурная бытописательница околонуворишской тусовки, проникается пламенем революции и, как наша Жанна д'Арк (токма в шубе) кричит омоновцам: «Пасть порву! Я Божена».
[Here is Bozhena Rynska–the glamorous chronicler of New Russian parties–imbued with revolutionary flame like our own Joan of Arc, though in a fur coat, yelling at the riot police: "I will punch your jaw. I am Bozhena".]

(4) Говорят, войдя в камеру, Тимошенко положила на нары дорогущую норковую шубку и, затребовав ведро и тряпку, принялась мыть тюремный пол. Тот арест окончательно подорвал репутацию Кучмы. Все телеканалы пестрели кадрами: гордая красавица, украинская Жанна д'Арк в наручниках и её невзрачный преследователь президент…
[Rumor has it that after entering the prison cell, Tymoshenko put her expensive mink coat on the bench, requested a bucket and a rag, and began to wash the prison floor. The media channels were overflowing with stills: the proud beauty, Ukrainian Joan of Arc in handcuffs, and her ugly persecutor, the president …]

In Examples (1), (2) and (3), the participants in the Snow Revolution are mocked. Sarcastic overtones and sniping remarks permeate the messages.

The negative overtones in the example with Tymoshenko are not intense, though the possession of a mink coat in a prison cell can only provoke humorous reactions. The full context of Tymoshenko's first imprisonment in Example (4) presents other detrimental details, e.g. her conformism and social climbing, as exposed through convenient relations with former President Kuchma and convicted former Prime Minister Lazarenko.

It is interesting that an expensive fur coat became one of the items that was attributed to several contemporary emulators of Joan of Arc (Examples 2, 4, and the extended context of 3). In these examples, irony stems from the ludicrous incongruity between the austerity of the prototype and the self-indulgence of Joan of Arc's emulators.

6.2   Dissociation from positive attribution

The sourcing of opinions is an important factor in the delivery of an evaluative stance and persuasion (Zaller 1996: 49; Martin and White 2005: 111–114; Plastina in this volume). If the origin of the proposition is presented as a naïve, gullible, or biased person, the point of his/her presenter's argument will be critically assessed. Views contradicting the positions of Russian government are often assigned to pensioners, inexperienced youth, confused citizens, or pragmatic players (see A'Beckett 2013b: 138–142). Readers frequently reverse the evaluative stance of the proposition since they weigh the content of the message against the credibility of the speaker. This practice is consistent with the ancient rhetorical tradition that analyzes ethos as a mode of persuasion in argumentation.

The inclusion of dubious sources in the text sustains the authorial intention of mocking the dissident community and discrediting non-conformist views (A'Beckett 2012: 185–186). The author often provides specific labels attesting to the trustworthiness of quoted speakers. Hence, not all flattering comparisons should be taken at face value. See example below.

(5)   […] Отправленный в отставку глава МВД Юрий Луценко подмечает, что нынешняя ситуация в Незалежной сродни кризису во Франции XV века. Но украинскую Жанну д'Арк (то бишь Тимошенко) предателям Карлам-Ющенко так просто не победить. «Фактор позитивных для Януковича предварительных результатов выборов – это политическое предательство президента Ющенко, который стопроцентно мне теперь напоминает того короля Франции (Карла VII), который послал в огонь Инквизиции Жанну д'Арк, которая сделала его королем. Единственное маленькое отличие, которое не учитывают ни Ющенко, ни Янукович, ни Литвин, ни другие предатели, состоит в том, что Юля так просто не сгорит», – убежден Луценко.
[Interior Minister Yuriy Lutsenko, who was recently sacked, claims that the current situation in independent Ukraine is similar to the crisis in France in the 15th century. But it is not so easy to defeat the Ukrainian Joan of Arc (aka Tymoshenko) for traitors like Charles/Yushchenko. "The positive preliminary results of elections for Yanukovych is a political betrayal of President Yushchenko, who now very much reminds me of the French King (Charles VII) – the one who sent Joan of Arc, who had made him king, to the fire of the Inquisition. The only small difference, which neither Yushchenko nor Yanukovych nor Litwin nor other traitors take into account, is that Yulia will not burn easily," believes Lutsenko.]

In Example (5), the author dissociates himself from the positive attitude toward Tymoshenko expressed by Yuriy Lutsenko, former Minister of Internal Affairs.

In the article, Lutsenko's view has been cued as not utterly reliable, since words from the sacked Interior Minister are suspect. Moreover, Lutsenko was known as an activist "Ukraine without Kuchma" movement and a core participant in the Orange Revolution. This involvement is reprehensible in the author's view, and thus Lutsenko is given a low ranking on the scale of credibility. Journalists distance themselves from positive views on Tymoshenko's resemblance to Joan of Arc. Martin and White (2005: 114) describe distancing as a subjective proposition attributed to an external source. As Lutsenko was presented as an ostentatious and questionable functionary, the whole comparison becomes a joke.

It is interesting to consider recent examples that deride holders of the belief that Nadiya Savchenko is a Ukrainian hero of Joan of Arc's standing.

(6) Украинская пропаганда раздула из Савченко Жанну д'Арк в вышиванке.
[The Ukrainian propaganda inflated Savchenko into Joan of Arc in an embroidered blouse (a traditional Ukrainian costume – L.A.).]

The authorial cues of dissociation from the proposition are represented by the negatively-charged label of "propaganda" and the disapproving verb "to inflate". Many well-known people, including Russian liberal radio and TV commentators, Ukrainian President Poroshenko, Nobel Prize winner Svetlana Alexievich, and nationally-conscious Ukrainians, genuinely believe that Savchenko is a modern figure of Joan of Arc's standing. Correspondingly, sympathizers with the Putin regime often denigrate supporters of Savchenko with abusive names. Government loyalists also disclose the flawed logic of the believer and imply the receipt of monetary rewards from Western countries for destabilizing Russia. The vilification of "Savchenko/Joan of Arc" has involved extensive rebutting of persistent claims and discrediting of transparent sources.

In cases dealing with the Snow Revolution, the exact origins of positive comparisons are not known. The forging of the analogy in most instances was either an act of self-attribution (see Example 2) or assigned to the meddling West, with its journalists and politicians, or to the Russian liberal democracy that is known by many abusive names. Example (7) illustrates the attribution of the parallel to the Western press. In this case, Western journalists traded their expectations for the real facts. The verb "hastened" indicates a lack of objectivity that was later corroborated by facts and statements by Sobchak.

(7) Однако западная пресса увидела в Ксении долгожданную русскую Жанну д'Арк и поспешила объявить, что "Собчак бросает вызов Владимиру Путину".
[However, the Western media saw a long-awaited Russian Joan of Arc in Ksenia, and hastened to declare that "Sobchak has challenged Vladimir Putin."]

The marginalization of supporters of these women and their causes was achieved by portraying the holders of positive opinions as sources unrepresentative of the community values, national enemies, pragmatists, or deluded members of the society. It has been found that this argumentative technique produces a significant number of enthusiastic responses from discourse participants (see Examples 17, 18, and 24).

6.3   Amplifying problematic traits of the prototype

The negative constituents of the prototype were often selected for the comparisons with contemporary women. The selection of Joan of Arc's reproachable features led to the manufacture of unappealing identities. The tendency is not surprising since it was previously found that many members of the discourse community expressed critical views of the French heroine. Joan of Arc has been attributed with such qualities as aggression bordering on violence, witchcraft, and insanity. The characterization of the Ukrainian Joans of Arc in particular relies on the perceived controversy of the prototype. Tymoshenko has been portrayed as a pugnacious and unrestrained woman and as a witch or hypnotist. Savchenko has been cast as a sadist and a born killer. Compare the following examples:

(8)   Многие верят, что [украинская Жанна д'Арк] обладает чуть ли не гипно-
        тическими способностями. По украинским «диканькам» гуляют рос-
        сказни, будто она унаследовала от своей бабки-колдуньи дар приворота.
        [Many people believe that [Joan of Arc of Ukraine] is nearly a hypnotists. In
        Ukrainian settlements like Dikan'ka (an allusion to Gogol's place of folk tra-
        dition- L.A.) there are rumors that she inherited the gift of the ability to cast a
        love spell from her witch-grandmother.]

(9)   По отзыву одного из соратников, "для (Тимошенко- L.A.) не существует
        запретов и барьеров. В бою она опасна, как ядерная бомба…Она куль-
        тивирует имидж Жанны д 'Арк. Она торопится завоевать безраздельную
        власть."
        [According to one of her companions, "for (Tymoshenko -L.A.) restrictions
        and barriers do not exist. She is as dangerous in any battle as a nuclear bomb …
        She cultivates the image of Joan of Arc. She rushes to gain absolute power.]

(10)   (Савченко) такая же убийца, как и Жанна д'Арк. Очень жаль,что мир
        опять скатился в средние века. Интересы политиков решают кого нам
        любить, а кого ненавидеть.
        [(Savchenko) is a murderer, similar to Joan of Arc. It is very sad that the world
        has regressed back to the Middle Ages. Political loyalty decides whom we love
        and whom we hate.]

Example (9) and many others (A'Beckett 2013a) underscore the belligerence of Tymoshenko. This capacity can be viewed as political capital if packaged in terms of courage, decisiveness, and devotion. However, the contextual conceptualization and textual cues invoke the image of a violent rebel or skillful plotter. Tymoshenko's aggressiveness has been attenuated by the misrepresentation of the violence that allegedly took place during the Orange Revolution.

In Example (10), the author questions the glorification of a person who took away the lives of others. In the author's opinion, the cause does not justify the means. Women who kill cannot be held as objects of admiration. The validity of Joan of Arc's frame is disputed by a tacit allusion to the Ten Commandments. The re-evaluation of conventional judgements invited by a widely-accepted frame is a common technique in the media war between Russia and Ukraine.

The ordeal by fire and the tragic fate of the rebel was also used in narratives to censure the outcomes of political confrontations. Compare the following example, in which Irina Khakamada is presented as a broken woman who can lose everything in the fight with the supreme ruler.

(11) [Хакамада] взялась за рискованную, но экстравагантную роль демокра-
тической Жанны д'Арк, бросившей вызов недемократическому Главному
герою ….Видимо, персонаж Хакамады, как и положено, закончит жизнь на
политическом костре при жидких и непродолжительных аплодисментах.
[Khakamada took the risky but extravagant role of a democratic Joan of
Arc who challenged the antidemocratic Main Character … It is evident that
Khakamada's personage will end her life at the political stake, according to this
scenario, and will receive rare and brief applause.]

Selecting and magnifying various disturbing aspects of the primary scene enable authors to forge unflattering images. This technique also makes it possible to contest the appropriateness of emulating Joan of Arc in the world of contemporary politics.

6.4   Gender prejudice

There are many examples in which the nickname "Joan of Arc" was used but the author did not indicate a personal opinion about the comparison. Compare the following example:

(12) Именно эта подпсиь стоила украинской Жанне д'Арк свободы.
[This is the signature for which the Ukrainian Joan of Arc (Tymoshenko -L.A.)
was imprisoned].

Statement (12) has been embedded into a factual narrative that is not suggestive of the authorial position on the events. However, even value-neutral contexts can activate hidden social prejudices. Many opinion-holders are very skeptical of female figures acting in the capacity of freedom fighters, messengers, and martyrs. For instance, the late Russian tycoon Boris Berezovsky attributed the failure of Tymoshenko to gain Presidential power to her inability to behave in a lady-like way:

(13) Тимошенко должна сменить роль Жанны д'Арк на роль матери Терезы.
       Смириться. И только через это смирение опять люди могли пойти за ней.
       Но она выбрала другой путь.
       ["(Tymoshenko) should have swapped the role of Joan of Arc for the role of
       Mother Teresa. She should be humble. Only after her conversion to a humble
       person could people follow her again. But she chose a different way," stated
       Berezovsky].

Another opinion-holder [a Russian pro-Putin politician] admitted that she did not believe in a woman president.

(14) Феминизм нам несвойственен, воспринимается как мерзкая и подлая
       штука. Теоретически я допускаю, что женщина в нашей стране могла бы
       побороться за президентский пост. Но не уверена в том, что сама стала
       бы за нее голосовать. Женщина должна быть доброй.
       [Feminism is atypical for us, it is perceived as a vile and vulgar thing. I suppose
       theoretically a woman could fight for a presidential position. But I do not think
       I would vote for her. A woman should be sweet.]

Participants in Russian discourse sometimes dispute women's ability to occupy positions of responsible administrative offices or to become charismatic authorities. Old Soviet prejudice is still alive: the display of independence and self-confidence by a Soviet or post-Soviet woman bears the risk of being called "a feminist" or "an emancipee". Conduct associated with these labels has been cast as inappropriate (Lipovskaia 1994: 125; Engel 2003: 141). The roles of mother and wife are more acclaimed by society, as Berezovsky's comment suggests. Female celebrities bear the risk of drawing disrespect if they openly admit neglecting traditional female functions such as looking after a family and running a home. In other countries, such as Great Britain, the public can be repelled by the pushy, modern, feminist type (Ponton 2010: 199). The Russian Orthodox Church actively promoted the view of feminism as a serious threat to the family and even to the entire country (Sperling 2015: 55). According to Russian feminist activists, the contemporary Russian state had embraced the notion that women's "mission" was "to stay home with children", lionized the image of women raising multiple children, and made feminism (with its ideology of personal choice and equality) anathema (Sperling 2015: 54).

Female discussants often have objections to the "seductress type" achieving publicity and success. For some women, it is hard to accept the ability of female celebrities to gain power over people's hearts and minds and to keep their good looks. For instance, Sperling (2015: 193) comments on the controversy evoked by the appearance of the famous Russian oppositionists: "Female political figures who crossed the regime, such as long-time dissenter Valeria Novodvorskaia, could find themselves labelled 'ugly, unattractive, and hysterical' or like Ksenia Sobchak, an attractive young reality TV show star turned oppositionist, characterized as easy sex objects."

The gender stereotypes transpire in several streams of negative judgement. The first stream absorbs opinions on the ignominy of female celebrities who allegedly seek public attention when they become "freedom fighters". The female rebels have been cast as pretentious usurpers of the brand-name "Joan of Arc". Examples (3) and (13) mirror this trend in some ways.

The second stream of disapproval questions the source of the inspiration for pretty and prosperous women like Tymoshenko and Sobchak. For these opinion-holders, attractive women waste their lives and talents if they dedicate themselves to political struggles. The following example illustrates this thought pattern:

(15)   Ксюша [Собчак], ты воин, твои амбиции я понимаю и поддерживаю!… Если сожгли Жанну д'Арк, боярыню Морозову…, зачем тебе все это? У вас в России, так же как и у нас в Украине, последней правительницей (женщиной) была Екатерина. Поэтому загонять себя, подставлять родных во благо своих амбиций, я считаю не нужно. Живи долго, мудро, счастливо и в любви!!!!
[Ksenia [Sobchak], you are a warrior. I understand and support your ambitions! But if Joan of Arc and the noblewoman Morozova were burnt at the stake then why do you need it all? In your Russia, and here in Ukraine, the last female ruler was Catherine the Great. Hence I think it is unnecessary to shoot yourself in the foot and risk the lives of your relatives for the sake of your ambitions. Live long, happy, smart and in love!!!!]

In such examples, members of the discourse community positively evaluate the personality of female politicians but refuse to endorse professional and social achievements when the traditional gender roles are abandoned.

The third stream of disapproval accommodates the views that female fighters, similar to Joan of Arc, are lunatics, murderers, or have a "loose cannon" type of personality. Judgements about Savchenko exemplify this stream.

(16)   Не Савченко, а прямо Жанна д'Арк, – прирожденная убийца и место ее в изоляции.
[Savchenko is Joan of Arc indeed – a born killer. She deserves isolation.]

In many ways, Example (16) correlates with Example (10). Other discourse fragments on Savchenko also highlight the inappropriateness of the female fighter role model since this role clashes with traditional expectations of gender occupation.

It is possible to argue that the negative response has been stimulated by interplay with several, sometimes incongruous, social beliefs. Female leaders are not welcomed, since they function outside their conventional milieu. In addition to that, some members of the discourse community are reluctant to reconcile themselves with the sexual appeal of women in power. Good looks have been perceived as a sign of insincerity, promiscuity, and treacherous behavior. Then again, many opinion holders believe that the female role of charismatic leader is entwined with a tragic fate that pretty women do not deserve.

7.   Reception-oriented analysis

The examination of reactions from the newspaper audience and social media revealed that most newspaper readers either are repelled by the celebrities discussed or refuse to acknowledge the applicability of the herald of democracy and freedom in the portrayals. Overall, the parallels with Joan of Arc have achieved their pragmatic function: stigmatizing and shunning the female celebrities and defaming their political stance.

Several modes of discourse development testify to the emergent bond between writers and readers. Discourse participants "appropriated" (Cameron 2010a: 19) the allusion to Joan of Arc in their comments. Like the authors, the readers expressed objections to positive readings of the parallel. Following newspaper prompts, discourse participants elaborated on incompatibilities between the biography of Joan of Arc and her emulators. The authorial emphasis on discrepancies in the lifestyle of the women carries an additional pragmatic function: ridiculing those who embrace the comparison. The discussion of inappropriate naming entails contesting the common sense and sincerity of the name givers. As much as journalists and reporters, discourse participants brand the devotees of these Joans of Arc as dishonest, delusional, irrational, or pragmatic. Compare the following examples.

(17)   Как можно сравнивать Тимошенко и Жанну д'Арк. Какая наглость! Пусть
        свое имя создает, а не чужими пользуется.
        [The comparison of Tymoshenko with Joan of Arc is intolerable! What inso-
        lence! Let her make her own name rather than exploit those of others.]

(18)   Когда дочку высопоставленных родителей называют Жанной Д'Арк – я
не согласен. По –моему, это просто несдержанность, а точнее – хамство!!!
[When the daughter of high-ranking parents [Sobchak – L.A.] has been called
"Joan of Arc"– I disagree. In my view, it is inconsistent; to be more precise, it
is boorishness!!!]

(19)   А Жанна д'Арк тут при чем? Вы б еще Мату Хари вспомнили.…только
Савченко калибром помельче будет.
[What has it to do with Joan of Arc? Why don't you think about Mata Hari?
The only thing is that Savchenko is the one of a smaller caliber.]

All these parallels were dismissed as the contrived creations of confused minds.
The readers, as much as the authors of the narratives, liked to enhance the ridicu-
lous incongruity between the paragon and the emulators. They elaborated jocular
narratives and added more comic details. The samples supplied by the media were
taken up and further developed. Some discourse participants appreciated the op-
portunity to generate more jokes following the ready-to-use patterns. Compare the
following examples.

(20)   Пора уже посадить Навального и Собчак. Так у нас появятся свой Нельсон
Мандела и своя Жанна д 'Арк.
[It's time to imprison Navalny and Sobchak. Thus, we will have our own Nelson
Mandela and our own Joan of Arc.]

(21)   Какая разница между Жанной д Арк и Юлией Тимошенко? Никакой. Хотя
есть маленькое «но» – Жанну д Арк не интересует никопольский завод
ферросплавов.
[What is the difference between Joan of Arc and Yulia Tymoshenko? No dif-
ference. Although there is a small "but" – Joan of Arc was not interested in the
Nikopol plant of ferroalloys.]

(22)   Ну что же. На лесоповал. Пусть украинская Жанна д'Арк дровишки себе
на костёр собирает.
[Well. Send her to log the forest. Let the Joan of Arc of Ukraine (Savchenko –
L.A.) collect the wood for her stake.]

Example (20) stresses that Russia is different from the South African Republic in
the time of apartheid and from medieval France. In the opinion of the discussant,
prisoners in contemporary Russia are not freedom fighters but perverts and fools.
Example (21) elaborates the topic of the alleged egocentricity of Tymoshenko. The
author of the comment acknowledges that Tymoshenko has a fighting spirit similar
to Joan of Arc but alleges that she uses it for her own profit. Example (22), referring
to Savchenko, negates the validity of Joan of Arc's frame by highlighting differences

between the treatments of Joan of Arc and Savchenko and implying that the dramatic spin of Savchenko's story is an invention of anti-Russian manipulators. The discourse participant sarcastically turns the tragedy into a farce.

In addition to the aforementioned trends, discussants frequently use the name in their statement to indicate frustration with the women and their followers. The commenters do not joke but show their contempt for these public figures.

(23) Не голосуйте за украинскую Жанну д'Арк.
      [Don't vote for Joan of Arc of Ukraine! (Tymoshenko -L.A.)]

(24) Московская хипстерская быдлота, ненавидящая всю остальную Россию, бросилась на защиту своей "Жанны д"Арк"(Собчак – Л.А.). Защищали как умеют, в силу своей культуры и воспитанности. Что неудивительно – какая "Жанна д'Арк", такие у нее и защитнички. Умеющие только срать у памятников и в ленте Твиттера.
      [The Moscow hippie trash, in their disgust toward the rest of Russia, rushed to defend their "Joan of Arc" (Sobchak – L.A.). They defended her according to their abilities, their education, cultural views, and upbringing. It is not surprising – her defenders are no better than their Joan of Arc. They can only shit near monuments and in Twitter feeds.]

(25) По-моему, эта доморощенная Жанна д'Арк изначально признавалась в своей причастности к войне на Юго-Востоке Украины и в, частности, к тому, что была наводчицей.
      [I think that from the very beginning this homebrewed Joan of Arc (Savchenko – L.A.) confessed her involvement in the war in the southeast of Ukraine and, in particular, that she was a (military – L.A.) spotter.]

The modes of interplay between authors and their audience include the following aspects: (1) objections to the relevance of the prototype in modern conditions; (2) repudiation of the similarity between the contemporary public figures and the French heroine; (3) elaboration of the grotesque mismatches of the comparison; and (4) adoption of the nickname as a sign of disdain.

8.   Discussion: Persuasive impact

Feedback from the newspaper audience allows for speculation as to why the glorious name became such a popular tool for stigmatizing public figures and the movements they represent. It also helps to identify the discourse processes that contribute to the potency of the persuasive impact or the strength of the frame (Plastina this volume).

It is possible to argue that the allusion has been used as a device for controlling attention, as, on the one hand, the invocation of a historic precedent captures the imagination and, on the other hand, it encourages readers to co-operate with the author in constructing the meaning, selecting the relevant social norms, and making the final judgment. The intensity of the cognitive processes licenses the memorability or, in other terms, the salience of the standpoints (cf. Langacker 1987: 115 quoted by Calle Rosignana, this volume).

The omnipresence of jocularity and censure attached to the comparisons creates a perception that society as a whole, for some extravagant exceptions, rejects the contemporary reincarnations of the female freedom fighter and denounces movements embodied in this symbolic manifestation. Ironic prompts and stigmatization of positive opinion holders create a common bond among members of the discourse community who believe in defending moral standards and fighting delusions and irrationality. Readers are aligned with the community of shared values and beliefs (Martin and White 2005: 35) as they have a common object for criticism and recognize the validity of the critical approach (see Plastina this volume). The weak supporters can feel threatened by the constant ridicule. The flow of sarcastic statements embarrasses those who were inclined to believe in the value of the political position represented by a Joan of Arc. Under such pressure, the weak supporters retreat from previously solicited standpoints. A putative reader can experience problems with constructing an alternative characterization if any deviation from the mass view is persistently marked as peculiar and largely dismissed (cf. Pettey and Perloff 2008: 41–44).

9. Conclusion

The allusion to Joan of Arc has become an effective technique of denigrating contemporary female politicians in the Russian press. It should be noted that this investigation studied the analogy in isolation from other elements of textual organization. Although this allusion has served as a powerful frame for negative characterization, the input of other discourse strategies into the negative opinion formation should not be underestimated.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded this figurative device had a prolonged impact on readers, since they retained the disparaging blocks of information and enhanced the standpoint with their own commonplace observations. At the same time, the analogy was frequently used as a negative image construction.

Several factors should be recognized as contributing to the negative female identity construction in such instances. First, the actions of contemporary public figures are presented as a drama to influence audience opinion (Kjeldsen 2013: 24–32; and

Svensson and Stenvol 2013: 178). Authors utilize a dramatic characterization of contemporary celebrities that captures the reader's mind and provokes excessive interpretations beyond the spontaneous and immediate understanding of the text. The identification of modern women through reference to Joan of Arc amplifies improbable connections and incongruities between the legendary past and the undetermined present. The similarities between the women and the prototype often come out as negative features: e.g., insanity, witchcraft, and excessive aggression.

Moreover, the authors distance themselves from the comparison and accredit dubious sources with the expression of flattering parallels. The source factor is described as an influential constituent in persuasive communication: a negatively valenced source often yields to a rejection of the argument. The contrast has often been misrepresented, as the comparative frame has been skillfully controlled. Even when a ridiculous incongruity between the women was not evident, the chosen prototype clashed with belief in the capacity of women to become national leaders and fighters and in their right to defend their land with arms.

The conceptual frame evoked by the name "Joan of Arc" revealed its fluidity in Russian discourse. In examples from the Snow Revolution, the emphasis was on ridiculing female freedom fighters and mocking their clashes with police that occasionally led to detention. In the fragments dedicated to Tymoshenko, a wider structure for comparisons was used: imprisonment and a show trial, betrayal by allies, fighting spirit in the Orange Revolution, charisma, and mockery of the ordeal by fire. At that period of time, the Joan of Arc frame represented only a mild exposure to the brewing tensions between Russia and Ukraine as similar to that of England and France but, nevertheless, some efforts were made to mock this aspect of the comparison. The case of Savchenko represents the richest analogy: the female soldier in a war against a foreign aggressor, self-denial, imprisonment, an uncompromising stand against her oppressors, an unbreakable spirit, strong belief in her mission, and, finally, a show trial. In order to dismiss the evident similarities with Joan of Arc in Savchenko's case, the merits of Joan of Arc's conduct were more persistently questioned and condemned.

A few words can be added with respect to the line of thought that was suppressed in these statements. By stressing the inconsequential discrepancies between female public figures and Joan of Arc, and by ridiculing the supporters of these women, the authors lead their readers away from more important issues: from the state of affairs that urges even rich and successful women to cry out for changes, from the fact that their ordeals were not manufactured as a publicity stunt but came as a punishment for their dissent, from the evidence that some of them indeed suffered much and revealed unprecedented spiritual strength, self-control, and determination. A surrogate reality was forged with the persistent use of the poisoned analogy.

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Persuasion in marketing

Saving face online

Institutional responses to negative customer reviews on *TripAdvisor*

Christopher Hopkinson

Working within an interactional-pragmatic framework, this chapter reports on a study of hoteliers' responses to negative customer reviews on the TripAdvisor website, exploring the significance of facework and rapport management strategies as means of persuasion. Negative reviews represent face-threatening acts which endanger the business's institutional face, while responses offer an opportunity for face-saving and rapport-building; to maximize persuasive effect, respondents must strike a balance between their own face needs and those of the complainant. The study also explores the extent to which respondents' persuasive strategies reflect the presence of third parties (readers of the website), as the complaint-response sequence – formerly a private genre – is now increasingly enacted in the public domain.

Keywords: interactional pragmatics, face, facework, rapport management, persuasion, genre, public complaint responses, TripAdvisor

1. Introduction and aims

This study explores the persuasive dimension of a recently emerged genre – hoteliers' public responses to negative customer reviews posted on the *TripAdvisor* website. Persuasion is a central element in customer complaint responses, as the respondent typically sets out to win the complainant round and regain lost trust. Typical studies on persuasion in the discourse of customer complaints (for an overview see Orthaber and Márquez-Reiter 2011: 3861–3862) focus primarily on dyadic interactions between the complainant (the customer) and the respondent (the business), taking place in the private domain. However, the study presented in this chapter sets out to explore persuasion in a more complex and layered communicative situation – one which combines elements of both private and public discourse. This hybrid nature is reflected in the participant structure of the genre,

which incorporates two distinct types of recipients. Like traditional private complaint responses, the *TripAdvisor* responses are addressed directly and individually to the complainant. However, the discourse of *TripAdvisor* is in the public domain, so the responses can also be read by third parties, who visit the website and observe the complaint-response sequence as spectators. Crucially, these third parties are also potential addressees, and therefore potential targets of persuasion.

With regard to persuasive practices in the discourse, this novel participant structure represents both an opportunity and a challenge for respondents. On the one hand, it extends the persuasive potential of the complaint response genre beyond the confines of dyadic interaction, enabling respondents to reach out to multiple recipients (potential guests) in the manner of mass advertising. On the other hand, the persuasive practices typically used in dyadic communication may not be entirely compatible with those typically used in public discourse aimed at a mass (anonymous) readership. One would thus expect to see *TripAdvisor* respondents attempting to persuade recipients both on the level of the individual complainant and on the level of the third-party readership. The research presented in this chapter thus has the potential to offer an insight into how respondents (hoteliers) have adapted to this new communicative situation, and it seeks an understanding of how this situation has impacted upon the nature of persuasion.

The research material for this study is taken from *TripAdvisor* – one of a growing number of customer review websites which enable users to share their experiences of products and services with other potential consumers. This electronic word-of-mouth plays an increasingly central role in consumer behavior, with many people consulting such sites before making a purchasing decision. The reviews posted on these sites can thus have a significant commercial impact on businesses. Some websites enable businesses to post responses to customer reviews; these responses are likewise displayed publicly, and can be read by all visitors to the site. This has brought an additional dimension to the interface between businesses and their customers – particularly with regard to the way in which businesses handle negative reviews. Traditionally, customer complaints were dealt with in private correspondence between the complainant and a representative of the company. Nowadays, the complaint-response sequence is frequently enacted in the public domain, observed by an audience (the website's readership). As has been mentioned above, this development has extended the persuasive potential of the complaint response genre, enabling respondents to reach out to a large readership – many of whom will be potential guests.

A number of pragmatic studies in recent years have explored the discourse of customer complaints (an overview is given in Orthaber and Márquez-Reiter 2011: 3861–3862), including a study of complaints on *TripAdvisor* (Vásquez 2011). However, businesses' responses to such complaints have received less attention, and

studies of complaint responses in the public domain (e.g. Page 2014, Ho 2017) are still rare. The present study therefore aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of this genre – a genre which seems likely to become increasingly central to businesses' communication strategies in the future. Given that the genre tends to center around some kind of apologetic speech act(s), another area where this study seeks to provide an insight is the pragmatic dimension of public apologies and their use in the context of persuasive discourse. Most research on public apologies has been situated within the field of crisis communication (e.g. Benoit 1995); studies such as these typically draw on a rhetorical approach, examining how apologies are used by public figures and institutions as a rhetorical tool for image restoration purposes. By contrast, linguistic/pragmatic studies of apologies (exploring areas such as politeness, in/directness in apologetic speech acts, as well as patterns of linguistic realization) have tended to focus primarily on communication in the private domain (influential studies include Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; for an overview of more recent developments see Ogiermann 2009). Page (2014: 32) notes that "linguistic studies which examine apologies made in public contexts are in their infancy by comparison"; the present study therefore seeks to offer insights into the pragmatic dimension of apologies (and related acts) used for persuasive purposes in the public domain.

My approach is anchored in two closely related theoretical concepts which I consider to be of central relevance to the persuasive dimension of the genre: the interactional-pragmatic paradigms of facework (Goffman 1967) and rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2002, 2007, 2008 etc.). The analysis and interpretation of the complaint responses is based on the notion that face is not only a construct that is projected and negotiated by individuals, but that there also exists "institutional face". An institutional entity (a company or other organization) has its own face; this is essentially a public image that the institution strives to construct, project and maintain in interaction. A negative review posted on a public website is thus experienced by the institution as a face-threatening act (FTA). In the case of individuals, FTAs are primarily viewed in terms of the damage they may cause to the individual's self-esteem. However, in the case of commercial organizations, FTAs may ultimately lead to a loss of consumers' trust, with real financial consequences. In facework terms, the goal of public complaint responses is to save the institution's face – repairing the damage caused by the FTA and enhancing the institution's face to the maximum possible extent. This study explores how respondents attempt to achieve this goal.

The study is based on two key assumptions. The first is that respondents will not only seek to enhance their own institutional face, but will also attend to the face of the complainant. Both parties' face is at stake; for example, a direct contradiction of the complainant's claims would represent an unambiguous FTA against

the complainant. Respondents can thus be expected to attempt to achieve a desirable balance between the (sometimes conflicting) face needs of both parties. This assumption gives rise to two closely related research questions:

(1)   What facework strategies and acts do respondents use when attending to the complainant's face and their own institutional face?

(2)   How are the face needs of both parties balanced in order to maximize face benefits and minimize face losses to them both?

The second assumption of this study is that the public nature of the genre brings an extra layer of complexity to the discourse; respondents are not only addressing the complainant, but must also take into account the presence of an unlimited number of other readers ("third parties"). We might therefore expect to see this newly emerged genre moving away from the dyadic patterns of communication that characterize non-public complaint-response sequences, as respondents have the opportunity to address third parties directly, draw them into the discourse, and thus maximize persuasive effects on them. This gives rise to a third research question:

(3)   How, and to what extent, can the presence of third parties be seen to influence the discourse, particularly in terms of the persuasive strategies used by respondents?

The rest of this chapter is divided into three sections. First (Section 2), I outline the material used in the study and briefly characterize the genre in terms of social context and communicative goals. I then (Section 3) outline the key theoretical concepts on which the study rests. The core of the chapter (Section 4) presents and discusses the results of the analysis.

2.   Material and genre

2.1   Corpus

The corpus analyzed for this study consists of 1,112 responses to negative reviews posted on *TripAdvisor*. The corpus was compiled in October 2014. The compilation process was as follows. First, one English county was randomly selected (Northamptonshire); a total of 80 hotels were listed in *TripAdvisor* for this county. *TripAdvisor* uses a rating system whereby reviewers (customers) grade hotels on a scale from a minimum 1 point ("terrible") to a maximum 5 points ("excellent"). For the purposes of the study, "negative" reviews were defined as those awarding the hotel a rating of 1 or 2 points ("terrible" or "poor", respectively). For the 80 hotels,

there were a total of 2,180 1-point or 2-point reviews as of October 18, 2014, which was chosen as the cut-off date for the corpus (reviews or responses posted after this date have not been included). Out of these 2,180 negative reviews, 1,112 elicited a response from the hotel (a 51.0% response rate). This set of 1,112 responses formed the corpus for the study. The responses cover approximately a seven-year period from September 21, 2007 to the cut-off date October 18, 2014. The corpus contains a total of 154,000 words (averaging 138 words per response).

For the purposes of this study the corpus was subjected to a manual qualitative analysis to identify the key strategies used by the respondents and their means of realization. Where relevant, basic quantitative data were collected in order to characterize which strategies can be considered "core" and which are more peripheral. These quantitative data thus play a supporting role to the qualitative analysis. All cited examples have been anonymized where necessary to conceal the identity of both reviewers and respondents.

2.2   The genre and its social context – participants, roles, goals

This Section briefly characterizes the genre of public online complaint responses and situates it within its social context. My approach to genre draws on theories anchored in a systemic-functional framework (e.g. Martin 1997; Martin and Rose 2008), which view genres as "staged, goal-oriented social processes" (Martin 1997: 13). Martin's "stages" are analogous to what Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993, 2004) term "moves" – the sequentially arranged structural components of a genre, through which speakers seek to achieve particular communicative goals. It is not the aim of this study to explore the move structures found in the responses, and this aspect of the genre will only be mentioned in passing. More relevant are the other two components of Martin's definition – the concept of genres as social processes, and their goal-oriented nature.

2.2.1   *Genres as social processes*
With regard to genres as social processes, two key aspects of public complaint responses are particularly salient for the facework practices explored in this study: the participatory framework of the discourse in which the genre is embedded, and the roles and relative status of the participants.

Before the emergence of customer review websites, customer complaints were typically dealt with in private correspondence between the complainant and a representative of the company; responses of this type have a simple dyadic participatory framework. In public complaint responses the participatory framework is more complex, including readers visiting the site, who constitute an audience of "side

participants" (Haugh 2013; Kádár and Haugh 2013). I term these side participants "third parties"; a third party is "a ratified listener to whom an utterance is not addressed but who is fully entitled to listen to it and make inferences, according to the speaker's communicative intention" (Dynel 2014: 40). Although third parties are not generally addressed directly in public complaint responses, they are addressed indirectly, as this chapter will show.

The second key aspect of the genre as a social process is the relative status of the participants. The default social situation in which public complaint responses are embedded is based on a clear imbalance of status (power) between the respondent and the complainant. The act of paying for a service establishes a relationship between the parties based on mutual rights and obligations; within the bounds of the commercial relationship, the customer essentially buys power over the service provider. This in turn creates a social expectation that the customer will be treated with a certain degree of deference (though the degree of deference that is felt to be appropriate will differ between cultures). The interaction is thus anchored in a context of pre-existing social expectations which influence participants' perceptions of what is appropriate behavior.

Some responses in the corpus clearly violate this expectation of deference, as respondents occasionally choose to engage in antagonistic or aggressive verbal behavior – criticizing the review as unfair, malicious, or dishonest, or even mounting personal attacks against the complainant. However, verbal antagonism and aggression are marginal in terms of quantity (occurring in just 35 of all the responses in the corpus, i.e. 3.1%), and such behavior lies beyond the scope of this study. (For a full account of this type of behavior found in the corpus and the socio-pragmatic processes underlying it, see Hopkinson 2016).

2.2.2   *Communicative goals*

The other key component of Martin's definition of genre with relevance to this study is its "goal-oriented" nature (Martin 1997: 13). Two main communicative goals are typically pursued in (non-antagonistic) public complaint responses. Firstly, these responses offer the hotel a chance to turn an awkward situation around and ultimately gain advantage from it. Respondents can explain why the problems occurred, offer remedy or compensation, and generally show themselves to be sympathetic and responsive to customers' needs – all of which help to repair the respondent's damaged image. A crucial factor here is the public nature of the discourse: respondents are attempting not only to persuade and win over the original complainant, but also to make a good impression on third-party readers. Most of these third parties will be potential guests using the site to help them when choosing accommodation, so a well-handled response ultimately offers the possibility of significant commercial gain – or at least the avoidance of significant commercial loss.

The second main communicative goal typically pursued in non-antagonistic responses does not involve the hotel's image as such, but rather the mutual relationship between the complainant and the respondent. Most public complaint responses center around some form of apology (cf. Page 2014). One of the primary purposes of apologizing is the restoration of social (relational) equilibrium between the parties (Holmes 1990; Davies et al. 2007). Equilibrium does not necessarily mean equality of status or power; it involves the maintenance of a stable relationship between parties, based on mutual and/or social expectations – even if these expectations mean, as is the case here, that the parties' status is unequal. The circumstances motivating the complaint – the hotel's failure to meet some of its obligations to the customer – represent a disturbance of this equilibrium, so apologies and similar acts offer an opportunity to restore it.

3.   Facework and rapport management

The focus in this study is on how the communicative goals outlined above are pursued by means of facework and rapport management strategies, so the following paragraphs offer a brief outline of these concepts. My approach is anchored in Goffman's concept of face, defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself […] during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes […]" (Goffman 1967: 5). Face is simultaneously an individual psychological construct (the individual's idea of him/herself) and a social phenomenon (created through facework in interaction). The interactive dimension of face is crucially important; it means that face is not stable, but can be threatened, lost, attacked, defended, enhanced, and so on. In other words, face is mutually constructed by interactants.

Face has generally been approached as an individual phenomenon. However, I proceed from the assumption that not only individuals, but also institutional entities can have their own face. An institution can present itself as caring, responsive, morally upstanding, and so on – in other words, the institution presents itself as a bearer of human attributes (see also Ng, this volume, for a discussion of organizational anthropomorphization from the perspective of corporate brand communication). This face is projected by individuals speaking on behalf of the institution. Orthaber and Márquez-Reiter (2011) define "institutional face" as "the professional persona through which the company presents itself to the public" (2011: 3863). An analogous concept is Gunnarsson's (2009: 221–236) "organizational self", which involves a company's culture and values as reflected in its interactions with those outside the company.

My approach to facework draws primarily on Spencer-Oatey's rapport management framework (e.g. 2000, 2002, 2007, 2008), which views face as consisting of three components: quality face, social identity face, and relational face. Of particular relevance to the genre analyzed here are quality face and relational face.

Quality face concerns an individual's positive self-image arising from his/her claim to be a possessor of positive personal qualities (competence, intelligence, morality, etc.) on whose basis he/she is favorably evaluated by others (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 540); these are Goffman's "approved social attributes" (Goffman 1967: 5). In the case of an institution such as a hotel, quality face involves attributes such as efficiency, helpfulness, and the like; these are the aspects of the institution's face that are damaged when a customer posts a negative review. However, it is not only the hotel's face that is at stake in a complaint/response situation. The complainant's face is also at stake; it may be publicly threatened by the response (e.g. if the respondent alleges that the review is inaccurate or dishonest).

The second component of face with particular relevance to this study, relational face, concerns the individual's (or the institution's) status as a participant in the given interaction, characterized by Spencer-Oatey as "the relationship between the participants (e.g. distance–closeness, equality–inequality, perceptions of role rights and obligations), and the ways in which this relationship is managed or negotiated" (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 647). Relational face is closely connected with the concept of "sociality rights", defined as "fundamental personal/social *entitlements* that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others […] Sociality rights […] are concerned with personal/social expectancies" (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 14). In the context of customer complaints, these "entitlements" and "expectancies" are a function of the commercial relationship between the parties – in which there is an expectation of inequality, an imbalance in status between the customer and the service provider. Page acknowledges the importance of relational face in the discourse of customer complaints when she writes of "a rapport-building strategy which acknowledges the sociality obligations towards the customer" (Page 2014: 41).

4. Results and discussion

As I have mentioned above, respondents ideally need to strike a balance between their own face needs and those of the complainant, achieving a win-win solution which maximizes face benefits to both parties while minimizing the risk of face loss. The corpus analysis reveals a "core" set of facework and rapport management strategies which occur with relatively high frequency, and which respondents evidently consider an optimum way of achieving this desirable balance. These core

strategies are presented below with regard to the three central research questions outlined in the introduction. First (Section 4.1) I focus on how respondents attend to the complainant's face, and then (4.2) I explore the strategies through which they attempt to manage their own institutional face; throughout the discussion I take into account how respondents balance the sometimes conflicting face needs of both parties. Finally (4.3) I address the presence of third parties (website readers), exploring how and to what extent this presence is reflected in the strategies employed by respondents.

4.1 Strategies attending to the complainant's face

The facework and rapport management strategies through which respondents attend to the complainant's face are relatively simple, and they target both relational face and quality face. Respondents attend to relational face by seeking to emphasize the unequal status of the two parties, and thus to restore the desirable social/relational equilibrium. This intersubjective positioning is typically foregrounded in the opening move of the response, where the respondent usually thanks the complainant for posting the review. Sometimes this speech act is repeated at the end of the response, as part of the closing move:

(1)   opening move: Thank you for taking the time to share your feedback […]
      closing move: Once again thank you for your review and I hope to see you
                      back at the hotel in the near future.

The main body of the response is thus sandwiched between two acts of thanking, which are positioned at high-impact points in the text (initial and final). The speech act of thanking acknowledges the respondent's "debt of gratitude" to the complainant (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987: 67; Aijmer 1996b: 37), subtly underlining the gap in status between the two parties. The act of thanking is a very stable component of the genre, occurring in 947 out of the total 1,112 responses in the corpus (85.2%). Given this high frequency of occurrence, it is perhaps unsurprising that the linguistic realization of this speech act demonstrates a high degree of standardization: in 403 responses (i.e. 42.6% of all 947 responses which involve the speech act of thanking), the basic illocutionary force indicating device (IFID – e.g. Searle and Vanderveken 1985; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) *thank you* or *many thanks* is followed by an adverbial phrase *for taking the time to* […], suggesting that this has crystallized into a formulaic template.

Respondents also attend to complainants' quality face. Besides foregrounding the complainant's generosity through acts of thanking, respondents seek to enhance complainants' quality face by explicitly ratifying the legitimacy of the complaint.

This usually involves stating that the review is accurate, fair or honest (naturally implying that the reviewer possesses positive personal qualities such as fairness and honesty):

(2)   a.   Thank you for your honest feedback
      b.   You are very correct with your comments on the ladies toilets

A more subtle means of enhancing the complainant's quality face can be seen in the selection of semantic roles that are assigned to the complainant and/or the review. In some cases, the customer's *feedback* or *comments* are encoded as the cause or facilitator of change:

(3)   I look forward to welcoming you back soon and showing you how **your valued feedback has enabled positive changes**

This can be interpreted as a form of face enhancement because it positions complainants as playing an active, empowered role, rather than assigning to them the semantic role of patients (mere passive recipients of poor service).

The facework practices discussed above are pragmatically quite simple, and they share the goal of placating the complainant and attempting to restore rapport. If successful, this may potentially make the complainant more receptive to respondents' attempts to repair and enhance their own face – preparing the ground for the more complex strategies which are discussed in the next section.

4.2   Strategies attending to the respondent's face

Respondents use a range of strategies in an attempt to repair the damage to their own quality face. In this section I first describe a practice I term "face compartmentalization", which represents a core facework strategy in the corpus (Section 4.2.1). I then discuss a range of supporting strategies which help enhance institutional face and mitigate damage to it (Section 4.2.2).

4.2.1   *Face compartmentalization*

Repairing the damage caused to the institution's quality face is not a simple task. Generally, respondents do not simply contradict the complainant's criticism (for example by asserting that the hotel always offers excellent service). Such an act would run the risk of being perceived as an FTA against the complainant; it may be interpreted as ignoring the complaint and thus failing to treat the complainant with due respect, or it may be perceived as implying that the complainant's account of events is inaccurate, unreasonable, or even dishonest. Crucially, however, it is not only the complainant's face that would be threatened by such behavior. The respondent's face would also potentially be damaged in the eyes of third-party

readers, as the respondent could be perceived as arrogant and dismissive. This, in turn, could have the effect of making readers less receptive to the respondent's claims, thus undermining the respondent's attempts at persuasion. Given that third parties are potential customers, such a facework strategy could thus ultimately prove to be commercially counterproductive. This is an example of how the presence of third parties conditions and constrains the respondent's behavior, acting as a deterrent against overly assertive facework.

In order to avoid this risk, respondents typically employ a strategy which I refer to as "face compartmentalization". This involves splitting their own quality face into two separate components, which I term "competence face" and "morality face". Competence face concerns the institution's professional competence – its expertise, efficiency, ability to provide excellent customer service, and so on. Morality face concerns the institution as a bearer of morally positive qualities – humility, responsiveness to others' needs, helpfulness, empathy, respect for others, and so on. These moral qualities are connected with the notion of personality; they involve a certain humanization of the institutional persona.

When practicing face compartmentalization, respondents keep these two components separate from one another; they concede a loss of competence face (accepting that on this occasion the hotel's performance was poor) while simultaneously asserting their morality face (displaying empathy for their guests, an ability to acknowledge their own faults, and responsiveness to people's concerns). The strategic sacrifice of competence face enables the institution to enhance its morality face; this offers a way of minimizing face damage and salvaging the maximum possible benefit from the situation, converting a negative (loss of competence face) into a positive (benefit to morality face). This compartmentalization is widely recognized as a central mechanism in apologies; Goffman observed that apologies "represent a splitting of the self into a blameworthy part and a part that stands back and sympathizes with the blame giving, and, by implication, is worthy of being brought back into the fold" (1971: 113). Pragmatic accounts of apologies also tend to incorporate in some form the "moral" dimension that I have outlined above – Kampf (2009) observes that a public apology enables the apologizer to demonstratively "project a moral persona and reconstruct public trust" (2009: 2259), while Davies et al. (2007) note that apologies improve the speaker's standing as a "good person" (2007: 55).

As well as being a central mechanism in apologies, face compartmentalization also plays a more general role as a persuasive strategy in the corpus data. Respondents' assertion of their morality face centers particularly around two morally positive qualities – empathy and honesty. The enhancement of these aspects of morality face helps to support respondents' persuasive efforts in two distinct ways. Firstly, the projection of an empathetic persona (expressing concern for the complainant's well-being and sympathy for their plight) has the effect of reducing the

social distance between the respondent and the complainant, reinforcing solidarity and building rapport between the parties. This practice is thus closely related to Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of positive politeness, or Scollon and Scollon's analogous concept of "involvement face" (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 40–41). Such a practice may support respondents' efforts at persuasion by softening the complainant's (and other readers') stance towards the respondent, thus potentially making them more receptive to the respondent's persuasive message.

The second way in which respondents' assertion of their morality face helps to support persuasion is connected to their projection of a persona characterized by honesty; this occurs when respondents decide to openly acknowledge their failings rather than opting for a strategy based on denying the complainant's claims. From the perspective of persuasion, a denial-based strategy may in fact turn out to be counterproductive; if readers are not convinced by such denials, they may well decide to approach all of the respondent's claims with a degree of skepticism or outright distrust. An honesty-based strategy, on the other hand, is more likely to make readers receptive to the respondent's message in its entirety. Such a strategy thus supports persuasion by building trust.

Analysis of the corpus data reveals two main means by which respondents seek to assert their morality face in the discourse: via apologies and via the demonstrative emotionalization of the respondent.

4.2.1.1   *Apologies*

Apologies are a simple means through which respondents acknowledge their own culpability and overtly express regret. This may be done via explicit apology formulas (performatives or other IFIDs based on the lexemes *apologize* or *apology*) –

(4)   a.   I sincerely apologize for the noise you experienced with the AC unit
b.   Please accept my apologies for the disappointment and inconvenience

– or respondents may use a range of other lexical means to convey the same intent, producing a broader category of apology-like utterances (for a full discussion of these various means see Ogiermann 2009: 93 ff.):

c.   **I was shocked to hear about** the bad language you have described and **this is completely unacceptable** and I have instantly acted upon this with all of the team.

The corpus contains 771 responses (69.3% of the total) that include an explicit apology and/or an utterance belonging to the broader apology-like category. Almost all of these responses (766 out of 771) also included an IFID of thanking; this co-occurrence of thanking and apology can thus be viewed as a default combination of strategies enabling the respondent to maximize face gains to both parties.

4.2.1.2 *Emotionalization of the respondent*

The second main means through which respondents seek to enhance their morality face is by demonstratively expressing emotions, thus projecting an emotionalized persona into the discourse. The foregrounding of emotions enables the respondent to humanize its institutional face, helping to mitigate the possible perception of the institution as a faceless corporate entity. This strategy can ultimately be interpreted as an attempt to win the sympathy of the complainant and third-party readers.

The emotionalization of the response typically occurs in the opening move, where it is woven into speech acts of thanking and/or apology:

(5) a.   naturally I was **very saddened** to read that you found your stay disappointing
     b.   I was **most distressed** to review your comments

In connection with this strategy, it is noticeable that although respondents do sometimes encode themselves via first-person plural forms –

     c.   It really matters to us that our guests have a comfortable night's sleep, and we sincerely apologise that on this occasion we failed to provide this.

– the use of singular forms is considerably more frequent. *I*-forms are used in 882 responses (79.3%), *we*-forms in 305 responses (27.4%), and there are 75 responses (6.7%) which combine both. An explanation for this tendency can draw on Eckert's (e.g. 2012) concept of third-wave variation studies – an approach exploring how linguistic variables reflect social meanings, including the role of linguistic features as a resource for the construction of personae in discourse. Viewed from this perspective, it seems reasonable to assume that the use of the *I*-form reflects the respondent's attempt to project a more emotionally sincere and genuine persona – engaging in the discourse as a real individual rather than attempting to hide behind the anonymous *we* of a corporate entity. Besides enhancing the respondent's morality face as part of the compartmentalization strategy, this choice also has attendant benefits for rapport management as it enables the respondent to attend to the complainant's relational face (sociality rights) – i.e. the expectation that a complaint will be acknowledged and dealt with in an individual manner rather than "fobbing off" the complainant with a bland corporate response; cf. Page's (2014: 43) observations on the rapport-building effect of individualizing strategies.

4.2.2   *Supporting strategies attending to the respondent's face*

In addition to the core strategy of compartmentalization, respondents also deploy a number of supporting strategies which help them to enhance their institutional face and mitigate damage to it. In this section I discuss two main types of supporting strategies. The first involves the construction of "alternative realities" to create

a counterweight to the complainant's disappointing experience, while the second involves various ways in which respondents attempt to shape readers' perceptions by restating the events in question.

4.2.2.1   *Alternative realities*

When practicing face compartmentalization, respondents strategically sacrifice their competence face. However, they frequently attempt to mitigate the damage thus incurred by introducing into the discourse what I will term "alternative realities". This involves making assertions which, though they do not actually contradict the version of events given by the complainant, nevertheless seek to depict the respondent's competence in a more favorable light. The response thus sets up two mutually compatible "realities", existing side by side – the negative reality described by the complainant, and an alternative, more positive reality (existing either in the present or at a future date) described by the respondent. This more positive reality seeks to deflect the attention of readers away from the negative reality and persuade them of the respondent's competence.

   Three main types of "alternative reality" are set up and woven into the narrative of the responses:

i.   *A usual reality, in which the hotel is competent*
Respondents claim that the events described by the complainant are atypical, framing the problem as an exception to the rule:

   (6)   I would like to apologise profusely that it was not up to our usual standard.
         […] I can assure you that the problems you have experienced are by no means
         indicative of the level of service we usually deliver to our guests. In fact [hotel
         name] prides itself on providing the highest standards of customer care.

The alternative reality and the complainant's account of the events are not mutually exclusive; the response does not deny that the events took place, but merely seeks to deflect readers' attention away from the incident in question and instead focus their attention on the respondent's claim of competence. Because the validity of the complaint is not challenged, there is no overt threat to the complainant's face. However, the perlocutionary effect of such utterances depends on their reception by individual readers. There arguably exists a risk that the original complainant will feel "fobbed off" by such a response, as if the importance of their own personal experience is being belittled – and so the face effects of this strategy on the complainant are thus ambiguous at best. The "usual reality" strategy occurs in 196 responses (17.6% of the total).

ii.   *A future reality, in which the hotel will be competent*
Again the respondent does not refute the complainant's account, but promises that
the complainant will have a better experience if he/she chooses to stay at the hotel
again. Claims of this type are usually made in the closing move of the response,
sometimes accompanied by an invitation for the complainant to contact the re-
spondent directly:

> (7)   It is clear your stay was not a good one. I would like to rectify that and would
> ask that when your travels next bring you back into the […] area you contact
> me directly at the hotel. I will ensure your next stay will be a memorable one
> for all the right reasons.

Besides attempting to enhance the respondent's quality face, this type of utterance
also represents a way of managing rapport by constructing a platform on which the
relationship between the two parties can potentially be maintained and cultivated
in the future – ultimately to the commercial benefit of the respondent. This "future
reality" strategy occurs in 288 responses (25.9%).

iii.   *A hypothetical reality, in which the hotel would have been competent*
Respondents claim that they would have demonstrated their competence, had they
been enabled to do so:

> (8)   a.   It is unfortunate that you didn't highlight your concerns with a member
> of the team at the time, I am confident that had you done so alternatives
> or replacement sandwiches could have been arranged.
> b.   Had you informed the reception team about the bed and noise problem
> they would have offered you an alternative room.

The advantage of this strategy is that the competence claim is hypothetical, and
therefore cannot be disproved. However, it brings a certain attendant risk, as it
comes dangerously close to shifting the responsibility for the incident onto the
complainant, and it may thus be perceived as an FTA. The higher degree of risk
inherent in this "hypothetical reality" strategy is reflected in its relatively low fre-
quency in the corpus, occurring in just 67 responses (6.0%).

4.2.2.2   *Restatement of the events*
The other main type of supporting strategy through which respondents seek to mit-
igate damage to their competence face involves the part of the complaint response
which Page (2014: 36) terms "restating the offence". Respondents attempt to (re)
shape readers' perception of the reported events both at the discourse-semantic
level (by giving more or less space to different aspects of the incident) and at the

lexicogrammatical level (through various lexical and grammatical choices in the representation of the incident). A particularly relevant concept here is heteroglossia – the notion that texts have "a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses" (Martin and White 2005: 97). One effect of offering an alternative account of the events is to undermine and weaken the authority of the complainant's original account in readers' eyes. This is an example of a strategy that is very much geared towards persuading third parties; it is unlikely that the complainant's perception of events will be greatly influenced by such a restatement, but third parties – having not actually experienced the events at first hand – may be more susceptible to such a technique. Crucially, *TripAdvisor* does not allow for follow-up responses; the respondent has the last word, so the restatement cannot be publicly challenged on the site – even if the complainant considers it to be a distortion of the reality. This gives respondents a considerable advantage, enabling them to gain more control over the situation by using the restatement to define the ground on which the rest of the response is constructed.

The analysis of the corpus data reveals several types of restatement strategies, which are often interwoven and used in combination.

i. *Restatement of positive aspects of the review*
If the complainant has mentioned any positive aspects of their experience, the respondent typically seizes on these and incorporates them into the response, juxtaposing them with the more negative aspects:

(9)   I was upset to read that your stay was disappointing and, **although the location was convenient and quiet and the staff as mentioned in your review was delightful**, we were unable to meet your expectations on this occasion

This gives more space to the positive aspects, which can thus act as a counterbalance to the negatives – and it does so without threatening the complainant's face. This strategy is relatively common, occurring in 204 responses (18.3%).

Whereas this first restatement strategy merely involves giving more or less space to selected aspects of the complainant's account of events, the other restatement strategies bring more fundamental shifts in meaning. Their shared aim is to weaken the authority of the complainant's original account by establishing an alternative account which represents the events in a way that shows the respondent in a more favorable light. These strategies and their linguistic realizations resist simple classification into clear-cut, unambiguous categories, so quantity data is not given here.

ii. *Subjectivity markers*

I use this term to encompass a range of linguistic means which more or less subtly indicate to readers that the complainant has merely expressed a subjective opinion. A common means of indicating this subjectivity involves restating the complaint as part of an *if*-clause, which affects the epistemic modality of the proposition. This may be combined with verbs (*find*, *feel*, *think*) which indicate the subjective nature of the complainant's claims:

(10) a. I am sorry **if you found** the bedroom and conference rooms too warm
      b. I am sorry **if you felt** that I did not deal with your issue at the spa in the correct manner

The subjectivity of the complainant's account can also be highlighted via a diverse range of lexical means, e.g.

(10) c. I am sorry to see the breakfast items **were not to your taste**
      d. I am most sorry if […] our usual high standards of hospitality did not meet **your personal expectations**

Although subjectivity markers do not directly contradict the complainant's claims, they nevertheless subtly undermine the authority of those claims, and their use may thus be perceived as an FTA against the complainant.

A concept from cognitive linguistics that holds particular relevance for cases such as these is "viewpoint" – a notion related to the way in which language indicates the source of information in narrative discourse. In general terms, "viewpoint is present when an expression represents a person's judgement or when that person is responsible for the expression" (Verhagen 2016: 4). Viewpoint is a multi-layered phenomenon, and multiplicity of viewpoints ("viewpoint mixing") is a common feature of discourse in many genres: "mixing of viewpoints occurs when in one construction there is more than one conceptualizer to whom judgements or responsibility may be ascribed" (Vanderbiesen 2016: 41–2). The constructions exemplified above (as Example 10) thus function as signals of what Vanderbiesen terms "quotative" viewpoint mixing – the narrator (the hotelier) not only quotes the viewpoint of the customer, but is also present as a conceptualizer in his/her own right.

Crucially, viewpoint mixing in a stretch of text does not necessarily lead to a merger of the viewpoints into a single one. The two viewpoints may remain distinct and separate, as they do in Example 10, enabling the narrator (the hotelier) to use such constructions as viewpointing tools to subtly manipulate the reader's mental state for persuasive purposes. The narrator thus reproduces (quotes) the customer's viewpoint while also simultaneously adding his/her own viewpoint, which in fact

undermines the viewpoint expressed by the customer. (For other examples of view-pointing strategies in this volume, see also the chapters by Dontcheva-Navrátilová and Kuna.)

iii.   *Downplaying the impact of the events*

Kampf (2009: 2265) refers to apologies which "blur the nature of the offence" through various means, including the use of vague language. In the corpus this "blurring" enables respondents to downplay the impact of the incident on the complainant, a strategy termed "minimization" by Benoit (1995). Examples of lexical choices used for this purpose include the following:

(11)   a.   I sincerely apologise for the **shortfalls**
       b.   Please accept my apologies if your spa experience was affected by some **maintenance issues**
       c.   Please do accept my sincere apologies for the **lapse in service** with reference to the dinner and breakfast experience

Another typical means of downplaying impact is the avoidance of negatively evaluative lexical items. Instead, respondents sometimes use positively evaluative items which are either directly negated or otherwise presented as an ideal which was not achieved:

(12)   a.   you did **not** have an **entirely enjoyable** time
       b.   your experience was **not** as **enjoyable and relaxing** as it should have been
       c.   your experience was **less than satisfying**
       d.   I do apologise if this **impacted on the enjoyment and comfort** of your stay

Choices such as these enable respondents to "smuggle" into the text lexical items with positive denotations or connotations, while minimizing the occurrence of items with negative denotations or connotations. Similarly, the complainant's review is referred to as a *complaint* just 35 times in the entire corpus, whereas the term *feedback* (which has more positive connotations) is used 822 times.

iv.   *Blurring responsibility for the events*

Another way of "blurring the nature of the offence" is to blur responsibility for the events by controlling the encoding of agency in order to remove the human element; this technique has been widely explored in studies situated within a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm. Three main means of blurring responsibility are used in the corpus, all with the effect of deleting human agency or concealing the identity of human agents:

– Agentless passives:

    (13) a. It is clear that on this occasion **the finer details were overlooked** and this is unacceptable

          b. I am very sorry about **the mistake that was made** when you checked in

– Nominalizations of processes:

    (14) a. There seems to have been **a misunderstanding** as to what facilities you were able to use

          b. There was **some confusion** with the timing of your booking

– The assignment of agency to processes:

    (15) I can only apologise that **a system error resulted in** the loss of details for your rooms

The last two strategies outlined above – downplaying impact and blurring responsibility – both represent attempts to mitigate damage to the respondent's competence face. However, these strategies bring certain attendant risks; they may cause readers to perceive the respondent as evasive, cowardly, and unwilling to face up to their responsibilities – thus threatening the respondent's morality face. The respondent has to tread a fine line between the potential rewards of such a strategy and its potential risks. In fact, in this particular genre competence face and morality face appear to exist in an inverse relationship; the enhancement of one is typically associated with damage to the other. Respondents can enhance their morality face by strategically denigrating their own competence face. However, any attempts by respondents to enhance their own competence face run the risk of damaging their morality face, as they may be perceived as acting evasively or performing an FTA against the complainant. In the corpus, respondents frequently sacrifice their competence face to enhance their morality face, but not vice versa. This suggests that competence face and morality face exist in a hierarchical relationship, with morality face felt to be more important than competence face.

4.3   Strategies attending to third parties

This section explores the final research question addressed in this study: how, and to what extent, the presence of third-party readers can be seen to influence the discourse, particularly the persuasive strategies used by respondents. This question is based on the assumption that we might expect to see this newly emerged genre shifting away from the dyadic model of traditional non-public complaint-response sequences, as respondents now have the opportunity to address third parties directly, draw them into the discourse, and maximize persuasive effects on them.

Third parties may be explicitly encoded in the text either as second-person forms (direct address) or as third-person forms (functioning as a form of indirect address). The following example begins with indirect address and then shifts to direct address:

(16) Please can I take this opportunity to reassure **readers** that experiences like the one described above are very much the exception, rather than the rule. **If you continue** down this page **you will see** that the vast majority of reviews are positive.

However, this explicit encoding of third-party readers is strikingly marginal in the corpus; third-person encodings occur in just 5 responses, and second-person encoding is found in just 1 response. The overwhelming majority of responses do not explicitly acknowledge the presence of third-party readers at all.

Somewhat more frequent in the corpus are responses which reflect the presence of third parties in a more implicit way. In such cases the response is clearly directed at third-party readers, even though the readers are not explicitly encoded in the text. These responses fall into two categories. Firstly, there are cases in which the complainant is not addressed directly, but is instead encoded via third-person forms. This typically occurs in responses which seek to "set the record straight" by contradicting the review and giving the respondent's own alternative account of events, one which generally involves a negative evaluation of the complainant:

(17) a. The potential visitors/guests had a very bad attitude throughout our check-in time

b. What also wasn't mentioned was the customer's boyfriend who […] threatened me and made it clear that I should pay or else. I even offered him to return and I would pay for him and his girlfriend to have dinner. His response was that I would poison him, which was the final straw for me and I told him not to bother as if he couldn't accept a gesture of good will then enough was enough.

Here the respondent turns to the third-party readers and addresses the account to them, rather than to the original complainant. Such acts can be interpreted as attempts to drive a wedge between the complainant and the third-party readers – to persuade readers not to feel sympathy with the complainant (the alleged recipient of poor service), but instead to side with the respondent (the victim of the customer's unacceptable behavior or unfair/dishonest review). Responses of this type are clearly antagonistic; respondents abandon the default position of deference to the customer and perform an FTA against the complainant (for a more detailed account of this type of response see Hopkinson 2016). The rarity of this type of behavior in the corpus (occurring in just 13 responses) indicates that respondents

are very reluctant to perform such FTAs; the FTA is evidently used as a last resort, reserved for extreme cases in which the relationship between the complainant and respondent is felt to be beyond repair.

However, there is a second type of response which implicitly reflects the presence of third-party readers in the discourse, and which is considerably more common – occurring in 128 cases (11.5% of all responses). In such cases the response ostensibly addresses the complainant, yet it can nevertheless be interpreted as being directed primarily at third parties. This typically occurs when the respondent reports that the complaint was successfully resolved – either immediately after the original incident –

(18)   a.   As you know as soon as the mistake was discovered the breakfast was returned and reserved later, with an apology for the misunderstanding from our staff.

– or since the negative review was posted:

b.   I have investigated and reviewed this with the team and am happy to learn that Simon my Deputy Manager has since made contact with you to discuss your areas of concerns and feedback in more detail. I am happy to hear it was a very positive outcome and changes have been made from your feedback.

At first sight this follow-up information may appear redundant; after all, the respondent is telling the complainant something that he/she already knows. However, this strategy makes more sense if we see the response as being primarily directed towards third parties. It functions as a persuasive strategy aiming to enhance the hotel's competence face by demonstratively highlighting how quickly and efficiently the hotel responds to problems and complaints – and it has the added advantage of not threatening the complainant's face. This is by far the most frequent way in which the presence of third parties is reflected in the discourse.

The initial expectation was that respondents would take some advantage of the opportunities offered by the newly emerged genre of public complaint responses – addressing third parties directly, drawing them into the discourse, and thus maximizing persuasive effects on them. However, this does not in fact appear to be the case. Although the analysis identified one relatively frequent type of response that can be interpreted as being implicitly directed at third parties (discussed as Example 18), the vast majority of responses do not explicitly reflect the presence of third parties at all. The genre – at least judging from the sample analyzed here – appears still to be firmly rooted in the dyadic participant structure of traditional, non-public complaint-response sequences.

How, then, can we account for this? One possible factor may be respondents' desire to devote their undivided attention to the complainant, concentrating the full rapport-building potential of the response on the relationship that is in primary need of repair rather than "diluting" this potential by addressing third parties; such a "dilution" may also run the risk of being interpreted by the original complainant as a failure to address his/her grievance with an adequate degree of commitment. Another explanation may lie in respondents' assumption that third parties witnessing the response will generally align themselves with the complainant, imagining themselves in the complainant's shoes; they will thus perceive the response as a demonstration of how the hotel would treat them if they were in a similar position. Respondents may therefore take the view that there is no real need to address third parties directly, as these third parties will interpret any response as being potentially addressed to them. A third possible explanation may lie in the fact that this is a very recently emerged genre; it may be simply that respondents have not yet adapted their persuasive strategies to take full advantage of the new communicative situation. And of course the sample analyzed here can only be a snapshot of the situation at a given place and time; a different sample may have given different results. In any case, it remains to be seen whether or not the genre will eventually shift to become more focused on third-party readers. The results presented here may thus potentially serve as a benchmark against which future studies can track the ongoing development of the genre.

5.   Conclusions

The analysis has revealed a "core" combination of facework/rapport management strategies which respondents evidently consider to represent the optimum way of responding to negative customer reviews in the public domain. Respondents seek to enhance the complainant's relational face via speech acts which emphasize the unequal status of the two parties, thus restoring the desirable social/relational equilibrium. They also seek to enhance the complainant's quality face by acknowledging the legitimacy of the complaint. Attending to their own face, respondents typically apply a strategy of compartmentalization – sacrificing certain elements of their own face (competence face) in order to enhance other elements (morality face). The assertion of morality face has the potential to support persuasion by making readers more receptive to the respondent's message – expressing empathy with the complainant may help soften readers' stance toward the respondent, and projecting a demonstratively honest persona (openly acknowledging one's own failings rather than opting for a denial-based strategy) may encourage readers to trust the respondent's claims. Respondents seek to assert their morality face by projecting

an emotionalized persona into the discourse, humanizing what may otherwise be perceived as a faceless corporate entity. Moreover, they attempt to mitigate damage to their competence face via a range of strategies which seek to (re)shape readers' perceptions of the events in question, employing viewpointing tools to subtly manipulate the reader's mental state for persuasive purposes. The face needs of both parties are carefully balanced in order to maximize face benefits and minimize face losses on both sides; this is not a zero-sum game, as respondents are able to salvage something from the situation (particularly by projecting a strong morality face) without threatening any aspects of the complainant's face. However, competence face and morality face appear to exist in an inverse relationship, as the enhancement of one is typically associated with damage to the other. In non-antagonistic responses, respondents invariably prioritize morality face over competence face; this suggests that the two components of face exist in a hierarchical relationship.

The study also explored how the presence of third-party readers can be seen to influence respondents' persuasive strategies. Here the results were somewhat unexpected; although some responses can be interpreted as being implicitly directed at third parties, in the vast majority of responses the presence of third parties is not explicitly reflected in the discourse at all. At least judging from the corpus analyzed here, the genre appears still to be rooted in the dyadic participant structure of traditional, non-public complaint-response sequences. It remains to be seen whether (and if so, how) the genre will shift away from this traditional model in the future.

Corpus

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Constructing the ideal organization

Metaphor in higher education brand communication

Carl Jon Way Ng

This chapter looks at brand communication and how metaphor relates to the cognitive and functional dimensions of this persuasive communication by way of examining how Singapore's publicly-funded higher education institutions communicate with their audiences. The chapter highlights the role of animate and anthropomorphic metaphors in communicating ideal(ized) representations of these organizations – typically as dynamic, competitive, and purposefully-motivated actors – in the endeavor to forge affinity with audiences and stakeholders. In doing so, the chapter calls for a view of brand communication that considers not just how such communication seeks to persuade audiences in support of the organization, but also how it encourages audiences to subscribe to the attributes and values that the ideal organization supposedly embodies.

Keywords: brand communication, metaphor, discourse analysis, higher education, Singapore, anthropomorphic organization, marketization, neoliberalism

1.   Introduction

Much attention has been given to how market values have come to characterize higher education (HE) ethos and management (e.g. Fairclough 2001; Mautner 2005; Lin 2009; Brown 2011). Higher education institutions (HEIs), even if not profit-driven in the conventional sense, have taken on corporate organizational strategies and practices intended to boost their success in the HE quasi-market. Significantly, they have also become more intentional and strategic in the way they communicate with audiences and stakeholders, in order to marshal and cultivate support for themselves in a context of intensified quasi-market competition.

   This chapter locates this phenomenon in the context of Singapore, examining the brand communication of Singapore's publicly-funded HEIs, as instantiated in and through communication artifacts and platforms like brochures, annual reports,

prospectuses, and corporate websites. Specifically, the analysis focuses on meta-phor as a semiotic resource for the organizations' communicative work of strategic self-representation, examining how anthropomorphic metaphors are used in their communication with audiences and stakeholders. The focus on metaphor is aligned with the thrust of this book; as a feature based on mental processes and expressed semiotically in text and talk, metaphor is cognitive in its foundations, but also functional in how its signification in language (and other semiotic modes) is tied to the communicative purposes of specific texts.

The next section will provide some context for Singapore's HE and the brand communication of its HEIs. Following that, the use of metaphor, especially anthro-pomorphic metaphors in the context of such communication, will be discussed. The text-analytic sections that follow will first characterize the branding discourse of the HEIs as it relates to metaphor, before analyzing in greater detail an example from a communication artifact. Observations on the kind of ideal(ized) organization con-structed in and through brand communication for the consumption of audiences, as well as implications of the persuasive potential of such communication will then be discussed. The chapter concludes by calling for an augmented view of the per-suasive work of brand communication that also considers its didactic function.

2.   Singapore's HEIs and persuasive communication

Like many HE systems subject to market pressures as a result of neoliberal govern-ment policies (see e.g. Marginson 2011), Singapore's publicly-funded HE system, consisting of the university and polytechnic sub-sectors, is not exempt from this market influence. In general, such policies seek to marketize, deregulate, liberalize, and/or privatize the HE sector (Steger 2005: ix; Birch and Mykhnenko 2010), with the intent to create an HE market as well as to "free" HEIs to be more nimble and responsive to market competition. In Singapore, the university sub-sector was fully corporatized in 2006, with the universities moving from being public organizations to privately-run companies. Even though market-oriented practices like branding and marketing were already significant occupations for these organizations, with ambitious marketing campaigns undertaken (Bhalla 2005), the government's cor-poratization policy sought to make them even more competitive and responsive to the market by freeing them from the civil service rules to which they had been bound as public organizations (Ministry of Education 2005). In this vein, corpora-tization sought to push the organizations even more intently toward the market – now seen to be an increasingly global one – as well as to make their competitive mandate official.

On the other hand, while Singapore's polytechnics continue to be public bodies, they are by no means free from corporate market influence. Competition among these organizations for students remains intense (Ng 2009; Sim 2012). They have also become more aggressive in extending themselves beyond local borders, reaching out to overseas students and expanding into the region, such as through offering programs on regional branch campuses (Quek 2006). In addition, corporate performance management practices such as audit regimes and quality assurance frameworks – imposed on the universities as a more indirect means of government monitoring as part of its corporatization policy – have also been applied to the polytechnics (Chua and Heng 2008). The result is that market values and practices now characterize both the universities and polytechnics, albeit to differing degrees.[1]

In a context of more intense (quasi-)market competition, such as the one in which Singapore's HEIs are now situated, organizations seek to distinguish themselves by projecting themselves as appealing corporate brands to audiences and stakeholders. Corporate branding has therefore become an important activity for such organizations, as a process that seeks to represent the organization's identity – that is, what the organization is and what it is about (Balmer and Gray 2003) – in ways intended to appeal to stakeholders and audiences and cultivate in them a sense of affiliation and loyalty. In this respect, brand communication is a form of strategic organizational self-representation, which entails projecting, through discursive means (Flowerdew 2004), a refined version of corporate identity based on a set of key attributes most preferred by the organization, for the consumption of audiences and stakeholders (Urde 2003). This is accomplished semiotically through multimodal texts (Koller 2009b), which are part of both standalone events like advertising and marketing campaigns, and calculated everyday communicative practices that can convey organizational "personality".

The strategic projection of an "official" identity for the organization is important in a context of audience heterogeneity and multiple channels and forms of identity projection, the latter of which may include manifested organizational behavior in members' direct dealings and interaction with stakeholders, visual markers such as logos, trademarks, and corporate architecture, portrayals in the media, advertising, and even word-of-mouth (Christensen and Askegaard 2001). For large organizations like HEIs with multiple and varied internal members, external stakeholders' interactions and experiences with these members can also be diverse

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1. At the time of corporatization in 2006, Singapore's three publicly-funded universities and five polytechnics, in order of sub-sector and establishment, were: National University of Singapore (NUS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore Management University (SMU), Singapore Polytechnic (SP), Ngee Ann Polytechnic (NP), Temasek Polytechnic (TP), Nanyang Polytechnic (NYP), and Republic Polytechnic (RP).

and not necessarily consistent. Corporate branding hence functions to foreground the most favored aspects of the organization's identity as a way of managing and influencing audience and stakeholder perceptions of it, as well as to sharpen the projected identity in a way that converges with what is deemed to be most appealing to stakeholders. As such, the corporate brand can be regarded as a strategic distillation and representation of the organization (Balmer 2001, 2012; Leitch and Richardson 2003) – a kind of idealized corporate image communicated with a persuasive intent (Koller 2009a). This is intended to engender a favorable disposition on the part of audiences and stakeholders toward the organization, creating a propensity for them to associate with and support the organization in various ways. From a strategic communicative perspective, and especially on the part of HEIs, communication artifacts and platforms like prospectuses, annual reports, advertisements, and corporate websites are marshalled as an important means of organizational self-representation and communication directed at a variety of audiences and stakeholders. The data and examples used in this chapter are drawn from these corporate texts.

3.   Metaphor and persuasive communication

The focus on metaphor in this chapter is not incidental. Cognitive Metaphor Theory – the dominant paradigm in metaphor studies today – holds that metaphor is a mental process, involving conceptualizing one thing (i.e. target) in terms of another (i.e. source). The target is usually more abstract, complex, and subjective, with the source tending to be more concrete, physical, and familiar (Kövecses 2010: 7). Because of its better-delineated nature and the rich knowledge that discourse participants have of it, the source helps to give structure and clarity to the target to make the latter more comprehensible. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) explain in their seminal work, "[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature". The potential of metaphor to help structure and influence our perception of a whole host of subjects hence makes it an important topic in the study of persuasive communication, such as the kind with which this chapter is concerned.

A key proposition of Cognitive Metaphor Theory is that metaphor originates in our embodied experiences, especially as infants (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Our experience of illness forcing us to physically lie down, for instance, causes us to equate SICKNESS and DEATH with DOWN (e.g. *fall ill*), and HEALTH and LIFE with UP[2] (e.g.

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2.   As is the convention, conceptual metaphors as well as source and target domains are rendered in small capitals (e.g. TARGET IS SOURCE).

rise from the dead). Similarly, we learn to crawl and stumble toward objects we want from a young age, giving us our experience of the kind of purposeful path-oriented movement which gives rise to FORWARD MOVEMENT metaphors. These embodied experiences are captured in basic knowledge structures known as image schemas. The PATH schema, for example, has its basis in our experience of (forward) motion, and incorporates a starting location and a destination, the path between, and a directedness toward the destination. It is partly our possession of such knowledge structures that informs our familiarity with certain source domains, which, when applied to particular target domains, provide a way for us to conceptualize and better understand the latter.

While cognitively oriented, metaphor is also a semiotic resource that finds its signification in text and talk, with the source-target conceptual mappings systematically realized as metaphorical expressions at the level of language and other semiotic modes. However, it should be remembered that metaphorical expressions can also be strategically deployed to influence cognition and perception (and not only that metaphorical concepts uni-directionally feed into realization) – a point that is sometimes only implicit in cognitively-oriented accounts of metaphor. It is apposite, therefore, that Steen (2008, 2011) gives explicit attention to the motivated and strategic nature of metaphor. Acknowledging the cognitive basis of metaphor, he argues that "deliberate" metaphors, through the way they are communicated, are recognized as metaphors and "ineluctably shift the perspective of the addressee from the local topic of a message to another conceptual domain from which that local topic is to be re-viewed" (Steen 2008: 224). Ng and Koller (2013) take a more moderate position, suggesting that instead of effecting radical conceptual change, deliberate metaphors can also serve to reinforce and elaborate existing conceptualizations, especially when highly conventional metaphors are involved. While the identification of deliberate metaphor in analysis is not a straightforward affair, the strategic intentionality of at least some metaphor use, such as in highly crafted persuasive texts, should not be a contentious issue. The focus on metaphor in this chapter hence brings together both cognitive and functional dimensions of persuasion; metaphor is cognitively oriented, but it is also functional, with the use and choice of metaphor tied to the communicative purposes of specific texts in particular contexts, especially (con)texts with relatively clear objectives such as persuasion and promotion.

In the communicative endeavor to forge audience affinity and cultivate stakeholder loyalty though brand communication, metaphor plays a significant role. As particular metaphorical representations of the organization are drawn upon, they help to activate particular mental models of the organization and can influence the way the audience thinks about and responds to the organization. In this regard, representing the organization as an animate being, or, more specifically as a

person, should not be a surprise in the context of branding and marketing (see also Hopkinson, this volume, on the discursive construction of "institutional face" and the projection of the organization as a bearer of human attributes). An organization, after all, consists of inanimate components like facilities and infrastructure as well as animate aspects like members and employees; as a corporate entity cognitively structured as a brand, it is ultimately an abstraction not equal to the sum of its parts, animate or otherwise. Animating and anthropomorphizing an organization makes it more concrete, comprehensible, and relatable to audiences and stakeholders. As Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 34) explain, "[anthropomorphic metaphors] allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics".

In a context of quasi-market competition where organizations attempt to distinguish themselves from their competitors, branding seeks to appeal to audiences and to achieve audience identification. By being conceptualized as a living organism through metaphor, the organization is "humanized", and discursively attributed with identities, traits, and abilities associated with living beings, consistent with contemporary trends in branding (Aaker 1997; Kapferer 2004; Csaba and Bengtsson 2006). The use of the conceptual metaphor AN ORGANIZATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM and its more specific derivation AN ORGANIZATION IS A PERSON hence comes to constitute an important part of corporate branding discourse, helping to elucidate and "humanize" organizations:

> Branding messages use personification to aid cognitive processing of the brand concept, compressing the complex system that is a corporation into an abstract bundle of characteristics and making this abstraction graspable by linking it to human personality as the source domain.　　　　(Koller 2009a: 62)

In as far as the traits and personalities attributed to the organization are seen to be desirable, anthropomorphization can help to engender a favorable disposition on the part of audiences and stakeholders toward the organization.

4.　Textual analysis

4.1　Animation/anthropomorphization in HEI brand communication

This section provides a broad characterization of the branding discourse of Singapore's HEIs as it relates to animation and anthropomorphization through metaphor. The textual observations are based on an analysis of a data set consisting of communication artifacts (such as annual reports, prospectuses, brochures, advertisements, and corporate websites) produced by the universities and polytechnics

since 2007, as are the examples included here to illustrate these observations. Prospectuses and annual reports produced by the three older universities and five polytechnics from 2007 to 2013 make up the most complete data sub-sets in this collection. A characterization of this branding discourse helps to show some of the systematic mappings between the source domain of LIVING ORGANISM or PERSON and the target domain of ORGANIZATION, as well as other derived metaphors.

One usual way that the AN ORGANIZATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor is linguistically expressed is by presenting the organization as undergoing physical processes that are typically associated with living beings. Ngee Ann Polytechnic (NP) and National University of Singapore (NUS), for instance, are described as having *grown from strength to strength* and having *evolved* into a global university, respectively. The organizations' development is therefore conceived of in terms of the physical change and growth that living beings undergo. Other times, linguistic expressions imbue the organizations with bodies of animate beings, such as in describing Republic Polytechnic (RP) as having a *robust*[3] system, and references to the *heart* of NP's campus and its *green lung*. NP's example, in particular, shows how the more inanimate aspects of the institution, in this case its campus, can be attributed a biological constitution.

Organizations can also be depicted as engaging in physical activity associated with living beings, much of which is expressed metaphorically as involving spatial movement. The most significant of these is in the form of FORWARD MOVEMENT, which leverages the PATH schema involving an actor moving along a connecting path from one point to another. It can be elaborated to become a JOURNEY metaphor which depicts the organization as an actor moving along a route toward a certain destination as its goal. Such metaphors are often used in the context of organizations pursuing certain courses of action and/or goals, or their general development. For instance, Singapore Polytechnic (SP) is described as going on a *quest to meet the nation's manpower needs*, and Nanyang Polytechnic (NYP), in receiving awards for its organizational management systems and processes, is portrayed as taking *one step in [its] ongoing journey towards excellence*. While SP and NYP's goals are more specific, the focus of NP and NUS's FORWARD MOVEMENT/JOURNEYS appears to be their general PROGRESS and DEVELOPMENT, or more broadly the LIFE of the organization, where they are described as having *come a long way* and *entering [its] second century with renewed confidence and vigour* respectively. Whatever the case, ascribing to organizations the ability of purposeful forward movement, as a

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3.   The first listed meaning of "robust" in the Oxford English Dictionary (2010) is "[o]f a person or animal" (www.oed.com), while the Macmillan Dictionary lists the first meaning as "a robust person is strong and healthy" (www.macmillandictionary.com) (see also Pragglejaz Group, 2007, for a method of identifying metaphorically used words in discourse).

metaphorical entailment of AN ORGANIZATION IS A PERSON, contributes to anthro-pomorphizing these organizations and accords to them a sort of purposeful intent.

The FORWARD MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphor can be specified in a number of ways. For instance, where there appears to be more than one actor moving along the path, the LEADING metaphor can be used to represent a particular actor as being the first or ahead of the rest to index a sense of superiority. This is a metaphor for which the universities display a strong preference in self-representation. NUS is described as *a leader in global education*, *a leading research-intensive university* and *a leading global university*. Similarly, Nanyang Technological University's (NTU) business school is *continu[ing] to lead in business education in Singapore*, with its College of Science *an emerging leader in life sciences research*. The competitive element of FORWARD MOVEMENT can also be accentuated to become a RACE metaphor. One way in which this is realized is by referring to the actor's track record. In pointing to NUS computing school's *fine track record in grooming leaders for the digital economy* and NP's *track record as a forward-looking, responsive, dynamic and customer-oriented organisation*,[4] for instance, the organizations' successes vis-à-vis competitors are highlighted. In the case of Singapore Management University (SMU), the leading and race metaphors are used alongside each other as the organization describes its endeavor to achieve *THOUGHT LEADERSHIP* and how it is *THINKING A STEP AHEAD* of its competitors. Here, THINKING is conceptualized in terms of RACING – a race in which the organization is participating and doing well.

Another path-oriented metaphor which has slightly different features is the PIONEERING metaphor, where an organization can be discursively imbued with a *pioneering spirit* and is hence one that dares to and seeks to *break new ground*. For the HEIs, such a metaphor is often applied to their innovations in program offerings, as well as pedagogical and curricular design. SMU, for instance, sets itself up as *the pioneer in interactive pedagogical learning* and *the pioneer in holistic, broad-based, flexible, interactive and action learning pedagogy*. Like the LEADING and RACE metaphors, there is some emphasis on the organization being first or in front. The position of a pioneer is more secure than that of a leader, in that while an actor has to continue to put in the effort to stay in the lead, the status of a pioneer is one that has already been established and cannot be superseded in the same area, even if others were to adopt the same trajectory and overtake the pioneer. Additionally, the metaphor distinguishes pioneers by marking them as being the first to go into new areas, and therefore doing things differently. Apposite for branding, the use of the LEADING, RACE, and PIONEERING metaphors demonstrates how self-differentiation can be about being first or ahead as well as about seeking out different and unique

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4.   The spelling in direct quotations from the data is in the original, and has not been changed to match the American spelling used in the rest of the article.

avenues. For newer organizations like SMU and NYP, which have the disadvantage of being relative latecomers and may therefore have less claim to being leaders, representing themselves as pioneers in particular areas becomes a viable alternative for distinguishing themselves.

Not all attributions to the organizations are dynamic however. In fact, attributes that denote emotion and cognition, or a synthesis of these with action, may be more compelling for portraying the organizations as quintessentially human. For example, when SMU claims to *embrace the seminar approach* and Temasek Polytechnic (TP) describes itself as *an organisation that embraces excellence*, *embrace* depicts them as engaging in a physical act that has an emotional or cognitive impetus, in line with the semantic meaning of the word, but also in part precipitated by the EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY or PHYSICAL CONTACT metaphors. In this instance, SMU's claim is actually an important act of self-differentiation that stresses its intensity of emotional-cognitive affinity with and ownership of a pedagogical approach that is dissimilar from the more traditional lecture-and-tutorial system more commonly associated with the older universities.

The capacity for emotional connection also relates to the anthropomorphized organization's ability to build relationships with others. The linguistic expressions used to convey this, such as *partner* and *ties*, typically depict two entities or actors as being physically close together or connected. These leverage EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS and RELATIONSHIP being represented in terms of (PHYSICAL) PROXIMITY or (PHYSICAL) ATTACHMENT to depict an organization as one of the parties forming the connection. The organizations are often described as having formed relationships with other (mainly foreign) institutions (e.g. SMU's *172 partner universities in 45 countries*, including *[i]mpeccable partnerships and connections* with top institutions) or with industry or industry/corporate organizations (e.g. NTU's *established ties with the local industry* in the area of communications).

Finally, anthropomorphization through metaphor can also take on a pseudo-spiritual dimension when an organization is imbued with a *spirit*, an element most unequivocally attributed to humans. Such a feature is salient for NUS, with the organization attributed *the NUS spirit*, *a spirit of enterprise*, and *a spirit of scaling sporting heights*. Similarly, NTU students putatively *inherit the Nanyang Spirit*, while NP is characterized by its *pioneering spirit*. NP's example, as well as NUS's last example, further demonstrates how a sense of dynamism can be attached to the attributed spirit when it is characterized using metaphorical expressions of MOVEMENT (e.g. *pioneering* and *scaling sporting heights*). Hence, while metaphors that evoke physical dynamism commonly imbue a target with the properties of a living being, metaphors indexing the concepts of cognition, emotion, and spirit, when applied to an organization, can strengthen the personification of the organization to realize the AN ORGANIZATION IS A PERSON metaphor. When these cognitive and

emotional processes and spiritual states are represented metaphorically in dynamic and physical terms, the effect of anthropomorphism is reinforced; not only is the organization attributed powers of reason and emotion and a spiritual essence, the dynamic representation of these powers and states further ascribes to it a sense of dynamism, also typically associated with living beings.

4.2   Analyzing a specific example

This section focuses on an instance of brand communication by way of looking at NUS's 2010 annual report, particularly the Chairman's Statement and President's Message, to see how animation/anthropomorphization is instantiated as part of this persuasive communication. The Statement and the Message, which come at the start of the document, are prioritized by virtue of their salient positions, and serve to set the tone, theme, and concerns for the rest of the report. Furthermore, they are delivered by the top managers of the organization (or at least through them as proxies), and hence project what could be deemed to be "official" versions of organizational self-representation – that is, ideal(ized) images of the organization in the form of its corporate brand – for audiences and stakeholders.

Perhaps as is not too unexpected for an annual report that reviews the past year, the organization's development and progress are important concerns thematized and represented through the use of growth and movement metaphors. Hence, the following, for example, is reported of NUS:

(1)   Over time, NUS has also <u>evolved</u> into a research-intensive university, a major <u>player</u> in the global league of research universities with significant research breakthroughs.

(2)   We have <u>continued</u> our excellent <u>trajectory</u> of progress <u>towards</u> our <u>vision</u> of becoming a <u>leading</u> global university centred in Asia.

We are therefore made aware that the organization is *evolv[ing]*, and moving on a path (i.e. *trajectory*) toward its goal of being *a leading global university*. The dynamism of the organization is accentuated in two ways. First, the past year sees it *continu[ing]* on the path toward its goal; it has not stopped, and its progress is described as *excellent*. But more than this, the organization is not about to stop moving when it eventually arrives at its goal of being a leading university; to stay in a leading position entails the actor being in continual motion to stay ahead of its competitors. Unlike more conventional notions of the PATH schema where the actor eventually comes to rest at the terminal point, the actor here seeks to move toward a goal that in itself necessitates constant motion. This, of course, makes sense given

that the forward movement broadly corresponds to the idea of progress, such that an organization that comes to rest also ceases to make progress. In this case, we have a general FORWARD MOVEMENT metaphor representing progress subsuming a more specific LEADING metaphor which represents a more specific area of progress.

Indeed, the constant dynamic nature of the organization is something that is stressed in the annual report:

(3)   Today, NUS thrives as a <u>dynamic</u> university, characterised by a strong sense of <u>self-belief</u> and <u>forward movement</u>.

(4)   Change is a challenge and an opportunity that NUS has to <u>embrace</u> to make a quantum <u>leap forward</u> and <u>stand out</u> internationally.

Being dynamic and moving forward are therefore represented as part of the very character of the anthropomorphized organization, such that dynamism becomes an essentialized trait. At the same time, what matters is not simply the forward movement, but also the pace of the movement, given that the organization seeks to *make a quantum leap forward*. While FORWARD MOVEMENT is most prominent where representations of development and progress are concerned, the use of *leap* indicates that upward movement, or a combination of forward and upward movement (i.e. *leap forward*), is also leveraged. The vertical orientation is also reflected in the unequivocal commitment to *take NUS to new <u>heights</u> of excellence* and for it to *<u>rise</u> to the challenge*. In fact, the direction of the movement is not always apparent; in the example below, the organization is described as being *nimble*, with the word emphasizing the speed and ease of the movement more than a defined direction:

(5)   For over a century, the University has undergone many changes and <u>taken steps</u> to become more <u>nimble</u> to respond quickly to the challenges and competition posed by other leading universities.

This ability to move speedily, easily, and flexibly to compete better is in fact very much in line with what the Singapore government was hoping for when it corporatized the university sub-sector with the intention to "free" the organizations for competition.

The text makes clear that the organization seeks to move nimbly in relation to competition from other competitors. This state of competition is one that is stressed in the discourse of the organization. That the organization is focused and serious about this competition and its overall desire to be a leading university is apparent from the use of what could be regarded as elements of a WAR metaphor to complement anthropomorphization, depicting the anthropomorphic organization as a person engaged in strategic competitive conflict as illustrated in Example (1) .

(6)   With globalization, NUS must keep at the forefront of innovation in global education, research and institutional networks. We need to continuously map our globalisation strategies and leading key initiatives to contribute to a thriving environment for entrepreneurship to flourish […][5]

The organization's seriousness of purpose is represented by its efforts to *keep at the forefront*, and to *map* out its *strategies* and *initiatives* in order to do well. Elsewhere, the text discusses what the organization has been doing *[o]n the teaching front*, as well as in the area of research where it aims to *create powerful new synergies* in order to acquire a *competitive edge*; using *edge* here is telling, since the word denotes something that is farthest out (consistent with the competitive endeavor to maintain one's lead by being as far out in front of one's competitors as possible), but also the sharp side of a blade, cutting instrument, or weapon, again indexing the organization's seriousness of purpose as it competes and safeguards its lead. By being associated with this *edge*, the organization is also imbued with a superior advantage over its competitors.

Finally, all that the organization is doing to develop and progress, much of it represented dynamically, is bolstered by a cognitive-affective impetus in the form of a *strong sense of self-belief* that enables it to *pursue [its]… goals with passion and resolve* in order to realize its *aspiration*. Consequently, while the space and movement metaphors portray the organization as a dynamic actor doing well in a state of competition and desired progress, attributing to it a cognitive-affective capacity also represents it as a reasonably well-developed person driven by purpose and motivation. It is moving, competing, and leading vigorously (or at least seeks to be doing so), not in any arbitrary or automatized manner, but with a dynamism that is coupled with purposeful volition and strategic intent. The reasonably well-formed "person" that is the organization, constructed through discursive means in brand communication, can help stakeholders to better grasp and find affinity with the corporate brand, as audiences relate it to their understanding of human personality, actions, and motivations.

5.   Discussion

The prevalence of animate and anthropomorphic metaphors in the brand communication of Singapore's HEIs needs to be considered within a context where HE is fashioned as a quasi-market and HEIs configured along the lines of for-profit corporate

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5.   Note, also, the use of the gardening metaphor as signalled by *flourish*, where, in this case, entrepreneurship is a plant that the organization as gardener tends and nurtures.

organizations. The use of such metaphors reflects a context of quasi-market competition, where organizations seek to appeal to audiences and stakeholders by forging affinity with them. Representing organizations as pseudo-persons with appealing personalities, attributes, and motivations can serve as a means of achieving this, since it capitalizes on addressees' understanding of their own human nature and biology, thereby helping them to better relate to the abstraction of the organization – that is, the corporate brand – as a metaphorical person. The predilection for such metaphors echoes contemporary trends in branding and marketing which seek to cultivate audience identification by imbuing organizations with identities and attributes typically associated with people (Aaker 1997; Kapferer 2004; Csaba and Bengtsson 2006; Hopkinson, this volume). It would, in fact, be easy to recognize that many of the animate/anthropomorphic metaphors discussed above are highly conventionalized, not only in Singapore's HE sector, but also in corporate branding discourse more generally.

Metaphor, in this way, is implicated in how the organizations seek to engender favorable dispositions toward themselves through shaping and influencing audience perceptions. The prevalence of animate and anthropomorphic metaphors means these have come to play an important role in constituting a "discourse systematicity" (Cameron 1999: 16) in the area of corporate branding discourse, where corporate brands come to be cognitively structured by a network of related metaphors which conceptualize them as living organisms and persons. Notwithstanding this, we should note that notions of corporate personhood are not new, as partly evidenced by the status of corporate organizations as legal persons accorded legal rights and protection, especially in the Anglo-American legal tradition (Mitchell 2001). In this sense, there is some overlap between legal and marketing conceptualizations of organizations, in tandem with semiotic constructions of anthropomorphic organizations in various discourses and forms of communication. That such legal conceptualizations designed to regulate for-profit corporations can be discerned in the brand communication of HEIs, which are not businesses at least in the traditional sense, is also indicative of the influence of corporate market ethos and practice on an increasingly marketized sphere of society. Consequently, the use of metaphor and the functions it serves in discourse are not independent of the sociocultural conditions of the context, in this case of neoliberal market ideology making an impact on HE governance and practices, steering the exploitation of cognitive models of personhood in brand communication.

As far as the actual mechanics of anthropomorphization are concerned, the interaction between the LIVING ORGANISM/PERSON and PATH and MOVEMENT metaphors is noteworthy. While attributions of a cognitive-affective capacity play a part, what is more prevalent is the representation of the organizations as being engaged in activities of dynamic movement (as a metaphorical source), such as positioning,

journeying, racing, and leading, regardless of what they are actually involved in (i.e. the metaphorical targets, e.g. DEVELOPMENT), which is often quite abstract and not particularly dynamic at all. It is in part because these processes are depicted dynamically that the organizations are imbued with the attributes of living beings. In other words, the organizations are metaphorized as living organisms and persons precisely with the application of the PATH and MOVEMENT metaphors to them as actors, complemented by other entailments involving cognition and emotion. Through such metaphors, the kind of ideal(ized) organization constructed in and through brand communication is often depicted in pioneering and leading positions, with the traits of being dynamic, forward-looking, competitive, and purposefully motivated. Such representations reflect a neoliberal paradigm which privileges competitive, self-steering subjectivities in social and economic actors (Rose 1999).

While such ideal(ized) images of the organizations are propounded as a way of marshalling audience and stakeholder support for the organizations, their persuasive potential can go beyond the specific imperatives of branding. Significantly, the kinds of identities and traits seemingly embodied by the ideal organization, by virtue of being invoked and conceptually and discursively attributed to the organization, are simultaneously valorized. Similarly, the neoliberal values on which such representations are based are purveyed as ideal values to be aspired to. In this regard, brand communication does more than merely construct the ideal organization; it also constructs and purveys ideal values for the consumption of audiences. The persuasive scope of such communication is therefore augmented, in that it not only seeks to persuade audiences in support of the organization, but also encourages audiences to subscribe to the attributes and values that the ideal organization supposedly embodies. This persuasive potential can also be bolstered by the very fact that the ideal(ized) organizational subjectivities are in no small part purveyed through anthropomorphization; as a strategy that involves personifying organizations, anthropomorphization conflates the ideal subjectivities constructed, so that they are both organizational and individual/personal. In this respect, brand communication, in constructing the ideal organization, also constructs the ideal addressee of this communication.

Such a tendency does not, however, mean that audiences are irresistibly co-opted into what is purveyed through branding, not least since competing constructions and narratives of ideal "ways of being" exist to jostle for attention. In addition, the receptivity and acquiescence of the audience to the propounded idealizations are subject to the idiosyncrasies of individual histories and dispositions. Nonetheless, the fact that very similar tropes and conceptualizations of the ideal seem to recur across the communication of different organizations makes these enactments hard to ignore. That educational institutions are involved in circulating

these conceptualizations and idealizations also complexifies the issue. Educational institutions have had a kind of didactic function in providing socio-ethical standards for society and for their students. And despite their now stronger market orientation – in terms of the way they are managed, the values they hold and espouse, and the education they offer – expectations that these institutions perform an intellectual-moral socializing function still exist. This role can be appropriated by the institutions' branding discourse, especially in a context where the educational and corporate faces of HEIs become increasingly conflated, imbuing the marketing function of the organizations with a similar didacticism originally associated with their educational role. The persuasive efficacy of the institutions is likely to be accentuated in the Singaporean context where there is high demand and regard for HE, as, Marginson (2011) argues, is the case with post-Confucian societies. Within such a context, HEIs are invested with a stronger sense of didactic legitimacy, which can lend credence to the ideals they purvey. Such realities oblige us to think about the persuasive work of HE branding, and corporate communication more generally, in broader terms beyond a purely commercial function.

6.   Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the brand communication of a particular group of organizations, Singapore's HEIs, and examined the role of metaphor as it relates to both the cognitive and functional dimensions of this persuasive communication. In doing so, it highlights the role of animate and anthropomorphic metaphors in communicating a more relatable and comprehensible image of the ideal(ized) organization to forge affinity with audiences and stakeholders. Through such metaphors, the ideal(ized) organization constructed is typically one that is dynamic, competitive, forward-looking, and purposefully motivated, reflecting a neoliberal paradigm that privileges competitive, self-steering subjectivities in social and economic actors. The chapter also calls for an augmented view of the persuasive work of brand communication, arguing that such communication not only seeks to persuade audiences in support of the organization, but also encourages audiences to subscribe to the attributes and values that the ideal organization supposedly embodies. Because of this imbued didacticism and its potential to shape the values of its audiences, greater scrutiny of the brand communication of HEIs, but also of corporate organizations more generally, is needed.

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Persuasion in academic discourse

Persuasion in academic discourse

Cross-cultural variation in Anglophone and Czech academic book reviews

Olga Dontcheva-Navrátilová

This chapter studies persuasion in academic book reviews from a cross-cultural perspective. After discussing the rhetorical structure of book reviews, the study explores the strategic means used by the authors of reviews to represent themselves as expert members of the disciplinary community, show authorial involvement, and open a dialogic space for the negotiation of their opinions and views. The analysis of citation practices, personal structures, and evaluation acts is carried out on a corpus of book reviews published in the linguistics journals *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* and *Slovo a Slovesnost*. The findings indicate that while both Anglophone and Czech linguists exploit these linguistic means for persuasive purposes, there is cross-cultural variation in their rate of occurrence and rhetorical functions.

Keywords: persuasion, academic discourse, genre, book reviews, cross-cultural variation, evaluative acts, citations, personal pronouns, rhetorical moves

1. Introduction

Academic discourse is a site of complex interaction, the aim of which is the "steady extension of the scope and precision of scientific knowledge" (Kuhn 1970: 52). While scientific research is traditionally seen as a quest to find objectively verifiable and reliable knowledge by uncovering the truth behind natural phenomena (Kress 1985: 57), it has been shown that it also involves subjective interpretation of data and phenomena based on scientists' assumptions contextualized in relation to a specific theory (Kuhn 1970, Hyland 2008). Thus apart from a reliance on empirical evidence, the persuasive force of academic discourse depends on the ability of the writer to anticipate criticism, to represent him/herself as a reliable source of information, and to persuade readers of the relevance, validity, and novelty of his/her claims and views while presenting them as coherent with previous disciplinary knowledge (cf. Hyland 2008, Livnat 2012).

Persuasion is an inherently intentional, dynamic, and interactive process involving the strategic use of language aimed at changing or affecting the beliefs or behavior of others and strengthening the existing beliefs or behavior of those who already agree (Virtanen and Halmari 2005). In an academic context, successful persuasion involves the acceptance of new claims as ratified knowledge by the disciplinary discourse community (Hyland 1998: 25) and the integration of published research into the particular field's reference literature (Fløttum Dahl and Kinn (2006). This presupposes the use of rhetorical strategies and language choices established in the discursive practice of a specific disciplinary culture (Swales 1990) for the negotiation and evaluation of claims, views, and opinions.

In the last two decades, different aspects of academic discourse contributing to persuasion have been widely debated in the works of discourse analysts aligning with various theoretical frameworks, e.g. rhetorical moves (Swales 1990), metadiscourse (Hyland 2002), evaluation (Hunston and Thompson 1999), appraisal (Martin and White 2005), stance (Hyland 2005), and voice (Sancho Guinda and Hyland 2014). Yet most of these studies focused on the most prominent genre of academic discourse – the research article – while evaluative academic genres, such as book reviews, expert reviews, and blurbs have only recently been subjected to scrutiny (e.g. Shaw 2009, Hyland and Diani 2009). However, evaluative academic genres play an important role in the dissemination of new knowledge and in ensuring social cohesiveness within the disciplinary discourse community.

Although underresearched, academic book reviews are a particularly complex form of persuasion, as, in fact, they convey a response to the effort of the original author to convince his/her audience of the validity and originality of his/her research, and, at the same time, strive to persuade readers to accept the suggested evaluation of the book under review as reliable. To deepen our understanding of how academic persuasion works, it is essential to investigate the genre-specific rhetorical conventions and linguistic practices by which reviewers demonstrate their professional credibility and assess the value of the work of their peers while negotiating interpersonal relationships.

This study explores persuasive strategies and linguistic manifestations of persuasion in academic book reviews. Since academic discourse varies not only according to genre and disciplinary conventions but also with regard to cultural expectations (Gotti 2009: 10; cf. Swales 1990, Bhatia 2004, Hyland 2005), the investigation is carried out from a cross-cultural perspective seeking to highlight differences in the strategic means used by Anglophone and Czech authors of linguistics book reviews to persuade readers to accept their evaluation of the book under review. My approach is anchored in systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday 1985), genre analysis as elaborated by Swales (1990, 2004) and Bhatia (1993,

2004), and, in line with previous research on the genre (Hyland 2000, Gea Valor 2000, Salager-Mayer and Alcaraz Ariza 2007, Hyland and Diani 2009), draws on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, which builds upon Goffman's dynamic concept of face, i.e. "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" which may be maintained, saved, or lost in social interaction (Goffman 1967: 5) (for another application of the concept of face to the analysis of persuasion in this volume, see the chapter by Hopkinson). Within this approach, the linguistic manifestations of persuasion are seen as constrained by genre, and the generic structure of the discourse is considered to be vested with persuasive force, as the use of established rhetorical conventions is perceived as convincing by members of the disciplinary discourse community (cf. Livnat 2012: 27, Hyland 2008: 1). Since book reviews, which convey a public assessment of the work of other members of the discourse community, may be seen as highly face-threatening speech acts, persuasion in this genre is regarded as closely related to the face-threat mitigation achieved by attending to the interrelated positive and negative face needs of the participants, i.e. the former related to being appreciated by others and the latter to being granted freedom from imposition. This interpersonal and intertextual character of persuasion is at the core of the analysis of linguistic manifestations of persuasion in this study, which focuses on citation, personal structures, and evaluative acts, endeavoring to describe how Anglophone and Czech authors of book reviews exploit these interactional resources and to explain the reasons for the existing cross-cultural variation.

More specifically, the research questions that this study undertakes to answer are the following:

1. Is there variation in the rhetorical structure of the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP)* and the *Slovo a Slovesnost (SaS)* reviews, and how does it relate to the persuasiveness of the review in the two linguacultural contexts?
2. How do Anglophone and Czech reviewers use citations of the field's reference literature and of the original text of the book to enhance their competence face?
3. How frequent are personal pronouns, to what extent are they used in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* reviews, and what is their input in building up the solidarity and competence face of the reviewer?
4. How frequent are positive and negative evaluative acts, to what extent are they used, and how does their distribution across the rhetorical moves of the *JEAP* and the *SaS* reviews enhance the persuasiveness of the text while preserving the solidarity face of the reviewer?

2.   The genre of academic book reviews

Published in specialized sections at the back of academic journals and in annual reviews, book reviews are typically seen as a marginal and less prestigious genre of academic discourse, as they do not reflect original research or intellectual innovation, and they have an indirect impact on professional success (Felber 2002: 170). However, as recent research (cf. Felber 2002, Hyland 2004b, Shaw 2004, 2006, Hyland and Diani 2009) has convincingly shown, book reviews play an important role in mediating social interaction within some research communities by commenting on particular orientations, theories, and methods, and by providing an alternative forum for the exchange of views and ideas. Moreover, book reviews may affect decisively the reputations of scholars, the process of ratification of new knowledge by the disciplinary discourse community, and the chances of new publications being integrated in the reference literature of the relevant discipline.

When approached through the lens of the systemic-functional paradigm (Halliday 1985), book reviews may be seen as performing ideational functions, comprising the conveyance of judgements and the description and evaluation of the book under review, as well as interpersonal functions related to the negotiation of social relations with the intended addressees – the author of the book under review and the disciplinary discourse community (cf. Gea Valor 2000, Hyland 2004b, Salager-Mayer and Alcaraz Ariza 2007). These functions are associated with the two main communicative goals of book reviews. The first goal, which reflects the disinterested (non-promotional) character of the genre (Shaw 2004, 2006, 2009), is to provide an impartial description and often critical evaluation of the book under review. The second communicative goal of book reviews is to maintain coherent social relations within the discourse community, while convincing readers to accept the suggested evaluation of the book. In order to persuade their readers of the validity of their assessment and opinions, reviewers need to demonstrate an up-to-date knowledge of the field and to position themselves as expert members of the disciplinary discourse community which has granted them the authority to make judgements in public on the value, importance, and usefulness of the work of their colleagues. In this way, however, reviewers assume a position of power with regard to the reviewee and the readers which often forces them to make efforts to restore the interpersonal balance by minimizing direct personal conflict and enhancing solidarity within the disciplinary discourse community. This means that reviewers have to work simultaneously on maintaining their competence and solidarity face (Bülow-Møller 2005: 31). The competence face of the reviewer is recognized by the readers if they show respect for and acceptance of the authority of the reviewer to assess the book, while the solidarity face is recognized by a display of trust in

the opinions of the reviewer and an acceptance of the suggested evaluation of the book under review.

The communicative goals of book reviews are realized in the rhetorical moves that make up the structure of the genre. This study draws on Motta-Roth's (1996, 1998) description of the generic structure of book reviews, which comprises four basic moves, each subsuming several sub-functions:

1. introducing the book
2. outlining the book
3. highlighting parts of the book
4. providing closing evaluation of the book

The initial *introducing the book* rhetorical move, typically coinciding with the first paragraph, situates the book within the context of existing disciplinary knowledge by specifying its general topic and relating it to field-specific orientations, theories, and methods; it may also provide information about the author and the potential readership. The descriptive *outlining the book* move comments on the organization of the book and summarizes the main topics it discusses, while the *highlighting parts of the book* move explicitly assesses different aspects of the publication. These two moves may be cycled and thus may occur at any stage of the text progression. The *closing evaluation* move, typically included in the last paragraph of the text, summarizes the evaluative comments of the reviewer, and recommends the book to the reader with or without indicating shortcomings. This logical progression from description to evaluation in the course of four moves may be seen as one of the factors that enhance the persuasiveness of a book review.

3. Persuasion in book reviews

Within the interactive process of persuasion it is not only the writer but also the audience that is an active participant in the constitution of meaning and identity (cf. Hogan 2013). The selection of rhetorical features by which writers construct their texts for particular audiences is conceived as an attempt to shape the anticipated audience response and to design the intended audience (Clark 1992, Thieme 2010). In speech act terms, persuasion is a perlocutionary result attested by the fact that a change of beliefs or a desired action has taken place. In the case of book reviews, audience reaction is rarely indicated explicitly in written form (for example, as contributions to the *Replies and Discussion* section available in some journals, such as *Linguistics and Philosophy*); it is more likely to be conveyed by the citation rate and sales of the book under review, and, even more importantly, by the evaluation of

its contribution to disciplinary knowledge in subsequent publications, which may agree or disagree with the opinion expressed by the reviewer.

While assuming that the persuasive intention of book reviews as a genre providing a platform for the assessment of the value of published research "can be taken for granted" (Jucker 1997: 123), this investigation into persuasion in book reviews studies the strategic means used by reviewers to evaluate authors, their research and their texts and to shape the opinion of the readers, while striving to anticipate audience reaction. The interaction between the reviewer and the readers is analyzed by drawing on the epistemic trust and vigilance framework introduced by Sperber et al. (2010). This approach is based on the assumption that when communicating, the participants are striving to achieve two goals: to be understood, and to make their audience think or act according to what should be understood. Comprehension of the content communicated by an utterance is a necessary precondition for its acceptance, but it is not sufficient. The acceptance of the claims of others is regarded as conditional, temporary, and context-dependent, and it may be revised if new information is provided or there is a change in contextual circumstances. Persuasion is thus conceived as a function of the assessment of the trustworthiness of what is communicated which is assumed to be carried out on the basis of two types of epistemic vigilance processes: (i) assessment of the credibility of the source and (ii) assessment of the reliability of the content conveyed (cf. Aristotle's ethical and logical appeals). The main factors affecting the trustworthiness of a source are competence, i.e. the possession of reliable information, and benevolence, i.e. the intention to share this information with the audience. Content reliability is related to building up well-constructed argumentation based on information which is coherent with the shared beliefs and background knowledge of the discourse community.

Within the context of a book review, the credibility of the reviewer is achieved by the construal of a strong authorial persona related to a display of expert knowledge of the field, clear alignment with specific orientations, theories, and methods, and the conveyance of evaluation legitimated by appeals to shared knowledge and beliefs. The linguistic manifestations of competence-face building may comprise citations of the field's reference literature, self-reference enhancing authorial visibility, high-commitment language, and explicit positive and negative evaluation acts. These are complemented by language means promoting the solidarity face of the reviewer, such as generalizations assuming shared knowledge and reader agreement with the opinions expressed, and hedging devices aimed at mitigating face threat. Apart from a reliance on logical argumentation and conventionalized generic structure, the content reliability of a review may be achieved if the opinions and views expressed are coherent with the value system of the discourse community, which demands among other things that clarity, originality, expertise, and relevance are

markers of positive value in an academic context. The reviewer may opt to give space to the voice of the author of the book under review by quoting directly from the original text, or, instead, to summarize the suggested knowledge, methods, and claims, thus providing for (re)categorization of the views and opinions, expressed by the use of evaluative language.

4.   Cross-cultural variation: The Czech and the Anglophone academic discourse traditions

Previous cross-cultural research into academic discourse (Vassileva 1998, Mur-Dueňas 2007, 2009, Shaw and Vassileva 2009, Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013a, 2015, on the genre of research articles) and specifically in the genre of academic book reviews (e.g. Lorés-Sanz 2009 and Moreno and Suarez 2008 on English and Spanish book reviews in the fields of history and literature) has shown that divergences in rhetorical strategies and linguistic manifestations of writer-reader interaction stem to a large extent from differences in the linguacultural background of the writers. Thus, before proceeding to an analysis of cross-cultural variation in persuasive devices used by the authors of book reviews, it is relevant to compare the literacy traditions of the Anglophone and the Czech academic discourse communities. Previous research (e.g. Čmejrková 1996, Chamonikolasová 2005, Stašková 2005, Povolná 2012, Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2012) has shown several divergences in the approaches to discourse organization and writer-reader interaction. (For a more detailed account of differences between the Anglophone and the Czech academic traditions, see Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013b.)

Members of the small Czech academic community share a considerable amount of disciplinary knowledge and many methodological principles, which allows them to opt for rather monologic, more implicit, and less structured discourse (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997). As with the majority of Central European academic cultures, the Czech academic literacy is oriented towards establishing authority by presenting disciplinary knowledge, theorizing, and avoiding making the author's position clearly recognizable (Clyne 1987, Duszak 1997, Kreutz and Harres 1997). As in all writer-oriented discourses, it is assumed that readers follow carefully the writer's argumentation (Mauranen 1993), which is presented with a lesser degree of assertiveness, expressed by the use of face-saving devices and qualified language (Čmejrková 1996). The tendency towards a low level of interactiveness and backgrounded authorial presence leads to the use of impersonal structures and exclusive first-person plural forms for author-reference (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997).

The situation is quite different in the highly competitive Anglophone academic discourse community, whose members interact with a heterogeneous

depersonalized readership aligned with various theoretical and methodological orientations. Researchers working within this tradition tend to rely on established disciplinary and generic conventions (Swales 1990, 2004) and adopt a more reader-friendly attitude associated with a higher level of dialogicity, marked authorial presence, and explicit discourse organization (Thompson 2001, Hyland 2002, 2005). Thus when negotiating their claims and debating their views with the implied audience, Anglophone authors tend to express a higher degree of writer visibility, conveyed by personal and impersonal attitudinal markers modifying the force of the argument (e.g. hedges, boosters, personal intrusions), and appealing to the reader for agreement with the viewpoint advanced by the author.

Differences between the Czech and the Anglophone academic literacies seem to reflect to a large extent the impact of the specific features of the respective discourse communities on the solidarity and power relations among their members (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997). The aim of this investigation is to uncover how these differences affect the persuasive strategies used by reviewers to convince readers to accept a suggested evaluation of a book under review.

5.   Data and methodology

This cross-cultural investigation into persuasion in academic book reviews combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, comprising frequency counts and discourse analysis of selected linguistic realizations of persuasion in book reviews. Since the humanities and social sciences are marked by prominent cross-cultural variation, especially in the area of reader-writer interaction (Duszak 1997, Mur-Dueñas 2007, Shaw and Vassileva 2009), this investigation explores Anglophone and Czech book reviews in the field of linguistics.

The study is carried out on a specialized corpus which consists of 30 book reviews published in an international journal – the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP)*, and a Czech national journal – *Slovo a slovesnost (SaS),* in the 2009–2014 period. Both journals are ranked among the most significant journals of their type and despite the slight difference in their scope of interest (*JEAP* focuses on EAP research, while *SaS* covers a wider range of linguistic topics) they are considered adequate counterparts for the purposes of this study. The corpus comprises 15 book reviews by Anglophone authors (35,600 words) and 15 by Czech authors (23,100 words), all representing the writing habits of native-speaker linguists (judging by their names and affiliations). The books under review are monographs, edited collections, handbooks, and dictionaries. The corpus is fairly small (totaling 58,600 words); however, small specialized corpora have proved to be very useful for comparative studies of academic and professional discourse as they "allow for

more top-down, qualitative, contextually-informed analyses than those carried out using general corpora" (Flowerdew L. 2004: 18), so I believe that the material yields enough grounds for analysis and interpretation of the strategic use of linguistic manifestations of persuasion in Anglophone and Czech academic book reviews in the field of linguistics.

Differences between the *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews are explored on the basis of a comparison of their generic structure, applying Motta-Roth's (1998) taxonomy of rhetorical moves. This stage of the analysis is aimed at detecting variations in the realizations of the sub-functions of these moves, as they are expected to reflect the specific way in which Anglophone and Czech reviewers exploit discourse organization to achieve content reliability.

The second stage of the analysis focuses on variations in the use of citations, author-reference pronouns, and evaluative acts for the construal of the credibility of the reviewer. First, the investigation addresses the intertextual dimension of book reviews by exploring how Anglophone and Czech reviewers exploit the potential of citation to contribute to the construal of the reviewer's persona as an expert member of the disciplinary discourse community (cf. Hyland 1999, 2000, Harwood 2009, Hewings, Lillis and Vladimirou 2010). The analysis focuses on the composition of reference lists and citations of the book under review, which are considered as indicative of the importance given to the voice of the original author(s).

Writer-reader interaction is then approached through an analysis of personal structures aimed at examining how these partake in building up both the competence and the solidarity face of the reviewer in the *JEAP* and *SaS* sub-corpora. In line with previous cross-cultural studies into the use of personal structures in academic discourse (e.g. Hyland 2002, Mur-Dueñas 2007, Vassileva 1998, Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013a), this study compares the rates of occurrence and the functions of first-person personal pronouns and possessive adjectives in the *JEAP* and *SaS* sub-corpora. The corpus was searched for the target author-reference first-person pronouns using the Sketch Engine corpus tool and the raw data were normalized to frequencies per 10,000 words. In addition, to reflect the specificity of the Czech language characterized by non-realization of the pronominal subject in non-emphatic utterances, the *SaS* sub-corpus was searched for verb endings marked for singular or plural first-person reference. Drawing on the taxonomies suggested by Tang and John (1999), Kuo (1999), Hyland (2001, 2008), and Harwood (2005), the qualitative analysis examines variations in the functions of author-reference devices in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* corpora considering the degree of authority the reviewer assumes by the use of personal structures.

Citations and personal structures may be regarded as viewpointing strategies used by the writer to influence the reader's perception of the book review for persuasive purposes. The cognitive linguistics notion of "viewpoint" in narrative discourse

refers to the attribution of the responsibility for speech, judgement and attitudes to a source through a range of linguistic viewpoint indicators, such as personal pronouns, deictics, perception and discourse verbs (Verhagen 2016: 4). By using citations and personal pronouns as viewpoint markers to allocate, maintain and shift viewpoints in their text, reviewers may cue the construction of viewpoint mixing, i.e. the evocation of "more than one conceptualizer to whom judgement or responsibility may be ascribed" (Vanderbiesen 2016: 41–42). (More examples of viewpointing strategies in this volume are provided in the chapters by Hopkinson and Kuna).

The last aspect of persuasion under analysis is the interplay of negative and positive evaluative acts across the rhetorical moves of book reviews. In agreement with Thompson and Hunston (1999: 5), evaluation is approached here as a "cover term for the expression of the writer's or speaker's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities and propositions that he or she is talking about". Evaluative acts are conceived as functional units which, irrespective of their lexicogrammatical configuration, contain both the aspect of the book under review that is being commented upon and what is being said about it (Moreno and Suárez 2008, 2009). An evaluative act comprises one or more expressions which explicitly indicate "the qualities ascribed to the entities, situations or propositions that are evaluated" (Bednárek 2008: 15) along the good-bad axis, one of the four parameters of evaluation identified by Thompson and Hunston (1999: 22–25), the other three being certainty, expectedness, and importance. While implicit evaluation is essentially contextually derived, explicit evaluation is conveyed primarily by lexical means (Shaw 2004, 2009) such as adjectives (e.g. *correct, important, useful*), adverbs (*adequately, surprisingly, sadly*), nouns (*problem, confusion*), and verbs (*misunderstands, ignores*). For the purposes of this cross-cultural analysis, I apply a simplified version of the typology suggested by Gianoni (2009) comprising two basic types of evaluative acts: positive, as illustrated in (1), and negative, as illustrated in (2). The identification of positive and negative evaluative acts in the corpus was carried out according to my own interpretative skills.

(1)   **What is particularly powerful and liberating** about this conceptualisation is that it turns register, genre, and style into concepts that "can be studied on many different levels of specificity" (p. 10) […].   (*JEAP*)

(2)   The abstracts themselves are **not entirely consistent** in their inclusion of interpretative commentary.   (*JEAP*)

A qualitative analysis of the interplay of positive and negative evaluative acts used in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* corpora endeavors to explain the reasons for the existing divergences in the strategies exploited by reviewers to persuade readers to accept the suggested evaluation of the book under review.

6.   Findings and discussion

As mentioned above, this investigation aims to explore cross-cultural variations in the strategic use of rhetorical and linguistic manifestations of persuasion in book reviews by Anglophone and Czech authors. In what follows, I draw on the results of the corpus analysis to discuss the reasons for the existing divergences.

6.1   Rhetorical structure

A comparative analysis of the distribution of rhetorical moves in book reviews across the two sub-corpora shows that all the *JEAP* and *SaS* reviews conform to the conventionalized structure of the genre and realize the central sub-functions of the rhetorical moves identified by Motta-Roth (1996, 1998), i.e. defining a general topic and/or inserting the book into the field, outlining book organization and stating the chapter/section topic, providing focused evaluation, and recommending the book (despite shortcomings). However, variations in the occurrence of the subsidiary rhetorical sub-functions indicate that Anglophone and Czech reviewers assign different importance to various aspects of the book under review (Table 1).

Table 1. Rhetorical structure of *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews

Rhetorical moves and their sub-functions	*JEAP* reviews	*SaS* reviews
Introducing the book		
– *Defining the general topic*	15	15
– *Indicating potential readership*	11	4
– *Inserting the book into the field*	9	8
– *Information about the author*	7	10
– *Making topic generalizations*	3	7
Outlining the book		
– *Outlining the book organization*	15	10
– *Stating the chapter/section topic*	15	15
– *Citing extra-text material*	5	9
Highlighting parts of the book		
– *Providing focused evaluation*	15	15
Closing evaluation		
– *Recommending the book*	8	10
– *Recommending the book despite shortcomings*	7	5

The first major difference concerns the introductory *introducing the book* move. In agreement with Hyland's findings (1999, 2000), the focus is on describing and evaluating the content of the book under review, but the two sub-corpora differ in the other aspects that they discuss. Most *JEAP* reviewers (73%) give prominence to the readership that the book addresses, while less than half of them (47%) provide information about the author, mostly when the book under review is written by a renowned expert in the field. By contrast, the *SaS* reviews (67%) frequently highlight the author, whose reputation, expertise, and contribution to the field are seen as key attributes of the book, and only occasionally (27%) indicate the target audience of the publication. The main values of the books under review mentioned by both the Anglophone and the Czech linguists are novelty and originality of the suggested extension of disciplinary knowledge. If we look at the most frequent evaluative adjectives (English and Czech equivalents) used by the reviewers (Table 2), however, it is obvious that in the *JEAP* reviews there is a strong emphasis on usefulness and accessibility, which is almost absent in the *SaS* sub-corpus. The Czech reviewers, on the other hand, tend to underscore the significance (*významný, přínosný*) of the theoretical and methodological contribution of the publication to the field and approach the issues under consideration from a general perspective.

Table 2. Frequent evaluative adjectives in *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews

JEAP		SaS	
Evaluative adjective	Rate	Evaluative adjective	Rate
useful	33	*užitečný*	4
interesting	14	*zajímavý*	16
important	10	*důležitý*	10
accessible	9	*přístupný*	2
salient	4	*významný*	8
insightful	2	*přínosný*	7
valuable	4	*cenný*	4
innovative	3	*nový*	3

Note: The figures in Table 2 refer to the rate of occurrence of evaluative adjectives in the whole corpus of academic book reviews. English adjectives are listed from the most frequent to the least frequent in the corpus; the Czech ones are their approximate equivalents in meaning.

In the most extensive move, *outlining the book*, all *JEAP* reviews comment on the organization of the book under review and occasionally (33%), especially in the case of handbooks, mention additional materials, such as appendices and accompanying CDs. In constrast, 66% of the *SaS* reviewers describe explicitly the structure of the book; however, several of them (60%) refer to tables, graphs, and other extra-textual material when evaluating the qualities of the publication. There is no

considerable variation in the *providing focused evaluation* move. It is significant to note that when recommending the book to readers in the *closing evaluation* move, *JEAP* reviewers are more likely to indicate some shortcomings (53%) than their *SaS* counterparts (33%).

These divergences in the rhetorical moves of the *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews seem to reflect the specificities of the Anglophone and the Czech academic discourse communities and their academic literacy traditions. Abiding by the reader-oriented character of Anglophone academic discourse, the *JEAP* reviewers try to convince readers of the qualities of the book under review by drawing not only on the expertise of the author and the significance of the book's contribution to knowledge-making in the field, but also by outlining the book's organization and indicating how suitable and useful it may be for the intended readership. By contrast, the *SaS* reviewers focus on the breadth and precision of disciplinary knowledge conveyed by the author in consonance with a preference towards theorizing in the writer-centered Czech academic literacy. The frequent indication of shortcomings in the *JEAP* corpus may be regarded as a persuasive strategy that enhances the impartiality and objectivity of the reviewer. The patterns of interaction marked by symbiosis and avoidance of tension characteristic of the small Czech academic discourse community favor the avoidance of criticism in the concluding part of *SaS* reviews.

6.2   Citation

Citation is an important means for enhancing the credibility of reviewers as it allows them to signal expert knowledge of the field and to establish intertextual links with previous research, thus indicating the alignment of the book under review with particular theoretical frameworks and methods. The reference lists of the 30 reviews in the two sub-corpora are analyzed in relation to three criteria: rate of occurrence, publication type, and recency. The estimation of the ratio of books against articles complemented with the recency criterion, aimed at references dated less than ten years prior to publication, is intended to reveal the extent to which reviewers draw on established theories and methods and the latest developments in disciplinary research in order to enhance their credibility.

Although the persuasive potential of reference to previous research is exploited in both sub-corpora, the results of the analysis demonstrate that they differ significantly in the treatment of this intertextual device (Table 3). The reference list may be regarded as an obligatory component of *SaS* reviews, as all of them comprise reference lists, with an average of 10.2 bibliographical references per list (ranging from 1 to 31). In the *JEAP* corpus, however, only 10 of the reviews (66%) include

reference lists and the average number of bibliographical references per list is considerably lower than that in the *SaS* sub-corpus, i.e. 2.8 items per list (ranging from 0 to 10). As to the representation of different publication types, references to books represent more than 70% of all bibliographical references in both sub-corpora (73% in the *SaS* reviews and 71% in the *JEAP* reviews); however, the *JEAP* and *SaS* reviews differ in terms of recency of sources: the percentage of recent sources is considerably higher in the *JEAP* reviews, where it reaches 42% as compared to only 26% in the *SaS* sub-corpus.

Table 3. Bibliographic references and citations of the book under review

Sub-corpus	Bibliographic references				Citations of the book under review		
	Total No.	Type of publication		Recent sources	Total No.	Summary	Direct quote
		Books	*Articles*				
JEAP	42	30 (71%)	12 (29%)	18 (42%)	61	16 (26%)	45 (74%)
SaS	153	112 (73%)	41 (27%)	40 (26%)	276	210 (76%)	66 (24%)

It is evident that reference to previous research is perceived as more important by Czech reviewers than by their Anglophone counterparts. The prevalence of referencing books as compared to journal articles in both sub-corpora may be explained by a tendency to draw on well-established theoretical frameworks and methodologies, as the function of citation in book reviews is not only to contextualize the research under review but also to present the reviewer as a knowledgeable authority in the field. The relatively low proportion of references to recent publications in the *SaS* sub-corpus seems to reflect the preference of Czech linguists for a continuity of topics and methods of research; it may also stem from problems that members of the peripheral Czech academic discourse community still face when trying to keep up to date with recent linguistics research published by international publishers and international disciplinary journals (cf. Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013b).

Apart from establishing intertextual links with previous research, citation in reviews is an important realization of the reviewer's concern for referring to the original author's discourse. Taking into consideration that the function of the review genre is to evaluate the knowledge claims of other researchers, it is not surprising that my results for both sub-corpora concur with Diani's (2009) findings indicating that reference to the original author's views is more frequent than reference to the ideas of the disciplinary discourse community. In agreement with Swales (1990: 148), Fløttum, Dahl and Kinn (2006: 227), and Hewings, Lillis and Vladimirou (2010: 106), references to the book under review are categorized here

as integral citations which comprise two sub-types: summary of the views of the author and direct quote. As Table 3 indicates, there is a significant difference in the frequency of occurrence and type of citations of the book under review between the *JEAP* and the *SaS* sub-corpora. Anglophone reviewers refer to the discourse of the original author considerably less frequently than Czech reviewers; however, when they do so, they typically use short direct quotes (74%). This allows *JEAP* reviewers to embed the voice of the original author in the review, while at the same time providing the reviewer with the opportunity to project his/her own views into the discourse by the use of evaluative reporting verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Thus Example (3) illustrates "quotative" viewpoint mixing (Vanderbiesen 2016), where the reviewer is represented as an independent conceptualizer expressing agreement with the quoted statement of the original author to indicate the pedagogical implications of the study.

(3) **Bloch offers what could be a fairly definitive statement** that "plagiarism is about the rules for textual borrowing" (p. 75) which links the pedagogical problem of ensuring that students understand the rules for borrowing in particular genres.   (*JEAP*)

The very high incidence of reference to the book under review in the *SaS* corpus suggests that Czech reviewers endeavor to enhance the credibility of their discourse by providing a detailed and exact description of the ideas of the original author. By typically opting for a summary of the views of the original author, the *SaS* reviewers assume responsibility for the reported information and, similarly to the JEAP reviewers, cast their own position on that information. Direct quotes represent only 24% of the citations, i.e. considerably less than that in the *JEAP* corpus; however, they tend to be very long and may comprise several sentences, typically introduced by a discourse verb (4). This indicates that when presenting key knowledge claims, Czech reviewers prefer to grant readers direct access to the words of the original authors.

(4) To, co na první pohled vypadá jednoduše, je ve skutečnosti velmi složitou záležitostí, jak **autorka uvádí**: „Podmínky, za nichž se může pronominalizace realizovat, jsou v obou jazycích tvořeny řadou faktorů a jsou velmi složité a navzájem provázané, někdy až do té míry, že se mohou vzájemně popírat. Je tedy téměř nemožné popsat je v celé jejich šíři a úplnosti. V konkrétním jazykovém materiálu se navíc vyskytují případy, které mají zcela svébytný charakter a žádným pravidlům se nepodřizují." (s. 94).   (*SaS*)
[What looks easy at first sight is in reality, as **the author notes**, a very complex phenomenon: "The conditions under which pronominalization can be realized in the two languages are affected by a number of factors and they are very complex and interconnected, sometimes to such an extent that they may contradict

each other. It is therefore impossible to describe them in all their complexity. In the language material under analysis there are instances which have a highly specific character and cannot be accounted for by any rules."

<div align="right">(p. 94)] (my translation)</div>

Another difference in the way citations are used in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* sub-corpora concerns their distribution across rhetorical moves. In the *JEAP* sub-corpus, citations of reference literature tend to cluster in the *introducing the book* and *providing closing evaluation* moves; their function is to insert the book into the field and stress its contribution to disciplinary knowledge. By contrast, citations of the discourse of the original author occur primarily in the discussion of chapter topics and their evaluation. This tendency is not so prominent in the *SaS* corpus, where citations of the discourse of the original author may be present in the *introducing the book* and *providing closing evaluation* moves and reference to the authority of previous research is frequently used in all rhetorical moves.

The study of citations in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* sub-corpora confirms that they function as an important persuasive device in the genre of reviews and represent an aspect of academic discourse which shows considerable cross-cultural variation (cf. Flowerdew J. 2000; Petersen and Shaw 2002; Mur-Dueñas 2009, Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2015). The differences in the treatment of citation in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* book reviews concern primarily the interplay between the voices of the reviewer, the original author, and the discourse community. In the *JEAP* sub-corpus, the dominant voice is clearly that of the reviewer. By contrast, in the *SaS* corpus, references to the discourse of the original author and previous research are given greater prominence. This may be tentatively explained as a projection of the differences between the competitive Anglophone academic discourse community, where authorial voices need to be clearly expressed, and the more homogenous Czech academic community, whose patterns of interaction, marked by symbiosis and solidarity, may suppress the need to make the author's position clearly recognizable.

6.3   Personal structures

The second aspect of the interpersonal dimension of academic discourse examined in this study is the use of personal structures to build up the credibility of the reviewer. As mentioned above, author-reference structures, manifested by the occurrence of first-person pronouns, possessive adjectives, and, in Czech, verb endings marked for singular or plural first-person reference, may perform various functions that allow reviewers to interact with the reader and opt for different degrees of authoritativeness.

An analysis of the frequency of occurrence of author-reference devices in the corpus shows that personal structures are used systematically in the *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews (Table 4). The average rate of 20.3 personal structures per 10,000 words in the *JEAP* sub-corpus is considerably lower than their rate of 47.2 in the *SaS* sub-corpus. In the *JEAP* sub-corpus, the normalized rate of self-mentions (Hyland 2001), i.e. exclusive first-person personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, is 9.9, and all plural forms, whose normalized rate is 10.4, are used inclusively as engagement markers (Hyland 2005). By contrast, in the *SaS* sub-corpus, 79% of the plural forms (49 items; 21.2 per 10,000 words) are used inclusively as engagement markers, while 21% are used exclusively (15 items; 6.5 per 10,000 words); the overall rate of singular and plural forms used as self-mentions in the *SaS* sub-corpus is 25.9. It is interesting to compare these findings to previous cross-cultural research on personal structures in research articles. The higher rate of personal structures in the Czech sub-corpus concurs with Sudková's (2012) findings indicating that in her corpus of twelve Czech and twelve Anglophone linguistics articles, the rate of self-mentions and engagement markers was higher in the Czech corpus (43.6 self-mentions in her Czech corpus vs 17.0 self-mentions in her Anglophone corpus, and 51.0 engagement markers in her Czech corpus vs 13.8 engagement markers in her Anglophone corpus). This shows that in the field of linguistics, Czech academic discourse generally tends to use more personal structures than Anglophone academic discourse.

Table 4. Frequency of personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and verb endings

Sub-corpus		I/já	1ˢᵗpers. sg. verb	my/můj	Total sg.	we/my	1ˢᵗpers. pl. verb	our/náš	Total pl.	Total per sub-corpus
JEAP	Raw figures	31	–	5	36	31	–	7	38	74
	Norm. rate	8.5	–	1.4	9.9	8.5	–	1.9	10.4	20.3
SaS	Raw figures	8	31	6	45	5	51	8	64	109
	Norm. rate	3.4	13.4	5.6	19.4	2.2	22.1	3.4	27.7	47.2

Out of the different author-reference realizations, the subject forms *I* and *we*, complemented in the Czech reviews by verb forms with non-realized pronominal subjects, are the most frequent in both sub-corpora. They convey the highest writer visibility, as when occurring in a thematic position in the clause; author-reference devices identify the reviewer as the source of the opinion and attitudes expressed and thus enable him/her to control the social interaction with the reader and the

academic discourse community (cf. Gosden 1993, Hyland 2005). The rate of singular and plural possessive forms *my/můj* and *our/náš* is slightly higher in the *SaS* reviews, where the singular possessive adjective is almost exclusively (7 out of 8 instances) associated with the phrase *podle mého názoru* (*in my view)*, hedging judgements of value by presenting them as subjective, while the plural form typically refers to Czech linguists or linguistics (*naše lingvistika [our linguistics]*, *naší lingvisté [our linguists]*), underlining the feeling of belonging to a disciplinary community which shares common values and beliefs. In the *JEAP* reviews, there is a balance in the distribution of singular and plural personal structures; in the *SaS* sub-corpus, plural forms clearly predominate. It should be stressed that the occasional occurrences of exclusive personal forms in the *SaS* sub-corpus (5) are confined to verb endings; as already mentioned, this type of author-referencing is typical of Czech academic discourse.

(5)   Studie by si zasloužila samostatnou recenzi, v omezeném prostoru a v akcentaci slovníkové části SČFI 4 se k ní **vyjádříme** jen deskriptivně a v krajní stručnosti.
(*SaS*)

[The study deserves a separate review, but in the restricted space we have here and with regard to the focus on the dictionary part of the Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idioms 4, **we will provide** just a descriptive and brief account of it.] (my translation)

It is difficult to say that the distribution of personal structures across the generic moves of academic book reviews in the corpus shows a particular pattern; it seems to be rather idiosyncratic. However, in most *SaS* reviews, personal structures occur mostly in the *focused evaluation* and in *providing final evaluation* moves, while in the *JEAP* reviews, personal structures are also used in the *introducing the book* move.

As to the functions performed by author-reference structures, I found three rhetorical functions of personal structures in the *JEAP* and the *SaS* reviews listed here in decreasing degree of authoritativeness, namely (i) opinion-holder, associated with expressing attitudes and elaborating arguments; (ii) discourse organizer, related to guiding the reader through the text; and (iii) representative, which involves seeking reader involvement and describing disciplinary practices. The most prominent function attends to the competence face of the reviewer by positioning him/her as an opinion-holder who evaluates the work of his/her peers. In both sub-corpora, this authoritative function is conveyed by first-person forms collocating with attitudinal markers (typically adjectives, adverbs, and verbs), indicating the reviewer's affective attitude to the book under review (cf. Martin's 2000 appraisal model), as in (6) and (7). Cross-cultural variation is confined to the realization and number of author-reference structures: while *JEAP* reviewers use exclusively the

personal pronoun *I*, Czech reviewers convey this function by means of singular and plural verb endings.

(6) Despite this immense amount of material to sort through, Leki has written what **for me** was almost a **compulsively readable** book. (*JEAP*)

(7) **Za velmi přínosný pokládám** verifikační materiál, který je **svěží, průkazný, čtivý**, tím, že v něm jde o překlady z jazyka do jazyka, podnětný nejen ve smyslu zkoumaných problémů. (*SaS*)
[**I think** the exemplification is as **insightful as it is refreshing, convincing, and readable**, since it represents a translation from one language into another, which is revealing with regard to the issues under consideration and others besides.] (my translation)

In addition to expressing praise, both sub-corpora had first-person forms combined with mental verbs and hypothetical structures used to convey negative evaluation (8 and 9). Thus they show the commitment of the reviewer to the opinion expressed, while at the same time addressing the readers and inviting them to negotiate the views of the reviewer. In such cases, author-reference structures can be seen as performing a hedging function as it actually reduces the face-threat of negative criticism by anticipating alternative views and opinions of the book under review.

(8) **I feel the text could have been made stronger** by ensuring that there were distinct headings for each theme area. The lack of such creates confusion because all the units seem to meld together making navigating through Instant Academic Skills awkward. (*JEAP*)

(9) **Myslím, že podnětné by bylo** analyzovat řeč jednoho dítěte komplexně, ze všech sledovaných úhlů (zatím každá autorka analyzuje řeč jiného dítěte, tj. každé dítě je "prozkoumáno" pouze z jednoho hlediska). (*SaS*)
[**I think that it would be appropriate** to analyze the speech of each child in all its complexity, taking into consideration all the aspects under investigation (as it is, each author analyzes the speech of a single child, i.e. each child is "investigated" just from one point of view).] (my translation)

The potential of inclusive author-reference structures to bring readers explicitly into the text is exploited by most *JEAP* and *SaS* reviewers. The use of "reader pronouns" (Hyland 2008) enhances the solidarity face of the reviewer by creating a feeling of inclusion and disciplinary membership. Thus the inclusive *we* in (10) positions the reviewer and his/her audience as readers of the book who share the same interests and interact with the original author (*he reminds us*) in the process of reading and comprehending his/her discourse. The explicit categorization of the readers – *we, as composition researchers and instructors* – clearly indicates the in-group to which

the reviewer and the readers belong and thus improves the reviewer's chances of convincing the readers to accept the suggested evaluation of the book.

(10)   Indeed, he succeeds in "breaking the myth that critical pedagogy involves a set of 'politically correct' practices" (p. 233). Rather, as he reminds **us** throughout the book, the critical in critical academic writing must be kept tangible and accessible at all times to the students in the writing classrooms, or **we**, as composition researchers and instructors, will "underestimate the power of classroom processes to change social relations outside the walls of the school" (p. 234).   (*JEAP*)

Another prominent function of inclusive author-reference structures is to guide readers through the discourse of the review by suggesting an interpretation of the views of the reviewer and encouraging them to note different aspects of the book under review. This function is more prominent in the *SaS* reviews, where it is often conveyed by directives occurring at transition points between rhetorical moves, as in (11).

(11)   **Všimneme** si nyní jednotlivých kapitol.   (*SaS*)
       [Let us now turn to the individual chapters.]   (my translation)

The analysis of personal pronouns has shown that both Anglophone and Czech reviewers exploit explicit author-references to enhance their competence face by showing explicitly the degree of their commitment to their opinions and views and to maintain their solidarity face by bringing the reviewer and the reader together in an effort to show shared interests and membership in the same disciplinary discourse community. Cross-cultural variations concern the linguistic manifestations of author-reference, which stem from the analytical character of English and the synthetic character of Czech, as well as the rate of author-reference structures and the prominence of their functions in the two sub-corpora. The lower rate of personal pronouns in the *JEAP* corpus may be related to the fact that the use of personality in Anglophone academic discourse has long been constrained by the so-called scientific paradigm, which is related to "clarity, economy, rational argument supported by evidence, caution and restraint" (Bennett 2009: 52) and the avoidance of explicit reference to human agency (Hyland 2001). However, my results confirm the findings of previous research indicating that the pronoun system is exploited by writers of academic articles and book reviews in order to manage writer-reader interaction and allow the writer an authorial voice (cf. Flowerdew L. 2012, Hyland 2005, Diani 2009). This tendency is also clearly visible in the discourse of *SaS* reviewers, who, in conformity with the Czech academic writing tradition, tend to use mostly exclusive and inclusive first-person plural forms for author-reference.

6.4   Evaluative acts

Evaluative acts express explicitly the reviewer's assessment of the qualities of the book under review, and it is this assessment that the reader may accept or reject as not convincing. A comparative study of the interplay of positive and negative evaluative acts in the *JEAP* and *SaS* sub-corpora is expected to shed light on differences in how Anglophone and Czech reviewers interact with the author of the book under review and the disciplinary discourse community in order to present their opinions as reliable and establish a delicate balance between the expression of critique and collegiality (Hyland 2004b).

The results of the quantitative analysis of occurrence of evaluative acts in the corpus show that their overall normalized rate per 1000 words is 6.87 in the *JEAP* corpus and 8.96 in the *SaS* sub-corpus. Comparison with previous research indicates that the density of evaluative acts in the *SaS* reviews is similar to the rate of 9.17 found by Lorés Sanz (2009) in Anglophone history book reviews, while in the *JEAP* reviews it is considerably lower. This seems to result from the greater effort Anglophone reviewers invest in describing the topics covered in the individual chapters of the linguistics book under review. In both the *JEAP* and *SaS* sub-corpora, the average rate of evaluative acts per paper exceeds the rate of 10.8 as reported by Hyland (2004a) for his soft sciences (philosophy, applied linguistics, marketing, and sociology) corpus (Table 5), which may stem from a general tendency towards an increase in dialogicity in the discourse of humanities and social sciences. The average frequency of evaluative acts per paper, however, is higher in the *JEAP* sub-corpus, where it reaches 16.7 as compared to 13.8 in the *SaS* sub-corpus. This means that overall Anglophone reviewers convey more explicit evaluation in their reviews. While confirming the existence of disciplinary variation in the strategies that reviewers adopt for balancing politeness considerations with the requirement that the disinterested genre provide objective and truthful evaluation, this also suggests that cultural factors may have some bearing on the level of dialogicity associated with a particular field and genre.

Table 5. Frequency of evaluative acts in *JEAP* and *SaS* book reviews

Sub-corpus	Total evaluative acts		Positive evaluative acts			Negative evaluative acts		
	Raw figures	Average per review	Raw figures	Average per review	Percentage	Raw figures	Average per review	Percentage
JEAP	251	16.7	171	11.4	68%	80	5.3	32%
SaS	207	13.8	131	8.7	63%	76	5.1	37%

The marked imbalance in the rate of positive and negative evaluative acts supports the findings of previous research (Hyland 2000, Gianoni 2009, Shaw 2009) which show that, generally, positive evaluation predominates in academic book reviews. The difference is more prominent in the *JEAP* sub-corpus, where the overall rate of positive evaluative acts is higher than in the *SaS* sub-corpus (11.4 vs 8.7). This seems to reflect a desire to avoid direct personal conflict within the closely interwoven disciplinary discourse community and to maintain the solidarity face of the reviewer. While trying to preserve their own credibility and to negotiate their relationship with the reviewee, book reviewers have to balance praise with criticism, which in turn may require mitigation in order to reduce face threat and to maintain politeness. Of course, the reason for the prevalence of positive evaluation also stems from the fact that reviewers are generally unlikely to review a book which they consider clearly bad. Another factor affecting the ratio of positive and negative evaluation concerns journal editors, who may discourage or require negative criticism, as it often regarded as a sign of impartiality and expertise on the part of reviewers.

As Figure 1 indicates, the distribution of evaluative acts across the rhetorical moves of *JEAP* and *SaS* reviews shows the same overall tendency – the evaluative acts peak in the *highlighting parts of the book* move and to a lesser extent in the *closing evaluation* move. However, there are some differences concerning the rate of the evaluative acts in the individual moves. In all rhetorical moves, the rate of positive evaluative acts in the *JEAP* reviews exceeds the rate of positive evaluative acts in the *SaS* corpus. This indicates that Anglophone reviewers invest a greater effort in praising the book under review, while Czech reviewers adopt a more critical stance. However, the opening *introducing the book* move in the *SaS* corpus is marked by an absence of negative criticism, which is concentrated primarily in the *highlighting parts of the book* move, where the negative evaluative acts in the *SaS* corpus outnumber the positive ones. This seems to indicate a tendency to restrict negative comments to particular aspects of the book under review rather than on the book as a whole. In the *JEAP* corpus, negative evaluative acts may occur in all rhetorical moves, although their rate in the *introducing the book* and *outlining the book* moves is rather low.

These findings show that *JEAP* and *SaS* reviewers adopt slightly different strategies when trying to persuade the reader to accept the suggested evaluation of the book. The main focus of the *introducing the book* move in both corpora is the construal of the solidarity face of the reviewer related to acknowledging the reputation of fellow members of the disciplinary discourse community and their contribution to disciplinary knowledge by the use of positive evaluative acts focusing on general praise of the book (12) or endorsement of the author (13).

	Introducing the book	Outlining the book	Highlighting parts	Closing evaluation	Total
■ **Anglophone Positive**	25	33	62	51	171
■ **Anglophone Negative**	4	8	48	20	80
■ **Czech Positive**	19	29	44	39	131
■ **Czech Negative**	0	13	50	13	76
— **Anglophone Total**	29	41	110	71	251
— **Czech Total**	19	42	94	52	207
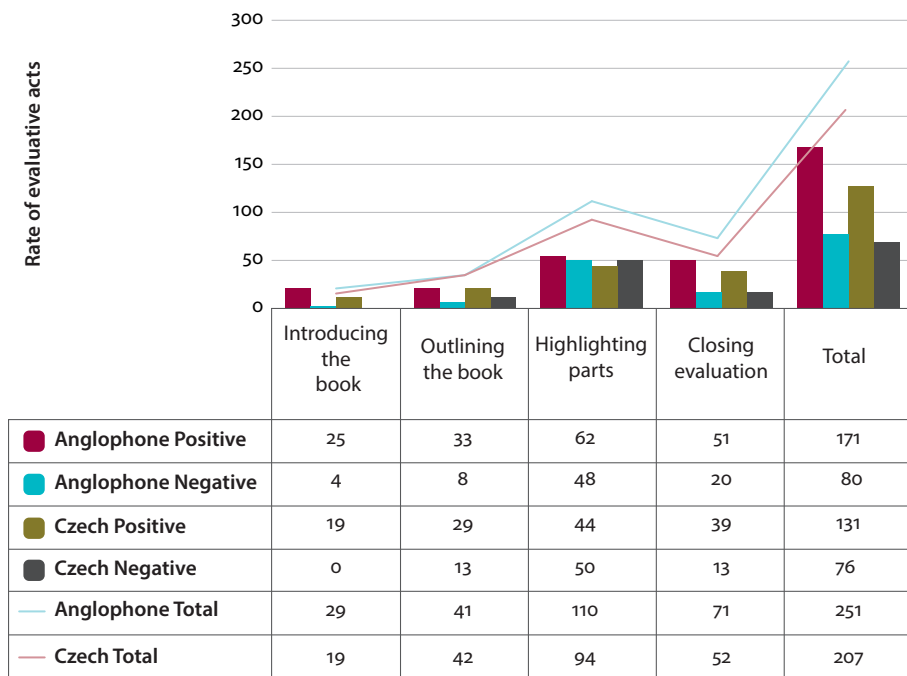
Figure 1. Evaluative acts across generic moves

(12) Práce konstituující moderní českou frazeografii je **výjimečná nejen rozsahem** (celkově zahrnuje cca 27 000 hesel) **a komplexností přístupu k materiálu, ale i originální koncepcí** propojenou s paralelně budovanou teorií FI.   (*SaS*) [The study representing modern Czech phraseology **is outstanding not only in terms of its breadth** (it comprises approximately 27,000 entries) **and the complexity of the approach to the material, but also in terms of its original conception** interconnected with the theory of phraseological idioms elaborated simultaneously.]   (my translation)

(13) In this **ambitious and ultimately highly successful** book, A. Suresh Canagarajah offers a **detailed, meaningful exploration** of what it means to follow a critical approach in the second language writing classroom.   (*JEAP*)

Czech reviewers, however, seem to be more eager to create a general positive impression in the opening and closing moves of the book, which seem to be intended to counterbalance or redress frequent negative criticism (14) concerning different aspects of the book, as discussed primarily in the *highlighting parts of the book* move (cf. Gea-Valor 2000).

(14)   **Slabinu** Sovova výkladu vidíme nicméně v tom, že pro porovnávání teoretic-
       kých cílů Chomského a Sgallova přístupu v kapitole Geneze dvou algebraických
       teorií jazyka **zvolil kritéria vnější, podstaty věci se netýkající**.   (*SaS*)
       [We believe that the **weakness** of Sava's interpretation resides in his compari-
       son of the theoretical goals of Chomsky's and Sgall's approaches in the chapter
       "Genesis of Two Algebraic Theories of Language", where he has **chosen exter-
       nal criteria which do not reflect the essence of the issue under consideration**.]
                                                                           (my translation)

In the *JEAP* reviews, negative criticism may surface even in the opening move of the
review, although the majority of critical remarks are reserved for the cycled focused
evaluation. Thus in (15), critical remarks targeting the focus and the cohesiveness
of the volume seem to question the overall quality of the publication. While this
negative evaluation act enhances the competence face of the reviewer, the force of
negative criticism is mitigated by an acknowledgement of the complexity of the task
the author faces, thus attending to the need to maintain solidarity.

(15)   It is a **challenge** to write a reference book that can be used by teachers, teacher
       trainers and materials designers, while giving enough relevant information to
       satisfy the reader with an interest in language education and "other areas of
       applied linguistics". Attempting to satisfy all these readers makes the book feel
       less than cohesive, and the structure of its individual sections is at times **hard
       to navigate**.   (*JEAP*)

When endeavoring to balance positive and negative evaluation, *JEAP* and *SaS*
reviewers often use clusters of positive and negative evaluative acts which form
"praise-criticism pairs" (Hyland 2000, Diani 2009). These comprise two evaluative
acts of opposite polarity, typically connected explicitly by a contrastive conjunction.
The negative evaluation is typically hedged by modal verbs (16) and approximators
(17). This mitigation strategy is more prominent in the *JEAP* corpus and may be
seen as emblematic of the efforts the reviewers to attend simultaneously to polite-
ness considerations by expressions of collegiality and to the requirements of the
disinterested genre by claiming objectivity and adherence to professional standards.

(16)   **Despite these drawbacks**, *Instant Academic Skills* is a **good resource text**, and
       college minded English language learners **could benefit** from its academic skills
       learning activities.   (*JEAP*)

(17)   **Přestože** výklad působí **místy poněkud útržkovitě**, přináší **významné podněty**
       pro hlubší kvantitativní analýzu.   (*SaS*)
       [Despite the somewhat fragmentary character of the study, it brings important
       insights for a more detailed quantitative analysis.]   (my translation)

The final evaluation in the *closing evaluation* move in both sub-corpora recommends the book to the reader using attitudinal markers (18) and (19). While recommendations qualified by indications of shortcomings are present in both corpora, this strategy is more common in the *JEAP* reviews, thus showing a strong concern for objectivity among the Anglophone reviewers. Critical remarks are frequently mitigated by personalization of the opinion expressed by the reviewer (20).

(18)   In summary, *Register, Genre and Style* is an **epochal, "game changing"** publication, which may well turn out to have **as profound an impact on the EAP community** as John Swales's *Genre Analysis* (1990) did two decades ago.   (*JEAP*)

(19)   Právě takováto **poctivost a preciznost badatelské práce** na každém kroku, při každé formulaci a citaci je **bezesporu jedna z největších hodnot**, které se můžeme u Pavla Nováka učit.   (*SaS*)
[This **meticulous precision of research** visible at each stage of the study and in each of its statements and citations is **undoubtedly one of the most important values** that we can acquire from Pavel Novak.]   (my translation)

(20)   **I think** "Plagiarism, Intellectual Property and the Teaching of L2 Writing" contains **many interesting insights** that will help inform the debate around plagiarism and encourage teachers of writing, whether with L1 or L2 students, to put promoting authorship and thus academic integrity at the heart of their work. **My reservations** are around the chapter sequencing and organisation which I found **a little repetitive and confusing** and the fact that **not all chapters were of similar length or similarly structured.**   (*JEAP*)

The divergences between the rate of occurrence and distribution of negative and positive evaluative acts in the *JEAP* and *SaS* reviews suggest that cross-cultural variation pertains mainly to the expression of a more prominent positive evaluative stance on the part of the Anglophone reviewers in all rhetorical moves and to an avoidance of negative criticism in the opening and closing moves of *SaS* reviews. The reasons for the prominence of positive evaluation in the *JEAP* reviews may be interpreted as a reflection of the highly competitive character of the global Anglophone linguistics discourse community, where reviewers must show greater commitment to their judgements in order to seek agreement for their opinions and views. The concern of Czech reviewers to open and close their reviews in a more positive tone seems to reflect their efforts to avoid personal conflict arising from the review and to maintain harmonious relationships within a small academic discourse community where most members know each other personally (cf. Moreno and Suárez 2009 on rhetorical practices in Castilian Spanish book reviewing).

7.   Conclusion

This investigation into rhetorical and linguistic manifestations of persuasion in book reviews has shown that the linguacultural background of academic reviewers is one of the key factors affecting variation in this genre of academic discourse. The comparative corpus-based analysis of persuasion in Anglophone and Czech book reviews has revealed that *JEAP* and *SaS* reviewers exploit rhetorical and linguistic manifestations of persuasion differently to achieve their communicative goals. The divergences concern both the frequency of use and rhetorical functions of persuasive devices and may be attributed to a large extent to the differences between the large, heterogeneous, and competitive Anglophone academic discourse community and the small, homogenous Czech academic discourse community, which is oriented towards solidarity and avoidance of tension. When striving to enhance their competence face, Anglophone reviewers rely on the conventionalized rhetorical structure of the review to position themselves as experienced practitioners of the genre. While projecting an authoritative persona in their discourse, *JEAP* reviewers provide a fairly detailed description of the organization and topics covered in the book under review to substantiate their opinions and views and convey critical comments in all rhetorical moves so as to claim impartiality and objectivity. By contrast, the discourse of Czech reviewers allows for some variation in rhetorical structure and is essentially polyphonic, as citations are used to give ample space to the voice of the original author to provide evidence of his/her ideas and views as well as to create intertextual links to previous disciplinary research. The solidarity face of the reviewer in the *JEAP* corpus is promoted by a positive evaluation of the expertise of the author, the significance of the book's contribution to the field, and its appeal to the intended readership, while the force of negative criticism is mitigated by a personalization of the view expressed and the use of praise-criticism pairs. One of the somewhat unexpected findings is the high level of personality in the *SaS* reviews, as Czech academic discourse has typically been described as backgrounding authorial presence (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997). Further research should reveal whether personal structures, which have been identified as one of the main devices Czech reviewers use to claim in-group membership with readers and to guide them through the text of the review, may be regarded as a genre-specific feature or a more general phenomenon. It should be mentioned, however, that Sudková's (2012) study has already pointed out that personality is not unusual in Czech academic texts.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that although this study hopes to have shed light on cross-cultural variation in academic persuasion, its scope is too limited to allow for broader generalizations. Further research contrasting reviews from a wider range of journals and different disciplines would deepen our understanding

of the reasons for the existing variations in the rhetorical functions of linguistic manifestations of persuasion used by reviewers from different cultural backgrounds and literacy traditions.

Note

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Promotional strategies in academic writing

Statements of contribution in Spanish and ELF research articles

Pilar Mur-Dueñas

Written academic discourse has been shown to be highly persuasive, as scholars need to convince readers of the validity and relevance of their research making use of interpersonal strategies which are appropriate to the specific communities. Based on genre analysis (Bhatia 2004; Swales 2004) and taking an intercultural perspective (Connor 2004), this chapter seeks to explore statements of contribution as a promotional strategy in research articles in business management intended to persuade readers of the novelty and significance of the research presented. A comparable corpus of English articles published in international journals by scholars from varied linguacultural backgrounds using English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and Spanish articles published in national journals was analyzed in terms of the use of this persuasive practice. The results indicate that its use is influenced by the different expectations and conventions in the two languages and contexts of publication, and contributes to establishing a different writer-reader relationship.

Keywords: intercultural rhetoric, interpersonality, promotional strategies, academic discourse, English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), genre analysis

1. Introduction

Academic careers are increasingly dependent on research publication outcomes, especially in the form of international English-medium research articles. Scholars from different language and disciplinary backgrounds are pressed to publish their research results in high-impact English-language journals. As a result, English has become a lingua franca (ELF) in academic scholarly communication. The growing competitiveness to have one's research published internationally has led to the use of promotional strategies in research article writing (e.g. Shaw 2003; Lindeberg

2004; Hyland 2005, 2009; Afros and Schryer 2009; Martín and León-Pérez 2014) which help authors convincingly persuade readers of the value, significance, and validity of the research reported. As stated by Hyland (2009: 70), "[t]here is a certain marketization involved in this, a promotion of oneself and one's research which is analogous to the promotion of goods, thereby borrowing from the discursive practices of a wider promotional culture (Fairclough 1995)".

Academic writing is highly persuasive, as the new knowledge presented needs to be accepted as valid and credible by disciplinary members, especially in research genres (e.g. Hyland 2004, 2008). How persuasion is achieved has been the focus of much English for Academic Purposes (EAP) research, showing that it depends on specific rhetorical practices and strategies which vary across academic genres and disciplines, languages, and cultures. As stated by Hyland (2008: 3), "readers always have the option of refuting their [scholars'] interpretations. At the heart of academic persuasion, then, is writers' attempts to anticipate possible negative reactions to their claims".

As such, written academic discourse is highly interpersonal (Mur-Dueñas et al. 2010), as scholars need to use language strategically to meet expected rhetorical conventions in specific disciplinary and cultural conventions through which effective writer-reader interactions are built. For scholars to be successful in the (international) publication process, they need to adjust to the prevailing rhetoric in given contexts to persuade readers of their credentials as competent researchers and academic writers and of the value of the academic knowledge presented.

A great deal of genre-based (Bhatia 2004; Swales 2004) EAP research has been carried out on the analysis of the rhetorical conventions of academic writing in general and of research article writing in particular. These analyses have mainly focused on the study of the rhetorical organization of articles, applying Swales' (2004) IMRD (Introduction, Method, Results, and Discussion) model based on moves and steps (e.g. Nowgu 1997; Posteguillo 1999; Burgess 2002; Samraj 2005; Kanoksilapatham 2005; Hirano 2009; Loi 2010; Mur-Dueñas 2010; Sheldon 2011) as well as on the analysis of particular interpersonal rhetorical devices (e.g. Shaw 2003; Lindeberg 2004; Hyland 2005; Fløttum, Dal and Kinn 2006; Afros and Schryer 2009; Sheldon 2009; Lafuente-Millán et al. 2010; Molino 2010; Mur-Dueñas 2007, 2011; Lorés-Sanz 2011; Martín and León-Pérez 2014). This research has taken a cross-disciplinary perspective, unveiling how patterns of effective persuasion in research article writing are closely tied to academic disciplines (e.g. Lindeberg 2004; Hyland 2005; Lafuente-Millán 2010). Previous research has also taken an intercultural approach (Connor 2004), revealing how persuasive practices in this academic genre are further tied to the language and context in which they emerge and are read (e.g. Mauranen 1993; Vassileva 1997, 2000; Burgess 2002; Shaw 2003; Mur-Dueñas 2007, 2010, 2011; Hirano 2009; Loi 2010; Molino 2010; Sheldon 2011).

Some previous research has combined both perspectives (e.g. Fløttum, Dahl and Kinn 2006; Lafuente-Millán 2010; Lorés-Sanz 2011; Martín and León-Pérez 2014), showing the interplay between disciplines and languages/cultures in the shaping of persuasive, rhetorically effective academic written texts. In sum, "[d]iscoursal conventions are persuasive because they are significant carriers of the epistemological and social beliefs of community members" (Hyland 2004: 93).

Previous intercultural and cross-disciplinary analyses have tended to focus on L1 texts, articles written by scholars who can be considered speakers of English as a native language (ENL), judging by their names and/or affiliations. Their written texts have been contrasted with articles written by scholars with different L1s and differences in the rhetorical, discursive choices have been assessed in terms of the need for the latter to adjust to the rhetorical conventions characteristic of the former when trying to publish internationally in English. Thus, an "exonormative approach" has been usually taken (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006; Seidlhofer 2011) in EAP studies, considering ENL conventions the ones to adjust to. However, given the current status of English as a lingua franca for scholarly communication, a different perspective should be taken, as scholars from different linguacultural backgrounds contribute to its shaping, evolution, and dynamism (see *inter alia* Dewey 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Mauranen 2012). A monolithic, unitary discourse to disseminate knowledge adjusted to Anglo-American rhetorical conventions is not desirable, as it could constrain the way science is conducted and it might run against specific disciplinary and cultural traditions and conventions (e.g. Bennett 2009, 2014; Burgess et al. 2014).

The research presented here seeks to contribute to the analysis of persuasive promotional rhetoric in research articles within a specific discipline, business management, taking an intercultural (ELF-Spanish) perspective. Persuasive promotional rhetoric was defined by Martín and León-Pérez (2014: 1) as "those linguistic choices that seek to change or affect the opinions or behaviours of an audience in terms of positively assessing the research contribution". Promotional rhetoric tends to be framed in terms of a positive evaluation of the author's particular research (e.g. self-promotion) and the studies on which their research is grounded, and a negative evaluation of previous research when this is not in line with the research presented (Afros and Schryer 2009). The focus of the present chapter is on the study of self-promotion strategies; more specifically, on the study of a particular rhetorical strategy aimed at convincing readers of the value, originality, and novelty, and therefore of the contribution, that the particular presented research makes to the existing body of disciplinary knowledge. Since "claims for the significance and originality of research have to be balanced against the convictions and expectations of readers, taking into account their likely objections, background knowledge, rhetorical expectations and processing needs" (Hyland

2008: 4), an intercultural analysis of such strategies is presented to unveil any differences in their use in two different languages and contexts of publication. In particular, this chapter looks into the comparison of a persuasive promotional functional unit, statements of contribution, aimed at convincing peer reviewers and editors, and later on peer readers, of the significance and value of their research. Such statements of contribution can be defined as "positive evaluative comments of the scholars' own research intended to justify its relevance and appropriateness in terms of its link to previous research and its worthiness for disciplinary knowledge building" (Mur-Dueñas 2014: 280). Examples 1 and 2, taken from the corpus analysed, are illustrative of this rhetorical strategy.

(1) **We extend** existing models of inter-firm knowledge transfer and learning (Lane et al. 2001; Simonin 1999) by **clarifying** the different mechanisms leading to learning and innovation in alliances.   (ELFBM11-I)[1]

(2) By developing and testing a framework, **we contribute to** the **understanding** of how knowledge inflows of managers influence their exploration and exploitation activities.   (ELFBM15-I)

These functional units are seen to have a key, strategic, interpersonal dimension as persuasive elements of academic rhetoric. They are persuasive as they can be considered a discursive choice made "to either *change* the thinking or behavior of an audience, or to *strengthen* its beliefs, should the audience already agree" (Virtanen and Halmari 2004: 3, emphasis in the original). Thus, by including these units in their articles, scholars seek to make readers regard their research more positively, thereby convincing them of the value and pertinence of their research and its merit to be published, read, and cited.

Statements of contribution are, therefore, a key persuasive strategy, which, following Swales' (2004) genre theory, can be considered to constitute a part of the Introduction section, namely Step 4: "Stating the value of the present research". These functional units may also be included in other sections, specifically the Literature Review and the Discussion/Conclusion sections, as shown in the following examples. Example 3 shows how this rhetorical strategy is found in some articles in the Literature Review section; the fact that the academic knowledge produced is worth disseminating is also highlighted in this section in some articles. Example 4, in turn, shows a statement of contribution included in the discussion section of the

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1.   The number in parentheses indicates the article in the corpus from which the example has been taken; the letters indicate the section of the article in which the example was found (I = Introduction; LT = Literature Review; D = Discussion/conclusion). In addition, the interpersonal features in the statement of contribution are highlighted in bold; these are examined in detail in Section 3.2.

article: in some cases, the contribution to the field made by the research presented is repeated and highlighted in the last section.

(3) **Asimismo**, otra **contribución** se refiere a la **distinta** forma de estimar el capital de TI: en la mayoría de los trabajos consultados se estima generalmente a través del cómputo del valor de mercado de mainframes y PC's, **mientras que** en nuestro trabajo el capital de TI incluye **además** software y comunicaciones.

<div align="right">(SPBM1-LR)</div>

[**In addition**, another **contribution** refers to the **different** way in which IT (Information Technologies) capital is estimated: in most previous studies consulted, it is generally estimated through the market value of mainframes and PCs, **whereas** in **our** study IT capital **also** includes software and communications].[2]

(4) **Finally**, **our study** provides an empirical perspective across two countries, the USA and Germany, which **adds** to the literature revealing **insights into** the differences between two different varieties of capitalism.

<div align="right">(Soskice and Hall 2001; Whitley 1994) (EFLBM12-D)</div>

The analysis will focus on the extent of the use and lexico-grammatical realization of statements of contribution throughout articles published in local Spanish-language journals authored by Spanish scholars and in international English-language journals authored by scholars from different linguacultural backgrounds to compare whether and how this persuasive rhetorical strategy varies across two languages (Spanish and English) and contexts of publication (national and international).

Despite the growing need of scholars to publish internationally in English, there are some disciplines in which publication practices in two languages and contexts (English, international and L1, national) are combined. In the discipline under study, business management, the English language exerts a strong influence on the work of management academics and it is highly important for academics in this discipline to participate in English-speaking networks (Tietze 2008: 382). Nevertheless, research into the academic and publication practices of economic scholars has shown that they frequently combine publishing in two languages and two contexts (e.g. Petersen and Shaw 2002; Shaw 2003; Lorés et al. 2014; Mur-Dueñas et al. 2014). As a result, it is relevant to look into how persuasion in general and self-promotion in particular is deployed in research articles in these two languages and contexts of publication. By so doing, attention will be paid to the extent to which "the persuasive process is affected by the situational and socio-cultural context in which it takes place" and how it contributes to shaping such context (Virtanen and Halmari 2004: 3–4).

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2. Translations of the Spanish Examples into English were provided by the author.

Recent studies have focused on the analysis of promotional strategies in research article writing in different disciplinary and language/culture contexts. For instance, Afros and Schryer (2009) found differences in the rhetorical strategies of promotion, or publicization techniques, and especially in their lexico-grammatical realization across the different sections of language and literary articles. Shehzad (2010) found value statements to be highly recurrent in computer science articles and to be embedded in the announcement of principal findings in their Introduction sections, so that a recommendation was made to combine both steps in Swales' (2004) CARS (Create a Research Space) model in this discipline. Martín and León-Pérez (2014) analyzed rhetorical promotion in the Introduction sections of English and Spanish research articles in the health sciences (clinical and health psychology and dermatology) and in the humanities/social sciences (political philosophy and political science). Their study reported lower frequencies of the inclusion of Step 4 in particular in the humanities/social sciences than in the health sciences, and still lower frequencies in the Spanish than in the English research articles.

In line with these previous studies, statements of contribution as examples of overt self-evaluation outlining the value of the reported research tend to be emphasized in contexts in which there is greater research competiveness. In the especially competitive environment of publication, including claims for the significance of one's research plays a determining role in achieving effective persuasion. As a result, we would expect to find more, as well as more rhetorically complex, statements of contribution in the ELF corpus than in the Spanish corpus, in which readers' expectations may be different and persuasion based not necessarily (or to the same extent) on self-promotion. This is in line with a dynamic view of the genre (Swales 2004), which shapes itself in response to the communicative needs of the discourse communities it serves, as well as with a dynamic view of persuasion, which is "to a great extent, dictated by the audience, or indeed, multiple audiences" (Virtanen and Halmari 2004: 8).

2.   Methods: Corpus and analytical procedure

The intercultural, genre-based analysis of statements of contribution is based on a corpus of 48 empirical articles published between 2002 and 2010 in the field of business management. It forms part of a bigger corpus, SERAC 3.0 (Spanish English Research Article Corpus) compiled at the Universidad de Zaragoza (Spain). The corpus is divided into: (1) the ELFBM sub-corpus, consisting of 24 articles published in three high-impact English-language journals (*British Management Journal*, *Journal of Management Studies*, and *Research Policy*) in which a great percentage of publications are authored by scholars using ELF and representing

different linguacultural contexts;[3] and (2) the SPBM sub-corpus, consisting of 24 articless published in three Spanish-language journals (*Cuadernos de Economía y Dirección de la Empresa*, *Dirección y Organización de Empresas*, and *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa*) authored by Spanish scholars.

Table 1. Corpus description

	ELFBM corpus	SPBM corpus	TOTAL
N° of articles	24	24	48
N° of words	214,490	152,129	366,619

A quantitative and qualitative analysis was carried out of the extent of use and lexico-grammatical realization of the promotional functional unit under study: statements of contribution. First, the articles were carefully read and scanned in search of these units in the two sub-corpora. Once delimited and extracted, their frequency of use was compared (Section 3.1). At the same time, salient lexical and discursive indicators across the statements of contribution were traced and compared (Section 3.2) with a view to determining any differences in the construction of effective, persuasive academic articles in the two languages and contexts of publication.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Quantitative analysis of statements of contribution in ELF and Spanish articles

As shown in Table 2, the number of statements of contribution, through which scholars highlight the value and relevance of the research presented, is greater in the ELF corpus than in the Spanish corpus. Statements of contribution were found in the Introduction, Literature Review, and Conclusion/Discussion sections in the two sub-corpora. As a result, the other sections of the empirical articles analyzed (Methods and Results) were not included in the table.

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3. As the corpus is part of a bigger compilation of texts that enables different comparative analytical perspectives, research articles written in these journals by Spanish scholars and by scholars based at Anglophone institutions were not included in the ELF sub-corpora. These were instead compiled under specific SPENG and ENG sub-corpora, respectively, allowing a closer look into the particular characteristics of ELF in the Spanish similect group and of ENL scholars.

Table 2. N° of statements of contribution in the corpus

	ELFBM corpus					SPBM corpus			
	I	LR	C/D	Total		I	LR	C/D	Total
TOTAL	40	1	45	**86**	TOTAL	11	7	8	**26**

A higher number of aricles in Spanish than in English presented no statements of contribution (12 vs 4, that is, 50.0% vs. 16.7%). In addition, whereas 3 articles in Spanish included such statements both in the Introduction and in the Discussion and/or Conclusion sections, 11 articles in English restated the contribution established in the Introduction in their closing (see Examples 5 and 6).

(5) The data collected enable **us** to make **several advances**. **Firstly**, **we are able to** study the adoption of several authentic ICT3 **while** the recent empirical literature has mainly focused on the stock of computer or automation tools. **Secondly**, the survey data allow **us** to construct several measures of the factors traditionally emphasized in the diffusion view.
Thirdly, **we are able to** study **all the three** kinds of practices that are predicted to produce a "system effect" in the complementarity view: organizational practices, strategic practices and technological choices. (ELFBM23-I)

(6) **Contrary to** most previous studies, **we integrate** the factors suggested **both** by the theory of technology diffusion and the supermodularity theory.
Moreover, **our** survey data allow **us** to deal with true ICT (ERP, EDI, and customer-dedicated web-sites) **while** most previous studies have **only** dealt with the computer stock or with automation tools. (EFLBM23-D)

Out of the 12 Spanish articles which included some statements of contribution, only three contained more than two examples of this rhetorical promotional strategy. Out of the 20 English articles which included some statement of contribution, 15 contained more than two examples.

Overall, ELF scholars publishing the results of their research internationally in English-language journals more commonly, and more forcefully, answer the question of what contribution the reported research makes to the current disciplinary body of knowledge. Spelling out the value of contributions is thus judged to be a rhetorical strategy in these texts, contributing to crafting a persuasive text for the intended international readership. The literature has indicated intercultural differences in the extent of inclusion of another related rhetorical mechanism: the creation of a research space, following Swales' (2004) CARS model (e.g. Burgess 2002; Hirano 2009; Mur-Dueñas 2010). However, in current research publications, gatekeepers and readers need to be convinced of the validity of new research and new academic knowledge, the significance of which is reported not only by indicating

a gap in the literature that the research seeks to fill, but also by justifying why the filling of such a gap is relevant or necessary. Our findings regarding the differing extents to which this promotional strategy is used are in line with Martín and León-Pérez's (2014) on statements of value in the Introduction sections of research articles in the health sciences and in the humanities/social sciences in English and in Spanish. The differences in the two sets of articles may be accounted for by taking into consideration the greater degree of competitiveness involved in getting one's research published in high-impact English-language journals than in low-impact Spanish journals; to persuasively convince gatekeepers and readers of the study's relevance and novelty, one's research contribution needs to be highlighted to a greater extent in the former than in the latter. Patterns of effective persuasion in academic articles thus appear to vary considerably across languages and contexts of publication.

The different findings in the two sub-corpora contribute to creating a different interaction or dialogic relationship between the scholars and their potential readership. ELF international scholars purposefully persuade their readers of the validity of their research, making explicit attempts at changing or affecting their opinions regarding their work; Spanish scholars are less inclined to overtly influence their readers' beliefs.

The fact that there were a few ELF articles in which no statement of contribution was included and that there was great variation in the number of these rhetorical mechanisms in the ELFBM corpus indicates a certain degree of much valued "interdiscursive hybridity" (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales 2010) in international English-language publications in this discipline. That is, some explicit positive evaluative comments on one's research in terms of its relevance and appropriateness are expected in ELF business management articles; however, their number, particular inclusion in the Introduction and/or Discussion sections, and specific realization, which will be discussed in the next section, are open to particular scholars' rhetorical choices. This may be subject to their national science and culture (e.g. Shaw 2003; Mur-Dueñas 2011), which in a way may be adaptively transferred when drafting their articles in English for an international readership.

3.2   Qualitative analysis of statements of contribution
in ELF and Spanish articles

Some lexical and discursive indicators can be considered characteristic of these statements of contribution with a persuasive function in the two languages and contexts of publication:

1. positive evaluative verbs, adjectives, and nouns, applied to their methods, research purpose, or implications derived from their findings. These indicators entail a research-oriented evaluation which refers to "aspects of the research process proper" (Thetela 1997: 104).

– Evaluative verbs:
    – English: *add, advance, complement, contribute, bring into, broaden, depart from, deliver (an explanation), expand, extend, further, increase, move/go beyond, shed (light onto)*
    – Spanish: *aportar, clarificar, incorporar, mejorar, profundizar, superar*
      [add, clarify, incorporate, improve, deepen, go beyond]
– Evaluative adjectives:
    – English: *additional, better, comprehensive, different, distinctive, complete, complementary, first, further, new, rigorous, three, unique*
    – Spanish: *apropiada, diferente, distinta, interesante, precisa, primer, novedoso, nuevo*
    – [appropriate, different, distinctive, interesting, precise, first, novel, new]
– Evaluative nouns:
    – English: *advances, contribution, depth, distinction, extension, insights, understanding*
    – Spanish: *aportación, contribución, variante, novedad*
      [addition, contribution, variation, novelty]

2. logical connectors, mostly additive ones and sequencers. Statements of contributions are frequently listed through the use of sequencers, either discursive (Example 7) or typographical (Example 8) ones. Similarly, they can be introduced by means of additive logical markers (Example 9). Typographical sequencers were not used in Spanish and discursive sequencing and additive markers were used to a lesser extent, given the overall lower number of statements of contribution in the SPBM corpus. Use of the correlative *no solo/solamente … sino que/también* [not only …but also] was more common in the SPBM corpus (Example 10).

    (7) […] **Fourth**, **we add to** the body of literature that focuses on corporate divestment (e.g. Johnson, 1996; Wright, 1986; Wright and Thompson, 1986). With **our** perspective on foreign competition, **we deliver an additional explanation** for why companies externalize initially internal transactions. (ELFBM12-D)

    (8) **Our** findings **contribute to increasing** the **understanding** of board task performance. Specifically, they show that **(i)** the predictors we identified, and particularly the board members' commitment, have a larger impact on board task performance than board demographic characteristics; **(ii)** firm and industry

contexts exert a significant influence on board task performance; **(iii)** predictors have a different impact on specific sets of tasks, i.e. board design implies balancing trade-offs.   (ELFBM4-D)

(9)   <u>Further</u>, methodologically, this study identifies and compares the validity of **three** alternative approaches to operationalizing group-level helping: aggregating member-rated group-level helping, manager-rated group-level helping, and aggregating individual-level helping.   (ELFBM10-I)

(10)   <u>Por otro lado</u>, en lo que se refiere a los estudios dirigidos a analizar la realidad española, <u>**no sólo**</u> **incorporamos** el análisis del impacto de Internet, <u>**sino que**</u> **superamos** el enfoque de Dans (2001) o Hernando y Núñez (2002) que tiene en cuenta sólo la relación entre productividad e inversión en Tecnologías de la Información, y no considera el impacto de su uso por parte de los trabajadores.
                                                                                  (SPBM1-I)

[**In addition**, as concerns the studies aimed at analyzing the Spanish context, **we** <u>**not only**</u> **incorporate in** the analysis the impact of the Internet, <u>**but we go beyond**</u> Dans's (2001) or Hernando and Núñez's (2002) approach, which only takes into account the relationship between productivity and inversion on Information Technologies and does not consider the impact of their use by employees.]

3.   comparative structures. When highlighting the relevance and/or novelty of the research presented, comparisons with previous research tend to be made, through prepositions such as *in contrast to* or *contrary to* (Example 11), through the conjunction *whereas* (Example 12), and through comparative structures (Example 13) or even superlative structures (Example 14). These constructions contribute to presenting new academic knowledge persuasively, and to clearly emphasizing how and why it is distinct and novel, and therefore relevant, to the disciplinary community. Using comparative structures, thus, helps authors to craft a persuasive presentation of one's research in order for it to gain validity. These expressions are rarely found in the Spanish corpus (Example 15).

(11)   <u>In contrast to</u> the existing studies of GOCB that have focused principally on its performance implications, the present study has isolated potential antecedents of group-level helping, a key form of GOCB, and empirically tested them in a large organizational setting.   (ELFBM10-D)

(12)   **Our research also adds** to the upper echelon literature in that it analyses TMTs of young ventures <u>whereas</u> existing work mainly focused on large and established companies and, with a few exceptions (Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1990; Kor, 2003), neglected entrepreneurial firms
                                                          (Ensley, Pearson and Pearce, 2003). (ELFBM5-D)

(13)   The **contribution** of the paper is that it adopts a <u>**more rigorous**</u> method to show the different motivations and impacts of IUG cooperation between a latecomer economy and advanced countries and that it interprets them in terms of the different stages of knowledge industrialization.   (ELFBM17-D)

(14)   **As far as we are aware**, **ours** is the <u>**most comprehensive**</u> dataset available on overseas R&D activities of Japanese MNEs.   (ELFBM22-I)

(15)   Este estudio **contribuye** a la literatura de la flexibilidad de la cadena de suministro al analizar la relación de **un <u>mayor</u> número de** dimensiones de flexibilidad con el rendimiento de la empresa que en otros estudios (Vickery y cols., 1999; Duclos y cols., 2003) y por contrastar **al mismo tiempo** los determinantes de la flexibilidad en la cadena de suministro.   (SPBM2-D)
[This study **contributes** to the literature on supply chain flexibility in that it analyses the relationship of **a <u>higher</u> number of** flexibility dimensions with the firms' performance **than** in other studies (Vickery et al. 1999; Duclos et al. 2003) and in that it contrasts **at the same time** the flexibility determinants on the supply chain.]

Previous cross-cultural research has reported self-mentions to be more commonly included in research articles in English than in research articles in Spanish (Sheldon 2009; Lorés-Sanz 2011; Mur-Dueñas 2011), and in other languages, e.g. German, French, Russian, and Bulgarian (Vassileva 2000); French and Norwegian (Fløttum, Dahl and Kinn 2006); and Italian (Molino 2010) (see also Mur-Dueñas and Šinkūnienė 2016). As a result, a higher number of personal constructions through the use of the first person plural exclusive pronoun *we* or possessive adjective *our* were anticipated in the statements of contribution included in the English texts than in the Spanish ones. However, roughly half the number of statements of contribution in the two languages used impersonal (Examples 16 and 17) and personal constructions (Examples 18 and 19). So, there is not a specific preference for personal or impersonal discursive choices when stating the research contribution(s) and no significant differences were found in this respect between the two sub-corpora.

(16)   <u>This study</u> **advances our understanding** of the mechanisms by which firms acquire, transfer and deploy external knowledge in international strategic alliances.   (ELFBM11-D)

(17)   <u>Los resultados obtenidos</u> **aportan** entonces una **contribución interesante** al debate sobre la utilidad de la perspectiva de recursos y capacidades para el análisis de la gestión medioambiental y de las PYMES.   (SPBM4-D)
[<u>The results obtained</u>, then, make an **interesting contribution** to the discussion on the usefulness of the capabilities and resources perspective for the analysis of environmental management and of SMEs.]

(18)   **Our** findings also **add new insights onto** how relationship quality and network positions interact to produce firm-level benefits. (ELFBM9-D)

(19)   **Nosotros hemos querido aportar una variante** a esta última magnitud, por lo que en **nuestro trabajo hemos** relacionado y adaptado dicho concepto con la facturación menos los costes variables, dividido todo ello por el número de empleados; es decir, "productividad aparente del trabajo" (SPBM18-I)
[**We have wanted to add a variation** to this last amount, so in **our work** we have related and adapted that concept to the turnover minus the variable costs, divided by the number of employees; that is, "work apparent productivity"].

When these results are compared to those obtained in a previous study of statements of contribution in finance research articles written by ENL authors (Mur-Dueñas 2014), similar lexical and discursive choices are seen. However, the results of the present analysis point at greater diversity in the choice of evaluative terms in the English texts. This may be explained bearing in mind the fact that ELF research articles written by authors from different linguacultural backgrounds are being analyzed here. ELF has been considered to lend itself to greater variability or fluidity in its oral and written forms, both in non-academic (e.g. Prodromou 2008; Pitzl 2009, 2012, 2014; Osimk-Teasdale 2014) and in academic settings (e.g. Björkman 2009, 2013; Mauranen 2012). As such, although this rhetorical strategy seems to be prevailing in ELF research articles, its actual lexico-grammatical realization is subject to variation.

It is interesting to note that there is a great diversity in the lexico-grammatical realization of statements of contribution in Spanish, in terms of evaluative lexis employed, even if their number is much lower in the SPBM corpus (26 vs 86 instances). The number of evaluative indicators and further interpersonal discursive realizations is almost as high as that in the ELF corpus.

In addition, cross-disciplinary differences have previously been reported in the attainment of academic persuasion in English research articles (e.g. Hyland 2004, 2005, 2008). Also, disciplinary variation in statements of contribution has been highlighted, since "enhancement through comparison" is found to be rare in computer science articles (Shehzad 2010). However, it is found to be rather common in the ELF business management articles analyzed in this study. Furthermore, statements of contribution in the ELF business management articles were rarely embedded with the announcement of principal findings in the Introduction section, as found in the study by Afros and Schryer (2009) on promotional strategies in computer science Introduction sections. In the present study, they were found occasionally embedded with the statements of findings in the Discussion section (Example 8). The difference may be the result of the statements of finding in computer science texts being factual rather than argumentative. This points to particular

disciplinary variations in the way persuasion, in general, and interpersonal and promotional features, in particular, are used in written academic discourse, as highlighted in previous EAP literature. In the ELF business management research articles analyzed, persuasive promotion in the form of statements of contribution are embedded with the statement of purpose, both in the Introduction and in the Discussion section, as shown in Examples 9 and 11 and in Examples 20 and 21 below:

(20)   The present study **extends** previous research on organizational identification and mergers by (1) examining the relationship between organizational identification and its determinants from a pre-merger perspective and (2) examining communication about and before the merger process as one of the possible determinants of expected post-merger identification.   (ELFBM8-I)

(21)   The main purpose of our paper was to **extend** TMT and upper echelon theory by introducing a **new** contingency variable moderating the effect of TMT composition on organizational performance.   (ELFBM5-D)

The results regarding the lower numbers of instances of the particular persuasive promotional functional unit under study, as well as their less rhetorically complex and therefore forceful nature, are in line with previous cross-cultural analyses of academic genres written and published in different language/cultural contexts: in short, self-promotion as a persuasive strategy is used in local, national languages and cultures to a lesser extent (e.g. Shaw 2003; Fløttum et al. 2006; Hirano 2009; Sheldon 2009; Lafuente-Millán et al. 2010; Loi 2010; Molino 2010; Martín and León-Pérez 2014).

4.   Final remarks

The current competitiveness to have one's research published in international high-impact English-language journals in many disciplines is influencing the evolution of the research article, which dynamically adjusts to the communicative situation and to the communicative purposes it serves (Swales 2004). As a result, ELF research articles display a higher number of rhetorical promotional strategies to persuasively influence readers of the validity, relevance, and worthiness of the authors' work than articles written in local Spanish-language journals. The competition to get one's research accepted for publication in national lower-impact journals in other languages is not so strong, thus such promotional strategies are scarcer and rhetorically less complex, not indicating comparisons and distinctiveness from previous research to the same extent. Whereas persuasion requires some degree of self-promotion in English articles published internationally, this is not

necessarily the case in a national publication context, such as the Spanish one. How new knowledge is persuasively presented in this academic genre is clearly affected by the language and context of publication.

It has been argued that the differing extents of inclusion and realization of the particular persuasive rhetorical strategy in ELF and Spanish research articles contribute to establishing a different writer-reader relationship in the two languages and contexts of publication. ELF scholars, through the necessary inclusion of statements of contribution in their Introduction and Conclusion/Discussion sections, seek to influence the behavior of their audiences, trying to purposefully convince them that their research is worth being published, read, and ultimately cited. Spanish scholars establish a much less dialogic relationship with their audiences and do not seek to influence their behavior to the same extent. They leave it up to the reader to a greater extent to decide if and how the research is considered valuable and significant. It can be argued, thus, that there are different socio-pragmatic expectations and beliefs as to what counts as persuasive in the different languages and contexts of publication which shape and are shaped by the research article rhetoric. The writer-reader relationship is affected by the use of persuasive, rhetorical strategies, which in turn are affected by the linguistic and cultural contexts in which the texts are written, including the national science and the national culture as elements of that particular context (Shaw 2003). That is, there are different traditions as to how science is effectively and persuasively disseminated in particular languages and cultures, based on "our expectation that members of different cultures have learned different ways of expressing themselves generally and that these affect academic writing in the same way as other registers or genres" (Shaw 2003: 344). This may have some bearing on how academic writing in general and rhetoric in particular is encoded in particular languages and contexts. However, since written academic ELF comes as a result of the contributions of scholars from different linguacultural backgrounds, in a second order contact (Mauranen 2012), imbued with different language and cultural scientific traditions, such particular elements may be blurred. Shaw (2003) refers to a third contextual element that may affect persuasive academic writing in general and the use of promotional strategies in particular, and the ensuing writer-relationship that may be established as a result: the constraints of using English as an additional language. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the findings that the analysis is based on English texts as used by and for academic scholars from different linguacultural backgrounds, and this fact may account for the variety of lexico-grammatical and discursive options used to realize the interpersonally driven promotional strategy under analysis.

Given the cross-cultural differences in the deployment of persuasive rhetoric indicated by this and previous research, it would be interesting to compare the use of promotional strategies in ELF and ENL research articles. Such an analysis

would make it possible to determine the extent to which rhetorical persuasive strategies in international English-language publications conform to ENL conventions or the extent to which some degree of "interdiscursive hybridity" (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales 2010) exists and, ultimately, the extent to which written academic ELF discourse is a reality in specific disciplinary fields. In any case, the study presented here highlights the important role of self-promotion in constructing persuasive research articles in a social science and the influence that the context in which these academic texts are read and published exerts on how to present research in a way that convinces readers of its validity.

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Persuasion from multimodal perspectives

Iconicity in independent noun phrases in print advertising
A multimodal perspective

Jana Pelclová

This chapter studies the interplay of multimodal iconic signs that construct the meaning of independent noun phrases in advertisements promoting food products. The methodology consists in approaching the diagrammatic iconicity found in language through the perspective of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) analytical framework of multimodal text and the perspective of typeface design and impression variables as described by Henderson, Giese and Cote (2004). The analysis reveals that independent noun phrases iconicize the process of production, the ingredients used, the variety of products, and gustatory perception. The language diagrammatic iconicity in the analyzed advertisements is achieved by a sequential ordering of modifiers that mirrors either chronological order or the order of importance, and by means of figurative language, lexical cohesion, and a lack of explicit syntactic relations. Both typographic and visual iconicity tend to objectify the semantic dimension of the diagrammatic iconicity. At the same time, the visual iconicity mirrors a close spatial relation between the consumer and the product.

Keywords: language iconicity, visual iconicity, typographic iconicity, noun phrases, premodification, postmodification, multimodality, advertising discourse, persuasion

1.   Introduction

Regardless of whether commercial advertisements inform, entertain, please, misinform, warn, bother, or bore us, they share one quality: their primary function is to persuade us to buy a product or service. This primary persuasive function is often disguised by non-persuasive ones, which makes one-way, public mass marketing communication seem more private and personalized (e.g. Tellis 1998; Goddard 2002; Janoschka 2004; Arens 2005). In order to achieve a persuasive effect,

an advertiser can exploit numerous discursive techniques, such as hybridization (Urbanová 2006; Pelclová 2011), humor (Speck 1991; Buijzen and Valkenburg 2004; Gulas and Weinberger 2006), facework (Leciánová 2008; Hopkinson in this volume), metaphor (Dąbrowski 2002; Ng in this volume), modality (van Leeuwen 2005), and many others. Approaching the topic of persuasion in advertising from the point of view of semiotics, this chapter endeavors to demonstrate that iconicity is one of the strategic means worth employing in marketing communication owing to its potential to enhance the persuasive impact on the consumer.

Generally speaking, the term iconicity refers to a relation that is based on a resemblance between a representation of an object (the signifier) and the object itself (the signified). Typical examples of icons are visual signs – for instance, pictures, images, photographs, statues, sculptures, or depictive gestures – because the resemblance between these signs and the objects they imitate is easily identifiable for their natural and non-arbitrary characterization (Giardino and Greenberg 2014). Besides visual signs, an idea, an attitude, an object, or an event can also be mirrored in verbal signs. Needless to say, however, linguistic iconicity is not limited to a resemblance between sound and its verbal expression, such as in onomatopoeic words, for example. Indeed, linguistic iconicity extends beyond the level of phonology, as was suggested by Peirce (1992) himself in his theory of semiosis. Since Jakobson's seminal work *Quest for the essence of language* (1971), in which he shows that iconicity functions as a motivational factor also in morphology and syntax, scholars have been focusing on iconicity in higher linguistic units such as texts, narratives, and even discourses.

Recent studies on both visual and language iconicity discuss several theories, principles, and mechanisms relating to iconicity-driven signs, e.g. the principle of experiential iconicity as discussed by Enkvist (1981, 1987) and further developed by Prado-Alonso (2008), the proximity principle (Givón 1995) and the mechanism of economy (Givón 1990), Sonesson's (2008, 2010) distinction between primary and secondary iconicity, and Ljungberg's (2005) discussion of the indexical and iconical character of photographs in narratives, etc. This complex theoretical framework also comprises contrary perspectives such as of iconists and iconoclasts as well as discussions about the fragile characteristics of icon, index and symbol (for instance Sonesson 2010).

Following De Cuypere and Willems (2008: 4), who state that iconicity is "conceived as the main structuring principle of language in general", it might be said that iconicity offers an explanation as to what motivates us in our choice of communication signs. Iconicity enables us to communicate effectively; we can express in a logical and coherent manner what we experience in the real world or in the world of the imaginary, and how we maintain a relationship with our interlocutors.

Take, for instance, the famous *veni, vidi, vici*, in which the sequencing of verbs reflects the sequencing of three consecutive events, or the imitation of participant relationships, such as the social power or social distance between the speaker and the hearer as shown in using T-V distinctions (Haiman 1985). Moreover, expressions and structures that are based on iconicity are "easier to process, retrieve and communicate" (Givón 1995: 189).

Applying the theories of iconicity to the discourse of print advertising, one that takes advantage of verbal texts, pictures, and photographs as well as of numerous typographic features, the chapter studies the advertiser's choice of the language, visual and typographic means of iconicity in print advertisements for food products. Following Leech's (1966) concept of disjunctive grammar, its major interest is in the iconicity found in independent noun phrases, since these forms are the most typical linguistic items employed by the advertiser (Cook 1992; Myers 1994; Rush 1998). Independent noun phrases are defined as units that do not enter into explicit syntactic relations but, owing to the involvement of other semiotic modes (such as pictures, photographs, typeface, etc.), situational factors, and cultural context, they are able to express a complete thought (Rush 1998: 156). Drawing upon Halliday's framework of systemic functional grammar (1994: 394–397), independent noun phrases in advertising create little texts that accumulate both factual and interpersonal types of information. In terms of Cognitive Grammar, independent noun phrases represent complex construals that convey the advertiser's summary viewpoint on the product being offered (Langacker 2008: 319). On the basis that the analyzed adverts promote food products, the chapter presupposes that independent noun phrases convey both factual and subjective types of product information. In particular, the chapter studies how structural relations between modifiers and the head, or among heads and modifiers across a complex phrase (the signifier) reflect a product's factual features and/or the advertiser's experience with the product as created in the extralinguistic reality (the signified). The chapter also focuses on the semantic aspects of the iconicized features, since the semantic relations between the modifying expressions and the head, or among the modifiers used, also function as means of language iconicity. At the same time, all these features of language iconicity are discussed in relation to visual and typographic means of iconicity. When necessary, the chapter also pays attention to independent adjectival phrases that often accompany the independent noun phrases.

Before embarking upon the analysis itself, the chapter briefly comments on iconicity and its role in advertising, introduces the corpus and the methodological approach used, and articulates the objectives.

2. Iconicity and its role in advertising

Concerning iconicity in language, Fischer and Nänny (1999: xxii) distinguish two types of relation between the signifier and the signified – the direct and the indirect relation. The former, which is known as imagic iconicity, conveys a resemblance in sound between a form and its content. In the analyzed advertisements, this type can be found in expressions such as *crisp* and *crunchy*, in which the initial consonant clusters are believed to imitate the sound one makes when biting into a freshly baked cookie (Piller 1999). The latter type, on which the chapter focuses most, stems from an indirect relation between form and meaning. It takes advantage of the structural or schematic pattern of an event or thing that is imitated in a structural pattern of language representation. In this sense, syntactic structures represent diagrams that embody our perception of the world around us. This type of iconicity is known as diagrammatic and is simultaneously motivated by both the structural and semantic aspects of extralinguistic concepts (Marzo 2008: 176). In other words, diagrammatic iconicity has both structural and semantic dimensions. As Nöth (2008: 73) points out, diagrams in language are "both cognitively necessary and rhetorically efficient since icons are superior to other signs when clearness of representation and coherence of argumentation is concerned". In this sense, iconicity-driven independent noun phrases have a greater persuasive potential than non-iconic units. Additionally, it is important to realize that diagrammatic iconicity operates on a more abstract level than the imagic type due to the concordance of the structural patterns and semantic aspects of the conceptual domain of extralinguistic reality and those of the linguistic domain (Nöth 2008: 88). Diagrammatic iconicity is thus a matter of conceptual complexity, which in fact results in adding "extra meaning on a textual level" (De Cuypere and Willems 2008: 7). In order to infer the extra meaning of an iconicity-driven text, the consumer has to invest their own mental effort in the decoding process, which makes them become more active participants in the overall advertising communication. Influencing consumers' cognitive states via iconicity can reduce the risk of rejection that might otherwise arise from the high number of advertising messages that the consumer is exposed to every day.

Considering the fact that texts operate within particular discourses, the idea of adding extra meaning might also be extended to the discourse level. To illustrate this point, take for instance the acronym AIDA. In the marketing industry, AIDA represents a four-stage model that defines four cognitive processes a consumer experiences when engaged in advertising communication, namely *attention, interest, desire*, and *action* (cf. Dragon 2011). Following Fischer and Nänny's (1999: xxii) explanation that diagrammatic iconicity is based on "the (horizontal) relation(s) on the level of the signifier and the (horizontal) relations on the level of the signified",

both the structural and semantic dimensions of the iconic principle that motivated the existence of this acronym are illustrated in Figure 1:

Signified   Attention → Interest →   Desire   →   Action

('event')   → ('event') → ('event') → ('event')

↓   ↓   ↓   ↓

Signifier   A   →   I   →   D   →   A
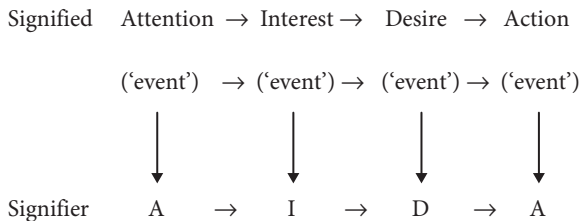
Figure 1. Diagrammatic iconicity of the acronym AIDA

The horizontal arrows between *Attention*, *Interest*, *Desire*, and *Action* illustrate the temporal order of the individual stages (events) as they take place in the real world. The vertical arrows signal the transformation of this temporal relation (the signified) that occurs in the conceptual domain of extralinguistic reality into the domain of linguistic representation, where the very same temporal relation is iconicized by the sequence of the initial letters A, I, D, and A (the signifier). Moreover, the ease of pronunciation and memorability of the acronym imitates the ease of understanding an advertising text is recommended to have in order to be easily 'consumed' and at the same time memorable, and thus to stay in the consumer's memory until the final stage, the action, is achieved. This is the extra meaning De Cuypere and Willems (2008) talk about and which Sonesson (2008, 2010) identifies as secondary iconicity. The term AIDA iconicizes not only the chronological order of the individual stages, but also the economy and effectiveness of advertising discourse practice. Simply put, one word is capable of expressing the whole philosophy of advertising communication.

It is important to realize that imagic and diagrammatic iconicity do not represent a form of binary opposition. On the contrary, they "form a continuum on which the iconic instances run from almost perfect mirroring (i.e. a semiotic relationship that is virtually independent of any individual language) to a relationship that becomes more and more suggestive and also more and more language-dependent" (Ljungberg 1997: 3rd paragraph). As Hermerén explains "iconicity is often a matter of degree and has to some extent to be learned, which is an indication that it is partly based on cultural conventions" (Hermerén 1999: 72). Within the realm of visual communication, the degree of diagrammatic iconicity thus goes hand in hand with the visual aspects that accompany a verbal text. Depending on what type of product is being promoted, the advertiser is free to choose to what extent they visualize the product. In other words, the product can be visually communicated by a photograph of its packaging and/or the product itself, by an illustration accompanying a

photograph, and by showing the ideal consumer, etc. In addition, page layout, the arrangement of pictures, the relations between the objects depicted, as well as the relations between the images and texts used are also crucial in message delivery and interpretation. Moreover, all these means of visual communication are gradable and thus have an impact on the level of modality through which the message is perceived (van Leeuwen 2005: 165–171).

Apart from pictures, what also matters in visual communication combined with words is typography and typeface. Despite the lack of conceptual frameworks that would offer a broader insight into the relation between types of fonts and their semantic associations, scholars agree that typefaces do have an impact on advertisement and brand perception and attitudes (e.g. McCarthy and Mothersbaugh 2002; Childers and Jass 2002; Henderson, Giese and Cote 2004; Doyle and Bottomley 2004, 2006; Kang and Choi 2013). Therefore, the role of typeface in marketing communication, including advertising, should not be underestimated. Celhay, Boysselle and Cohen (2015: 169) see the benefit of typefaces in the fact that they "produce signs that are simultaneously words and images or, to use semiotics concepts, simultaneously verbal and visual signs". As McCarthy and Mothersbaugh (2002: 665–667) claim, all typeface characteristics including font, style, weight, stress, color, spacing, the positioning of words, etc. result in a particular typographic outcome that affects not only the appearance and legibility of an advertisement, but also the consumer's semantic associations that are salient in persuasive communication (for another example of font-based semantic association, see the chapter by Veloso and Feng in this volume). According to Henderson, Giese and Cote's (2004: 64) study in which they offer an empirically-based guideline on choosing a typeface congruent with a corporation's policy, fonts that are usually used in marketing communication work with impression variables of pleasing (such as warm and attractive), engaging (e.g. interesting and emotional), reassuring (formal and honest), and prominent (strong and masculine). As suggested by the above-mentioned studies, typeface works as a means of typographic iconicity, the functionality of which lies in conveying the connotative meaning embedded in the expressions used. For instance, a brand called Cook Italian uses a handwriting-style font in order to reassure the consumer about the ingredients authenticity communicated in the phrase *Authentic ingredients from Italy, for real Italian taste*. Its typographical rendering demonstrates what Fischer (1999) calls graphological iconicity: the organic handwritten letters that are not joined together and that are slightly slanted towards right give the impression of an authentic handwritten text. Based on the cultural stereotype of Italy being "associated with good food and a positive attitude toward life" (Piller 2003: 173), the authenticity of the text also connotes easygoingness and casualness. The intention is to invoke the very same style of cooking for which the range of the products is designed: the ease and simplicity of Italian cuisine. The postmodified

prepositional phrase *from Italy* explicitly announces the place of origin. If the advertiser had chosen *authentic Italian ingredients* the denotation of *Italian* could raise the question of whether the adjective refers to a place of origin or to a type of ingredients (for further discussion on structuring in pre- and post-modification, see e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 588–609; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 452–455; Langacker 2008: 323–327). In the case of *real Italian taste*, it is obvious that what matters here is not the denotation, but rather the connotation related to a cultural stereotype about Italian cuisine mentioned above. This connotative meaning is reflected in the choice of the handwritten-like font. In this sense, typographic iconicity is able to objectify the semantic dimension of the expressions used.

To sum up, language iconicity, especially the diagrammatic kind, and visual iconicity, including the typographic kind, play a crucial role in communicating the advertising message successfully. What is communicated, and thus iconicized is up to the advertiser, since they are the ones who initiate the communication and thus initiate the AIDA process. Considering the strategies of classical rhetoric, as discussed by Žmavc in this volume, purely factual information about a product does not sell the product. Therefore, when discussing independent noun phrases in print advertising, the chapter presupposes that the relation between the head and its modifiers as well as the relations between the individual modifiers interlinked with visual iconicity have a potential to imitate not just factual product information (i.e. what types of product or ranges of products are being advertised), but also the advertiser's personal experience of, and attitude towards the product being offered (the advertiser's viewpoint). The questions that arise here are how exactly these traits are iconicized in independent noun phrases and how the cooperation between their morphosyntactic structures and their graphic designs are achieved.

3.   Data and methods

The chapter analyzes 190 advertisements for food products printed in *Tesco Realfood* (2013), and in *Food Family Living Tesco* (2013), both published by Tesco, and in *Specialty Food* (2012 and 2013), published by the Specialty Food Association. The intention of the magazines is to inform their readerships about the latest trends in the food industry, such as the advantages of organic and bio products and the availability of gluten-free products; to offer seasonal recipes; and to help readers find where to buy commodities from local producers, etc. In short, the magazines' aim is to educate their readers in terms of the preparation and consumption of quality food. The advertisements published in the magazines tackle the very same issues. They promote companies and brands whose reputations are established on quality ingredients, a solid position on the market, and fair relations with their customers.

The foods promoted in the advertisements range from sweets (e.g. chocolate bars, cookies, candies), canned products (e.g. pickled peas, olives, etc.), and pasta to pre-packaged foods and fresh food products such as eggs or meats.

As mentioned above, what is accentuated most in both magazines' articles and adverts is the quality of food products. Not only is this feature reflected in the abundant use of expressions such as *100% organic, natural, no preservatives, no artificial flavor* etc., but also in the quality of the photographs, pictures, and images (the visuals) used. The original, and in most cases also artistic photographs of the products increase the aesthetic appeal through which the reader's visual, and hence gustatory perceptions are addressed. Consequently, the analysis of an advertising text in terms of iconicity must take into account both the verbal and the visual aspects of the given text. This multimodal approach thus allows the functionality of the iconic principle in the advertising discourse to be understood in a broader perspective.

With regard to methodology, first independent noun phrases were identified in all parts of verbal texts; that is, in headlines and subheadlines, body copies, and signature lines. Even though these three subtexts have different communicative functions (Goddard 2002) – i.e., to attract attention, to provide information necessary for the purchase, and to refer to the producer by displaying its logo, respectively – these are in fact subordinated to the primary persuasive function every advertising text has. Regardless of its position within a text, an independent noun phrase in print advertising is a means of persuasion and its effectiveness depends on the cooperation between its verbal and visual modes. For the purpose of this chapter, a noun phrase is understood as a group of one or more words, of which the major element, the head, is represented by a noun. The head is able to bind other elements in order to signify its referent as accurately as possible. The head is the central component that these other elements can precede, thus premodifying it, or follow, thus postmodifying it. Modifiers can be composed of words (e.g. determiners, adjectives, enumerators, etc.), phrases (e.g. genitive phrases, prepositional phrases, etc.), and even clauses, such as the relative clause in *The only cheese that's 100% Natural, 100% from Switzerland and 100% Le Gruyère* (Le Gruyère cheese). Owing to this formal and functional variability, a noun phrase can consist of a major phrase whose head stands for the major element of the whole phrase, and of subordinated phrases, i.e. phrases that are included within a major phrase, for example *a mix of handcrafted, perfectly baked Moravian cookies enrobed in artisan chocolate and topped with crackled candies* (Salem Baking), which in fact includes eight subordinated phrases. As Leech, Deuchar and Hoogenraad (1982: 59) claim, this chaining of phrases within a phrase results in structural complexity.

The total number of phrases in the analyzed advertisements was 419. The next stage of the analysis consisted in scrutinizing the selected phrases through the

lenses of language iconicity, especially diagrammatic iconicity, and visual iconicity, including typographic iconicity. As mentioned above, adjectival phrases were taken into account whenever it was considered necessary for explaining the iconicity of the analyzed independent noun phrases. Diagrammatic iconicity involved studying the semantic and the syntactic relations of the words used in the phrases. This means that the chapter examines the structural relation between the head and its modifiers as well as the relations between or among the modifiers themselves. Additionally, it investigates the denotative and connotative meanings of the head and its descriptive and classifying modifiers. While the former convey subjective characterization that adds "colourful and attractive descriptions of the product or service, and so communicate more on an emotive level" (Rush 1998: 161), the latter classify the head in terms of objective characterization (i.e. what is inherent to the content of the head).

The analysis of visual iconic signs consisted in examining the visuals that are communicated together with the text (photographs, images, etc.), and the overall page design. Furthermore, special attention was paid to the choice of typefaces in which the analyzed phrases were provided. This means that the study concentrates on their universal design characteristics such as serif vs. sans serif, organic vs. geometric, ornate vs. plain, curved vs. angular, etc.; regularity (regular, italics, bold); height; and color. When possible, the fonts used are referred to by their names; for precise font identification, the web page www.myfonts.com was consulted. Drawing upon Henderson, Giese and Cote's study (2004) described above, the typefaces were also studied in terms of the impression variables (pleasing, engaging, reassuring, and prominent).

Not all 419 phrases can be interpreted as iconic, however. It is not possible to provide an exact total number of phrases that display iconicity, as it might be difficult and also questionable to evaluate the extent to which the form of a phrase mirrors its content. The chapter thus offers a qualitative analysis of those independent noun phrases whose visual representations interact with their structural and semantic aspects to such a degree that is believed to be iconic. Drawing upon Restrepo Boada's (2014) study on the importance of graphic design in written communication, independent noun phrases in print advertising function as graphic statements or graphic signs whose iconicity, if employed and recognized by the consumer, contributes to persuasion. The objective of the chapter is to discover which means of language iconicity (e.g. the complexity of phrases, the condensation of facts, figurative language, etc.) and visual iconicity (e.g. the choice of typeface, the articulation of details, sharpness, colors, etc.) participate in imitating both factual data and the advertiser's viewpoint and how the iconicity of the product features is distributed across language and visual iconicity.

4.   Results of the investigation

Before discussing the iconicized items and the interplay of visual and language iconicity in more detail, this chapter briefly comments on the overall page orientation of the print advertisements under investigation. As already mentioned, the adverts promote various food products, including dairy products, and canned, prepared, and fresh foods. Concerning the exact elements that are visualized, i.e. displayed on a page, all the analyzed advertisements depict the product or the range of products they promote and, in the case of canned food or pickled vegetables, also the major ingredients the product contains; only a few depict people, either as satisfied consumers or as chefs. The preference for product/ingredient depiction and the consequent absence of people is to a certain degree iconic, because what the advertiser in fact communicates with this choice is the importance of the product itself, rather than the identification of the target audience. The salience of the product/ ingredients is also reflected in their location; their photographs occupy the central portion of the page, which enables the advertiser to achieve a high degree of salience (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 210) and to present "the nucleus of the information" (Martínez Lirola and Chovanec 2012: 495). Moreover, their photographs are always articulated in sharp detail and in close-up, which makes the product/ingredients appear bigger than they actually are. This 'overdimension' of the depicted size has a persuasive effect, since it appears as if the product/ingredients were placed very close to the reader and at eye level. Najafian (2011: 12) explains that this proximity conveys engagement with the product. Drawing upon Ljungberg (2005: 134), the relation between the consumer and the photograph reflects diagrammatic iconicity since it imitates the scene in which the consumer is just about to consume or use the product. Consequently, this newly established spatial relation between an advert and the consumer bridges the gap between the fictitious world of advertising and the real world of the consumer (Cook 1992: 177–178). This process is also supported by displaying photographs of the product packaging and the company's logo. Owing to their location at the bottom part of the page, they are perceived as real objects that can thus be purchased in the real world (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 210).

　　Regarding page layout, it is also important to say a few words about the distribution of language and its relation to the photographs. In the majority of the advertisements the verbal texts are placed above and below the product pictures, the latter occupying a central position. This overall vertical orientation of both visual and verbal modes enables the advertisements to be read from top to bottom within a single column, rather than in long lines. This vertical reading is claimed to recall actual food consumption, and thus to evoke positive values (Goh 2001).

Considering the visual mode, it might seem that print advertisements for food products iconicize 'only' the existence of the product itself, its ingredients, and to a certain extent also the consumption of the product. To understand how iconicity governs an advertising text, it is necessary to take a more detailed look at the language. Unsurprisingly, the independent noun phrases in question iconicize ingredients (or materials and substances used), the variety of products, and product consumption, as the visuals do. Besides these traits, however, the analysis reveals that independent noun phrases are able to iconicize two other features. To be more specific, they can also mirror the process of product creation and as far as product consumption is concerned, they are able to imitate the gustatory sensation the consumer is supposed to experience when consuming the product. As a result, four traits are iconicized:

a.   production process
b.   ingredients
c.   variety of products
d.   gustatory perception

The following subchapters comment on these individual iconicized traits. It is important to keep in mind that there is no clear-cut boundary between the categories since more traits can be iconicized simultaneously in one phrase.

4.1   Iconicity of production process

The phrases that imitate the process of product creation have a tendency to be complex in structure, with the chaining of subordinated phrases, and to contain past participles in both pre- and post-modifying positions. In terms of bracketing, the complex subordination of the individual phrases is illustrated in the following example, found in the advertisement for the Signature Collection from the Salem Baking Company:

(1)   (a)   mix (of (handcrafted, perfectly baked Moravian cookies (enrobed (in (artisan chocolate))) and (topped (with (crackled candies)))))

The major phrase is represented by the head noun *mix*, which is further specified by a very complex postmodification. Its complexity consists of eight subordinated phrases with the following hierarchical order: one prepositional phrase *of* that directly follows the major head *mix* and which itself embeds a subordinated noun phrase with the head *cookies* (or maybe *Moravian cookies* since the expression *Moravian* indicates a type of cookie); this noun phrase is both premodified

(*handcrafted, perfectly baked*) and postmodified. Its postmodifiers consist of two past participle phrases (*enrobed* and *topped*) that are connected paratactically by the conjunction *and*. Both of these phrases then include other prepositional phrases (*in* and *with*, respectively) that of course embed two noun phrases with the head *chocolate* and *candies*, respectively. Both of these subordinated noun phrases are premodified by the adjective *artisan* and by the past participle *crackled*.

From the description above, it is obvious that past participles dominate the modifying positions in this complicated noun phrase. According to Langacker (2008: 120), the advantage of past participle modifiers is that they "adopt a posterior vantage point", which enables the advertiser to communicate what has already been done for the benefit of the consumer – well-prepared cookies. What is iconic about the past participle modifiers in this example is that the linear order in which they appear within the phrase copies the real order of creation: *handcrafted – baked – enrobed – topped.* The iconicity thus lies in the imitation of chronological order.

In terms of the semantic aspects of the individual processes, first the cookie dough was handcrafted, i.e. it was prepared manually, not by machine. As a result, each cookie is to be perceived as an original. Yet, in view of the company's array of items and flavors, the term *handcrafted* is meant to invoke what Woodward and Denton (2014: 266) describes as "fond memories of Mother's baking". Advertisements are full of expressions such as *home-made, fresh-baked,* and *hand-cooked*; the intention is not to inform the audience whether the product is good or bad, but to hint at the appropriate connotation.

Second, the cookie dough was baked. This might seem a redundant piece of information, since a proper cookie must be baked or it could not be labeled as this specific type of pastry, distinctive in its shape, ingredients, and texture. Here, the advertiser chose to modify the past participle in order to draw the consumer's attention to the fact that the cookies were not just baked, but were baked in a perfect manner. The adverb of manner is a subjective evaluation, hence communicating the advertiser's viewpoint regarding the manner in which the product has been prepared. The apparent irrelevance of providing the factual information that the cookies were baked is compensated for by presenting an assessment of the final outcome. The descriptive premodifier *perfectly* stresses the advertiser's stance towards how the baking of this product should be perceived.

The post-baking steps are indicated by the expressions *enrobed* and *topped*, whose paratactical relation suggests their equal position as far as their relationship towards the head *cookies* is concerned. As with *handcrafted* and *baked*, their ordering is iconically motivated, i.e. the stage of *enrobing* precedes the step of *topping*. Moreover, the premodifier *crackled* in the last phrase refers to the posterior perspective, i.e. what was done to the candies prior to finalizing the topping.

Unlike the diagrammatic iconicity of the production process that is conveyed in the sequential order of past participles, what is visualized in this particular advert is the final outcome – a single cookie in the shape of a Christmas tree. While the edges of the cookie and the background are slightly blurred, the fully articulated detail of its chocolate coating with white and red crackled candies are at the focus of the consumer's visual perception. In addition, it is this distinctive topping that relates the language iconicity to the visual iconicity. The symmetrical character of the serif typeface used for the phrase evokes harmony, and thus strengthens the positive connotations of *handcrafted, perfectly baked* and *enrobed in artisan chocolate.* To sum up, the complex production process is mirrored in the structural complexity of the postmodification, and is given a reassuring air by the typeface chosen for the graphic design of the phrase, while the visual accentuates the final step of the production, the distinct topping.

4.2   Iconicity of the ingredients used

Like in the production process, the mechanism of sequential ordering can be found in phrases that communicate what type of ingredients, substances, or materials the product consists of or for which it is considered distinctive, e.g.:

(2)   Coconut flakes. Rich cream. Milk chocolate.   (Noix de Coco by Ritter Sport)

The purity of the ingredients used, *coconut, cream* and *chocolate*, are iconized by means of successive simple noun phrases, the simplicity of which lies in the usage of a single modifier and the head. Moreover, the phrases are separated by full stops, which means that they are not loaded with exact syntactic relations. The lack of explicit structural relations between the phrases used allows each phrase to stand on its own. Nevertheless, the repetitive structural pattern indicates that the heads are to be perceived as conceptually related. The structural independence between the individual heads is balanced by the consistency of the internal structures, each one comprising a single premodifier and the head; that is, this consistency functions as a cohesive link among the phrases. The verbal choice of *coconut, cream* and *chocolate* and their suggested relation imitates the advertiser's approach towards the product. The harmonious combination of the ingredients used is unique, for they can be easily distinguished and recognized in the gustatory experience of the product. Simply speaking, when enjoying the *milk chocolate*, one can tell it contains *coconut flakes* and *rich cream.* Typed in bold Century Gothic font in blue, not only does the typeface link the photograph of the blue packaging placed above the phrases to the textual part, but it also mirrors the harmony of the ingredients and their richness

since this type of font is evaluated as reassuring with respect to the content of the words used as well as pleasing (Henderson, Giese and Cote 2004: 67).

In the Walkers Natural Shortbread advertisement, the mirroring of the ingredients' purity goes even further as the head nouns are the only elements that establish a noun phrase. The headline placed in the upper central part of the copy consists of:

(3)   Butter. Flour. Sugar. Salt. Natural.   (Walkers Natural Shortbread)

The first four phrases refer to the ingredients necessary for the production of pure shortbread. Even though the last phrase, which underlines the purity of the product, does not represent a noun phrase but an adjectival phrase, it will be discussed owing to its function within the headline.

The simple phrases are without premodifying elements, such as determiners, numerals, nouns, or adjectives that would specify the quality or the amount of ingredients necessary for production. In other words, the lack of any classifying or descriptive adjectives, or even measuring partitives, iconically reflects the purity of the substances invoked by the head nouns. This purity, or rather the naturalness of the advertised shortbreads, is conveyed in the very last adjectival phrase, *natural*, which differs from the four previous words both in the word class that establishes the head and in the color used. The noun phrases are printed in black; the adjectival phrase is in red. The balanced typeface of a serif font connotes the balanced character of *butter* and *flour* as the fundamental ingredients of the product. Unlike in the processual type of iconicity, the order of the phrases does not imitate chronological order. Instead, it signifies which substances, or rather which aspect of the substances, are the most salient. Therefore, it might be concluded that what is iconicized in this particular advertisement is the order of importance. In other words, the last trait to be mentioned, *natural*, is the most important regarding the communicative value of the advertising message, as indicated by its red color.

4.3   Iconicity of the variety of products

Besides advertising a particular product, the corpus also includes advertisements that promote ranges of products (e.g. pasta or canned foods by Cook Italian) as well as ranges of flavors of a particular product (e.g. Ritter Sport chocolate). Expressions like *mix, mixture, collection, variety* etc. are chosen as heads of noun phrases postmodified by the prepositional phrase *of*. These phrases accompany photographs of the available varieties that occupy most of the page layout. For example, the advertisement for Koppers Balls starts with the headline:

(4)   The World's Widest Array of Gourmet Malted Milk Balls.   (Koppers Balls)

It is situated in the left upper corner and typed in sans serif Helvetica Neue-Roman font, which, with its rather plain geometric characters, is believed to invoke a generally lower degree of emotional load (Tantillo, Di Lorenzo-Aiss and Mathisen 1995) and to be less attractive (Henderson, Giese and Cote 2004). Even though its typographic characteristics seem not to reflect what the phrase refers to, the content of the phrase is mirrored in the presentation of the colorful balls that are arranged in nine lines. The spacing between the individual balls as well as between the lines are constant throughout the advertisement; thus the overall outcome imitates a textual arrangement. This 'text', which in fact extends the linearity of the verbal to the visual, finishes with the image of three balls of smaller size. These last three balls imitate the punctuation marks of ellipsis, the function of which is to convey that the 'text' can go on. In other words, the advertiser's intention is to communicate the endlessness of the product variety. To sum up, the meaning of the expression *array*, which is "an impressive display or range of a particular type of thing" (oxforddictionaries.com), is imitated in the display of the individual milk balls in an augmented size arranged in a linear order.

4.4   Iconicity of gustatory perception

This type of iconicity is motivated by the way the product is experienced. Of course, what is iconicized is the advertiser's experience. The advertiser thus shares their viewpoint with the consumer, which is supposed to make the text more friendly and thus to increase the level of persuasion.

An example of experiential iconicity can be found in the Ritter Sport advertisement promoting its Cocoa Mousse chocolate bar:

(5)   Bigger squares. Bigger taste. Bigger enjoyment.

(Cocoa Mousse by Ritter Sport)

The order of its main text imitates the way the consumer experiences the product, from sensual perception to a satisfactory state of mind. First, the visual sense is addressed. Cocoa Mousse is special in the number of squares the chocolate bar has. In contrast to other Ritter Sport 100 gram bars, this bar has three rows of squares instead of four, hence the number of phrases. This means that the squares are bigger than those in the usual Ritter chocolate bars. According to the advertiser, this increase in the physical size is reflected in the taste, hence the phrase *bigger taste*. The rendering of this gustatory experience in this way is of course questionable, because of the semantic incompatibility of the expressions *bigger* and *taste*. While the comparative *bigger* is primarily used with expressions designating physical objects having size and extent, the expression *taste* lacks these properties as it primarily

refers to the sensational quality of a substance, as perceived orally. Therefore, the question is how taste, which is a very subjective quale, can be measured. The third phrase in the row is the aesthetic experience; the pleasure from consuming the product is encoded in the phrase *bigger enjoyment.* It works with the same semantic incompatibility of subjective aspects as the preceding phrase: something tangible and something abstract, respectively, are combined in order to communicate the outcome of product consumption.

Even though the phrases are grammatically independent, since each is separated by a period and there is no linking expression such as a conjunction that would make their grammatical relation more obvious, the order of the phrases, and especially the repetitive pattern of the comparative *bigger* in the premodified position, signify that they are semantically related. In addition, the repetitive pattern can also be found in the lack of the prepositional phrase *than* in the postmodified position. As Goddard (2002) and Hermerén (1999) point out, this shortening of comparative structures is typical of the discourse of advertising, the function of which is to make the advertising message more interactive and the consumer more engaged in the communicative process.

The repetition of premodifiers supports the grammatical relation and also has an aesthetic function. This anaphoric relation between the phrases used creates a rhythmic pattern that consists of two successive cretics (*Bigger squares. Bigger taste.*) and finishes with a dactyl followed by a trochee (*Bigger enjoyment*), actually postponing the most important aspect of the product – the enjoyment the consumer will experience after eating the chocolate – to the very end of the textual part, and thus achieving a certain degree of suspense. The structure and the order of the phrases are iconic since they imitate a certain degree of expectation the consumer experiences when consuming the product. The order of the phrases copies the linear order in which the product is experienced. Simultaneously, it postpones the most salient aspect to the very last phrase. Therefore, it might be concluded that both chronological order and order of importance are functional here. Going beyond the linguistic and rhetorical analysis, the regularity of the structural pattern of an adjective premodifying different noun heads resembles the regularity of the squares. Like in the phrases found in the other Ritter Sport advertisement described above, Century gothic font is again here believed to have a pleasing effect (Henderson, Giese and Cote 2004: 67) and thus to iconicize the balanced taste of the product.

Means of figurative language are prominent in the next advertisement, which promotes a product from the Peanut Shop of Williamsburg:

(6) Double Delicious. Handcooked Virginia Peanuts double-dipped in rich milk chocolate.   (Chocolate Covered Peanuts)

The most salient aspect of this product is that the peanuts are dipped twice in a rich chocolate so as to create a rich chocolate coating. The advertiser thus guarantees a unique gustatory experience, as indicated by the descriptive *double delicious*. The semantic relation between the product and the enjoyment arising from its consumption is precisely what is iconicized here. This is achieved by the use of two independent phrases whose relation is conveyed by means of lexical cohesion, namely by the repetition of the expression *double* in both the pre- and postmodified position. On top of that, the alliteration in the first phrase emphasize the delicacy as well as the quality of double-dipping. Without doubt, the photograph of a handful of chocolate-covered peanuts placed in the bottom part of the copy underlines the characteristics iconized in the morphosyntatic structure of the words used. The trait of 'doubleness' is also imitated in the use of two versions of the same font. While *double delicious* is provided in Adobe Caslon Pro Regular font, the other phrase takes Adobe Caslon Pro Italics. The font is believed to have a pleasing effect (Henderson, Giese and Cote 2004: 67) and to connote the intended association with a rich gustatory experience. Like in the case of the Salem Baking advertisement, the usage of the past participle in the pre- and post-modifying positions mirrors the process of production. In this sense, more than one trait can be iconized in independent noun phrases as well as in their typeface and accompanying images.

5.   Conclusion

This chapter endeavors to bring a new insight into the topic of iconicity from a multimodal perspective. Attention is paid to the means of visual, typographic, and verbal signs through which independent noun phrases in print advertising can iconicize those product features the advertiser considers to be the most salient, and thus the ones to be appreciated by the consumer. The chapter demonstrates how the strategic alignment of these phrases functions as a persuasive device that is meant to make the advertising communication more interactive and personal. The cooperative relation between the multimodal signs is subordinated to the intended persuasive effect.

Owing to the functional congruity of the modes, the noun phrases take the form of graphic signs that, in the analyzed advertisements, iconicize (1) processes necessary for product creation; (2) ingredients used that make the product unique and distinctive; (3) the variety of products/ingredients; and (4) product experience, especially the gustatory perception of the product as experienced by the advertiser. As far as language iconicity is taken into consideration, the above-listed traits are iconicized through a sequential order of modifying expressions and head, which

represents the structural dimension of diagrammatic iconicity, and through the means of classifying and/or descriptive modifiers, and figurative language, which represents the semantic dimension. The ordering reflects either the chronological order or the order of importance. While classifying modifiers refer to objective aspects of a product, such as its type, origin and inherent features, descriptive modifiers evaluate the product itself, thus communicating the advertiser's viewpoint. The means of visual iconicity comprise a close-up photograph positioned in the central part of the advertisement, usually accompanied by a text above and/or below the picture. The major function of this visual arrangement is to imitate the closeness of the spatial relation between the product and the consumer. Concerning typographic signs, their means of iconicity are represented by the universal design characteristics exhibited in typefaces (e.g. handwritten-like fonts, serifs, spacing, size, etc.). These means participate in mirroring the trustworthiness of the words used and of the photographs displayed, particularly by reassuring the consumer about the harmony and balance of the ingredients and the taste.

With respect to how the visual, verbal and typographic forms of iconicity are distributed among the iconicized traits, the chapter offers the following findings. When the process of production is articulated, it is the language, namely the employment of past participle modifiers, that iconicize this trait. The linearity of the participles resembles the same chronological order in which individual processes are executed. In order to emphasize the individual steps that guarantee the originality of the product, the advertiser chooses complex noun phrases with complicated subordinated relations. The photograph used does not imitate the process, but draws the consumer's attention to the final outcome, the product and its distinctiveness. The language iconicity of ingredients is realized via simple noun phrases whose structure is rather limited. While some of them consist of the head modified by a single classifying adjective, there are also phrases that take the form only of a non-modified head. The ordering of phrases reflects the importance of the substances or materials used. Their syntactic relation is not expressed explicitly, but must be derived by means of lexical cohesion such as repetition or by a repetitive structural pattern. The connotative meaning of richness, balanced ingredients, and authenticity is achieved by means of typography. The iconicity of variety is predominantly provided by visual means, namely by photographs that exhibit the range of original packages or that show the variety of products available in a single package. The trait of gustatory experience is iconicized equally by all the signs employed. The language sign combines the order of importance and the chronological order of the sensual perception of the product, postponing the outcome of the gustatory sensation towards the final phrase. The connotation of descriptive modifiers and devices of figurative language are supported by both visual and typographic signs. It is needless to add that one phrase can iconize more features simultaneously.

Given its primary function to mirror one's thoughts, language as a semiotic sign is able to iconicize any of the features described above, independently of their visual surroundings. On the other hand, visual and typographic signs iconicize the connotative meanings of the words used. As a result, a comprehensive choice of visual and typographic signs enables the consumer to comprehend the advertiser's viewpoint on the product being advertised. In short, harmony among all the iconic means used personalizes the advertising communication, which undoubtedly has a positive impact on persuasion.

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Persuasion in musical multimedia

A conceptual blending theory approach

Mihailo Antović

I use the Conceptual Blending Theory to discuss the application of familiar music themes in unexpected contexts, where the music assists the image and text in swaying viewers' opinion. A new interpretation emerges in such examples after two-tier conceptual blending. The musical themes initially integrate with the original (visual) context in listeners' long-term memory, creating stable blends with predictable connotations. In the changed context, these blends become inputs in a new integration process, where the creators consciously play with listeners' expectations: either by enhancing them, creating what blending theorists call the vital relation of analogy, or by disappointing them, creating the relation of disanalogy. I therefore integrate insights from cognitive linguistics and musicology in discussing the persuasive potentials of music.

Keywords: music, meaning, persuasion, conceptual blending, recursion, emergence

1.   Introduction

This chapter considers how music can be used for persuasion purposes, by showing some effects which emerge from the (originally unintended) use of well-known musical themes in new multimedia contexts. I base the analysis on the Conceptual Blending [Integration] Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), examining three examples of famous music presented in previously unfamiliar multimodal situations. The goals of my analysis are to show: (1) how semiotic effects resulting in persuasion conceptually *emerge* through the integration of structural elements from the musical and visual domains; (2) how these emergent results of previous blending operations are used as *inputs* for further conceptual integration, in a recursive process of meaning construction; (3) how these new conceptual integrations may be deliberately constructed to either enhance or contradict the "high-level semiotic expectancies" of the audience, in a manipulation of the meaning construction

process; and (4) how this entire series of cognitive operations makes us susceptible to manipulation, not through mere behavioral association, but rather through a hypothesized important cognitive operation that the mind cannot help but perform – double-scope conceptual blending.

This chapter begins with a short overview of modern-day approaches to problems of musical meaning, followed by a more detailed focus on some recent contributions dealing with the relationship between program music and its extramusical references, especially in media contexts. After this, the fundamentals of the Conceptual Blending Theory are given, along with its recent applications in the musical domain. The central analysis provides three examples of the (originally unintended) use of well-known music in new multimedia contexts, aiming to illustrate the cognitive operations which make the human mind susceptible to subtle persuasion through the use of music as one of the input domains. The conclusions indicate the relevance of the study of this phenomenon in a number of fields, from music cognition to linguistic semantics to discourse analysis, as well as to further theoretical and empirical research that can be undertaken in the future.

2. The semantics of music

The problem of musical meaning has baffled researchers for centuries. While few would hold the opinion that music has no referentiality at all (as was the case with many 20th century composers, such as Stravinsky, or some contemporary philosophers, e.g. Kivy 2002), opinions on what exactly music means, and how this is related to the meaning described in linguistic semantics, have spanned a vast range. Some interpret musical meaning as a consequence of formal interactions alone, e.g. of successions of fully intramusical structures, such as antitheses or anticipations (Bernstein 1976). Others believe that music motivates automatic "affective" responses, made possible through the activity of unconscious "parsers" in the mind (Jackendoff and Lerdahl 2006). Still others are interested in how these "proto-affective" states are constrained by musical expectancies (Huron 2006) and also how they may result in actual, consciously experienced emotions (Sloboda 1998). Even closer to linguistic semantics proper, authors often discuss musical conceptualization, either as a semantic, typically metaphorical phenomenon (Brower 2000, Wilkie, Holland and Mullholand 2013) or as also related to musical structure (e.g. Zbikowski 2011, inspired by approaches relating conceptualization and Cognitive Grammar, e.g. Langacker 1987). Still further, in terms of referentiality, many discuss the capacity music has to influence the "extramusical", i.e. to refer to objects, events, ideas, or psychological states. Such proposals are typically discussed in music semiotics (Hatten 2004, Agawu 2008), sometimes from the viewpoint of

the Conceptual Blending Theory (Brandt 2008). There are, finally, quite holistic views, whose proponents claim that virtually all of these contributions provide a legitimate venue for musical semantics (Kühl 2008). In search of a sound empirical grounding for such a unified approach, I propose to institute "the trajectory of musical meaning" (cf. Antović 2009). As in Ogden and Richards' classic discussion on "The Meaning of Meaning" (1923), depending on the scope of the term "meaning" to which we adhere, we may claim that music "means" on a variety of levels, from formal to substantive, emotional to cognitive, semantic to semiotic. This comprehensive view of the meaningfulness of music includes such constructs as musical expectancies emerging from structure, musical affect, creation of music theoretic concepts, metaphorization in music, and, finally, conceptual integration of music and the extramusical, a problem on which I focus in this chapter.

While the potentials of music for persuasion have been given some attention in broader social science (Carroll 2003; Hillman 2005), the relationship between music and the extramusical in multimedia has been less studied by linguists and musicologists associated with the many "cognitive" schools. In terms of theoretical contributions, Nicholas Cook's models of multimedia (Cook 1998: 98–129) deserve mention. This author based his insights on the early form of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), but extended the approach to propose an interesting three-tier model. In his view, the relationship between the music and the visual (or combined visuo-textual) context surrounding it can be that of conformance, complementation, and contest. In the first case, the music and the context "agree" with one another, in the second case, one "completes" the meaning partly contained in the other, and in the third case, there is a full contradiction between the two, which may result in interesting semiotic effects (e.g. irony). In a similar vein, Zbikowski (2002, 2008) has discussed the interaction of the musical and the verbal by focusing on text painting, in which the music and the textual elements of a song combine in order to create an augmented meaningful effect (e.g. when the word *trembling* is sung as a tremolo). Most recently, Pérez-Sobrino (2014) proposed viewing meaning construction in program music as a complex combination of metonymic, metaphorical, and (dis)integration processes, in a comprehensive system which she calls the Multimodal Conceptual Integration Model (MCIM). Among other things, this view proposes the metonymic, sometimes "echoic" grounding of the connection between the music and the extramusical (as in the violin trills in Vivaldi's *Spring*, which arguably resemble the warble of birds). In terms of empirical work, the focus has been less on the mapping between music and language than on the interaction between music and *visual images*: interesting experiments testing for emergent meaning in this kind of cross-modal integration have been reported, for instance, by Marshall and Cohen (1988), Carlton and Macdonald (2004), and Mičić (2013).

While discussing the contact between the musical and the extramusical in Conceptual Blending Theory is not a novel approach (such analyses have been offered by Cook 2001, Zbikowski 2002, Sayrs 2003, Chattah 2006, Brandt 2008, and Hsu and Su 2014, among others), I attempt to provide new insights by focusing on the theoretical tenets of blending which have not been the central interest of musicologists. These include a more explicit exposure of two types of *vital relations* in conceptual mapping, the notion of *multimodal emergence* in the blend, and especially the proposal that there is *recursive* meaning construction involved in this process (where the results of previous blending operations are used as complex inputs for new blending interactions). I will argue that these three elements are crucial for explaining how musical persuasion works in multimedia contexts.

3. Conceptual blending theory

Conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Turner 2014) is a well-known construct of cognitive linguistics. It is envisaged as a uniquely human mental process working at highly integrated levels of the cognitive system, enabling numerous forms of abstract thinking that people have and animals seem to lack. The phenomena in question include, but are not limited to, constructs in linguistic semantics (e.g. metaphors and counterfactuals), grammar, formation of mathematical concepts, and understanding numerous forms of art, such as abstract paintings and fables. In its most rudimentary form, a blending analysis requires four online conceptual information packets, known in the theory as "mental spaces" (Fauconnier 1997). In a typical blending process, there are two "input spaces" (or just "inputs") which interact with one another, and from this interaction a "blended" mental space (or informally just a "blend") arises. The most important result of the process is the emergent structure in the blend, which suggests that the interaction of the inputs is not a mere exercise in formal "correspondence". Rather, the contact of the two original spaces motivates the appearance of at least some features in the final conceptual form that are fully new, and that were not originally available in either of the inputs. This emergence stems from a series of mappings between the salient elements of the two input spaces, which are in turn based on a number of ontological structural connections, known in the theory as *vital relations*, such as cause-effect, analogy, disanalogy, and uniqueness (cf. Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 92). In addition, some blending theorists suggest that there is also a generic space, a sort of preconceptual structure which hosts topological elements common to both inputs. The role of the generic space may thus be to constrain the number of "options" for structures emerging in the blend. The focus in this chapter is not on the generic

space, although there has been considerable discussion among blending theorists on its status, potential roles, and possible alternatives (e.g. Brandt and Brandt 2005).

Counterfactual statements are often used to illustrate how blending works. A typical such sentence, and indeed one of the favorite examples used by scholars interested in blending theory, is "I waged a debate with Kant all night". The statement may be interpreted as an instance of mapping a number of elements from two otherwise unrelatable mental spaces – one in which a modern philosopher reads one of Kant's *Critiques* in his study at a contemporary US university, and the other in which Kant is writing the *Critique* in 18ths century Königsberg (cf. Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 60–62). While the factual interaction between the two agents is literally impossible, our mind can disregard the constraints of time, space, and acquaintanceship by postulating an intermediate, blended mental space, an imagined (but no less mentally real) situation in which Kant and the modern philosopher are in the very same room, right now, discussing a major philosophical problem in a heated conversation. Naturally, this interaction depends on the possibility that specific constitutive elements from the two spaces can map onto one another. To focus on only two possibilities of interest in this chapter, some of these connections are motivated by a number of analogies between the two participants in the discussion (for instance, they are both conscious agents, philosophers by profession, addressing the same theoretical problem), while others are based on disanalogies between the two (e.g. the fact they use different languages, had different modes of expression – written or oral, and even live – or lived – in two different centuries). This complex interaction always results in novel, emergent elements – in the particular example, engendered in the blended space is, at the very least, the possibility of the modern philosopher to "mentally interact" with a person long passed away, and even gain new knowledge of a philosophical phenomenon from this imaginary discussion.

Blending is ubiquitous, occurring across domains, historical contexts, and fields of expertise. To illustrate but a few examples, linguistic conceptual metaphors such as "That surgeon is a real butcher!", mythological and religious constructs, e.g. the Sphinx, and concepts in theoretical physics, such as "space-time" – have become prominent illustrations of cognitive structures which emerge as a consequence of conceptual integration. Thus, while one notices blending most easily in purely linguistic examples (counterfactuals, puns, metaphors …), the "outreach" of blending theory has actually been much broader: conceptual integration has addressed the conceptual basis of phenomena from astronomy to mathematics, from personality psychology to quantum physics. Music cognition is no exception.

In the domain of music, one finds blending analyses in Cook's (2001) explication of the impact of television commercials, in Zbikowski's (2002, 2008) discussion

of text painting, in Sayrs' (2003) appreciation of interactions between the musical and the narrative layers of songs, or in Chattah's (2006) exploration of the meaningfulness of film music themes. Hsu and Su's (2014) recent discussion of the *incongruence* of text and music in song is also very much related to the approach I am proposing here. Outside semiotics, with regard to more formal, "intramusical" phenomena, P. Brandt (2008), Brandt and Eagleman (2017), Antović and Tasić (2011), and Antović (2014) have also used blending to approach a number of constructs from music theory, such as the integration of rhythmic and melodic patterns, counterpoint, pitch hierarchies, and complex meter.

In the present contribution, I return to semiotic questions and use conceptual integration for the analysis of three instances of (mis)use of music in the media, with the principal aim of explaining how "musical persuasion" may be based on blending. The question I focus on is how emergent meaning is constructed when music is accompanied by a dynamic visual context (such as a film or video clip). The goal will be to show that what first emerges are simpler blends, that they further serve as inputs to more complex blends, and finally that this entire process results in new, emergent properties of the system, which reinforce the deliberate manipulative message of the creator of the multimodal context.

4.   Analysis

In a recollection of the popular and film music of the 1970s and 1980s, I have chosen three globally familiar musical themes which frequently reappear in the modern media to illustrate the phenomenon of interest in the present paper: "The Anvil of Crom", the opening theme of John Milius' film *Conan the Barbarian* (1982), composed by Basil Poledouris; "The Imperial March", one of the most memorable musical leitmotifs from the Star Wars franchise, originally composed by John Williams for *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980); and "El Condor Pasa", a well-known traditional Peruvian song, made world-famous by Simon and Garfunkel (1970). In the analysis that follows, I will show that the aggressive use of the three themes always in the same multimedia contexts has made their extramusical referentiality relatively stable and entrenched, so that these "original" multimodal blends then facilitated the process of further (deliberately changed) use of the same music in new multimodal situations.

4.1 "The Anvil of Crom" – from barbarians to modern electoral campaigns

In a director-composer collaboration which many have compared with that of Eisenstein and Prokofiev (*Alexander Nevsky,* 1938), John Milius and Basil Poledouris produced one of the most remarkable soundtracks of the 1980s. While the film *Conan the Barbarian*, in spite of some memorable moments and Arnold Schwarzenegger's first step to stardom, failed to satisfy many fans of the original comic book, its music has remained one of the most praised pieces of late 20th century film scoring. The opening sequence to the film gives the credits against background footage in which Conan's mother and father are forging a sword, a weapon that will be central to the story of sorrow and revenge that follows. The musical theme supporting the scene, appropriately named "The Anvil of Crom" (Crom is the god to whom Conan's tribe prays), is an aggressive, fast-paced, full orchestral piece, with a strong rhythmic accompaniment, reminiscent of such dramatic classics as Orff's scenic cantata *Carmina Burana.* The main brass theme is presented by no less than 24 French horns, which provide for a dramatic motto, offering a heroic, yet somewhat ominous undertone, fully supported by the incessant pounding of drums in the background (cf. MacDonald 1998: 292–4). The blazing horns add an element of aural brilliance to the music, while the timpani and string section counterbalance this with a series of dark timbres. Technically, the theme is *not* a leitmotif for the Conan character (Poledouris tried to introduce such a motif in the film's sequel, which was largely unsuccessful, also in musical terms), yet it is reasonable to assume that the composer intended it to arouse associations with the strength, vigor, and swordsmanship that the main character in the story will start exhibiting about 20 minutes after the opening credits.

The argument is that the musical theme at one point starts to strongly support Conan's character (more particularly, his positive features and skills). Yet some caution with regard to musical referentiality is needed here. It has long been known that the "range" of connotation in music and language is incommensurable (cf. Swain 1996). In other words, the typical number of possible associations sparked by a musical theme far surpasses the list of descriptions that could be gained by reading a textual excerpt from a comic book or by watching a motion picture scene alone. Musicologists often warn that "words and images do not *constitute* musical meaning [but] *open toward* it" (Kramer 2011: 15); music does not have particular meanings, but rather has "the *potential* for specific meanings to emerge under specific circumstances" (Cook 2001: 180, italics mine). For this reason, it is important to stress that the musical elements may appropriately support the textual and visual narration, yet the scope of musical connotation is always open. Therefore, it is rarely the case that the music alone, not consistently followed by a particular extramusical context, can be related to any one particular narrative.

Accordingly, in the case of Conan, the strong rhythm and the brass theme in themselves need not necessarily be associated with strongly-built warriors and sword-and-sorcery narratives. I claim, however, that the musical qualities chosen by the composer for his theme and the salient features of the movie's main character can *become associated* with one another through an integration process. In other words, the composer uses his artistic skills, and also his professional and cultural knowledge to assume that some elements from the narrative can nicely map onto the corresponding constituents of the musical structure: this in turn makes the composition process partly based on a conceptual blending operation. Viewed this way, the composer establishes a series of analogical connections, in which the musical and visual constituents that map onto one another are aimed to work in unison, supporting each other's connotational potentials. If the composer is successful in the selection of the musical elements to follow the film narration, this results in the *enhancement* of the salient traits of the movie's main character, and this enhancement now occurs as an emergent structure in the new, blended space. Again, if successful (and this "success" is what ultimately distinguishes good film music from bad), the connection is then enhanced through years of using the motif in the same film context (where the theme itself, after some years have passed, may immediately call to mind the frame of "Conan"). Only then can one claim that the music has been fully blended with the extramusical character, or that its "meaning" has become entrenched. Importantly, this process is not based on a mere behavioral association, but on a structural mapping facilitated by vital relations, which results in emergent structure. In other words, some new elements now occur in the blend, which did not exist in the inputs alone, making the process of composing music for the media creative from a cognitive perspective, as well. I present a possible blending analysis of the Conan example in Figure 1.

A potential result of the blending process is the sense of Conan as a majestic, strongly built warrior who ravages his enemies, who is skilled with weaponry, but also unrefined, dark, and vengeful. Whether or not one agrees with the particular conceptual elements in the given diagram (and they are intended as an illustration only: the full range of connotations is always open, and a representative list would be much longer), the music is certainly intended to help us perceive Conan as strong, invincible, powerful, and just.

But what happens with this emergent musical meaning when such a famous film music theme, which has been available for over thirty-five years, starts to be used in contexts other than the originally intended one? There are two situations which I wish to consider further: in the first, the entrenched meaning of the original theme is used to enhance the features of a character in a new context (through the further use of the vital relation of analogy); in the second, the aim is to disappoint
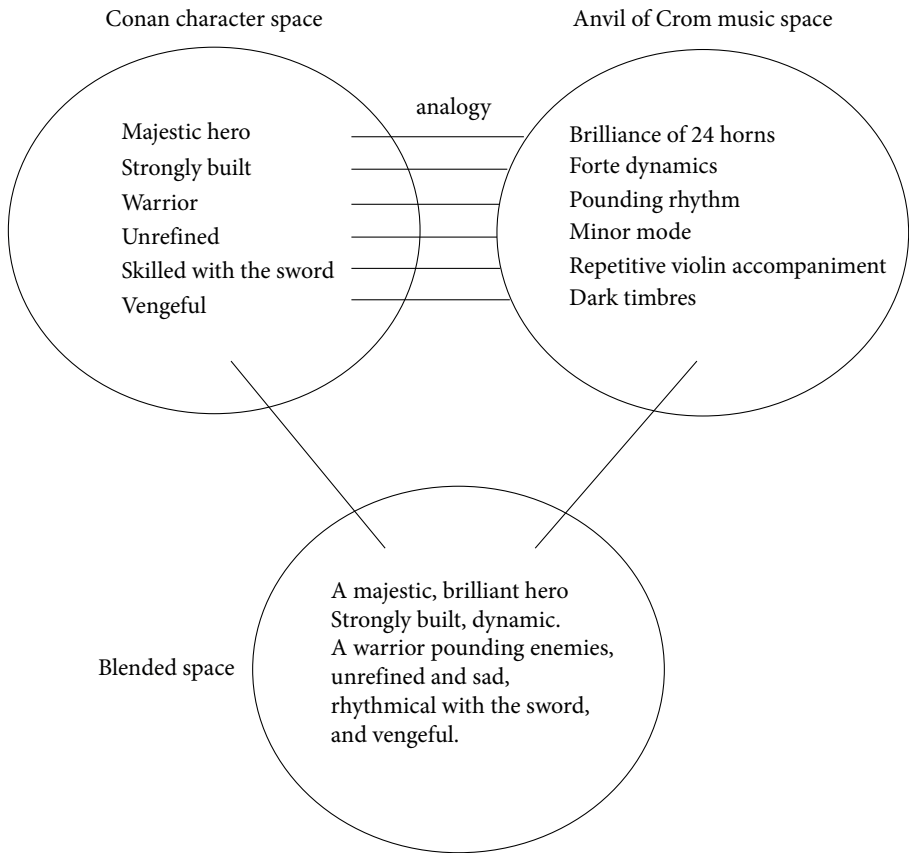
Figure 1. The original Conan theme blend

the audience's expectations with regard to the newly introduced character (through the introduction of the vital relation of disanalogy in the blending process).

In an illustration of the first case, the Conan theme was used in two Serbian presidential elections, in 2004 and 2008. The candidate of the Democratic Party, Boris Tadić, who eventually won both times and served two terms in office as the President of Serbia (2004–2012) selected the Conan theme for his electoral campaign. The music was always played in TV commercials calling on voters to cast their ballots in favor of Tadić, at the beginning of all of his rallies, and at the final party convention in Belgrade. Tadić himself mentioned in a few interviews that he liked the Conan music, and his PR representative was reported to say that the music was meant to provide symbolic vigor to the campaign and to Serbia's brighter future under the new president. While it is questionable how much the music itself

succeeded in inducing such a sentiment among the voters, one may assume that the aim of using the theme was to make a connection between the (positive) connotations constructed in the original blending of the Conan character with the theme, and (some of) the Conan-like qualities that the Serbian public might expect from the new president. In that sense, the intention was no doubt to persuade the voters to support this candidate by instilling appropriate music in their minds, among other means. Note that in this "second wave" of conceptual blending, it is the *result* of the previous blending operation (the enhancement of Conan's traits through the music, as shown in the analysis above) that becomes an input in the new integration process (input space 1 below). For this reason, in this new contribution to the theory of blending, I propose that conceptual integration, as related to persuasion in musical multimedia, is essentially a recursive process, as demonstrated in Figure 2:

Conan character/music space   Boris Tadić character space

analogy

Majestic, brilliant hero
Strongly built, dynamic
Warrior pounding enemies
Unrefined and sad
Rhythmical with the sword
Vengeful

A brilliant politician
Dynamic and resolute
Ready to pound political enemies
Unrefined when needed
Skilled with political weapons
Vengeful if necessary

Blended space

A politician who is as majestic, strong, invincible, skilled, resolute, and (when needed) vengeful as Conan. A good choice for Serbian voters.

Figure 2. The elaboration of the Conan blend through analogy

This second blending process takes advantage of the previous entrenchment of the meaning of "The Anvil of Crom" to build additional features onto the character of Boris Tadić. This presidential candidate, who was essentially a peaceful and moderate figure, a psychologist by profession, and hardly a body builder, now used appropriate music to develop an additional image of himself – a political leader as strong, invincible, and powerful as Conan the Barbarian.

Boris Tadić won the election and served as president for a full eight years. However, when he ran for a third term, he was ultimately defeated by Tomislav Nikolić. Tadić's rather unexpected defeat in 2012 resulted in quite a bit of turbulence in his Democratic Party, which culminated in another Belgrade politician, Dragan Đilas, replacing him as party president. Đilas was not a beloved political figure, and he was under constant attack, from the opposing Serbian Progressive Party, opponents in his own Democratic Party, and the tabloid press, which presented him as corrupt, cunning, and involved in shady activities. In one propaganda video, his political opponents aired footage of Đilas's statement exposing the mechanisms by which some Serbian businessmen had acquired their first illegal fortune, only to present, toward the end of the video, a few photographs of Đilas himself cordially chatting and laughing with some of these notorious businessmen. The subtitle "Who would know better than he does?" alluded to Đilas's own alleged tycoon status and apparent hypocrisy in his attempt to "expose" the financial elite's embezzlements. Importantly for the present purpose, the footage was accompanied throughout by "The Anvil of Crom" theme. Once again, in a recursive process, the result of the previous blending operation (Anvil of Crom = Conan = Tadić) became an input for a new instance of conceptual blending. However, the vital relations that motivate the conceptual mappings here are disanalogical: in this case, the character of Mr. Đilas is presented in a way that does not enhance, but rather seems to *disappoint* the high-level semiotic expectancies sparked by the Conan music (Anvil of Crom = Conan = Tadić ≠ Đilas), as represented in Figure 3.

The disanalogical connections are used here not to enhance, but rather to disappoint the expectancies related to the Conan theme (and consequently to the Conan character and finally to the traits of Boris Tadić associated with this character). In effect, in this propaganda video, the Conan theme is used to satirize Tadić's successor as the leader of the Democratic Party, and to present his traits as the complete opposite of the virtues embodied in the Conan theme. Therefore, to use Cook's tri-partite classification once again, the musical and extramusical layers here contest one another. This results in an unexpected twist in the narrative, the fact that music now mocks, rather than supports, the politician's merit, in a full-fledged irony. I analyze two more examples of essentially the same phenomenon in the text that follows. The second example introduces a similar process in a far more dramatic context (war propaganda), while the third example exposes additional cognitive operations in constructing a multimodal blend.
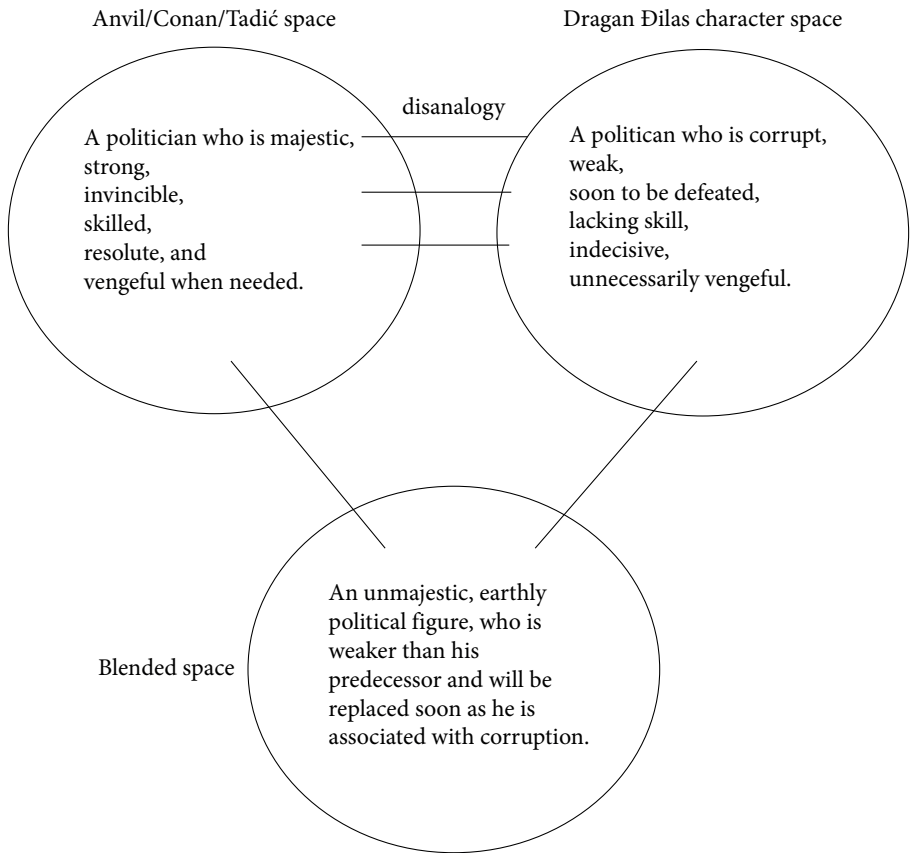
Figure 3. The elaboration of the Conan blend through disanalogy

4.2 The imperial march – Uniting the galactic empire, Hitler, and NATO

One of the most popular film series of all time, the *Star Wars* franchise owes a lot to its main villain – the Sith Lord Darth Vader, a tragic figure who, through the original six movies, turns out to be the central character in the story. A favorite antagonist, Vader is a half-human cyborg dressed in metallic black armor, with a mask through which heavy breathing is heard, and a helmet reminiscent of German World War II *Stahlhelme*. His most remarkable feature is probably James Earl Jones' basso profondo supplying the voice lines. A space-opera for young audiences, based on everlasting mythical topics, such as the rise to virtue, the fall into sin, atonement, and resurrection with the help of one's children, *Star Wars* became an international media phenomenon whose popularity has not faded even nearly forty years after the first film in the series (indeed, a seventh installment was released in 2015 and

more have been made since). The Vader character fully develops only in the second movie in the series, *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), in which we learn that this main antagonist and the film's hero, Luke Skywalker, are actually father and son. For this twist, which became central to the story, the composer John Williams composed an additional theme: its ominous nine-tone leitmotif is now regularly associated with the Vader character, but its full-blown orchestral version, known as "The Imperial March", is used in the film to represent the entire enemy army, the notorious Galactic Empire, headed by Vader as the central villain, but supremely commanded by Vader's superior, an even more gruesome antihero, Emperor Palpatine. The theme is a minor-mode orchestral march, led by the brass section (mostly trumpets and trombones, which blaze much sharper than the French horns in the Conan motive). Supported by jagged movements in the strings and a strong rhythmic accompaniment (again, contrary to Conan, now performed by the snare, in a full military setting), the theme also has several harmonic peculiarities. The strongest of these is probably the chromatic movement lowering the tonic of the minor scale by a half-step in one of the accompanying chords, in support of the menacing nature of both the character and the army that the theme is intended to represent. A potential blending analysis is given in Figure 4.

Therefore, just as in the Conan example, through a series of analogical connections, the features of the frightening character are enhanced with the help of the music: the use of the battle march, the arrangement containing majestic trumpets, the bouncing accompaniment in the strings, a minor mode with low registers, and a horror-like harmony all contribute to invoking the image of the dark six-foot-eight warrior, who brings death and causes horror wherever he appears.

Once again, in an uninitiated audience, the orchestral tune itself may not call to mind a frame of darkness and horror, even less of the specific character, but the consistent use of the theme in the same or in similar contexts, over the course of seven movies and numerous spin-off series, cartoons, video games, and commercials, has in effect resulted in the almost total entrenchment of the theme's referential meaning as "Darth Vader". As in the previous example, interesting further effects emerge when the product of this blending process (emergent structure) becomes an input in a further wave of conceptual integration. Such an effect is found in an anonymously-made video in which "The Imperial March" theme is used to the footage of the Nazi rallies in the late 1930s Berlin. The Vader march is here followed by a scene of Hitler walking towards an elevated stand among thousands of assembled supporters, with swastika flags and ceremonial bonfires decorating the surroundings. The scene is indeed reminiscent of the take from the third installment in the *Star Wars* series, *The Return of the Jedi*, in which Vader and several hundred of his "stormtroopers" (cloned imperial soldiers wearing white armor, helmets, and masks) are lined up while awaiting the arrival of their Emperor.
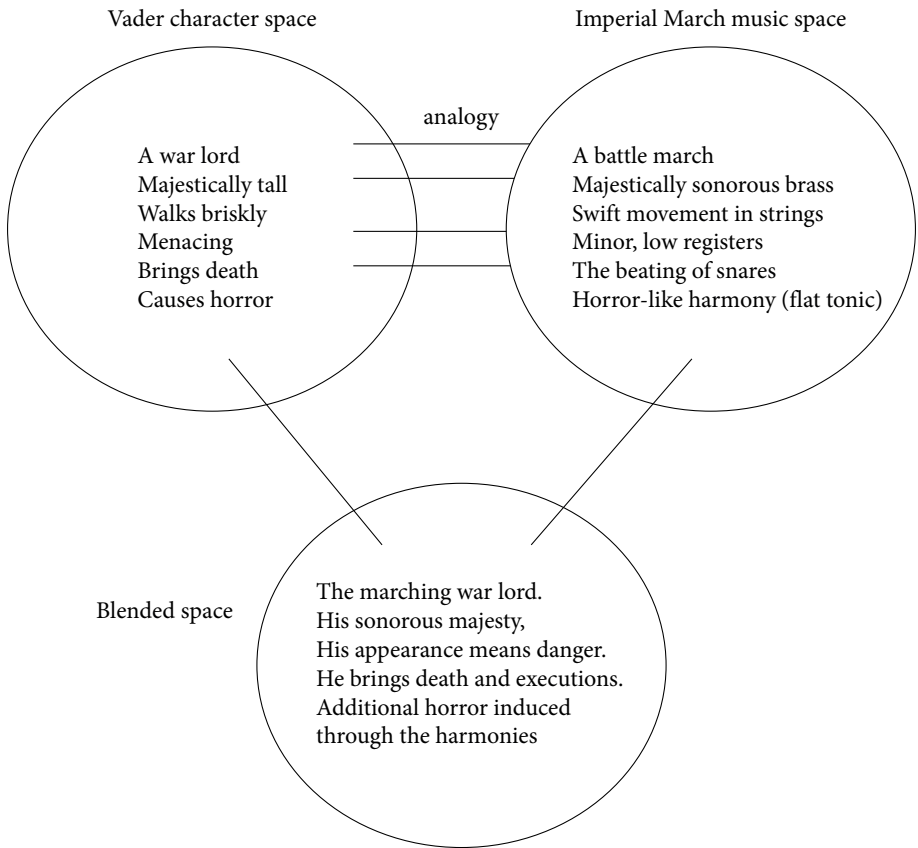
Figure 4. The original *Imperial March* blend

Thus, in this scene, Hitler, his aides, and the Nazi army are equated with the Emperor, Lord Vader, and the army of the Galactic Empire. Music is essential in establishing this connection, as may be presented in the following blending network (Figure 5).

So, once more, the result of the blending process from the previous network (the enhanced menacing nature of the Vader character and the imperial army) has here become an input to the new blending operation, in which this added menace is related to the menace of Hitler and his army, through a series of analogical connections, which ultimately augment the features of the newly-presented character. This augmentation is best seen in the conceptual elements in the diagram containing question marks – indeed, watching the video without the music might not in itself present Hitler's movement as majestic.
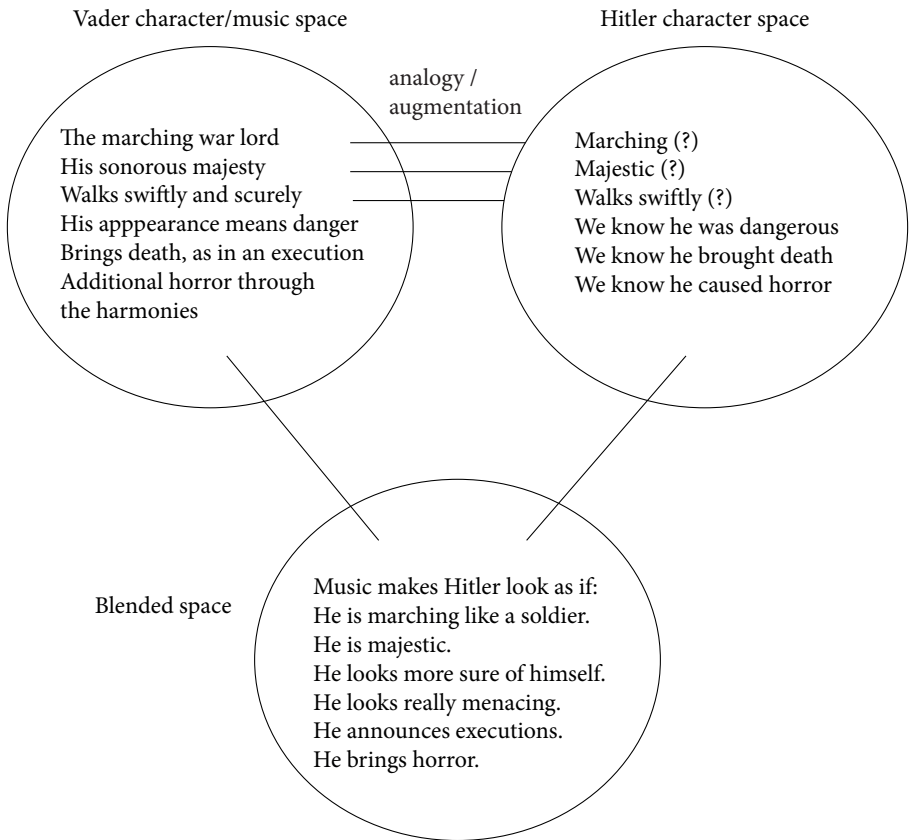
Figure 5. The elaboration of "The Imperial March" blend through analogy

Now the association with Hitler may become entrenched as well. As such, it has been used in further contexts. A good example is the deliberately altered use of this theme in a propaganda video aired on Serbian national television, denouncing the 1999 NATO bombardment of the country which was in progress at the time. For a bit of context, a dispute and armed conflict over the Serbian province of Kosovo resulted in a political breakup between Belgrade and the Western powers, finally leading to a NATO military intervention against Serbia, in which the country was bombed by the alliance's aircraft and cruise missiles for 78 consecutive days, between March and June 1999. The Serbian authorities at the time tried very hard to boost the population's morale, and one of their strategies was to denounce NATO and its leadership as illegitimate aggressors, war-mongering adventurers who were using a formidable military machinery of 19 countries against a proud, yet small

and desolate nation. In this context, it seemed quite fitting for the Serbian author-
ities to construe NATO as the Galactic Empire and Serbia as the Resistance, full of
heroes like Luke Skywalker and Han Solo, with limited power but obvious tenacity.
One of the means of achieving this was frequently airing a video of NATO bombers
hitting Serbian civilian targets, with a montage of swastika symbols projected over
the planes. The highlight of the video is footage of a downed F-117 stealth fighter,
the pride of the US military technology at the time, which the Serbian army man-
aged to somehow shoot down during one of its bombing raids. Appropriately for
such propaganda, the video plays the music of "The Imperial March". Its purpose
here, however, is not to enhance, but rather to *denounce* NATO bombing, and es-
pecially the downed F-117 aircraft, through a series of disanalogical connections,
associating NATO with the Galactic Empire, i.e. connecting the evil brought about
by the Imperial war machinery with NATO's fast flying fighter jets (Figure 6):
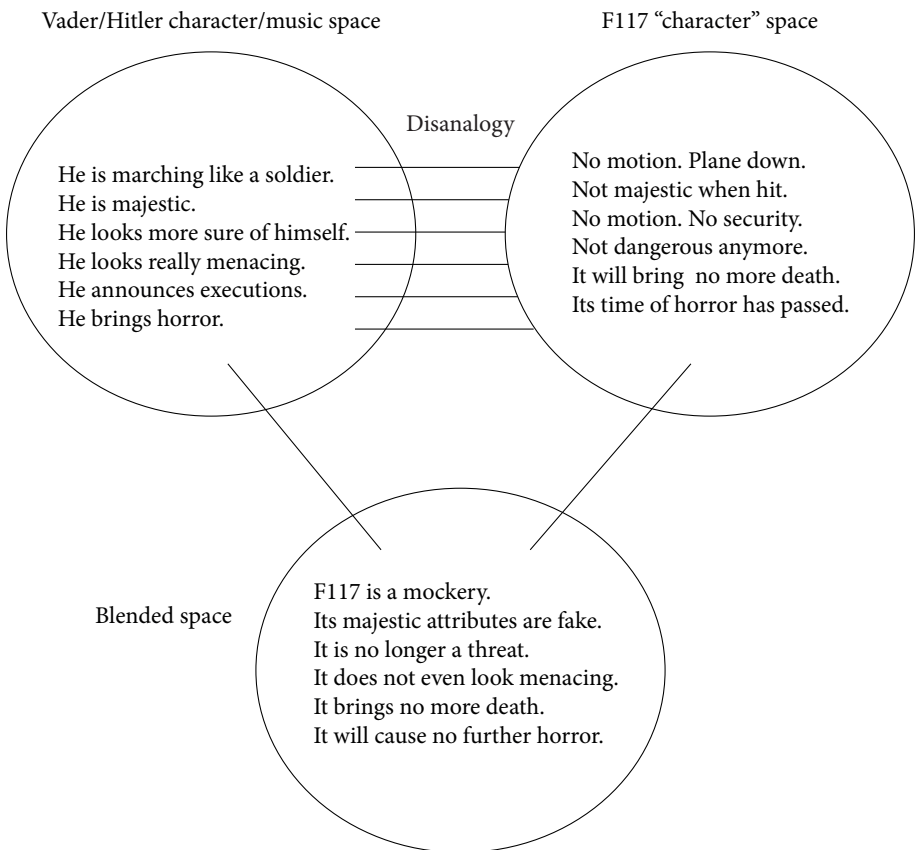
Figure 6. The elaboration of "The Imperial March" blend through disanalogy

The blended mental space now disappoints the high-level semiotic expectancies of the audience, as the music contributes to the impression that the NATO military machinery, and especially the downed F-117 fighter jet, are funny, rather than frightening. In a further wave of conceptual integration, the music could also become a symbol of resistance against NATO. We return to the case of F-117 in the final example, not as related to a propaganda video, but as referenced in a piece of literary satire.

4.3 "El Condor Pasa" – from the Andes to modern-day air raids

"El Condor Pasa" is a traditional Peruvian song, now part of the country's national heritage, which was first brought to international attention in Daniel Alomía Robles' *zarzuela*, or musical play, of the same name (1913). In the zarzuela, the well-known tune is played as an instrumental theme at the very end of the story, when a condor, symbolizing freedom, appears in the sky after the tragic outcome of a conflict between a group of Native Andean miners and their American employers. While this original context provides quite a bit of extramusical meaning already, and was itself the motivation for many of the theme's subsequent uses, I start my analysis with the version that granted the piece world fame: the 1970 Simon and Garfunkel cover. In this popular song, the reference to a condor flying, in addition to the title, is supported by the lyrics in the opening sentence, which read "I'd rather be a sparrow than a snail", and then also in mentioning a "swan" that wants to sail away. I argue that these lyrics map onto the salient musical elements from the tune, which together enhance the potential extramusical interpretation of a bird flying in the sky. A possible blending analysis is presented in Figure 7 (as mentioned, note that the "Condor story/text space" is already a blend, motivated by the prior use of the theme in extramusical contexts, which is not examined in the present text).

In this analysis, the elements from the text space map onto the corresponding musical devices from the particular version of the song, in a series of analogical connections: thus the three birds that get mentioned (the condor in the title, and the swan and sparrow in the lyrics), where the sparrow in particular is presented in direct opposition to the snail, may call to mind an image of a bird leaving or flying away. Likewise, the lyrics introduce the formal device of repetition, through the recurrence of the text "Yes I would, if could, I surely would". In the music space, we notice the use of high registers – both in the original instrument of *la quena*, a Peruvian block flute, and in the relatively high range of the male singing voice – these may correspond to an idea of physical height, associated with the condor's flight. The rather "light" quality of the arrangement, which is partly grounded in the use of the traditional instruments and high registers, but also in the lack of forte dynamics and the absence of "rich" instrumental accompaniment, may equally
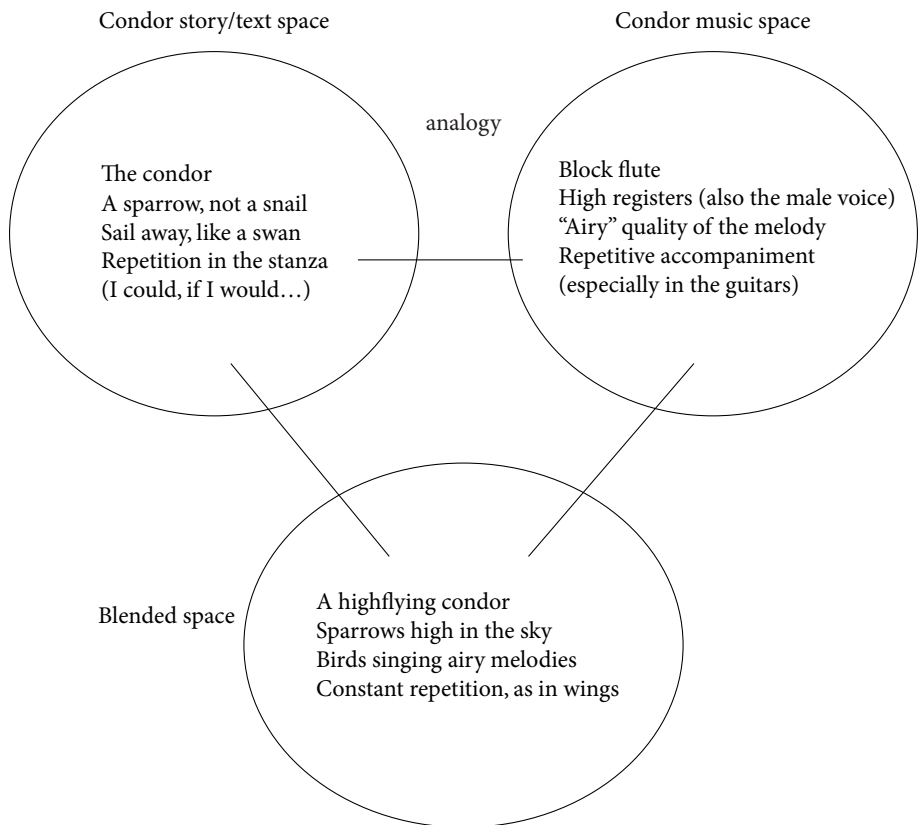
Figure 7. The Simon and Garfunkel "El Condor Pasa" blend

give the impression that the entire piece is "floating" in the air. While the origins of the musical concepts remain speculative, my suggestion is that the "light" quality of the music is not a consequence of the listener's knowledge of the lyrics, but is rather based on elementary force dynamic interactions (Talmy, 1988) in the music itself. This, of course, remains an empirical question. Finally, the repetition of the accompaniment, especially in the guitar, may nicely underline the repetitive text in which the singers says that he "would [leave] if he only could". In turn, this composite musical and linguistic repetition might at one point trigger the forma- tion of broader narrative frames based on the concept (for instance, the repetitive image-schematic notion of the birds' wings slowly fluttering, or, in the elaborated image that follows below, of a rotating airplane propeller or engine). In the blend, the analogical use of the linguistic and musical elements enhances the condor's features, creating a series of connections that motivate the emergent structure in which the condor seems to be soaring higher and higher.

Again, one may of course wonder if these "intended" extramusical interpretations would be natural and transparent to an uninformed or only basically informed audience (cf. the arguments in Pérez-Sobrino 2014 and the experimental protocol in Antović, Stamenković and Figar 2016). Given some current empirical results obtained by my associates and myself, it is unlikely that just hearing the music, or even hearing it after a short textual clue, would result in a stable range of connotations, unequivocally mapping, for instance, the guitar accompaniment onto the movement of wings. Yet, this chapter does not discuss whether there are such intrinsic elements in the intended musical meaning, but rather attempts a post-hoc analysis in which the association between the song and a bird flying has become an established fact, through decades of consistent use in one particular narrative context. Once again, this "first blend" that has emerged from the original process and has become partly entrenched through constant reappearance in the media can now work as an input in subsequent blending operations.

A typical case is one of the most well-known commercials in the former Yugoslavia, advertising Yugoslav Airlines (JAT). Before the tumultuous dissolution of the country, the national airliner had acquired a solid reputation, which peaked in the late 1980s, when the first direct flights to the USA had become a part of its offer. The biggest airplane in the fleet at the time, a McDonnell-Douglas DC10, represented the most cherished possession of Yugoslav Airlines, and it regularly appeared in commercials advertising the company. These advertisements typically showed the takeoff and early stages in the flight of this wide-body 380-passenger jet, to the musical accompaniment of "El Condor Pasa". Once again, in the terminology of the Conceptual Blending Theory, the intention was to establish a series of analogical mappings, which would strengthen the link between the airplane's features and the natural flight of a formidable bird, such as a condor. A potential blending analysis is given in Figure 8.

At this point, recursive blending starts yet again. The blended space from the previous analysis (in which the elements of the lyrics, storyline, and music of "El Condor Pasa" have merged into a singular narrative space) serves as input space 1. In input space 2, we find the elements presented in the visual part of the commercial – the DC 10, which takes off and soars through the air, boasting its formidable structure, which includes two strong wings and three engines with huge fans that are rotating, creating a deafening roar. In effect, through this second blending process, the condor's features become projected onto the airplane. The DC10 is now just like the condor: a serious, (naturally) highflying, stable, strong, and reliable aircraft. Therefore, through a series of analogical connections, the music aims to persuade the audience watching the commercial that the DC10 is trustworthy and reliable.
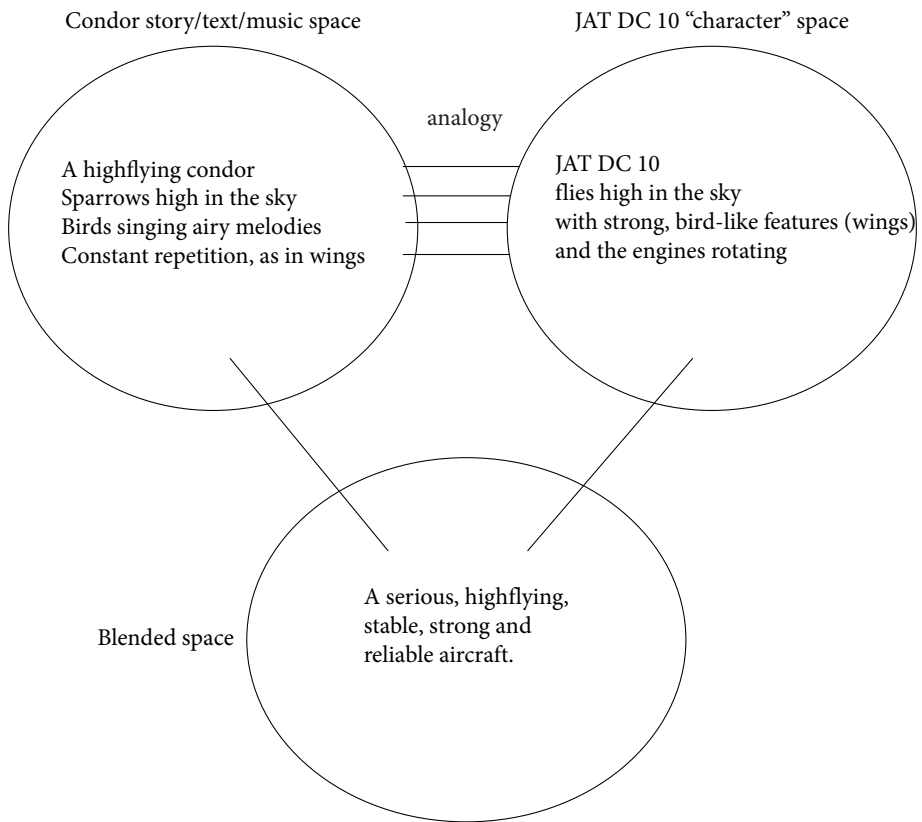
Figure 8. The elaboration of the "El Condor Pasa" blend through analogy

Socialist Yugoslavia is long gone, and the commercial is now practically forgotten. It can be found largely in online collections of "Yugo-nostalgic" individuals and in the memory of the older segment of the population. Yet, these memories seem to have been enough for a group of Serbian comedians, known as "Index Radio Theater" to invoke the JAT/Condor blend and satirize no less than the NATO alliance with the help of the very same tune, during the NATO bombardment of Serbia in 1999. As mentioned in relation to the previous example, in this rather unequal struggle, one peculiar event was used to boost the morale of the Serbian military in the first days of the intervention: the downing of a US F-117 stealth fighter. The situation was all the more strange due to the fact that this type of plane is constructed to be invisible to radar: it was downed in a combat situation for the very first time in Serbia, in a major success for the Serbian army during the conflict. Index Radio Theater, the comedians known for satirizing every imaginable politician in Serbia

and the Balkans, seized the opportunity to extend the scope of their activities: they made a mock-country banjo arrangement of "El Condor Pasa", with the singer using a fake American accent to impersonate the unfortunate US pilot. They appropriately named their mock version of the song "El Condor Pada" (the condor is falling down), singing the following lyrics in Serbian: "I'm riding a stealth F117a, invisible, the pride of NATO, and I'm dropping bombs over Serbs; but one night I was spotted over Serbia, with the help of radar or something else – who on Earth knows; I only know that I was surely misinformed that their anti-aircraft defense was not operational; then something exploded from below and demolished my clutch". The lyrics go on to describe the pilot falling to the ground with his parachute open, only to confront a group of angry villagers with pitchforks who start chasing him. Yet, he is lucky to be rescued by "32 [allied] helicopters" and decides he will never get back to Serbia as he "can't even find it on the map", but will rather return to his "Colorado".

This song mocks it all: the NATO intervention, the technical supremacy of the US military, the hopeless Serbian economic and political situation (with villagers chasing the pilot), and, ultimately, the entire meaninglessness of war in all of its manifestations. More importantly for the present analysis, however, in Figure 9 I provide a "third-level" recursive blending operation, from which the newly-changed meaning of "El Condor Pasa" emerges. Once again, the first input space here is the blended space from the previous analysis.

Here the satirical interpretation is possible due to a number of disanalogies between the two input spaces. The JAT DC-10 that was associated with "El Condor Pasa" in the previous blending operation, was serious, high flying, strong, and reliable. While the use of the same tune would imply that the stealth fighter boasts all these characteristics, the actual situation from 1999, as satirically narrated in the new lyrics, puts completely different conceptual elements in input space 2: the F117 is not flying at all; it occupies the lowest position in space, as it has been hit and fell. Therefore, it is hardly reliable at all. There is a conflict between the two domains, which again results in the disappointment of the viewers' and listeners' high-level semiotic expectancies, and these in turn result in the blended space in which the F117 is *mocked* – it is now down, still, silent, and motionless.

But this example contains more than just the music and text. In addition, there is an abundance of "prosodic" information in the singing and the melodic arrangement, which is aimed at *stabilizing* (or further enhancing) this blend (cf. Brandt 2008). The singer uses Serbian with a fake American accent (reminiscent of the English with a French accent in such classics as Blake Edwards' *Pink Panther* or the BBC sitcom *'Allo 'Allo*); the instrument introducing the condor theme is not a block flute, but a banjo; the rhythmic accompaniment consists of a snare that in
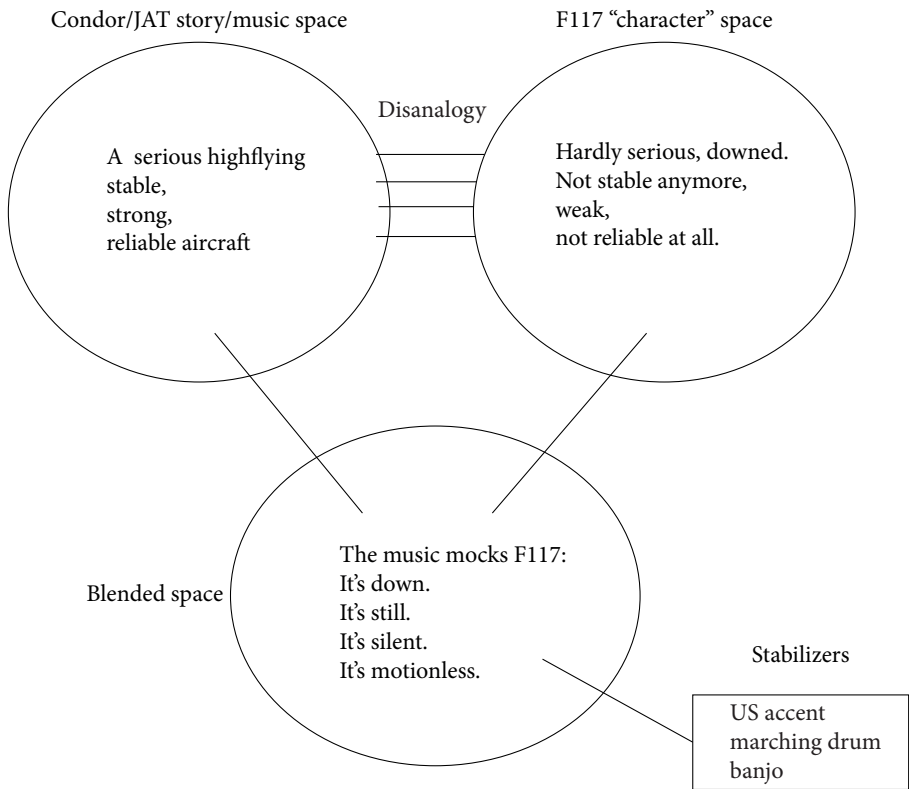
Figure 9. The elaboration of the "El Condor Pasa" blend through disanalogy

effect produces a military march; and finally, once the singer says that he will return to Colorado, the remainder of the condor theme is not played on the banjo nor sung, but whistled, possibly in a homage to Ennio Morricone's classic "Spaghetti Westerns", like the main theme of *The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*. All these elements undoubtedly reinforce the frame of "America" in the listener's mind, thus stabilizing the satirical interpretation which occurs in the emergent structure. For the third time, then, a complex blend emerging from a two-step previous blending process has been used disanalogically, to create high-level semiotic effects, which contest the viewers' expectations and sway them toward the desired, satirical interpretation of the multimodal scene.

5.   Conclusions

In this chapter I have used three examples to suggest how an analysis based on the Conceptual Blending Theory may expose the strategy behind using familiar music in unfamiliar contexts. I have specifically focused on three processes that blending theorists interested in music cognition have not yet examined – the vital relations of analogy and disanalogy, multimodal emergence, and recursion, in an effort to show that these three mechanisms are important in the process of musical persuasion. Of the three, recursion in particular has been (re)gaining attention in cognitive approaches to grammar lately. For instance, in his recent analysis of rhetorical devices from Martin Luther King's most famous speech, Lu has detected a very similar phenomenon – systematically varied repetition based on deep schematic constraints (Lu, 2018). Thus schematicity, recursion and multimodality might be good venues where cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis and musicology should interact in the future.

Naturally, further work, both theoretical and empirical, is needed to explore the question of the (in)stability of musical meaning in multimedia contexts. In terms of theory, I suggest that the goal should not be to utilize the susceptibility of listeners to musical influences in further applications (e.g. in TV commercials and propaganda videos). Rather, I recommend an approach by social scientists of all backgrounds, from cognitive linguists to musicologists to discourse analysts, that should *undermine* this misuse of music, and make the audiences at large aware of the vast semiotic potential for manipulation that musical pieces can carry. In terms of empirical work, I suggest at least two relevant questions: (1) how long and what type of exposure of a music piece to one and the same extramusical context is needed in order for the emergent musico-narrative structure to become entrenched, and (2) what are the main constraints on further use of such emergent structures in new multimedia contexts. As my group is currently preparing related experiments, I hope to be able to offer preliminary answers to these questions in the near future.

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Subject index

Name index

This book approaches persuasion in public discourse as a
rhetorical phenomenon that enables the persuader to appeal to the
addressee's intellectual and emotional capacities in a competing
public environment. The aim is to investigate persuasive strategies
from the overlapping perspectives of cognitive and functional
linguistics. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses of authentic
data (including English, Czech, Spanish, Slovene, Russian,
and Hungarian) are grounded in the frameworks of functional
grammar, facework and rapport management, classical rhetoric
studies and multimodal discourse analysis and are linked to the
constructs of (re)framing, conceptual metaphor and blending,
mental space and viewpoint. In addition to traditional genres such
as political speeches, news reporting, and advertising, the book also
studies texts that examine book reviews, medieval medical recipes,
public complaints or anonymous viral videos. Apart from discourse
analysts, pragmaticians and cognitive linguists, this book will appeal
to cognitive musicologists, semioticians, historical linguists and
scholars of related disciplines.

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