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Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre

Filozofická fakulta

Štefánikova 67, 949 74 Nitra

Tel: + +421 37 6408 444

Fax: +421 37 6408 500

e-mail: dekanatff@ukf.sk

Adresa redakcie/Office

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Štefánikova 67, 949 74 Nitra

Tel: + 421 37 64 08 455

Fax: +421 37 6408 500

e-mail: kangl@ukf.sk

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Príspevky/Papers



How Students of Teaching Define Politeness

Pavla Chejnová

Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract

The article describes the ways that students of the Faculty of Education, Charles University, Prague, define politeness. The data were obtained from 182 respondents. The definitions are compared to those presented by linguists and researchers in the area of linguistic politeness. The data are also quantified.

Keywords

conflict avoidance, face threatening act, politeness, politeness rules, politeness strategy

1. Problems of defining politeness in linguistics

Linguists who try to define politeness meet many problems. One of them is the difference between the politeness interpreted by lay person in everyday speech and the politeness modelled by linguists and sociologists as an abstract notion. Politeness has always evaluative aspects which may depend on the individual characteristics of the person evaluating and also the communicative situation and context clues. *It is impossible to evaluate im/polite behaviour out of the context of real, ongoing verbal interaction.* (Watts, 2003, s. 23).

We can interpret polite utterances as illocutionary acts; then the speaker and his intention to be polite will be the centre of our interest. It is also possible to interpret polite utterances as perlocutionary acts; then the hearer's point of view and his perception of the utterance as polite or impolite would be crucial. The utterance which is perceived as impolite by the hearer cannot be evaluated as polite, even if the speaker's intention to be polite was obvious.

A very important factor is the cultural background; what is polite in one culture may not be appropriate in another. Within the framework of this article I will use the definitions of politeness presented by European and American scientists, therefore I will not quote definitions of Asian scholars because the cultural context would be too different.

2. Objectives and methodology of the research

In this article I will describe how the students of teaching define politeness. My objective is to present ideas that lay persons have connected with the abstract term politeness and comment on them from a pragmalinguistic point of view. Scholars all over the world try to find a universal definition of politeness but lay persons' definitions also bring an interesting insight into the problem – they are not universal but rather based on cultural context in which the respondents live.

The respondents are students of teaching for primary school and nursery school, Faculty of Education, Charles University in Prague. There were 182 respondents – women, 19–22 years of age. The respondents are not linguists working in the area of politeness research, therefore their responses can be viewed as lay definitions. The respondents are supposed to have good communicative skills (faculty of education entrance exams focus on it) and they speak at least one foreign language – English. The task was to

write down their own definition of politeness. This task was not specified in detail, it was not oriented at linguistic definitions only. The research took place in 2011, the completion of the task was monitored by the researcher. The respondents had not studied the theories of linguistic politeness before finishing the task.

The collected responses were divided into several categories that correspond with the chapters of the article. In every part I analyse the main aspects that are crucial for the definition type, I quote the linguists' definitions and correlating examples of students' definitions. I also present the percentage of the students that had written down the particular type of the definition. The total of the answers is not exactly 100 because the students' definitions mention several aspects of politeness; the definitions are more complicated and contain several attributes of the concept of politeness (e. g. combining deference and showing sympathy, therefore the answer may be included both in the category politeness as showing deference and politeness as a face-saving strategy). Using this methodology, we get exact quantification of the features that students evaluate as crucial for defining politeness.

3. Politeness as showing deference

Politeness can be viewed as showing deference to the other interactants. Čermák (1997) presents the definition based on several aspects of politeness, deference being one of them: *Zdvořilost je konvenční sociální postoj a projev úcty a takové chování, které je přijatelné a nekonfliktní a které má v jazyce různé vyjádření* (Politeness is a conventional social attitude and showing deference and behaviour that is acceptable and non-conflicting that can be expressed linguistically in different ways). (Čermák, 1997, p. 402). Among the analysed sample 43 respondents (24 %) view politeness as showing deference; some of the definitions quoted also mention some other attributes of politeness:

Způsob chování, kterým dáváme najevo, že si druhé osoby vážíme.

Behaviour by which we manifest that we respect the other person.

Způsob jednání, kterým vyjadřujeme lidem úctu a při němž máme na paměti slušnost, vstřícnost a empatii.

Manner of behaviour by which we show deference to people and we keep in mind decency, friendliness and sympathy.

Chovat s k ostatním s úctou, i když s jejich chováním někdy nesouhlasím.

To treat others with respect even if I do not agree with their behaviour.

Some of the students explicitly reject placing themselves in too inferior positions:

Takové chování, kterým se vyjadřuje úcta a vážnost druhým lidem, ale ne na úkor vlastního ponižování.

The behaviour by which respect and deference is shown to other people but not at the cost of humiliation.

Úcta k druhým i k sobě.

Respect both to others and to oneself.

Some of the definitions clearly show that deference may not follow the real emotions of the speaker but only convention:

Způsob jednání a vystupování, který vyjadřuje ohleduplnost, respekt a úctu k druhým lidem. Měl by být upřímný.

Manner of behaviour that shows consideration, respect and deference to other people. It should be sincere.

In the following part I will deal with the problems of true or pretended emotions of a speaker in detail.

4. Politeness as manipulation

Polite behaviour may not follow the sincere emotions of a speaker. The speaker may be trying to make the addressee feel good to get some advantage for himself/herself. Compliments are in accordance with Leech's politeness principle, particularly modesty and approbation maxims which give a speaker the instruction to maximise praise and minimise criticism of the addressee (Leech, 1983). However, compliments violate the quality maxim of Grice's cooperative principle which instructs a speaker to speak the truth (Grice, 1975). Flattery can be used as a manipulative strategy. Similar controversies arise when discussing all the maxims of Leech's politeness principle, e. g. agreement maxim instructing the speaker to agree with the addressee or sympathy maxim which instructs the speaker to show „sincere“ interest in the addressee's problems.

The issue of sincerity or insincerity in expressing politeness is also mentioned by the authors of popular books written for lay public. However, Ladislav Špaček admits a positive effect of this conventional form of politeness: *Etiketa vztahy mezi lidmi formalizuje, a i kdybychom si upřímně nemysleli to, co říkáme, prospíváme tím ostatním (Etiquette formalizes human relations, and even if we do not mean what we say, we do the others good) (Špaček, 2005, p. 7).*

Efforts to reform the classical conception of politeness were obvious in the era of socialism. The socialist etiquette should have differed from the capitalist etiquette by its sincerity, there should not have been a difference between formal rules and real relationships in society (Macura, 2008, p. 181). Bourgeois etiquette was condemned as an insincere, calculating and hypocritical form of politeness based on unequal positions of the interactants. However, it was not possible to eliminate manipulative aspects and expressions of inequality from discourse in general.

10 respondents (5 %) mention the manipulative aspect of politeness. Their definitions emphasise the conventional and acquired character of polite behaviour:

Naučená lidská vlastnost, kterou člověk používá, když se chce někomu zavděčit, i když to nemyslí upřímně.

The acquired human attribute which a person uses when trying to gratify somebody even if he/she does not mean it.

Způsob chování, kterým nevyjadřujeme skutečné pocity, ale to, co se od nás čeká, abychom byli protistraně příjemní.

Manner of behaviour by which we do not show real emotions but what is expected to please the addressee.

Přetvářka za účelem vyhnout se nedorozumění.

Dissimulation in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Způsob komunikace, kdy nikoho neurážíme a říkáme, co je vhodné, nikoliv to, co si doopravdy myslíme.

Manner of communication when we do not insult anybody and we say what is appropriate and not what we really think.

Přehnaná forma slušného chování.

Exaggerated form of decent behaviour.

Poněkud povrchnější, většinou naučený ustálený společenský způsob komunikace, který slouží k fungujícím mezilidským vztahům.

Rather superficial, mostly acquired conventional social way of communication which helps functioning human relationships.

Chování, vyjadřující partnerovi v komunikaci úctu a obdiv víc, než by si zasloužil; snažit se ho neurazit a chovat se formou vžitých konvencí.

Behaviour which expresses respect and admiration to the partner in communication more than he/she deserves; trying not to insult him/her and behave according to conventions.

Some of the respondents are aware of superficiality of polite behaviour but they think that real intention of the speaker is necessary (3 definitions, 2 %):

Způsob jednání a vystupování, který vyjadřuje ohleduplnost, respekt a úctu k druhým lidem. Měl by být upřímný.

Way of behaviour and conduct which shows sympathy, respect and deference towards other people. It should be sincere.

Slušné chování, vážit si druhých, naslouchat, být milý, nepřetvářovat se.

Decent behaviour, respecting others, listening to others, being nice, not pretending.

Být sám sebou, na nic si nehrát, nepředstírat, naslouchat.

To be one's true self, not to act, not to pretend, to listen to others.

5. Politeness as face-saving strategy

The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). In Goffman's concept it is only temporary, rooted in one particular communicative situation. According to the classic concept of Brown and Levinson face is a constant attribute of each person (Brown, Levinson, 1987).

Brown and Levinson differentiate between positive and negative face which are connected to a positive and negative politeness strategy. *Positive face* is a human desire to live in harmony in interpersonal relationships, to be accepted by one's social environment, to be positively evaluated, to reach agreement. It is linked to the group which has specific values. It inclines to the

intimate, familiar. Positive politeness strategy is used mostly in contact with close relatives or friends.

Negative face stands in contrast to the positive face. It is connected to the human desire to be independent and free in one's actions. People do not want to be forced to do something or to be prevented from their actions. *Negative politeness strategy* is mostly used in official settings when the distance between the interactants is great. The greater the distance the more probable is the choice of a negative politeness strategy. Face saving is one of the crucial motivations to be polite in communication. There are many communicative situations which are inherently face threatening. Brown and Levinson refer to Austin's speech acts theory (Austin, 2000) and use the term *Face Threatening Acts* (Brown, Levinson, 1987). Among face threatening acts are those which exert pressure on the addressee (order, request, advice, warning) or the acts that negatively evaluate some aspects of the addressee's face (mockery, complaint, insult, rebuke, criticism). Politeness should soften the impact of the face threatening acts in interpersonal contact.

Negative politeness leads to strategies whose main objective is not to insult the addressee. Definitions based on such a concept were presented by 17 respondents (9 %):

Chování, kdy se k lidem ve svém okolí chováme tak, abychom je neurazili.

Behaviour when we treat other people in such a way that we do not insult them.

Chování, které je na úrovni a neuráží druhého.

Behaviour which is up to standard and does not insult the other.

Chování, které neponižuje, neubližuje.

Behaviour which does not humiliate, harm anybody.

Jednat tak, abych nikoho neurazila, ale přitom vyjádřila to, co mám na mysli.

To behave not to insult anybody but at the same time to express what I mean.

Chování, které neurazí a neponíží mé okolí ani mě.

Behaviour which does not insult or humiliate my environment or me.

Schopnost reagovat na společenskou situaci, ve které se nacházím, tak, abych nikoho neurazila slovem ani gesty.

Ability to react to social situations in which I take part in such a way that I do not insult anybody by words or gestures.

Classical popular work of Guth-Jarkovský (2005, p. 11) follows similar concept and defines politeness as *behaviour by which a person does not harm others consciously, on the contrary he/she tries to behave to the benefit of others every time and everywhere (takové chování, kterým člověk nikdy nikomu vědomě neubliží, naopak vždy a všude při vzájemném styku jemu chce být s prospěchem a užítkem).*

The definitions which are linked to positive politeness strategy accent sympathy, interest in the addressee, listening, consideration and tact, tolerance. Such a concept was chosen by 35 respondents (19 %):

Být ohleduplný, vnímavý a vstřícný k druhým lidem.

To be considerate, sensitive and friendly to other people.

Chování, jímž dám najevo ostatním, že jsou pro mě důležití.

Behaviour by which I show the others that they are important to me.

Vyjádření úcty, zájmu a respektu.

Expressing sympathy, interest and respect.

Příjemné, vstřícné, ohleduplné jednání.

Nice, friendly, considerate behaviour.

Ohleduplnost, schopnost respektovat druhé, pomáhat, být skromný.

Considerateness, ability to respect others, to help, to be modest.

Ochota, tolerance, přívětivost.

Complaisance, tolerance, favour.

If we return to the question of the manipulative aspect of politeness, the concepts just mentioned seem to be based on the real feelings and intentions of a speaker. Arndt and Janney talk directly about *mutual supportiveness* (Arndt and Janney, 1985, p. 282).

6. Politeness as conflict avoidance

Politeness is often understood as a means to lessen aggression which is present in every society in a latent form. Aggression control is accentuated e. g. by Švehlová; according to her it is the politeness principle which disarms the potential aggression between people and nations by verbal strategies that make interpersonal interaction possible (Švehlová, 1994, p. 39-40).

Zítková also mentions possibility of this conception of politeness: *Zdvořilost lze obecně vymezit z negativního úhlu pohledu (tzn. jako prostředek mající za cíl zabránit konfliktům a rovněž kontrolovat a omezovat potenciální agresi komunikantů) i z pozitivního úhlu pohledu (tj. jako prostředek podporující udržení dobrých vztahů a přátelské atmosféry mezi komunikanty. Politeness can be defined from a negative point of view (as a means to avoid conflicts and to control and lessen potential aggression of the interactants) and the positive point of view (as a means to support good relationships and friendly atmosphere among interactants) (Zítková, 2008, p. 47).*

Negative orientation is frequent in the works of many researchers. Lakoff defines politeness as a social lubricant: *Politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction* (Lakoff, 1975, p. 64). Leech defines politeness as *a strategic conflict avoidance* (Leech, 1980, p. 19). Kasper talks about the *strategies available to interactants to defuse the danger and to minimise antagonism* (Kasper, 1990, p. 194).

It is interesting that the notion of aggression and conflict was not used by the students formulating their own definitions. Politeness as a control of negative emotions was mentioned only by two students (1 %):

Potírání negativních emocí v komunikaci.

Suppressing negative emotions in communication.

Forma sebekontroly při reakcích v určitých standardizovaných situacích, která je společensky vypracovaná.

Form of self-control in reactions to particular standardized situations which is socially elaborated.

It seems that the respondents use the politeness model based on positive politeness strategy. However, conflict avoidance can be interpreted as a face saving strategy, therefore the definitions mentioned in section 5 based on negative politeness strategy also correspond to those mentioned in section 6 – politeness as conflict avoidance.

7. Politeness as a set of rules

Politeness can be defined from a normative and prescriptive point of view, mostly outside the area of

linguistics. Normativity is emphasised in dictionaries (e.g. *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*): *Zdvořilost je chování podle společenských pravidel slušnosti; etiketa je chápána jako pravidla společenského chování. Politeness is behaviour according to the social rules of decency; etiquette is understood as rules of social behaviour* (Filipec a kol., 1994).

In linguistic research, prescriptive orientation is manifested by politeness principles based on sets of maxims. Lakoff presents three politeness maxims for successful communication: *formality, hesitancy and equality and camaraderie* (Lakoff, 1973). Leech's politeness principle contains *maxims of tact, generosity, modesty and approbation, agreement, sympathy and phatic maxim* (Leech, 1983). Politeness as sticking to the rules was mentioned by 17 respondents (9 %):

Chování k druhým v souladu s pravidly etikety.
Treating others according to the rules of etiquette.

Pravidla slušného chování, které vyžaduje společnost, spjatá s úctou a ochotou.
Rules of appropriate behaviour required by society, linked to respect and favour.
Sobor nepsaných pravidel, jak se slušně chovat v určitých situacích.
Set of unwritten rules of how to behave in particular situations.

Normy chování, ve kterých se můžeme svobodně pohybovat.
Norms of behaviour within which we can act freely.

Soubor naučených a společensky schválených druhů jednání ve vzniklé situaci.
Set of acquired and socially accepted ways of behaviour in particular situations.

Similar is also the concept of politeness as a convention, which was written down by 5 respondents (3 %); the cultural background of politeness and its acquisition through social learning is stressed:
Chování v souladu s konvencemi.
Behaviour in accordance with conventions.

Slušné a ohleduplné jednání v rámci společenských konvencí.
Decent and considerate behaviour in the framework of social conventions.

8. Politeness as appropriate and expected behaviour

Recent linguistic works usually differentiate between appropriate behaviour which is expected in certain situations and behaviour, which is polite but has the same added value; it can be perceived as polite and marked. Watts states: *Politic behaviour involves mutually shared forms of consideration for others in a given culture, impoliteness is an observable violation of politic behaviour which is open to negative evaluation by the participants and the researcher, polite behaviour is an addition to politic behaviour, which may be positively evaluated, but is equally open to negative evaluation* (Watts, 2003, p. 30).

The differentiation of those terms is not crucial for the lay person definition, more important is the fact that any communicative strategy chosen has its basis in a specific communicative situation. Politeness defined according to its links to communicative situation was mentioned by 13 respondents (7 %):

Adekvátní chování, přiměřené situaci, vztahům, zvyklostem a očekáváním.

Appropriate behaviour, adequate to certain situation, relationships, custom and expectations.

Schopnost chovat se adekvátně dané situaci a neomezit ani neohrozit prostor druhého člověka.
Ability to act adequately to the situation and not to restrict or threaten the other person's territory.

Zachovat dekorum za každé situace.
To keep decorum in every situation.

28 respondents (15 %) define politeness as decent behaviour, which is too broad a term which needs more detailed specification.

9. Politeness as language etiquette

Politeness is manifested mostly in verbal behaviour; when specifying linguistic politeness the term language etiquette is used.

The linguistically oriented definition is presented e. g. in Czech language encyclopaedic dictionary (*Encyklopedický slovník češtiny*): *Zdvořilostí se v lingvistice rozumí v užším smyslu formy a funkce oslovení, pozdravů, tykání a vykání, v širším smyslu aktualizované užití zvláště gramatických a lexikálních prostředků, např. negace, slovesného způsobu a vidu, determinace, deminutiv, modálních sloves, částic atd.* (By politeness in linguistics are understood in narrow sense forms and functions of addressing, greetings, using Tu and Vous forms, in a broader sense actualised usage of grammatical and lexical means, e. g. negation, verb mode and aspect, determination, deminutives, modal verbs, particles etc.) (Karlík, Pleskalová, Nekula, 2002).

Válková uses a more detailed definition based on linguistic approach but also other aspects of politeness phenomenon: *Linguistic politeness is a partly routinized and partly creative language manifestation of social values, finding its way of reflection at various levels of language representation (phonic, grammatical, lexical, textual etc.) and reflecting interactional strategies by which interactants signal their interpersonal supportiveness, i. e. their intention to consider each other and satisfy shared expectations about cultural and situational assumptions in order to avoid or at least soften face-threatening acts, to create happy conditions for interaction and to avoid losing one's face* (Válková, 2004, p. 38).

Hirschová characterises politeness as a set of language strategies, ways of using language whose aim is not only smooth communication but mostly self-actualization and self-protection of the communicating individual in interaction with the other interactants (*soubor řečových strategií, způsobů užívání jazyka, které jako svůj hlavní cíl mají nejen bezproblémovou komunikaci, ale zejména seberealizaci a sebeobranu komunikujícího individua v interakci s jinými komunikanty*) (Hirschová, 2006, p. 171).

The verbal expression of politeness was mentioned by 10 respondents (5 %), however, the lay definitions usually describe mostly usage of conventionalized formulae; they are not elaborated in linguistic points of view:

Vhodné užití zdvořilostních frází.
Appropriate usage of politeness formulas.

Schopnost volit vhodná slova v dané situaci.
Ability to choose appropriate words in certain situations.

Chovat se slušně a užívat správné výrazy.
To behave properly and use appropriate expressions.

*Slušná komunikace spisovnou češtinou, kdy je dáno, kdo je mladší, starší, nadřízený, podřízený.
Decent communication in standard Czech used by a person who is younger, older, superior, inferior.*

10. Politeness as reciprocal behaviour

4 respondents (2 %) characterised politeness as reciprocal behaviour:

*Chovej se tak, jak chceš, aby se k tobě chovali druzí.
Treat others the way you want them to treat you.*

This characteristics does not define an actual way of behaviour, it is a maxim rather than a definition.

11. Conclusion

Politeness modelled by linguists often presents the model based on softening face-threatening acts and

avoiding conflict, therefore it follows a rather negative approach. Some linguists nowadays also mention positive aspects and characterize politeness as a choice of strategy to make communication easier and more pleasant. Lay definitions written by the students are mostly closer to the positive point of view. The most frequent was a definition of politeness as showing deference and respect to the addressee. The second most frequent was a definition based on positive face value, i. e. showing interest and sympathy, making the communication agreeable. Frequent was also characterising politeness as decent or appropriate behaviour. Some respondents understand under the notion of politeness acquired rules and conventions. Any other concepts were rare. To sum up, the lay respondents usually prefer the positive point of view and mostly neglect the manipulative aspects of politeness.

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Revising English Grammar “Rules” through Valence Relations in a Text for Teenagers (*Dorota Chłopek*)

Dorota Chłopek

University of Bielsko-Biala, Poland

Abstract

The objective of the paper is to present English clauses with canonically arranged phrases from the perspective of “valence relations” adopted by the cognitive theory developed by Ronald W. Langacker (1987). Valence concerns connections between arguments or linguistic entities within a grammatical construction. Langacker employed the notion in his cognitive grammar. The paper demonstrates a technique of revising grammatical constructions and their order within a sentence through a text, with awareness of the notion of semantically motivated “valence relations”, which is likely to eliminate rote learning, forgetting, and consequently committing errors in structuring English sentences. This claim, however, has still to be tested. The paper contains a theoretical piece of research. It is especially aimed at first year university-level students of the English language who go through the course in Descriptive Grammar.

Keywords

valence relations, cognitive grammar, grammatical constructions, canonical clauses, functional linguistics

I. Introduction

The objective of the paper is to demonstrate the canonical, i.e. typical, word order in English prototypical clauses from the perspective of semantically motivated valence relations postulated by Ronald W. Langacker (1987). The assumption upon which the paper is based is that being aware of semantically motivated valence relations within an English clause will enable a Polish learner of English to acquire the typical word order of English sentences, retaining and successfully implementing it in a usage event or in an act of communication. This statement, however, has not been supported by valid testing. The present paper is a theoretical piece of research, offering an insight into a possibility of employing selected aspects of Langacker’s cognitive grammar in acquiring the canonical English clauses by Polish university-level students. Although English and Polish are Subject-Verb-Object languages in terms of the word order within the linear structure of a clause, Polish has a high degree of inflection, which contributes to exemption from a rigid S-V-O order of sentence elements (see Kida, 2010, p. 15). The S-V-O order is not obligatory in Polish. Therefore, Polish speakers of English tend to make mistakes in sequencing the sentence elements in the foreign language.

Apart from this introduction, the article consists of two main sections, followed by a conclusion. Section II, briefly contrasts Langacker’s view on valence with a traditional perspective where valence corresponds to clause types or sentence patterns, which are studied during the course in Descriptive Grammar. Section III, presents short extracts of a text for teenagers in view of functional and cognitive analyses, and a sample of a grammar exercise based on the extracts, focused on demonstrating grammar “rules” of ordering clause constituents in light of semantically motivated valence relations. They lead to “grammatical constructions”, symbolic assemblies, which exclude grammar “rules”. Although Kamila Turewicz (2000), a Polish scholar, extensively referred to applicability of Langacker’s cognitive grammar, the present paper focuses upon cognitive grammar from the perspective of valence relations acquired by a university-level student learning the types of the canonical English clauses.

Valence is not a novel term (e.g. see Tesnière 1959). Langacker (1987) employed the notion in his view on grammar, elaborated from a cognitive perspective, which is referred to as *cognitive grammar*. Valence relates to connections between arguments or linguistic entities within grammatical constructions, which are symbolic assemblies of different levels of complexity. Symbolic structures occur due to the process of integration between the phonological pole and the semantic pole of the given linguistic unit; they receive unit status through entrenchment in the cognitive mechanism of a human being (see Langacker, 1987, pp. 57-60). In cognitive grammar, “[...] lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic units serving to structure conceptual content for expressive purposes” (Langacker, 1987, p. 35). Rules in grammar are schematic symbolic structures that are symbolically complex. The structures are diversified according to schematic parameters and symbolic complexity, or the potential of their decomposition into smaller symbolic elements (see Langacker, 1987, pp. 58-59). In terms of cognitive grammar, the correctness of a grammatical construction depends on the conceptualising possibilities of a language user, not on abstract syntactic restrictions. This argument can be related to Gabriela Miššíková’s observation that “[...] patterns of repetition of lexical units and their arrangement within a text show how we perceive reality and how we cope with it in a given social context. [...]” (Miššíková, 2007, p. 53). A symbolic structure incorporates the pragmatic aspect. Langacker (1987, pp. 65-66) explains that “[...] finding appropriate linguistic expression for a conceptualization can be referred to as the problem of **coding**; its solution is a **target structure** [...]”. The target is therefore a **usage event**, i.e. a symbolic expression assembled by a speaker in a particular set of circumstances for a particular purpose: this symbolic relationship holds between a detailed, context-dependent conceptualization and some type of phonological structure [...]. Meaning is identified with contextualization, which is reflected in the notion of *valence relations*.

The term *valence* corresponds to the notion of *argument structure*, which determines the number of entities or arguments that a verb can be combined with (see Evans, 2007, p. 6). Valence patterns for finite main

verbs occur in traditional and cognitive grammar books, respectively (see e.g. Biber et al., 2007, pp. 380-392; Greenbaum & Quirk, 2007, pp. 204-207; Verspoor & Sauter, 2000, pp. 64-83). The present paper, however, focuses upon Langacker's (1987) view on valence relations occurring in grammatical organization, according to cognitive grammar, a powerful approach to grammar within cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics is a methodological movement that was significantly marked in linguistics in the United States of America in the 1980s. Functional grammar devotes more attention to word order in the linear structure of a sentence (see Kubiński 1999), cognitive linguistics may propose *revolutionary solutions* in regard to semantics (c.f. Kalisz, 2000, p. 43). What is more, cognitive linguistics draws extensively on the tradition of functional linguistics (idem). The present paper therefore approaches the issue of valence relations from the perspective of Langacker's grammar and briefly contrasts it with the traditional canonical clause patterns.

II. Valence relations in Cognitive Grammar and the traditional clause patterns: an abridged overview

The present section contains a brief and abridged summary of Langacker's semantic model of valence relations between grammatical arguments, called nominal and relational predications by the scholar, and a short reference to traditional clause types and sentence patterns. In cognitive grammar, nouns are nominal predications, they are autonomous entities. The other lexical categories, i.e. verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, etc., are relational predications since, being dependent on other linguistic entities they require elaboration.

2.1. Reference to valence relations in Langacker's model of grammar

Langacker introduces valence relations with the following words: "WHEN TWO OR MORE symbolic structures combine to form a more elaborate expression, I speak of there being a **grammatical valence relation** between them. The structures that combine are referred to as **component structures**, and the integrated entity that results as the **composite structure**. The term **grammatical construction** is applied to this entire ensemble: the component structures, their mode of integration, and the resulting composite structure." (Langacker, 1987, p. 277)

According to Langacker, meaning involves construing a given scene with the elements related to perceiving the scene, for example, profiling (see point 2 below), from the point of view of the observer. The scene can be perceived at different levels of abstraction, which Langacker names *schematization*. Perceiving a given scene contains the figure-ground organization in the dichotomy profile and base (see point 2 below). The profiled structure has the "active participant", named trajector TR, and the reference object, landmark LM (see Langacker 1987). In grammar, Langacker points out schematic symbolic structures that are defined through the nature of their profile, for example, a noun profiles an object. An adjective, an adverb and a preposition profile various kinds of atemporal relations. A verb profiles a process, extended and evolving in time (see idem).

Langacker's (1987, pp. 277-327) theory on valence relation s, or argument structures, involves the following valence factors: 1. Correspondence, 2. Profiling Within Constructions, 3. Autonomy and Dependence, 4. Constituency, 5. Canonical Valence Relations.

1. Correspondence

The interaction between symbolic units is based on conventionally accepted combinations between form and meaning or the phonological pole and the semantic pole (see Langacker 1987). Correspondences between substructures influence integrating two component expressions into a coherent composite expression, due to sharing specific substructures (see Langacker, 1987, p. 278). For example, the prepositional phrase *under the sofa* combines the preposition *under*, which is a "relational predication" (1) in Langacker's terms, and the noun phrase *the sofa*, a "nominal predication" (2). The relational predication becomes fully meaningful when it relates two entities. There is a **correspondence** between those two entities. The correspondences between linguistic entities are shown through the trajector (TR) – landmark (LM) organization. While the TR is a participant in focus, the LM is a secondary participant. Langacker argues that valence relations involve multiple correspondences because they "provide for the linguistic coding of a unified conceptualization" (1987, p. 285).

2. Profiling Within Constructions

Langacker (1987, p. 288) approaches the issue of profiling through two related topics: **profile determinancy** and **analyzability**. **Profile** is the "entity or relation designated by a word" (Evans, 2007, p. 171). It functions by exposing a substructure within a larger unit called the **base** (c.f. idem), for example, "[ARC] has for its base the two-dimensional configuration that the [CIRCLE] profiles. [ARC] designates only a segment of this configuration [...]" (Langacker, 1987, p. 184). **Profile determinant** determines the profile of the whole phrase, for example *the man on the crossroads waving at me* is a noun phrase. The noun *man* determines the profile of that phrase and it is the profile determinant (c.f. Evans, 2007, p. 171). **Analyzability** stands for "recognition of the contribution that each component makes to the composite conceptualization" (Langacker, 1987, p. 292).

3. Autonomy and Dependence

Langacker offers a definition for deciding whether either of the two structures that combine in a valence relation are dependent one upon the other: "One structure, D, is dependent on the other, A, to the extent that A constitutes an elaboration of a salient substructure within D" (Langacker, 1987, p. 300). Taking into consideration the valence relation between *under* and *the sofa*, *under* is dependent upon *the sofa* (c.f. Langacker, 1987, p. 301). Hence, *the sofa* functions as a complement of *under* in the expression *under the sofa*. "The distinction between conceptually autonomous and dependent predications is crucial for characterizing a number of important grammatical notions" (Langacker, 1987, p. 308). Langacker, following other valence theorists, postulates that one of the basic contrasts is that "between 'central' vs. 'peripheral' elements in a clause, 'complements' vs. 'modifiers' of a verb" (idem).

4. Constituency

Constituency is the final factor accounting for valence according to cognitive grammar. For example, the expression *the animal under the sofa*, has the NP's profile determinant, *the animal*, which is autonomous. Its modifier, however, *under the sofa*, is dependent since it relies on *the animal* to elaborate its schematic TR (see Evans & Green, 2007, p. 588). *Under the sofa* requires the autonomous unit *the sofa* to elaborate its schematic LM (c.f. idem). These constituents contribute to the composite grammatical construction *the animal under the sofa*. According to Langacker, constituency characterizes all grammatical constructions.

5. Canonical Valence Relations

Langacker admits that "the components in a valence relation show a notable asymmetry permitting one of

them to be identified as conceptually autonomous and the other conceptually dependent" (1987, p. 325). The scholar points out that the components tend to integrate into progressively more elaborate predications in binary fashion, "where at each level a constituent is defined by the integration of precisely two components to form a composite structure" (idem). Canonical valence relations account for what traditional grammars have within their scopes of interest from a different linguistic perspective.

2.2. The traditional clause types

Sidney Greenbaum and Randolph Quirk present seven "clause types" (see 2007, p. 204), according to the subject (S) and the verb (V), including the argument structure of the verb; the verb is always finite in the canonical SV... types: 1. SV Bill (S) is running (V), 2. SVO Bill (S) is reading (V) a book (O^d), 3. SVC Bill (S) is (V) nice (C^s), 4. SVA Bill (S) is (V) at work (A), 5. SVOO Bill (S) gave (V) his brother (O) a job (O^d), 6. SVOC Bill (S) considers (V) his brother (O^d) useless (C^s), 7. SVOA Bill's brother (S) put (V) a resignation (O^d) on Bill's desk (A). (for the types from 1 to 7 see idem)

2.3. Typical sentence patterns from a cognitive perspective

Marjolijn Verspoor and Kim Sauter's (2000, p. 21) five "typical sentence patterns" incorporate a semantic interpretation of roles together with the given functions of sentence constituents, such as the "first participant" (S for subject), "process" (P for predicator), "the setting" (A for adverbial), etc. Patterns reflect constructions. Verspoor and Sauter (2000, p. 23) postulate five "typical

sentence patterns" as clues for speakers on how to arrange the words in order to avoid a senseless "stream of words". First of all, the words must be organized according to the so called Subject-Verb-Object order. The patterns are: 1. the *running* pattern (intransitive verbs) Bill (S) is running (P/V), 2. the *being* pattern (copula verbs) Bill (S) is (P/V) nice (SA), 3. the *doing/seeing* pattern (monotransitive verbs) Bill (S) is reading (P/V) a book (O^d), 4. the *giving/buying* pattern (ditransitive verbs) Bill (S) gave (P/V) his brother (O) a job (O^d), 5. the *making/considering* pattern (complex-transitive verbs) Bill (S) considers (P/V) his brother (O^d) useless (OA). (see idem, pp. 23-28)

III. Examples of valence relations in extracts of a book for teenagers

This section presents a general overview of examples of valence relations in a short fragment of the book "Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix" by J. K. Rowling (p. 80 & p. 112), and how they can be employed in a process of teaching and learning "clause types" and "sentence patterns".

3.1. Valence relations in a short fragment of a book: an overview

The tables 1 through 3 contain clause types, patterns, and a discussion of valence factors, based on the following extracts: " 'It looks wonderful, Molly,' [...]" (Rowling, 2003, p. 80) "Harry awoke at half past five the next morning [...]. For a few moments he lay immobile as the prospect of the disciplinary hearing filled every tiny particle of his brain, then, [...]" (Rowling, 2003, p. 112)

Grammatical construction		"It looks wonderful [...]" (p. 80)	
		Clause constituents	
1	Type of clause	SVC ^s	It (S) looks (V= ^a copula verb) wonderful (C ^s)
2	Clause pattern	the being pattern: with copula verbs	The relational predication (V) relates two entities: the first participant/nominal complement (S) and the central element of the verb/relational complement (C).
3	Valence relations within the clause		
	Valence factors	Comment	
3.1	Correspondence	It elaborates the TR, wonderful elaborates the LM.	
3.2	Profiling within constructions	The complement wonderful has a relational profile, it is a relational complement.	
3.3	Autonomy	The conception of a physical object is more autonomous (see R. W. Langacker 1987: 300): The pro-form it is conceptually autonomous.	
3.4	Dependence	Any relational notion is conceptually dependent: looks → wonderful ; It ← looks ; looks ← wonderful	
3.5	Constituency	pertains to the order of component structures: looks is processual, the whole clause inherits its processual profile, hence looks is the profile determinant in the valence relations deriving the composite structure (see idem, p. 317): SVC ^s	

Table 1. English canonical structures through valence relations in the SVC type/the *being* pattern

Grammatical construction		"Harry awoke at half past five the next morning [...]" (p. 112)	
		Clause constituents	
1	Type of clause	SV	Harry (S) awoke (V ^{intransitive}) at half past five (A ^{peripheral 1}) the next morning (A ^{peripheral 2})
2	Clause pattern	the running pattern	The relational predication (V= ^a an intransitive verb) requires only the first participant (S).
3	Valence relations within the clause		
	Valence factors	Comment	
3.1	Correspondence	The one-place relational predication awoke provides a unified conceptualization involving one participant.	
3.2	Profiling within constructions	Profile determinants in relation to the composite structures: Harry ; awoke ; the profile determinant of the composite structure at half past five is parallel to	

		the profile of the relational predication at , which is the profile determinant of the construction at half past five (A ^{peripheral 1}) "since the overall predication designates the stative relation profiled by" at (Langacker 1987: 289); the profile determinant of the composite structure the next morning is morning rather than the next – the "landmark of the relation corresponds to the profile of the nominal" (idem, p. 290).
3.3	Autonomy	The conception of a physical object is more autonomous (op.cit.) – Harry – on the clause level.
3.4	Dependence	Any relational notion is conceptually dependent (op.cit.) – awoke – on the clause level.
3.5	Constituency	pertains to the order of component structures: awoke (When? ^{setting 1}) at half past five (When? ^{setting 2}) the next morning , drafting a configuration smaller within bigger

Table 2. The **SV** type, with intransitive verbs and peripheral adverbials, the *running* pattern

Grammatical construction		"[...] the prospect of the disciplinary hearing filled every tiny particle of his brain". (p. 112)	
		Clause constituents	
1	Type of clause	SVO ^d	<i>the prospect of the disciplinary hearing</i> (S = Noun Phrase 1) <i>filled</i> (V ^{monotransitive}) <i>every tiny particle of his brain</i> (O ^d = Noun Phrase 2)
2	Clause pattern	the doing/seeing pattern	The relational predication (V = a monotransitive verb) requires two entities (two noun phrases): the first participant (S) and the second participant (O ^d).
3	Valence relations		
	Valence factors	Comment	
3.1	Correspondence	The two-place relational predication filled provides a unified conceptualization involving two participants.	
3.2	Profiling within constructions	Profile determinants: prospect determines the profile of the phrase <i>the prospect</i> and the composite structure <i>the prospect of the disciplinary hearing</i> ; filled ; particle determines the profile of the phrase <i>every tiny particle</i> ; of determines the profile of the phrase <i>of his brain</i> ; brain determines the profile of the phrase <i>his brain</i> – the HEAD determines the profile and it is the profile determinant (see Langacker, op.cit.)	
3.3	Autonomy	The conception of a physical object is more autonomous (op.cit.) – prospect, hearing, particle, brain – on the phrase level.	
3.4	Dependence	Any relational notion is conceptually dependent (op.cit): of (profile determinant – HEAD), disciplinary (peripheral/modifier) – on the phrase level = Phrase 1; filled – on the clause level; every, tiny, of – on the phrase level = Phrase 2	
3.5	Constituency	pertains to the order of component structures: SVO ^d	

Table 3. The **SVO** type, with monotransitive verbs, the *doing/seeing* pattern

The author of this paper is presently testing the assumption that knowledge on valence relations between sentence constituents exhibiting asymmetry based on prominence (see Langacker, 1987, p. 325) may help Polish learners of English to construct grammatically correct utterances in terms of the canonical types of clauses or patterns of sentence.

3.2. Valence relations in an example grammar exercise

The present subsection illustrates how to combine clause types, sentence patterns and Langacker's idea on

valence relations in an exercise focused on the order of clause constituents. The tasks of completing the gaps in the tables below – Table 4 and Table 5 – are already done in the present article; the students have the shaded slots empty. After finishing the task, students can compare answers among themselves as well as with the answers given by the instructor; the instructor will test the students and the students will test the instructor (see Stradiotová 2010; Polok 2012).

	Sentence	Clause 1	Type	Pattern	Clause 2	Type	Pattern
1	"[...], he leapt out of bed and put on his glasses. (p. 112)	"[...], he leapt out of bed	SV	<i>running</i>	<i>and put on his glasses</i>	SVO	<i>doing/seeing</i>
		[Main clause] + [and + Main clause]					

2	Mrs Weasley had laid out his freshly laundered jeans and T-shirt at the foot of his bed. (p. 112)	Clause = Sentence	SVO	doing/seeing			
			SV	running			
3	The blank picture on the wall sniggered." (p. 112)	Clause = Sentence					
4	"[...], Harry walked quietly down the stairs, past the heads of Kreacher's ancestors, and down into the kitchen. (p. 112)	"[...], Harry walked quietly down the stairs, past the heads of Kreacher's ancestors,	SV	running	and down into the kitchen	SV	running
					The ellipted fragment is:		
					[Harry walked quietly]		
		[Main clause] + [and + Main clause with ellipsis]					
5	He had expected it to be empty, but when he reached the door he heard the soft rumble of voices on the other side." (p. 112)	He had expected it to be empty,	SVOC	making/ considering	but when he reached the door he heard the soft rumble of voices on the other side"	SVO	doing/ seeing
		[Main clause] + [but + Main clause [A=Dependent clause + S+V+O]]					

Table 4. Identifying the types of clauses and the patterns of sentences

The formal analysis above, "laying out the phrasal correspondences", should serve as an introduction to the further exercise based on establishing valence

relations between the given elements on the phrase level. The students focus on sentences 1 through 5 in the previous section of this exercise.

Valence factors	No. of sentence	No. of clause	The element in focus	Description of the valence relation
Correspondence	1	1	leapt	relational predication; two entities are related: he and leapt
	5	2	on	relational predication; two entities are related: on and the other side
Profiling within constructions	2	a simple sentence	at	relational predication; profile determinant/HEAD: at at : dependent on the autonomous nominal predication the foot of his bed
Autonomy	3	a simple sentence	picture	nominal predication: autonomous
Dependence	4	1	quietly	relational predication; dependent on walked
Constituency	5	1	had expected	relational predication, relating three entities: He (the first participant filling the position of the subject

				TR), <i>it</i> (O ^d realized by a central pronoun, filling the position of the LM (3)) and <i>to be empty</i> (C° realized by a non-finite clause, filling the position of the secondary LM): <i>expected</i> (TR) <i>it</i> (LM ¹) <i>to be empty</i> (LM ²); constituency pertains to the order of component structures
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Table 5. Description of the observed valence relations

IV. A concluding remark

The present paper focuses on syntagmatic relationships within a canonically constructed English clause, i.e. it analyzes phrases forming syntactic units connected in agreement with the Subject-Verb-Object order of words obliging speakers of the English language. The paper presents a theoretical analysis comprising seven formal clause types, five cognitively viewed sentence patterns, and Langacker's valence factors contributing to establishing valence relations between elements of language. The relations are multilayered within a clause consisting of simple and/or complex phrases. The paper demonstrates a technique of revising grammatical constructions and their order within a sentence through a text, with awareness of the notion of semantically motivated "valence relations". It provides a sample exercise and analysis that is expected from a Polish learner of the English language at a university level specializing in the English language and facing the task of writing a bachelor's thesis. The author of this paper assumes that there is a likelihood that understanding the valence factors may influence approaching grammar through creative thinking rather than through memorizing syntactic rule. Cognitive linguists argue that grammar is not about rules, it is about constructions. Constructions constituting clauses evoke conceptualizations of depicted situations. They involve autonomous entities and dependent linguistic items. It is probable that the relationships will be retained through visualization not through rote learning.

The practical outcomes of the suggested research, especially with regard to the EFL class, remain to be seen and analyzed.

Endnotes:

(1) "In **Cognitive Grammar**, a relational predication relates to the **schematic meaning** encoded by lexical classes such as verbs, adjectives, prepositions and so on (relations). The term 'predication' relates to meaning and refers to the semantic pole of a **symbolic assembly**. Relational predications are **conceptually dependent**. Relational predications are divided into two sub-categories: **temporal relations** and **atemporal relations**." (Evans, 2007, p. 182)

(2) "In **Cognitive Grammar**, a nominal predication relates to the **schematic meaning** encoded by nouns and noun phrases (nominals). The term 'predication' relates to meaning and refers to the semantic pole of a **symbolic assembly**. Nominal predications are **conceptually autonomous**." (Evans, 2007, p. 151)

(3) "Primary landmark" and "secondary landmark": "primary landmark" is "[...] the most salient profiled participant apart from the trajector; when this substructure is a thing, a nominal elaborating it syntagmatically is recognized as the direct object." (R. W. Langacker 1987: 270) "In a **profiled relationship** when there are two landmarks, the secondary landmark is the participant which has least salience." (Evans, 2007, p. 190)

List of Symbols and Abbreviations:

A → B: A is dependent on B

A ← B: B is dependent on A

* an incorrect expression

A: Adverbial

C: Complement; C°: Complement (object) = OA; C^s:

Complement (subject) = SA

c.f.: compare; e.g.: for example

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

idem: the preceding quotation

LM: Landmark – Primary LM or Object direct or the second participant; Secondary LM or Object indirect or the third participant

No.: number

O^d: Object (direct); Oⁱ: Object (indirect)

OA: Object Attribute (or something about the second participant)

op.cit.: the quotation occurred earlier in the present text

S: Subject; V: Verb; P: Predicator

SA: Subject Attribute (or something about the first participant)

TR: Trajector or Subject or the first participant assign prototypical roles but at the same time allow frequent and often systematic shifts between the "center" and the "periphery" so to say, thus activating and sanctioning hierarchies of communicative acting.

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Discourse Analysis in New Media: Agency with Modern Technology

Dean Dawson

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, Korea

Abstract

This analytical study investigated the dynamic, interpersonal exchange of discourse captured by sixty three university students using new media in a real-world task while enrolled in an academic content-based class in Seoul, Korea. They communicated on a global scale with other like-minded individuals, using some of the latest technology of new media in the 21st century. These students used English as a lingua franca to communicate and subsequently transcribed their discourse in order to deconstruct their use of language in various types of new media exchange. In addition, this study considered the way that new media use has shaped the evolution of communication and how this type of modern social interaction affects our concept and perception of disparate cultures in society today. Following an

interpretive, interactive community model, learners investigated new media on the internet in the form of computer generated multimedia that included role-playing games, interactive websites, blogs and smart phones. The data collected included both synchronous and asynchronous modes of interaction. Not only did this activity give students the general impression of how the semantic web has evolved in new media to inform, educate, communicate, advertise and entertain but it also opened their perceptions of the global scale of worldwide communication. Before they embarked on data collection, they had already identified acronyms, signal words, collocations, patterns, lexicalized chunks, idioms, similes and metaphors that might be found to various effects throughout their interactions. After they collected the data, they looked for instances of these target structures and constructions by highlighting their use throughout their discourse transcripts. This post-task data analysis activity was intended to heighten their awareness of the aforementioned forms and to give students an overview of specific academic discourse found throughout their course book.

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Keywords

agency, authentic real-world tasks, constructivism, critical thinking, data-driven learning, learner autonomy, media literacy, multimodal discourse, new media, reflection, recursion, social negotiation

1. Introduction

1.1 New Media Characteristics

As U.S. president, Barack Obama noted in a recent speech, "in our digital age, we can connect and innovate across borders like never before – with your smart phones and Twitter and Me2Day and Kakao Talk."¹ In this research, learners used discourse analysis to study the evolution of how the English language and new, technological social interaction affects our perception of life in modern society. Following a global model of new media, learners discovered new media on the Internet; in computer generated multimedia websites, blogs, smart phones, CDs, DVDs and games, which may or may not have been interactive in real time. They collected data to get a picture of how the semantic web and new technology has evolved to inform, educate, communicate, advertise and entertain.

The message is in the medium with this analysis of the new media of the 21st century, in what Kevin Kelly calls, 'The McLuhan Reversal', "Humans are the extended senses of the machine."² Much of the research into discourse analysis tends to focus on the researcher's ability to identify patterns, the use of discourse markers and other indicators of communicative success. This research attempts to redress the balance by focusing on the students successful attempts to notice aspects of their own informal interactivity using new media with native and non-native speakers of English while completing an authentic and motivating task that encourages constructivism in learning, learner autonomy and intercultural exchange on a global scale.

I will demonstrate how these exchanges can contribute effectively to the creation of comprehensible input and output. Also, in this research, the number of opportunities to interact with native-speakers and other English-language learners throughout the world while living in a non-English speaking country has a significant advantage over other language learning environments. In addition, this research delves into how this collaborative interaction and the negotiation of meaning can lead to an increase in student consciousness raising and possibly the acquisition of the target language.

By using authentic data extracted from student discourse, I will begin by illustrating some of the more successful strategies that my students employed in their conversations to negotiate meaning and ensure mutual understanding, both as listeners and as speakers. I will then concentrate on examples of breakdowns in communication and how these were jointly and effectively resolved. To conclude, I will discuss the implications for improvements in methodology and will suggest ways in which more student awareness of conversational features can be incorporated into classroom tasks and activities, in conjunction with out of class assignments and projects.

First of all, the overall project conceptualization (after Maclean, 1995) will be examined from the teaching/learning process with the identification of input and outcomes. Then the spiral implementation of the task outcome with the identification and analysis of comparisons will be addressed. Finally, an

interpretation of the task effectiveness, suitability, perceived benefits and recommendations for future research will be examined.

Action-Research (AR) is a research methodology which leads first to the understanding of the causes of a certain situation and then to producing change in it. Its focus is in solving a problem that has been identified by one individual, or a group of practitioners such as a school, an institution or an organization. AR has developed as a way to broaden people's knowledge and understanding of their own practice and of issues that affect the productivity and/or the quality of the work they do. The findings of AR are used as additional research data or as a way of developing some kind of action—intervention—in the environment being studied. The lack of interaction in the target language, coupled with a very high rate of access to advanced technology makes Korean educational secondary institutions perfect for CALL task-based activities. According to Egbert, Chao and Hanson-Smith, there are eight conditions that support technology based language assistance in the classroom. These conditions are as follows: opportunities to interact and negotiate meaning, use the target language with social interaction that is meaningful and purposeful, involves an authentic task, receive input and produce creative language in a creative and varied manner, allowed adequate time to complete the task and receive feedback, exposure to some guidance that is cognizant of the purpose of engagement with instruction and examples of how to learn, student-centered control over learning that ensures a minimum amount of anxiety and apprehension with learner autonomy supported by the teacher outlining task guidance for meaningful interaction and discourse.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definitions

The first definition to consider with this research concerns the definition of "new media" as it was defined to the students in the task outline.

The concept that learners construct new ideas based on the foundation of existing background knowledge and experience is a model of instruction that is known as constructivism.

The core foundation of Constructivism is associated with Piaget (1950, 1952) and Vygotsky (1978, 1986). New media technologies differ in the way they accommodate constructivist principles and the way they relate to learning theory. Students take responsibility for their own learning and are expected to reflect on the course throughout the process of identifying and implementing new technologies to achieve levels of higher order critical thinking.

The foundations laid by Piaget and Vygotsky raises issues of knowledge and learning. Bruner asserted that the core of constructivism is that there is no real world that pre-exists outside the realm of cognitive thought and human language. The idea of "predictive efficiency" was imagined and used to make logical predictions and streamlined learning based on previous knowledge.

Interactivity is a term that has come to lose favor mainly because it does not adhere to that meaning precisely nor does it encompass all the nuances of certain technologies that are in use today. Perhaps a new meaning is what Andersen (2002) alluded to when he talks of the new interactivity which utilizes these new technologies that are more interactive and user controlled. For this reason, an excellent pre-task activity in this research targets some of the technical manipulations found in new media that users may not be familiar with. Agency is a concept that has become widely accepted in the research with regards to both learner autonomy and CALL (Schweinhorst: 31):

The term "agency" as defined by Murray (1997:128) seems more useful than "interactivity" which has become too vague and pervasive. Agency 'goes beyond both participation and activity', in that the learners can choose their actions freely and in that their effects are related to the learners' intentions.

Learning tasks in the second language learning environment encourages students to engage in various types of learning and orientations. For the purposes of this study, a task, according to Willis (1996) is a communicative activity that is goal-oriented wherein the student's choices of linguistic resources are flexible and malleable. For Skehan (1998), the task is meaningful and related to real-world activities.

Task Effectiveness in Cross-cultural Communication an interpretation of the task effectiveness, suitability, perceived benefits and recommendations for future research will be examined.

Negotiation of meaning

Scaffolding, according to Ellis (1998), occurs in situations in which a learner interacts with someone who can guide, support and shape his or her learning

2.3 Role of the Teacher

Depending on the pedagogical ideology that your definition of learner autonomy is based on, one might define it with various shades of different meaning. Therefore, it is essential to define exactly what is meant when this research aims to direct students towards learner autonomy. The parameters set in this paper refer to a learner-centered approach whereby students are enabled to make decisions based on personal responsibility, self-determination and personal reflection. Learners stand up and take ownership of their ideas through the facilitation of the teacher.

Activity theory involves the unity between consciousness and activity. This suggests how the review findings lead to the research undertaken. The basis of this research is rooted in constructivism, schema theory as well as the belief in learner autonomy.

2.4 Multimodal Theory of Communication

Meaning in a multimodal approach to representation and communication involves interpretation in every sign, level and mode (Kess & van Leeuwen: 4) linguistically, a socially constructed knowledge of reality is constructed through a specific social context that can be realized in any number of different modes of expression. Embedded between the content and the expression of meaning we find the design matrix as semiotic mode: For example, language can be expressed in spoken discourse or writing which in turn can be expressed in different modes of design abstraction.

Authentic audiences – Create opportunities for students to present their ideas to others, taking advantage of authentic, global audiences with technology such as Skype.

Learning by teaching – Allow students to actively contribute to the educational process by teaching each other and creating their own tools.

Collaborative classrooms – Enhance learning by using technology to develop participatory learning opportunities and engaged, communicative students. of authentic, global audiences

I would like to highlight some of the divergence this research has taken in relation to previous research related to this approach and chosen methodology. The rationale for adopting this methodology has its basis in the theory of schema theory, and the need for more learner autonomy. As Nunan (1993) describes schema theory, language is processed in such a way as to suggest that discourse is interpreted with respect to the background knowledge of the receiver. In addition, we organize knowledge into predictable patterns for future

reference and to make decisions based on our prior knowledge. If the students can choose which methodology they wish to adopt then this increases motivation because of their interest in the technology chosen. This research utilized a communicative approach of task-based CALL instruction that enabled students to dynamically engage in the interpretation, expression and negotiation of meaning in context with more interaction with Native Speakers of English as well as Non-Native English Language learners.

The overarching theme of Discourse and Technology is cutting-edge in the field of linguistics: multimodal discourse. This volume opens up a discussion among discourse analysts and others in linguistics and related fields about the two-fold impact of new communication technologies: The impact on how discourse data is collected, transcribed, and analyzed and the impact that these technologies are having on social interaction and discourse. As inexpensive tape recorders allowed the field to move beyond text, written or printed language, to capture talk-discourse as spoken language-the information explosion (including cell phones, video recorders, Internet chat rooms, online journals, and the like) has moved those in the field to recognize that all discourse is, in various ways, "multimodal," that is, constructed through speech and gesture, as well as through typography, layout, and the materials employed in the making of texts.

3. Study: Methods and Design

The following transcription is just one example of how a learner set upon the task of capturing a conversation with a newly found Indonesian friend on Facebook. After fulfilling the pre-task requirement of exploring the "technical manipulations" as they are referred to in our aforementioned course text book (p. 89-90), in three different types of new media with a minimum time requirement of ten minutes for each, the learner could then choose one of the most interest and then set about recording or in some manner capturing a ten minute conversation regarding the use of the chosen media. In this case, the three chosen were all Social networking sites (SNSs) that included CyWorld, Facebook and Skype. The new media she ultimately chose to complete the assignment was Facebook so I will discuss the technical manipulations she explored for that one. There were four headings that she categorized for technical manipulations. They were: Checking news feeds (By clicking on news feed users you can see friends' news) - 8 clicks, Games (explained as specialized functions, especially flash games, played for fun and making friends) - 21 clicks, the "People you May Know" function which lets users find their friends more easily by clicking on the suggested users - 3 clicks, and finally, checking profile information, so users can find friends "...who have similar thoughts or hobbies." - 6 clicks. Suzie (a nickname) has befriended Rara, an Indonesian user and they have engaged in a two page conversation. Here is a brief excerpt of the transcription from their discourse:

Suzie: kkk. Umm, do you know 'Cyworld'?
 Rara: Yeah, I know. My all Korean friends use it. Maybe you, too. Aren't you?
 Suzie: Yes. I used the new media *all the time*.
 Rara: I want to use it. But it is difficult to use Cyworld for not Korean people.
 Suzie: I didn't know that. Well, *actually* I didn't see any foreign people in Cyworld. Can you *give an explanation*? What is the problem?
 Rara: Umm... okay. To *take advantage of it*. I have to be admitted by Cyworld. That is difficult. To prove my identification.

Suzie: Ah, I *got the picture*. I think the non-opening aspect of Cyworld is *inferior to* Facebook.

Rara: Yes. T.T

Suzie: And, do you know 'Skype'?

Rara: I know it. I saw my friends' using.

Suzie: Don't you use it?

Rara: Yeah. *In fact*, I do not have to use it~

Suzie: Okay. Got it. Well, *these days* new media like Twitter or Facebook is a *hot issue*.

Rara: Yes. Because of that, you have an assignment about new media. Haha

Through a discourse analysis conducted by the students themselves, a transcription activity of their own output was devised whereby the English language learners identified instances in the new media when English was systematically constructed using acronyms, signal words, collocations, patterns, lexicalized chunks, idioms, similes and metaphors to influence our reaction through interaction. The following is the student's analysis of her own discourse: all the time [collocation]: means "always", actually [signal word] to reinforce an idea or introduce a contradiction, give an explanation [collocation] take advantage of something [collocation] means "use", therefore [signal word] to show something like a result, get the picture [idiom] means "understand", inferior to [collocation], in fact [signal word] to reinforce an idea or introduce a contradiction, these days [signal word] to indicate time, hot issue [collocation].

3.1 Participants

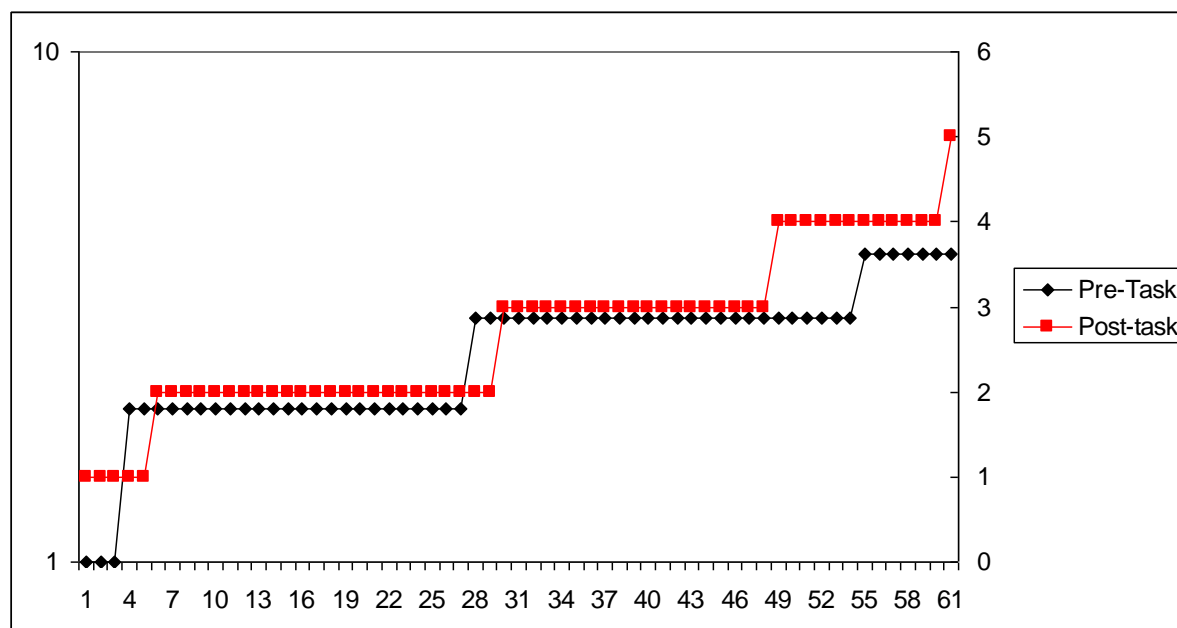
In an action research project conducted by the research writer in four content-based classrooms of 63 university students, the majority of which were first-year students in Seoul, Korea. This research was done over three weeks during the regular semester; in four content-based classrooms of 63 university students, primarily first-year students in Seoul, Korea. Learners analyzed their own speech from a discourse analytic perspective that utilized a holistic approach to language learning based on the theme of life in today's society. This theme was in keeping with the name of our course book, Academic Listening Encounters: Life in Society (2004), specifically with the two chapters, Mass Media Today and the Influence of the Media in the unit Media and Society. The students used Riggensbach's (1999) six-step approach for conducting a discourse analysis activity: predict, plan, collect data, analyze, generate and review. Working in research groups led to interaction in new media platforms. The pre-task activity began with a brainstorming session to activate schema, wherein learners made predictions about the target structures that they would most likely encounter in the subsequent media interaction activity and they estimated some of the qualities of what constituted effective communication in new media, based on the aforementioned target structures.

The learner-as-discourse analysis approach appeared to enable learners to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how English was used in different new media contexts and it stimulated awareness of discourse structure within those different contexts. The learners were engaged in authentic, communicative discourse with participants around the globe. Of course, discourse analysis activities can be designed to focus on many different facets of communicative competence and the call for much more classroom research into this fascinating and worthwhile field involving new media is needed in the future.

3.2 Procedure

This research was done in a content-based classroom that utilized a holistic approach to language learning based on the theme of life in today's society. This

extension of the self and the user may be more relaxed speaking as an avatar and indeed, ESL research shows that speakers often seem to take on another persona when speaking a foreign language.



theme was in keeping with the name of our course book, *Academic Listening Encounters: Life in Society* (2004), specifically with the unit on media and society. Pre-task and post-task surveys determined the students' familiarity of the term new media and their levels of sophistication with new media both before and after they engaged in interactive use. The research began with a brainstorming session to activate schema, wherein learners made predictions about the target structures and technical manipulations that they would most likely encounter in the subsequent communication interactivity and they estimated some of the qualities of what constituted effective communication based on the aforementioned target structures.

This discourse analysis approach appeared to enable learners to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how English was used in different media contexts and it stimulated awareness of discourse structure within those different media contexts. Most importantly, they understood the change in interpersonal dynamics that came about through the use of the new media. Of course, discourse analysis activities can be designed to focus on many different facets of communicative competence and the call for much more classroom research into this fascinating and worthwhile field is needed in the future.

It appears that this type of task outside the classroom allows for a greater degree of freedom to explore and experiment in their imitative patterns. (Lantolf: 366)

3.3 Evaluation (Surveys)

The pre-task and post-task surveys helped to assess the students' prior knowledge, gather build background information and generally learn about their overall experience using new media. They experimented with both familiar and unfamiliar types of new media and in some instances used technology that was unfamiliar to them.

Some of the new media is generational. A response in one of the surveys: "I used Buddy, Buddy when I was young. And now I use Skype and Nate On." With the very high percentage of the students who use or have used Cyworld which utilizes an avatar called, "Minimi" many answered "yes" for this question. An avatar works as

Table 1 - Likert Scale Pre-Task/Post-Task Median Results.

7. How would you rate your interest in working on an assignment that will use "new media"? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely 5 = not at all)

8. How would you rate your interest in working on an assignment that will utilize "new media technology"? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely - 5 = not at all)

8. Please rate your experience working on this assignment on a scale of 1-5 with 5 indicating the best. (Circle the best description: 1 = most - 5 = least)

9. How would you rate your interest in "new media technology" after working on this assignment? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely 5 = not at all)

4. Conclusion

Over the past four years, McKinsey has studied how enterprises use these social technologies, ² which first took hold in business-to-consumer models that gave rise to Web companies such as YouTube and Facebook. Recently, the technologies have been migrating into the enterprise, with the promise of creating new gains to augment those generated by the earlier wave of IT adoptions. The patterns of adoption and diffusion for the social Web's enterprise applications appear to resemble those of earlier eras: a classic S curve, in which early adopters learn to use a new technology, and adoption then picks up rapidly as others begin to recognize its value.

Levinson (1999) explores McLuhan's aphorism "the medium is the message"; this means, he explains that our very use of a communications medium has a greater impact than the content that the medium conveys. The message tends to distract us from the significance of the medium itself. When they use instantaneous electronic communications, e.g. speaking on the telephone or writing online, users themselves become disembodied content. Speech is the oldest communication medium of all, and in fact the 'content' of a medium is always a prior medium, just as the content of a movie is a novel. The implications of this promotes 'sending ourselves' by means of virtual,

discarnate surrogates. Online, our awareness of personal identity has diminished and we seem, according to McLuhan, to be relieved of commitments to law and morals. Online interaction, the marriage of hot prose and cool telephone, is particularly cool: it demands participation and is especially well suited to education and active learning.

Marshall McLuhan's spirals in media evolution, known as McLuhan's Tetrad, asserts that any given medium will amplify, obsolesce, retrieve and reverse some other medium. The web encourages the same engagement and self-motivation, and Levinson briefly discusses the implications for formal education. He mentions the dangers of the curtailment of choice online by centralization. He concludes that we can reverse McLuhan's media determinism by using his own insights to enhance human control. This has led to the modern day phenomenon of "computer-mediated communication [that] has permitted complex social networks to become a dominate form of social organization" (Wellman 2001, 228).

However limited this research may be to the advancement of educational psychology and foreign language instruction, at the very least, it has helped to shift the focus of instruction away from the all-knowing professor pervasive in Confucian society and placed a greater emphasis onto the learner as an active participant in the construction of knowledge through the use of higher order critical thinking like reasoning, evaluating and synthesis. If the instructor facilitates access to complex and realistic learning environments with supported guidance and encouragement to be self-directed, then learners will embrace their freedom to explore with a high degree of motivation and independent freedom.

Appendix 1

Pre-Task Survey - Learning about New Media

Please respond to the following before you begin the assignment. Please enter the information below.

Name:

Age:

Class Letter:

Email Address:

1. Before this assignment have you ever heard of "new media?" Yes/ No. If yes, where did you hear about it?

2. Before this assignment how often have you used "new media"? Explain how often and how much?

3. Have you ever created an "avatar?" Yes/ No. If yes explain your response.

4. Have you are completed a project in a virtual environment before? Role-playing, Massive multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPG), Simulation Games or Yes/ No If yes explain which ones.

5. Before this assignment, have you ever used a social networking site? (for example, Cyworld, Facebook, My Space, Twitter, Etc.) Yes/No. If yes, which ones?

6. Before this assignment, have you ever used a web-based instant messaging application Buddy Buddy, ICQ, MSN and Yahoo Messenger, Meebo, Skype, etc. Yes/No If yes, which ones?

7. How would you rate your interest in working on an assignment that will use "new media"? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely - 5 = not at all)

Interest Extremely Very Interested Somewhat Not at all

	1	2	3	4	5
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8. How would you rate your interest in working on an assignment that will utilize "new media technology"? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely - 5 = not at all)

Interest Extremely Very Interested Somewhat Not at all

	1	2	3	4	5
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Appendix 2

Post-Task Survey - Learning about New Media

Please respond to the following survey after you complete the assignment. Please enter the information below.

Name:

Age:

Class Letter:

Email Address:

1. What did you learn, if anything, from doing the New Media assignment?

2. Did you discover any new practical application to use New Media? For example, could you apply anything you learned to your field of studies/expertise, future job/profession, networking, etc.?

3. What was your favorite experience using New Media?

4. What was your least favorite experience using New Media?

5. Would you use any of the New Media again now that the assignment is over?

6. What recommendations would you like to make to help improve this New Media assignment for future students enrolled in this course?

7. Describe your experience of trying to complete this assignment.

8. Please rate your experience working on this assignment on a scale of 1-5 with 5 indicating the best. (Circle the best description: 1 = the worst - 5 = the best)

Experience Worst Bad Fair Good Best

	1	2	3	4	5
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9. How would you rate your interest in "new media technology" after working on this assignment? (Circle the best description: 1 = extremely - 5 = not at all)

Interest Extremely Very Interested Somewhat Not at all

	1	2	3	4	5
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Lexical Borrowing: English Theological Terms

Edita Hornáčkoová – Klapicová

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia

Abstract

There are two kinds of linguistic change: "...those which arise within the structure of a linguistic system, in its phonology, morphology, or syntax; and those which come from sources outside linguistic structure, i.e. are conditioned by such nonlinguistic aspects of human activity as social prestige or political influence" (Hall 1974, 4). We distinguish between: a) structural factors, which include change in the sound of language ("sound change" or "phonetic change") and the extension of a given feature (of sound, form, or syntactic combination), usually referred to as "analogical change", and b) nonstructural factors, which involve mainly "the imitation, on the part of users of a given linguistic structure, of patterns which derive from a different variety of speech" (ibid, 7). Such imitation is called "external

borrowing" in contrast to the borrowing which takes place within the system of a particular language, which is termed as "analogy". English theological terms find their primary source outside their own system and, therefore, in this work we will concentrate on this latter type of linguistic change.

Keywords

Lexical borrowing, loanwords, English vocabulary, theological terminology.

Introduction

This paper forms part of a larger project focused on the study and analysis of the origin and development of theological terms in English and Spanish. The primary purpose of the entire project is to find similarities between English and Spanish theological terms while making use of historical-comparative methods to trace their origin and development. The thesis underlines some important aspects of "external history", i.e. the political and social conditions which have determined the spread and prestige of these terms as well as certain aspects of their "internal history", i.e. the development of their structure over the centuries, with the focus on external borrowing. In addition to external borrowing, the thesis also deals with tracing the roots of some of the English and Spanish theological terms back to the Proto-Indo-European language so as to show the common ancestor (proto-language) of both languages. The aim of this paper is to present the historical and linguistic background for the processes of external borrowing which occurred in the English vocabulary, with the focus on religious terms.

1. Lexical borrowing and English

Lexical borrowing is a common result of linguistic contact, i.e. "the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect" (Hock - Joseph 1996, 253). Word-borrowing may, on the other hand, "be motivated by the need for adequate denotation of new cognitive contents or concepts arising in the process of the material and spiritual development of society" (Berndt 1982, 49). This was so in the case of "large numbers of foreign words which entered the English lexicon in the more than fifteen centuries that have passed since the first arrival of Germanic invaders in Britain" (ibid, 49). In English, however, borrowing did not solely occur as a result of filling a 'gap' in the vocabulary. In the Middle English period, for example, words were borrowed in spite of the available lexical items of native origin. These were often replaced by the new loans or became subject to semantic or stylistic alteration. Besides 'borrowing from necessity', we may talk of 'redundant borrowing', when loans were made as a matter of

'fashion' or 'prestige', especially in the higher circles of society (Cf. ibid, 49). This can undoubtedly be applied to French as the first or second language of the upper echelons of English feudal society and other important social groups, and Latin, the language of scholarship and learning in the Middle Ages. Loans from these languages were often borrowed to achieve elegance of expression or to produce rhetorical effects. They were often used "for purposes of 'decoration' or the refinement of literary diction or style, or out of pure ostentation or similar reasons" (ibid, 49).

Examples of an often undetectable process can be found in the semantic shifts which many older Germanic religious terms underwent in response to the introduction of Christianity through Latin. For example, the words *heofon* - 'sky', 'abode of the gods and of warriors fallen in battle'; *hel* - 'underworld', 'abode of the dead who have not fallen in battle (below the earth)'; and *god* (a non-Christian deity) acquired new Christian meanings alongside, or instead of, their earlier native connotations (Cf. Hock - Joseph 1996, 263-264). These semantic shifts were possible because the corresponding Latin terms (*caelum*, *inferna* and *deus*, respectively) had a variety of meanings that included both Christian and pre-Christian meanings (*caelum* - 'sky', 'abode of the gods', 'Christian heaven'; *inferna* - 'abode of the dead below the earth', 'Christian hell'; and *deus* - 'deity', 'God'). "The partial semantic agreement between Latin and Old English, then, made it possible to extend the Old English meanings into new, Christian usages covered by the Latin terms" (ibid, 263). A process that is in a way "intermediate between adoption and loan shift is that of producing loan translations or *calques*" (ibid, 264).

The practice of 'direct borrowing' in the Old English period occurred by the way of 'loan formations', "sometimes subdivided into 'semantic loans' and 'loan formations', or native word formations in imitation of a Latin model" (Berndt 1982, 50). The 'indirect borrowings' of this time included lexical items such as *eft-ārisan* (rise again, Lat re-surgere); *mild-heort* (merciful, Lat misericors); *mildheortnis(s)* (mercy, Lat misericordia); (Cristes) *menniscnes(s)* (incarnation, Lat

(Christi) incarnation); *ǣdspe(l)* ('good tidings', gospel, Lat *euangelium* from Gk *euaggélion*) (Cf. *ibid*, 50).

2. Latin Influences on Old English

Latin was not the language of a conquered people but rather "the language of a highly regarded civilization, at first commercial and military, later religious and intellectual, extended over many centuries and was constantly renewed" (Baugh – Cable 2002, 77). For several hundred years, "while the Germanic tribes who later became the English were still occupying their continental homes, they had various relations with the Romans through which they acquired a considerable number of Latin words. Later when they came to England they saw the evidences of the long Roman rule in the island and learned from the Celts additional Latin words that had been acquired by them" (*ibid*, 77). And a century and a half later, Roman missionaries reintroduced Christianity into the island, which "resulted in a quite extensive adoption of Latin elements into the language" (*ibid*, 77). Borrowing from Latin thus occurred on three different occasions before the end of the Old English period. In this paper we will focus on the Latin loans which over time entered the English religious vocabulary.

3. Latin Influence during the Christianization of Britain

The greatest influence of Latin upon Old English was caused by the conversion of Britain to Roman Christianity, starting in 597. The religion that the Anglo-Saxons shared with other Germanic tribes did not seem to have a strong hold on the people at the end of the sixth century; "but their habits of mind, their ideals, and the action to which these gave rise were often in sharp contrast to the teachings of the New Testament" (*ibid*, 83). Germanic philosophy "exalted physical courage, independence even to haughtiness, loyalty to one's family or leader that left no wrong unavenged" (*ibid*, 83). Christianity, on the other hand, "preached meekness, humility, and patience under suffering and said that if a man struck you on one cheek you should turn the other" (*ibid*, 83). It was a difficult task to change the age-old mental habits of such a people. However, Augustine and his forty monks "seem to have been men of exemplary lives, appealing personality, and devotion to purpose, and they owed their ultimate success as much to what they were as to what they said" (*ibid*, 83). One circumstance was in favour of the missionaries upon their arrival in England. They landed in the Kingdom of Kent, in which there was a small number of Christians. Æthelberht, the king, had chosen his wife from among the Franks, and the princess, Bertha, had been given to him only on the condition that she be allowed to keep her Christian faith. Æthelberht had a small chapel built near his palace in Kentwara-byring (Canterbury), and there were regular services held for Bertha and the many dependents whom she had brought with her. Æthelberht received Augustine and his companions and later he himself was baptized. His example was followed by a number of his subjects. By the time Augustine died seven years later, the kingdom of Kent had become wholly Christian. The rest of England underwent its conversion to Christianity in a more gradual process.

4. The Earlier Influence of Christianity on English Vocabulary

Christian missionaries from Ireland and Rome introduced a large amount of Latin vocabulary into English. Over a period of more than 500 years, Latin words gradually entered the English language. The first wave of religious feeling in the seventh century is reflected in intense activity in church building and the establishment of monasteries, which "resulted in

hundreds of new words coming into the language, and motivated many derived forms" (Crystal 2009, 24). The most typical, as well as the most numerous, class of words was related to the Church and its services, theology, and learning. Moreover, many Old English words were given new, 'Christian' meanings due to missionary influence. Words such as "*heaven, hell, God, Gospel, Easter, Holy Ghost, sin*, and several others were semantically refashioned at the time" (*ibid*, 24). Words "are generally taken over by one language from another in answer to a definite need. They are adopted because they express ideas that are new or because they are so intimately associated with an object or a concept that acceptance of the thing involves acceptance also of the word" (Baugh – Cable 2002, 86).

Some of the early Latin ecclesiastical loans (before 1000) are *abbadissa* > *abudesse*, 'abbess'; *altar* > *alter*, 'altar'; *apostolus* > *apostol*, 'apostle'; *culpa* > *cylpe*, 'fault'; *missa* > *mæsse*, 'Mass'; *nonnus* > *none*, 'monk'; *offerre* > *offrian*, 'sacrifice'; *praedicare* > *predician*, 'preach'. A few examples of late Latin ecclesiastical loans (after 1000) are *chrisma* > *crisma*, 'chrism'; *credo* > *creda*, 'creed'; *crucem* > *cruc*, 'cross'; *discipulus* > *discipul*, 'disciple'; *paradises* > *paradis*, 'paradise'; *sabbatum* > *sabbat*, 'sabbath'. Other Latin ecclesiastical loans include *abbot, alb, alms, angel, anthem, antichrist, ark, candle, canon, cantic, chalice, cleric, cloister, deacon, hymn, litany, manna, martyr, nun, pope, priest, prophet, psalm, psalter, relic, shrine, synagogue, synod, temple*, and *tunic*. Some of the Latin loans from this period are of Greek origin, as Latin borrowed freely from Greek, e.g. *apostle, balsam*, and *demon*.

5. The Benedictine Reform and its Influence on English

Towards the end of the eighth century, with the ravages of the Danes upon the country, the English language suffered a great decline. The work of education was neglected and learning decayed. King Alfred looked upon the past as a "golden age which had gone, 'when the kings who ruled obeyed God and his evangelists,' and when 'the religious orders were earnest about doctrine, and learning, and all the service they owed to God'; and he lamented that the decay of learning was so great at the beginning of his reign 'that there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English, and I believe not many beyond the Humber. So few were there that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames when I came to the kingship'" (Baugh – Cable 2002, 87-88). King Alfred restored churches and founded monasteries; for twenty years he made a great effort to spread education in his kingdom and foster learning. Nevertheless, his work did not bear much fruit. But in the second half of the tenth century "three great religious leaders, imbued with the spirit of reform, arose in the Church: Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 988); Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester (d. 984); and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York (d. 992)" (*ibid*, 88), who, with the support of King Edgar, "effected a genuine revival of monasticism in England". A number of important monasteries were recreated in England, and Athelwold prepared a version of the Benedictine Rule, known as the *Concordia Regularis*, "to bring about a general uniformity in their organization and observances" (*ibid*, 88). The improvement of education was "one of the objects of special concern in this work of rehabilitation" (*ibid*, 88). The aim was to establish schools and encourage learning among the monks and the clergy. This brought extremely satisfying results. Before the end of the century the monasteries had again become centres of literary activity. Works in English were

prepared for the popularizing of knowledge and "manuscripts both in Latin and the vernacular were copied and preserved" (ibid, 89). It is remarkable that "the four great codices in which the bulk of Old English poetry is preserved date from this period" (ibid, 89). Their existence is doubtlessly owed to the reform movement.

It appears that "the influence of Latin upon the English language rose and fell with the fortunes of the Church and the state of learning so intimately connected with it" (ibid, 89). As a result of the new literary activity, Latin played an important role in the shaping of English. In contrast to the earlier Christian borrowings containing words related to science and learning, the new Latin words adopted into English, especially frequent in the works of Ælfric, "reflect not only the theological and pedagogical nature of his writings but also his classical tastes and attainments" (ibid, 89). Nevertheless, as in the earlier Christian borrowings a great number of new Latin loans are ecclesiastical: *alb*, *Antichrist*, *antiphoner*, *apostle*, *canticle*, *cantor*, *cell*, *chrism*, *cloister*, *collect*, *creed*, *dalmatic*, *demon*, *idol*, *nocturn*, *prophet*, *Sabbath* and *synagogue*. There were also loans having to do with everyday life, even though literary and learned words predominate.

The extent of the Latin influence is seen in the number of words borrowed. Before the end of the Old English period, some 450 Latin words appear in English writings as a result of the Christianization of Britain. This number excludes derivatives and proper names, which are very numerous. Only 350 of these words can be considered part of the English vocabulary, for the other 100 did not make it to the general vocabulary because of their foreign character. Of the 350 words some did not become part of general use but were, however, reintroduced later. On the other hand, a large number of Latin loans were fully accepted and assimilated into the English language.

6. French Influence on Middle English Vocabulary

Despite the fact that the loss of inflections and the consequent simplification of English grammar are indirectly due to the use of French in England, the French influence is much more direct and observable upon the vocabulary. English and French first began to be in contact with each other in the days of Benedictine reform of the tenth century and in the decades following the marriage between King Ethelred and Emma, sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, in the early eleventh century as well as during the reign of their son Edward the Confessor (1042-1066)" (Berndt 1982, 57). French loans, such as *prūd/prūt* (proud) and *tūr* (tower) can be tracked back to Late Old English.

The greatest influx of French words into the English lexicon, however, took place in the Middle English period. It was mainly due to the victory of William the Conqueror and by the political and social consequences of that victory. It began slowly and continued for a long time. The large number of French loans borrowed during the Middle Ages has made it easy for English to keep borrowing, "and the close cultural relations between France and England in all subsequent periods have furnished a constant opportunity for the transfer of words" (Baugh – Cable 2002, 118).

French words have come into English from two French dialects: the Norman spoken in England (Anglo-Norman) and the Central French (that of Paris, later standard French) (Cf. Algeo 2010, 255). By the form of a word we can frequently tell whether it is of Norman or Central French origin. For example, the Latin *c* [k] before *a* developed into *ch* [ç] in Central French, but remained in the Norman dialect. Hence *chapter*, from the Middle English *chapitre* (from Old French), originating from the Latin *capitulum* 'little head', a diminutive of *caput*, is

from the Central dialect (Cf. ibid, 255). This phenomenon gave rise to doublets such as *chattel* and *cattle*, from Central French and Norman, respectively, both originating from the Latin *capitale*, 'possession, stock' (Cf. ibid, 255).

The most frequent French words introduced into English had to do with governmental and administrative vocabulary; ecclesiastical, legal and military terms; fashion; food; social life; art; learning; and medicine. The Church was an object of Norman interest and ambition; the higher clergy, practically all Normans, occupied positions of wealth and power. The Church opened the way to a career that often led to the highest political offices at court. French was the usual language in monasteries and religious houses for a long time. Therefore, we find in English a considerable number of religious French words related to indications of rank or class; the names of objects associated with service or with religious life; words expressing some fundamental religious or theological concepts; more general virtues; adjectives and verbs such as *religion*, *theology*, *sermon*, *homily*, *sacrament*, *baptism*, *communion*, *confession*, *penance*, *prayer*, *lesson*, *passion*, *clergy*, *clerk*, *prelate*, *cardinal*, *legate*, *dean*, *chaplain*, *parson*, *pastor*, *vicar*, *sexton*, *abbess*, *novice*, *friar*, *hermit*, *crucifix*, *crossier*, *miter*, *surplice*, *censer*, *incense*, *lectern*, *image*, *chancel*, *chantry*, *chapter*, *abbey*, *convent*, *priory*, *hermitage*, *cloister*, *sanctuary*, *creator*, *savior*, *trinity*, *virgin*, *saint*, *miracle*, *mystery*, *faith*, *heresy*, *schism*, *reverence*, *devotion*, *sacrilege*, *simony*, *temptation*, *damnation*, *penitence*, *contrition*, *remission*, *absolution*, *redemption*, *salvation*, *immortality*, *piety*, *sanctity*, *charity*, *mercy*, *pity*, *obedience*, *virtue*, *solemn*, *divine*, *reverend*, *devout*, *preach*, *pray*, *chant*, *repent*, *confess*, *adore*, *sacrifice*, *convert*, *anoint* and *ordain*.

French influence on Middle English vocabulary "became increasingly evident in English manuscripts of the 13th century" (Crystal 2009, 46). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, approximately 10,000 French words entered into English during the Middle English period, of which about seventy-five percent are still in use. However, the exact number of French loans which had been fully incorporated into English by the end of the Middle English times and had thus become part of the core vocabulary is unknown. It has been maintained that 'in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries French words were being taken by the hundreds into the popular speech'. But actually there is no reliable evidence from which to gather how many of the French borrowings had, by this time already, penetrated into the everyday language of ordinary Englishmen outside the social circles in which French had for a long time been used as a means of oral communication besides English" (Berndt 1982, 61).

Even though French remained an important source of lexical borrowing in the Modern English period, there is not much evidence for French ecclesiastical vocabulary entering the English lexicon.

7. Latin Borrowings in Middle English

Even though "French is the most dominant influence on the growth of Middle English vocabulary, it is by no means the only one" (Crystal 2009, 48). The influence of the Norman Conquest is "generally known as the Latin Influence of the Third Period in recognition of the ultimate source of the new French words" (Baugh – Cable 2002, 134). However, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries several thousand words came into the English language directly from Latin or via French. Religion was one of the fields which received new Latin words in this period, also due to the fact that Latin continued to be a spoken language among ecclesiastics and men of learning. Some Latin religious loans in Middle English include the following words: *collect*,

diocese, incarnate, infinite, limbo, magnificat, mediator, memento, missal, pulpit, requiem, rosary, scripture (Cf. Crystal 2009, 48). Other Latin loans from this period comprise *congregation, cūrāt, monasterye, ecclēsiastical, catholik* (adj), *cerymonial, ēternal, immortal, asolve(n), celebrāte(n), cosecrāte(n), excomūnicāte(n), doctrine* (Cf. Berndt 1982, 54).

8. Latin Loans in the Early Modern English Period

It is important to note that the development of new registers or functional varieties of English with the rapid advance of modern science in the seventeenth century meant a new vivid process of lexical borrowing from Latin and via Latin from Greek. The monopoly of Latin as the "universal language of philosophy, theology, and science was being challenged, and English came to be employed more and more for purposes for which Latin had for centuries either exclusively or predominantly been used" (ibid, 55). Latin loans in this period had to do mainly with the growing natural sciences, such as medicine, anatomy, pathology, botany, astronomy, and physics; fields such as education, rhetoric and prosody, literature, etc.; political vocabulary, administration, lay, and some everyday words. Only a few religious terms adopted from Latin made their way into English, such as *contemplate* or *dogma* (from Gk through Lat).

9. Greek Loanwords in English

A number of Greek words came into English by the way of Latin even before the Norman Conquest, and some early Greek loans may have entered the Germanic

directly from Greek, such as *church*. From the Middle English times on, Latin and French are the immediate sources of most ultimately Greek loanwords. Other Greek ecclesiastical loans are *mystery* and *agnostic*.

10. Hebrew and Aramaic Loanwords in English

Numerous Hebrew religious words have passed into English via French or Latin. Hebrew is the origin of *amen, cherub, hallelujah, Hosanna, manna, rabbi, Sabbath, seraph, Torah, Jehovah* (Yahweh) and a great number of Biblical proper and topographical names, e.g. *Abel, Abraham, David, Emmanuel, Bethlehem, Gehenna, Gomorrah, Habakkuk, Jericho, Jerusalem, Jesus, Judas/Jude, Ruth, Zachariah* (Cf. Hornáčková Klapicová 2010, 171-194). Aramaic is the source of *Abba, abbess, Gabbatha, Golgotha, Marana tha, Mary, pharisee* (Cf. ibid, 171-194).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the richest foreign sources of the present (not only ecclesiastical) English lexicon are Latin, French and Greek. Many of the Latin and Greek words were first part of erudite language, and some still are. Others have become part of everyday language. Greek "had tremendous prestige as a classical language"; however, "Western Europe had little firsthand knowledge of it until the advent of refugee Greek scholars from Constantinople after the conquest of that city by the Turks in 1453" (Algeo 2010, 252).

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The Rhetoric of Regional Planning: a Cross-Disciplinary Approach

Alcina Sousa

University of Madeira, Portugal

Júlia Lourenço

University of Minho, Portugal

Abstract

Analysing discourse as a social practice and the rhetoric of regional plans entails a focus on the features of context, such as identities of participants, the social structures, and the professional relationships urban planning is likely to maintain or change. This paper aims at discussing recurrent trends in regional land-use planning concerning development versus conservation in the 1990s in the Portuguese context. Two regional plans, whose date of approval shows a ten-year span, are compared within a cross-disciplinary framework with two tourism plans. Two major fields, namely linguistics (i.e. corpus linguistics and discourse analysis) and territory planning, highlight how language in regulations is used, based on a quantitative empirical study. The main findings, drawing both on exploratory data and methods from computational linguistics, point towards increasing levels of subjectivity. The close scrutiny of linguistic and discursive choices, with a focus on the interaction of segmental, supra-segmental and textual levels, also highlights the multimodal nature of the regulations of these two regional land plans. Concurrently, underlying discourses towards development rather than conservation come to the fore in both plans.

Keywords

Regional plans, sustainable development, protection, corpus linguistics, modality, modal carriers.



Introduction

The analysis of territorial planning is a theme mentioned in some international publications (Healey 1993, Faludi & Valk 1994) but rarely studied from an interdisciplinary perspective, interweaving urbanism and linguistic domains, such as discourse analysis, semantics and syntax, as well as resorting to the more common techniques in computational linguistics. Hence, the increasing number of publications on law and space is recent (Valverde 2005), particularly those addressing cross-disciplinary topics (Butler 2009) contributing to critical legal scholarship, such as the regulation of the city, the control of public space and the symbolic dimensions of spatial conflicts.

In fact, the concern for the organization of people's lives in urban spaces goes back to antiquity. From modernity to postmodernity, there is (Allmendinger and Gunder 2005: 87) "a great deal of anecdotal and empirical evidence" which discusses "how planning can be, and has been". Yet, posits Valverde (2008: 895), "the content of (some) norms is subject to revision but the normative power of law as such remains unchallenged". Leshinsky and Bar (borrowing from Glazer 2007: 258) advance that (2007: 1192) "planning has become a complex web of technical policy which is difficult for even planners and planning law actors to navigate through". So they challenge planning law decision-makers to discuss "taken-for-granted assumptions" as "there is space for other knowledge tools and legal actors" who can "provide knowledge on social and cultural impacts" towards "significant land use and development". In other words, the appeal is on,

borrowing from Stephenson's words (1998: 237), "an actual (rather than theoretical) policy-making context". Consequently, some current trends not only point to insights shared by researchers in related domains in human and social sciences (Bhatia 1998, Candlin 2001, and Chichorro 2003), but also favour a dialogue involving domains like anthropology, philosophy, rhetoric and linguistics (Chichorro 2003), for a deeper understanding of urbanism (Alves Correia 1993).

On the one hand, the current study takes a linguistic approach and carries out a corpus linguistic analysis of urban plans as reflecting the public dimension in their legislative drafting. Thus, it borrows from quantitative and qualitative methods in computer linguistics applied to discourse analysis (Baker 2006), because "the strengths of corpus-based approaches in investigating language use", referred to by Biber *et al.* (in Partington 1998: 9-10), "cannot solely rely on intuition, anecdotal evidence, or small samples; they rather require empirical analyses of large databases of authentic texts". On the other, previous research of an interdisciplinary sort on Portuguese plans (Sousa and Lourenço 2006, 2009, 2009) pointed to the fact that urban plans (i) evidenced linguistic and discursive choices from a range of shared official languages, particularly English, and (ii) overlooked some intricacies inherent to their legislative drafting (Hunt 2002, 2003), for instance ambiguity, vagueness, with direct impact on courses of action, towards development rather than conservation. Moreover, previous studies (Sousa and Lourenço 2006, 2009) have come to validate the theoretical and methodological framework concerning

the use of corpus linguistics in the analysis of urban regulations of interdiscursive genre. Given their hybrid kind, it is therefore necessary to put forward a linguistic approach to the issues of the comprehension and comprehensibility of urban plans as legal documents, also bearing in mind their impact on the public dimension in their drafting. Another issue is whether the regional plans have a development cline or a conservation one.

The object of scrutiny comprises: two regional plans, PROTAL (Decree No. 11/91- Law 176-A/88), and PROTAML (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 11/2002); two tourism plans, POT Madeira (Regional Decree No. 17/2002/M) and PDTVD (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 139/2003). These plans are essentially of legal nature (Cao 2007: 9), regulating main activities within economic, environmental and socio-cultural domains, especially urbanisation and tourism, for the regions of the Algarve, Lisbon Metropolitan Area, Madeira Island and the Douro Valley, respectively. Their selection follows several external criteria (Sinclair 2004), namely: *i.* broader territorial scope, overlooking specificities unlikely to be compared; *ii.* production by multidisciplinary teams, including legal experts, granting (Alves Correia 1993) higher quality standards to the rules issued; *iii.* limited production by a few public-administration agencies which allows for a better control of variables, like urban descriptors, as well as linguistic and discursive choices constrained by “normativities” (Blommaert 2005 in Baker 2006) shared in complementary discourse communities of territory and tourism planning. As for the external criteria, these derive from the examination of the communicative function of regulation plans whereas the internal criteria reflect details of the language of the text.

All in all, the current research focuses on a lexico-syntactic and semantic analysis of, for example, adjectives and modals, so as to arrive at a better understanding of the way these modal carriers, to cite Hoey (1997: 67), “embody and, in turn, reinforce processes” which contribute to flash out distinct modal elements on the discourse level underlying the speaker’s/legislator’s standpoint be it in relation to a regulatory agenda, the propositional content or a diversity of interlocutors.

Shared Perspective: The Rhetoric of Urban and Tourism Planning

Before defining regional planning as a process, it is mandatory to point to recent trends on collaborative research inherent to the “discourse of professions”, following Oliveira (2005, 2009), and grounded on Sarangi (2006), in the line of the postulates by Malinowski (1935: 320), in that the interpretation of language in context benefits both from applying the tools of analysis and repertoire in linguistics, and the knowledge and expertise of professionals stemming from diverse but related domains. More than a focus on the language used, regulating the professional relations, a multidisciplinary approach intends to involve researchers (Sarangi 2001) “in what constitutes professional practice and knowledge representations from the insiders’ perspective”.

At this point, the role of applied linguistics is deemed relevant to sketch out the borderlines underlying this research, as long as in any area of (Traugott and Pratt 1980: 19) “applied” fields, for instance “applied physics or applied anthropology”, to tag along the scholars’ wording, “the use of the discoveries, the frame of reference, and terminology of one discipline...serve[s] the ends of another area of endeavor”. Hence, poignantly bring in Traugott and Pratt, “the discoveries and methods of the social sciences are often applied to the solution of concrete social problems. Many applications of linguistics are practical in this way”.

Now coming back to the interdiscursive dimension (Ramos 2003) of regional plans, as legal texts, it is worth referring to Maingueneau’s contentions on speech acts (1997: 30), given their relevance to the current argument. “Language used in law can perform such acts as conferring rights, prescribing prohibition and granting permission”, states Cao (2007: 14). This entails, thus, the deliberative genre in rhetoric, provided that framing laws concerning land use and development presupposes a long negotiation process. The speech acts involved, so advances Maingueneau (1997), trigger conventions which regulate the relations among subjects on the institutional level, conferring each and every one a role in the linguistic activity. Therefore, the legislator/speaker assumes a sort of implicit social linguistic ritual also shared by the interlocutors. Consequently, a certain degree of subjectivity is likely to occur in the production of urban plans as the outcome of the negotiation process. Yet, it is also expected that certain strategic linguistic and discursive choices, featuring the normative/legalese discourse (Maley 1994), reduce the subjective cline, so as to “establish legal facts or create rights and obligations” (Cao 2007: 10).

The drafting of plans presupposes a long dialogue among several actors, discursive practices and communities, who decide upon land use and development. These communities involve multiple voices by, for example, demographers, sociologists, architects, planners, politicians, or as Leshinsky and Bar put it (2007), “legal actors, from municipal planning officers to judges, to make explicit and implicit assumptions and claims about truth” as well “develop models for more adjustable and equitable” urban spaces.

Regional planning involves both a strategic and a regulatory dimension developed in a process of abiding to social, technical and political constructs. The output of one of the most important by-product of regional planning, the regional plan, consists of a set of rules and a map (of multimodal nature, following Kress, 1997), such as, territory and land use planning, ecology, tourism, and economics, both of which translate a long negotiation process, necessarily reflecting a vast array of interests. Moreover, the ensuing interdiscursive nature of regional plans is reinforced by the involvement of several technical domains, or following Wodak and Cillia (2006: 712), selected dimensions of discourse as social practice, and socio-cultural heritage, among other, which render regional plans interdiscursive (cf. Figure 1).

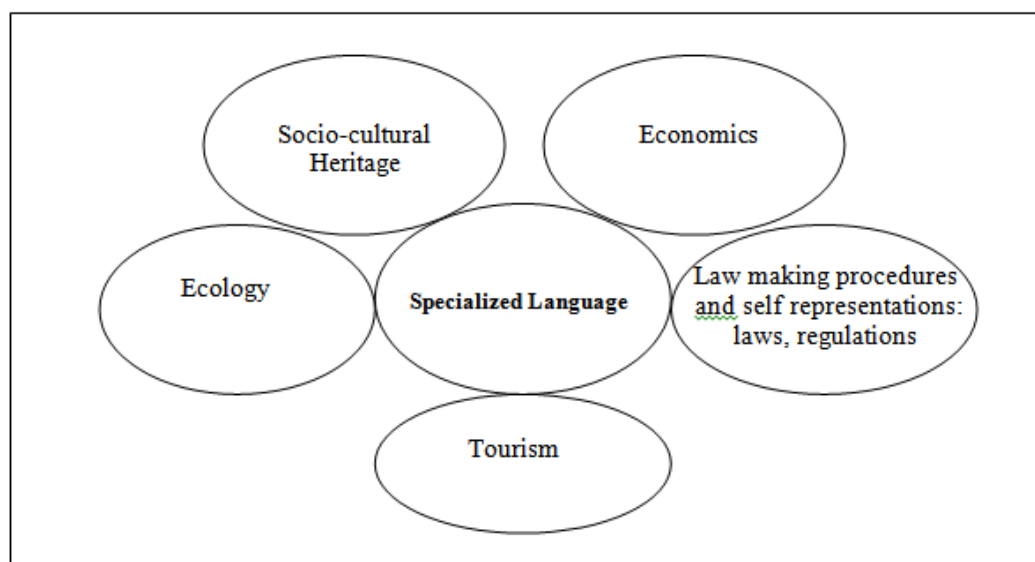


Figure 1. Urban and Regional Planning: Crisscrossing Domains

The process of public discussion underpinning the making and approval of any regional plan involves wide discussions with many diverse participants besides urban planners. So the methodological approach to analyse regional plans borrows from diverse but complementary frameworks, and entails working in a transdisciplinary way (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:

16). Accordingly, the logic of one discipline, for example linguistics, can offer further insights in the development of another, for example, urban planning, as depicted in Figure 2. Hence, state Wodak and Cillia (2006: 712) "cooperation leads to a bundling or clustering of problem-solving approaches".

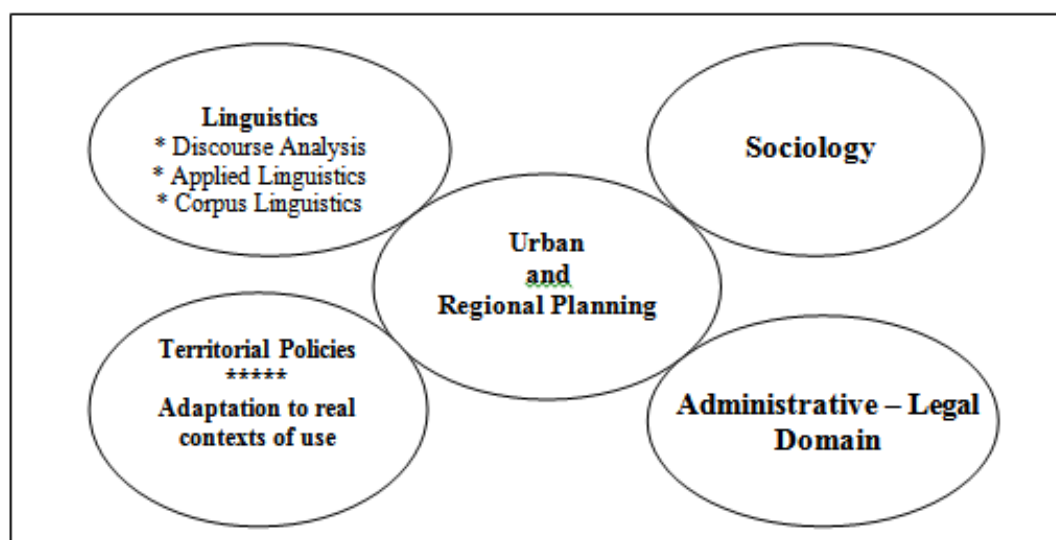


Figure 2. Urban and Regional Planning: Theoretical approaches for Regulation Procedures

In the process of plan making and plan negotiation, which leads to the final production of the set of rules and a map, different standpoints are usually associated with either a development or a conservation cline. Territory plans in Portugal, as well as in many other countries, are likely to be related to the latter. For example, in the nineties, regions such as the Algarve, experienced a construction boom especially driven by a tourism-development purpose which raise some conflict with nature preservation and conservation. Consequently, a regional plan was designed to be later approved aiming at closely regulating the construction of hotel and resorts along with any urbanisation kind in coastal and other natural fragile areas.

To put it briefly, the operational concept of development, in the scope of regional and urban planning domains, implies the carrying out of activities in, on or under the soil, that is, related to the construction of roads and facilities, buildings and public spaces, together with mining or agro-forestry, to name but a few. The operational concept of conservation points towards domains of maintaining existing land uses, be it nature or built-up environments.

Methodology

In the analysis of subjectivity, Simpson states (1993: 47) that "modality, point of view and transitivity" are crucial.

For a broader understanding of subjectivity at the discourse level, and more specifically of modality¹, this research departs from Simpson's contention that the former (1993: 47) "has been used rather loosely to refer to 'attitudinal' features of language by a variety of grammatical means for conveying modal commitment" [author's emphasis]. As such, this research focuses on the analysis of some modal elements in both plans via a corpus-based approach because, and to borrow from Hoey's tenets (1997: 3), "language corpora supports the view that modal elements frequently combine and interact dynamically, there seldom being one carrier of modality operating in isolation within the clause". Modal elements comprise (Simpson 1993: 47), "modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs (or sentence adverbs), evaluative adjectives and adverbs, generic sentences, and verbs of knowledge, prediction and evaluation". The systematic study of two regional plans (PROTAL and PROTAML) and two tourism plans (POT Madeira and PTVD), involved the selection of linguistic and discursive choices, via computer analysis of, notably, lexical modals, modal verbs, adjectives (modal carriers) and relevant structures which are singled out given their unexpected occurrence in legal texts of this type.

Techniques and Procedures

As for the crisscrossing of corpus-based approaches with other domains of linguistic scrutiny (Biber *et al.*, 1998; Sinclair 2004; Partington 1998; Hoey 1997, 2001, 2005; Sampson and McCarthy 2004; Baker 2006), namely discourse analysis, it might be stated that much research is now heavily departing from data encoded in computational resources. In so doing, the analysis of linguistic phenomena, for example, linguistic and discursive choices, will benefit from corpus tools allowing for (MacLeod, 2005: 61) "an objective and verifiable description of the relevant linguistic features of a text" and larger corpora. Corpus tools allow for the electronic retrieval of, for instance, modals (words) in concordance lines/strings², displaying their context of occurrence (phrases), followed by a close analysis. Concordance data may shed light both "into the conceptual meaning of words and the connotational significance of lexis", advances Partington (1998: 65). "Semantic prosody" borrowing from Sinclair (1990, 2004) accounts for the phenomenon in which an item with association with others, its collocates, as offered in a concordance sample, acquires a "favorable or unfavorable connotation" (Partington 1998: 66). Bearing in mind the nature of the plan regulations, of legal kind, this study is meant to find out the context of occurrence, firstly, and then compare the frequency³ of occurrence of modal carriers in the *corpora* under scope. Amidst these modal elements, adjectives, given their large number, were carefully singled out in frequency lists and analysed in context before being displayed in tables.

The exploratory analysis of the official regulations of both plans is based on a systematic study of the selected *corpus* by means of a concordance tool – ConCapp. This allows for retrieving the context of occurrence of repeated patterns (for example, words, phrases or constructions), along with the search of co-occurring items (Partington 1998: 138) "which have a high probability of being found together in a text or in a collection of texts of the same corpus". These items are likely to contribute to a better understanding of both plans. Thus, in the research of the linguistic and discursive choices, in a total of 60985 words⁴ (PROTAL – 6454 words; PROTAML – 43076 words; POTMadeira – 8945 words; PTVD – 2507 words), "the inclusion of only moderately common or rare words" (Partington, *Ibidem*) depended on the interrelated "topics represented in the texts of the corpus". In Barthes's contention ([1975]1994: 42) these entail "an unconstrained word that claims consistency of its own insistence" opposing expected "stereotypes" given the problem at hand, if related to any lexical-semantic field.

The term context, as perceived in corpus linguistics, plays an important role by involving the analysis of, to borrow from Biber, Sinclair and Partington (in Hoey 2005: 163), "collocations, semantic associations, colligations and textual colligations". A final stage of the analysis comprises triangulation (Baker 2006:16), thereby facilitating validity checks of hypotheses. Among the striking carriers of modality⁵ or modal elements on the discourse level, there is also a focus on modal verbs in Portuguese *dever* (→ must; shall in legal English) and *poder* (→ may), time and aspect (cf. Campos 1997; Marques 2004). In the process of interpretation of linguistic and discursive choices, concur several levels of analysis, especially, the lexico-semantic, syntactic and pragmatic ones (Hoey 1997: 3). The first concerns the "lexical priming", in as much as, contends the linguist, "every lexical choice starts off a series of options and predilections... in any situation in which the speaker has been primed to perform". The second entails the discursive process, which involves decision-making regarding the propositional content, the discursive genre, interdiscursive domains, interlocutors, apart from, adds Hoey (*Op. Cit.*, *Ibidem*), "situationally-specific features which cumulatively account for, and contribute to, what have traditionally been treated as the syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discursual features of a language." Hoey contends that corpus analysis benefits from pragmatics, thus entailing a "pragmalinguistic" approach in the scope of modality, as follows (1997: 8-9): "co-occurrence is examined in terms of speaker meaning and context of utterance. The nuances introduced by particular modal-adverb associations and the influences that motivate their selection offer further insights into how modal-adverb collocations may be accounted for and eventually formulated".

¹ When Halliday refers to "forms" of modality, he means the modal verbs as "verbal forms" and lexical modals, for instance adverbs as "non-verbal elements".

² "A concordance is simply a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in, usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (Baker 2006: 71) and "concordance analysis is one of the most effective techniques which allows researchers to carry out this sort of close examination."

³ "Frequency is one of the most central concepts underpinning the analysis of corpora. It is important to understand that frequency lists are a good starting point and used sensitively they can illuminate a variety of interesting phenomena." (Baker 2006: 47)

⁴ "One consideration when building a specialized corpus in order to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject is perhaps not so much the size of the corpus, but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it." (Baker 2006: 28)

⁵ Yet, it is not our purpose to undertake their semantic analysis, because, however succinct it might be, it would overlook long debated features on national (cf. Campos, 1997; Santos, 2003) and international (cf. Viana 2006) scopes.

Case Studies

• PROTAL & PROTAML

Preliminary studies (Lourenço & Sousa, 2005, 2008, 2009), of a diachronic kind, flashed out distinctive linguistic and discursive choices in PROTAL (the oldest one in Portugal, issued in 1991) and PROTAML (the latest to be approved in 2002). PROTAML presents a higher frequency of an array of lexemes falling upon recurrent domains, which highlight its interdiscursive nature, namely: *política*→ political (48 / 0.1114%); *administração*→ administration (47 / 0.1091%); *coesão*→ cohesion (24 / 0.0557%); *económico/a/as*→ economical (71 / 0.1648%); *mercado*→ market (25 / 0.0580%); *turismo*→ tourism (22 / 0.0511%); *turística/as*→ touristic (40 / 0.0928%); *interfaces*→ interfaces (19 / 0.0441%); *paisagístico/a*→ landscape (34 / 0.1021%); *ambientais*→ environmental (25 / 0.0580%); *ecológico*→ ecological (22 / 0.0511%); *cultural*→ cultural (15 / 0.0348%), among other. These come in the line of the claims of the contemporary negotiation process, explicitly stated in the decree PROTAML (2002), involving “synergies between public and private initiatives (...)”, thereby calling for the institutionalization of intervention and negotiation processes which grant the inclusion of economic, social and cultural aims”. These relate to environmental, ecological, social and tourism discourse communities, following a policy based on sustainable development.

Interestingly, there was the unexpected occurrence of structures in the present participle⁶ (-ando/ -endo/ -indo → -ing form), totalling 411 instances (PROTAML), which led to the search of co-collocations and associated meanings. Amidst structures like *visando* (→aiming at), *vinculando* (→linking), *respeitando* (→respecting), *considerando* (→considering), *prevendo* (→forseeing), *garantindo* (→ensuring) or *fazendo parte integrante* (→making part), *exigindo* (→demanding), *impedindo* (→forbidding), and *permitindo* (→allowing for), singled out the modal verbs *poder* (→may) and *dever* (→shall), which in the present participle form may connote an ethic imperative (deontic modality⁷, Palmer 1986) indebted to the sort of discourse shared in the civil society: *podendo* (→may [possibility]; 2 instances) and *devendo* (→having to; 14 instances [obligation/necessity]).

⁶Following Barthes ([1977]1994: 42) the unexpected occurrence of “an unconstrained word that claims consistency of its own insistence” opposing expected “stereotypes” given the problem at hand, if related to any lexico-semantic field.

⁷Deontic modality refers to the notions of obligation and duty, which can be conveyed in Portuguese by: *ter de* and *dever* (→ must, shall in legalese discourse), *obrigar* (→oblige), *impor* (→impose), *permitir* (→allow) and synonyms;

(PROTAML)

- 1 almente correctivo; de médio prazo *visando* a implementação de medidas selectiv
- 2 do no espaço urbano e periurbano), *visando* aumentar a atractividade global do
- 3 curto prazo, um programa de acção *visando* o controlo das descargas de águas r
- 4 ades logísticas e de distribuição, *visando* um alargamento da cadeia de valor;
- 1 ectivos para o horizonte do Plano, *vinculando* todas as entidades relevantes; b)
- 1 ómico, de ordenamento e ambiente e *respeitando* as orientações dos planos sectoriai
- 2 os resíduos e deposição em aterro, *respeitando* os requisitos da directiva aterros;
- 1 ei n.º 89/87, de 26 de Fevereiro), *considerando*-as áreas non a edificandi e integran
- 2 e de maior conflitualidade social, *considerando*-as como áreas de intervenção priori
- 3 tipolares a reforçar ou fomentar - *considerando* as ligações que já hoje se observam
- 4 PROTAML uma particular urgência. *Considerando* o disposto no artigo 59.º do Decret
- 5 mpetitivos com a deslocação em TI (*considerando* o tempo de deslocação mais o de est
- 1 Metropolitana de Lisboa (PROTAML), *prevendo* um prazo de 18 meses para a sua con
- 1 ca urbana de equidade territorial, *garantindo* a igualdade de oportunidades no ace
- 2 a preferencial de recreio e lazer, *garantindo* a manutenção das suas característic
- 3 nuu urbano entre Ericeira e Mafra, *garantindo* a manutenção de espaços de transiç
- 4 s suas especificidades produtivas, *garantindo* a manutenção dos padrões paisagísti
- 5 deve ser dada à ocupação marginal, *garantindo* áreas non a edificandi [v. norma 2
- 6 actividades que nelas se exercem, *garantindo* assim a sua contribuição fundamenta
- 7 ades comerciais acima de 20 km/h), *garantindo* funções de transporte (metro e eléc
- 8 omovesse a reorganização espacial, *garantindo* o crescimento equilibrado das activ
- 9 o do sistema urbano, favorecendo e *garantindo* o desenvolvimento dos fenómenos nat
- 10 otenciando o seu desenvolvimento e *garantindo* padrões de elevada qualidade ambien
- 11 igada ao turismo, recreio e lazer, *garantindo* que a ocupação turística seja conse
- 12 nante, prioritária e estruturante, *garantindo* que as intervenções nas áreas de fr
- 13 postas contidas no plano em vigor, *garantindo* que os acréscimos da área urbanizáv
- 14 a Caparica e as formações dunares, *garantindo* que os desenvolvimentos turísticos
- 15 estrangulamento do sistema hídrico, *garantindo*-se a sua não afectação a usos edifi
- 16 antes, estabilizadoras do sistema, *garantindo* sempre a sua inserção regional e am
- 1 m anexo à presente resolução, dela *fazendo* parte integrante. 2 - Determinar q
- 2 das economias europeia e mundial, *fazendo* valer a sua posição geoestratégica
- 1 safogo e qualificação urbanística, *assumindo* as funções de espaço público não ed
- 2 envolvente funcional e ambiental, *assumindo* um papel activo na estruturação do

- 1 de ciclo curto e resposta rápida, *exigindo* novos modelos de organização e fina
 2 conflitos com o estuário do Tejo, *exigindo* o estabelecimento de formas de comp
 3 de fundo catalizador deste modelo, *exigindo*, por isso, a institucionalização de
- 1 s na Carta de Recursos Geológicos, *impedindo* a sua afectação a outros usos que i
 2 s na Carta de Recursos Geológicos, *impedindo* a sua afectação a outros usos que i
 3 s na Carta de Recursos Geológicos, *impedindo* a sua afectação a outros usos que i
 4 s na Carta de Recursos Geológicos, *impedindo* a sua afectação a outros usos que i
 5 o seu atravessamento por pessoas e *impedindo* a sua ocupação por edificações; d)
 6 gicos e paisagísticos em presença, *impedindo* intrusões e condicionando os usos;
- 1 a internacionalização da economia, *permitindo* a criação de mais riqueza e, sobret
 2 uação metropolitana e sub-regional *permitindo* aos responsáveis e gestores do sist
 3 solos urbanizáveis e edificáveis, *permitindo* controlar a fragmentação da ocupaç
 4 públicos, espaços verdes urbanos e *permitindo* melhorar a qualidade de vida das po
 5 itorização das águas subterrâneas, *permitindo*, nomeadamente, efectuar o controlo
 6 sul através da ponte do Carregado, *permitindo* o desvio do tráfego rodoviário de m
 7 ondições de forte acessibilidade e *permitindo* uma estruturação a partir da criaç
- 1 e as condições de acessibilidade, *devendo* ainda clarificar a hierarquia e as
 2 os e utilizados de forma conjunta, *devendo* as leituras cartográficas ser semp
 3 entos em grandes infra-estruturas, *devendo* canalizar-se os novos investimentos
 4 acial do território metropolitano, *devendo* constituir, nos próximos anos, uma
 5 áreas prioritárias de intervenção, *devendo* estes guiar-se pelo referencial de
 6 opção a travessia Chelas-Barreiro, *devendo* os estudos necessários à implementa
 7 ao primeiro tipo de necessidades, *devendo* para isso resolver-se as actuais ru
 8 senvolvimento económico ou social, *devendo* pelo contrário ser aproveitada como
 9 área lagunar de grande importância *devendo* ser considerada uma área nuclear pa
 10 por si só não tem leitura na AML, *devendo* ser equacionada em articulação com
 11 o de água da península de Setúbal, *devendo* ser estudadas várias alternativas a
 12 is para a sustentabilidade da AML, *devendo* ser garantidas a sua protecção e ma
 13 erritoriais na área metropolitana, *devendo* também definir as variações absolut
 14 s a partir dos PMDU sub-regionais, *devendo* todos os estudos de avaliação e con
- (PROTAL)
- 1 res de apoio à náutica de recreio, *podendo*, na sua expressão mais simples, ser
 2 são delimitadas em cada UNOR, não *podendo* ocupar uma percentagem da área tota

The speaker wishes to convey impartiality. Yet, the resource to modal carriers without time anchorage, on the discourse level, ends up jeopardizing the fulfilment of courses of action, because they are open to possibility. Hence, the resource to modal verbs in the future simple stands out in the latest regulations (year 2000 onwards): PROTAML and POTMADEIRA (cf. Figure 3 and Table 2).

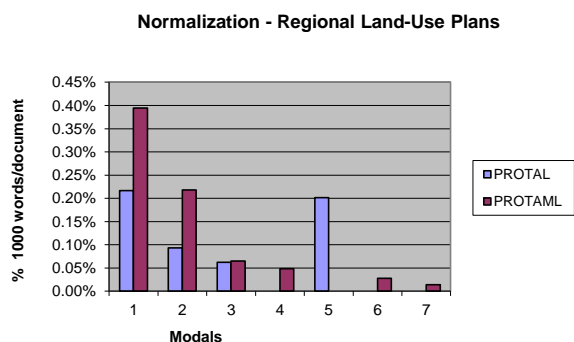


Figure 3. Occurrence of Modal Verbs - PROTAL and PROTAML.

- 1 a estrutura essencialmente radial, *podará* articular-se com uma rede de modos
 2 rbanas através da linha de cintura *podará* implicar, nomeadamente, a ligação e
 3 o do financiamento das realizações *podará* ser aferida ao longo do período de
 4 oviário do Montijo ao Pinhal Novo, *podará* ser equacionado para um sistema fer
 5 ompetitiva na Europa e no mundo só *podará* ser realizada num quadro de integra
 6 os fluxos maiores (comboios), mas *podará* vir a ser completada com uma rede f

Some of them, for instance the modals inflected in the future simple in Portuguese, *podará* → will be likely to/might, instead of may (present tense), *deverá* → will (have to), instead of shall (/is compulsory), featuring legalese discourse⁸, convey possibility or a vague commitment, instead. Hence, the semantic density of the structure in Portuguese (Campos 1997) *podará vir a ser* + past participle → shall come to be (cf. string 5, underneath), points to vagueness, rather than a strong commitment to future endeavours, thus escaping the criterion of veracity, because there are no time anchors in segmental or supra-segmental levels to limit the course of action⁹:

⁸The modal auxiliary “will”, instead of “shall”, marking the future simple, comes in the line of Cao’s report on the Australian guidelines in terms of linguistic choices in treaties, in that (2007: 149), “the mandatory “shall”... should be avoided and “will” should be used instead”.

⁹The concordance line/string is determined by a quantitative criterion, containing a number of characters on the right and left side of the lexeme.

Moreover, and considering the selected concordance lines, the legislator/speaker clearly points to socio-economical factors underlying the making of the plan for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, illustrated by the occurrence of lexemes in the same field (for instance, *económico/a/as* → *economical* [71 / 0.1648%]). This plan evidences developing trends with respect to economic activities and to the location of mega infrastructures. There are 25 instances of the lemma *mercado* (→ *market*) but 25% of its co-collocates are related to employment. The second most frequent collocate is *solo* (→ *land* [5 instances]), followed by other collocates in related lexical fields, like: *mercado imobiliário* (→ *estate*), *mercado habitacional* (→ *housing*), *comportamentos de mercado* (→ *market behaviour*), *nichos de mercado* (→ *market niches*), *mercado de capitais* (→ *capital market*), *mercado europeu* (→ *European market*), *mercado mundial* (→ *world market*), and *cota de mercado* (→ *market share*), among other.

The claim for a change towards sustainable development, and the lexeme *transição* (→ *transition / shift*) occurs 22 times, is underpinned by the use of adjectives, particularly in PROTAML, such as: *novo/a/os/as* (→ *new*), *estrutural* (→ *structural*), *fundamental* (→ *fundamental*), *grande* (→ *large*), *high*, *adequado* (→ *adequate*) and *efectivo* (→ *effective*), as evidenced further on, in Table 3. On the whole, it illustrates a meaningful increase in the number of occurrences of evaluative adjectives. These are perceived as vague predicates, in Barker's contentions (2002), most of which require further specification or descriptive stances in their context of occurrence, likely to reduce subjectivity on the discourse level. Indeed, this is an unexpected linguistic choice in this type of regulations.

According to some explanation advanced by Chichorro (2003), adjectives like *estruturante* (sing./pl.) → *structuring*, frequently occurring in her research corpus, might be considered as metaphoric language featuring the political jargon, but likely to collocate in expressions like "international political discourse as structuring". Similarly, an increasing number of adjectives in the past participle form (Quirk and Greenbaum 1993) is equally evidenced, sometimes, as attributive, or even in their superlative or comparative forms, on the discourse level, with a higher frequency in PROTAML.

Having briefly pointed out some of the linguistic features and their meaning potential (that is, adjectives, time, tense, and aspect) related to the topic under research, i.e., development and/or conservation, it is necessary to analyse some of other modal elements, deserving a close scrutiny (Simpson, 1993: 47). As a matter of fact, in both English and Portuguese, like in many Indo-European languages (Hoey 1997: 38) "the modal concepts are signalled by inflecting the verb". Drawing on the studies by the Portuguese linguists Campos (1997) and Marques (2004), it is possible to draw a contrastive view on the semantic scope of modals in Portuguese and English. In the Portuguese language, the modal auxiliaries *poder* and *dever* are inflected (*pode, pôde, pode, podia, poderia, poderá; deve, devia, deveu, deveria*) and marked grammatically by mood (i.e., indicative, subjunctive and imperative). As far as the subjunctive is concerned (*possa, pudesse, deva, devesse*), it is also used in Portuguese to (Hoey 1997: 39) "convey a wide range of attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of his[her] utterance, such as doubt, certainty, vagueness, and possibility". Yet, these "have come to be conveyed in English by modal expressions, including the modal

auxiliaries (can / could, may / might, will / would, shall / should) and the semi-modals (have to, ought to, need to, dare, used to).

Regarding the expected occurrence of the modals in Portuguese, in the enunciative field of PROTAL and PROTAML, it may be uncovered that the modal verb *dever* (→ *shall*) is more frequent in PROTAML: conjugated in the simple present form, in the indicative mood, 3rd person plural, *devem* (170 instances/0.3946%), 3rd person singular, *deve* (94 instances/0.0650%), in the infinitive form, *dever* (28/0.0650%), and in the future *deverão* (21/0.0487%). On the contrary the modal *poder* (may) only occurs in: i. PROTAL in the present simple, indicative mood, *podem* (13/0.2014); ii. in PROTAML, in the present simple, indicative mood, *pode* (12/0.0279) and in the future simple, *poderá* (6/0.0139). It might be inferred that the locutor/speaker, though categorical while using the future so as to firmly commit the addressees/hearers to fulfilling the goals on the enunciative field, cannot guarantee their legal implementation. The future, then, is perceived as a carrier of subjectivity. Actually, in the early nineties the Presidency of the Council Ministers warned legislators against the use of the future simple in regulations issued in the *Diário da República*, the official journal. These strict guidelines fostered the use of the simple present, however withdrawn later on. In fact, PROTAL does not present any form of the future tense, affirmative form (*poderá, deverá*), while PROTAML displays several other occurrences, in singular (*poderá*) and plural (*poderão*) forms of the modal verb. There are a couple of instances in the negative form, expressing a condition subject to regulation, therefore more adjusted to the legal discourse:

1. ...planos municipais, *não poderão* ser autorizadas nem prevista

[→ may not / lack of permission; future tense]

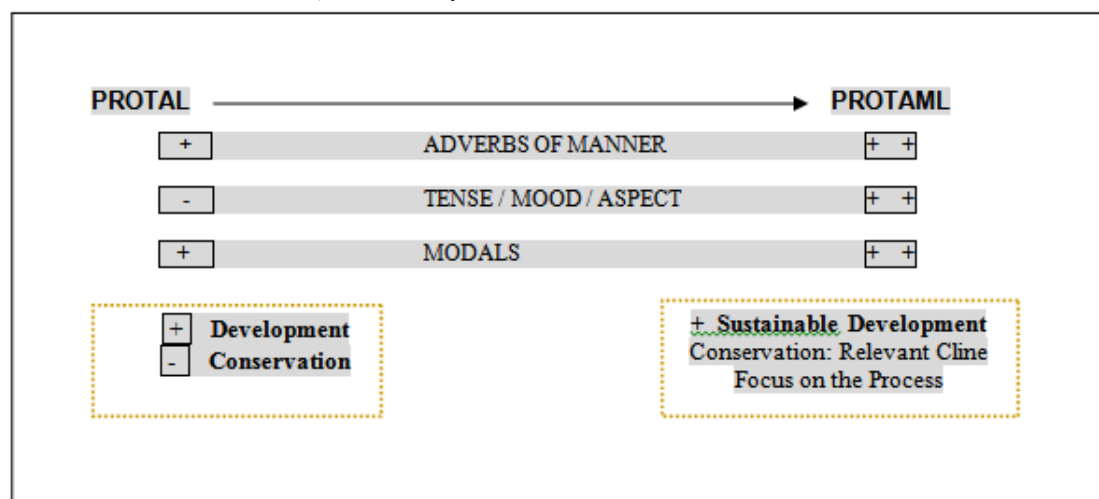
2. ...área abrangida por essa zona *poderá* ser reclassificada pela câmara

[→ may / facultative language; future tense]

In order to give an account of the pragmatic-linguistic choices and the illocutionary forces of legal regulations, Bowers' classification (1989: 30-31), as cited by Cao (2007: 115), are worth mentioning: "(1) facultative language, which confers a right, privilege or power through the use of "may"; (2) imperative language, which imposes an obligation to do an act through the use of "shall"; and (3) prohibitive language, which imposes an obligation to abstain from doing an act through the use of "shall not". Whereas in English, "shall", "may" and "shall not" are the main legal performative markers, in Portuguese regulations there are several forms of two modal verbs which often become ambiguous. "These performative markers function as speech acts with the illocutionary forces of" permission (*poder* → *may*), order (*dever* → *shall*) or prohibition (*não deve* → *may not*, instead of 'shall not').

To put it briefly, PROTAML evidences a strong emphasis on strategies and courses of action illustrated by distinct lexico-semantic and syntactic choices, namely the resource to adjectives and nouns reporting to action (Figure 4). Apart from the items tackled so far, it is worth mentioning the following: i. use of adjectives like *multipolares* (→ *multipolar*), *multifuncionais* (→ *multifunctional*), and *intersticiais* (→ *interstitial*); ii. nominalization - abstract nouns of action, predominating the prefix "re" - (in the ecological and environmental scopes) more related to conservation, for example, *recuperação* (→ *restoring*), *redistribuição* (→ *relocation*), *reparação* (→ *repair*), *readaptação* (→

readaptation), reposição (→ reposition), reversão (→ reversion), regularização (→ regularization), *reparcelamento* (→ *reallotment*), *reconstituição* (→ *reconstitution*), *revisão* (→ *revision*), *redução* (→ *reduction*), among other.



Source: Sousa & Lourenço, 2005, 2008, 2009

Figure 4. Contrastive Perspective of Modal Carriers - PROTAL and PROTAML.

• POTMadeira & PTVD

Having succinctly presented the data on the linguistic and discursive choices highlighting the subjective cline and vagueness in both land use plans, within a contrastive and diachronic perspective, POTMadeira and PTVD tourism plans (standing for the oldest and latest tourism plans issued in Portugal) will now be under scrutiny.

The tourism plan for the Douro Valley displays a number of lexical instances, among which stand out the lemma “investment” (23 instances), pointing to an

overriding focus on the economic cline, whether implying private, national or foreign investment, and drawing on figures, estimated calculations, so as to account for facts. There is also an underlying spur to action by inviting the addressee, in interdiscursive domains, to put forth: suggestions, intentions, projects and call for new investment in the tourism offer. There is a cline on individual and collective entrepreneurship under the auspices of several bodies and agencies such as API, or even promotional regional agencies, among other:

14. a API - Agência Portuguesa para o *Investimento* e as agências regionais de promoção
 15. la API - Agência Portuguesa para o *Investimento* e as sugestões e recomendações nele
 (PTVD)

There are fewer instances underpinning the preservation of natural resources, albeit defined as a major goal in designing this plan, and following, in this

respect, the convention for the World Patrimonial Protection.

...efinidos em tal matéria pela *Convenção para a Protecção do Património* Mund
 (PTVD)

As for the resource to adverbs (Table 1), PROTAML and POTMadeira display the largest number of occurrences.

	PROTAL	PROTAML	POTMadeira	PTVD
TOTAL (WORDS)	6 454	43 079	8 945	2 507
TOTAL (ADVERBS)	57 (0,88%)	226 (0,52%)	77 (0,86%)	9 (0,36%)

Table 1. Occurrence of Adverbs - PROTAL; PROTAML, POTMadeira, PTVD

Yet, the resource to adverbs of manner in POTMadeira is not as varied as in both regional plans, previously surveyed. These comprise:

.....motivações de férias e lazer, *nomeadamente* as associadas ao turismo de natureza, Conclusão do IP 4, o que inclui, *nomeadamente*, a duplicação do IP 4 entre Amarante eda medida AGRIS do Por-Norte, *nomeadamente*, os seguintes projectos: i) A recuper

... ..ais da envolvente da região, *designadamente* por via da construção de novos troços nae fluvinas, o que compreende, *designadamente*, a manutenção, ao longo de toda a via,
 (PTVD)

- i. spatio-temporal anchors (deictic value) - e.g. *actualmente*(→ currently), *anteriormente* (→formerly) and *futuramente*(→in the future);
 ii. adverbs of manner (defining the domains involved on the discourse level) - e.g. *urbanisticamente* and *territorialmente* (→ urban and territorial scope);
 iii. connective adverbs (illustration or explication) - e.g. *nomeadamente* (→ namely) [10 instances out of 76]; *specificamente* (→ specifically);
 iv. adjuncts of epistemic value - e.g. *crecientemente* (→increasingly) and *directamente* (→ directly), pointing to courses of action more associated with development than conservation.

.....ntes àqueles, ficando *genericamente* afectas à construção, edificaç
m ou comprometam *significativamente* a defesa contra os riscos de e
única ou alterem *significativamente* as formas de relevo existentes
(PTVD)

Still, there are some modal adverbs which co-occur with
lexical choices pointing to courses of action more
associated with conservation.

lo Estado Português de proteger *eficazmente* o património a classificar e de preserva
(→ effectively)
egado de missão será apoiado e *tecnicamente* assistido por uma comissão de acomp
(→ technically)

There are courses of actions planned for the future
though sometimes without time boundaries on the
discourse level, in POTMadeira, evidenced in utterances
in which stand out: passive structures (e.g. *ser*

equacionados → to be taken into account), and the
present participle, illustrated in the following strings
under selection (POTMadeira):

unícipio do Funchal, na zona do Lido, *alcançando* aqui os 75% do total da oferta de alojamento
(→ reaching)
com capacidade de afirmação e reforço, *apontando-se* para tal a construção de infra-estruturas
(→ pointing)
seios, explorando o mar como recurso e *apostando* no reforço das centralidades turísticas da il
(→ fostering)
uções de enquadramento paisagístico, *apresentando* para apreciação, nomeadamente: a) Levant
(→ presenting)
turística e cultural e desportiva; *Beneficiando* das novas condições de acessibilidade, aument
(→ benefitting)
(por exemplo Festival do Atlântico), *celebrando* a exuberância da natureza da ilha, a riqueza
(→ celebrating)
regulamentos viários e de trânsito, *conflituando* com o tráfego de residentes; No sistema de
(→ getting in conflict)
se que a capacidade de acolhimento, *considerando* uma taxa de ocupação média anual de 70% e uma
(→ considering)
a Madeira e outros parques temáticos, *destacando-se* naturalmente a floresta laurissilva, clãs
de circuitos e percursos turísticos, *destacando-se*: As áreas protegidas, incluindo o Parque
(→ standing out)
nitárias com a promoção hoteleira, *diversificando* a sua distribuição territorial e temporal e
(→ varying)
desenvolvimento sectorial definidos, *enunciando* os principais eixos de 22 / 31 desenvolve
(→ outlining)

Despite meeting the requirements of a normative text,
by illustrating and enumerating (*apontando-se* [→
pointing]; *destacando-se* [→ standing out]), this sort of
lexical choices are vague though the propositional

content is regulated, at times, by the modal *dever*,
categorical imperative, or *poder*, evidenced in these
strings (POTMadeira):

minante da área em que se localizam, *não podendo* constituir elemento dissonante e destacado;
10 anos a partir da sua publicação, *podendo* ser reavaliado por iniciativa do Governo Regi

Also, the use of the modal verb *dever*, in the future
simple tense, points to a mismatch between the
propositional content and its impact on the addressee.
These linguistic and discursive choices are illustrated in,
for example, *deverá ser dada preferência* (→shall/will
be given preference). Although meant to reinforce the
legal commitment to the action, its outcome can not be
checked, especially when there is no time anchorage.
On the contrary, the use of the modal *dever* in the
future simple tense (*deverá*), expressing obligation but
in close association with adverbial phrases, setting up
time boundaries, reduces the subjectivity level at the
discourse level in PTVD, as evidenced in Table 2:

MODALS	PROTAL Algarve Region 6454 words	PROTAML Lisbon Met. Area 43079 words	POTMadeira Madeira Islands 8945 words	PTVD Douro Region 2507 words
<i>devem</i> (present simple, 3rd person, plural)	14	170	13	0
<i>deve</i> (present simple, 3rd person, singular)	6	94	2	3
<i>dever</i> (infinitive)	4	28	0	0
<i>deverá(ão)</i> (future simple, 3rd person, singular; plural)	0	21	9	3

<i>devendo</i> (present participle)	0	0	1	0
<i>podem</i> (present simple, 3rd person, plural)	13	0	5	1
<i>pode</i> (present simple, 3rd person, singular)	0	12	3	1
<i>poderá(ão)</i> (future simple, 3rd person, singular; plural)	0	6	4	0
<i>podendo</i> (present participle)	0	0	5	0

Table 2. Occurrence of Modals - PROTAL, PROTAML, POT Madeira and PTVD

Interestingly, and concerning time adverbs, there is the unexpected occurrence, given the nature of a legal text, of creative language in Portuguese such as *no horizonte temporal* (→temporal horizon), reflecting the plain language focus in drafting legal texts to make them reader-friendly and within the grasp of any citizen, notably in:

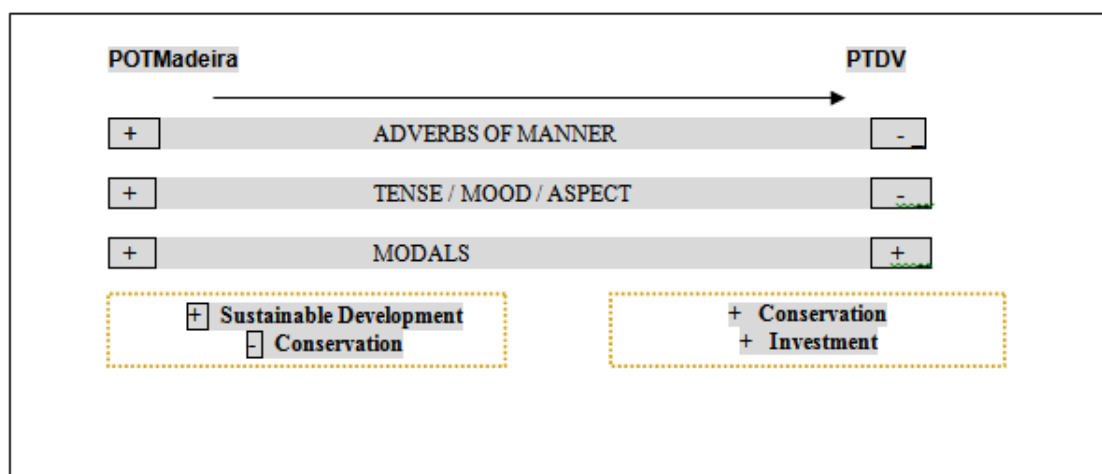
"izar no vale do Douro *no horizonte temporal* de 2004-2007. 4 - Atribuir a tico do vale do Douro *no horizonte temporal* de 2004 a 2007. ANEXO A)

As for the use of adjectives, the occurrence of *novo/novos* (→new), stands out both in POTMadeira and PTVD (cf. Appendix), taking into account the local specificities in the line of a developing trend. Also striking is the limited number of qualifying adjectives of this sort in PTVD (Table 3).

Adjectives	PROTAL Word Count (%) 6454 words	PROTAML Word Count (%) 43079 words	POT Madeira Word Count (%) 8945 words	PTVD Word Count (%) 2507 words
<i>novo</i> (sing./pl.)→new	6 (0,083 %)	83 (0,193 %)	24 0, 2784 %	8 0,31 91 %
<i>funcional</i> (sing./pl.)→functional	0	46 0,1068 %	0	0
<i>estruturante</i> (sing./pl.)→structuring	3 0,0465 %	59 0,1369 %	1 0,0112 %	0
<i>fundamental</i> (sing./pl.)→fundamental	1 0,0155 %	64 0,1485 %	0	0
<i>grande</i> (sing.)→large	1 0,0155 %	44 0,1021 %	8 0,0894 %	0
<i>essencial</i> (sing./pl.)→essential	0	30 0,0696 %	0	0
<i>elevado</i> (sing./pl./masc./fem.)→high	1 0,0155 %	36 0,0736 %	3 0,0335 %	1 0,03 98 %
<i>adequado</i> (sing./pl./masc./fem.)→adequate	3 0,0465 %	26 0,0604 %	2 0,0224 %	0
<i>eficaz</i> (sing./pl.)→effective	3 0,0465 %	10 0,0232 %	0	0

Table 3. Occurrence of Selected Adjectives - PROTAL, PROTAML, POT Madeira and PTVD

In short, the lexical categories under study sometimes report to the legal discourse (cf. Figure 5), as was expected, yet there are also modal carriers like modals, accounting for a subjective cline in both POTMadeira and PTVD. Still this subjective cline is stronger in POTMadeira, towards sustainable development and less on conservation, whereas the linguistic and discursive choices in PTVD might underpin a two-fold trend towards both conservation and investment.



Source: Sousa & Lourenço, 2010

Figure 5. Contrastive Perspective of Modal Carriers - PROTAL and PROTAML.

Discourse markers, such as "como se sabe"⁶ (→ as one knows / as is known) downplays any identity

⁶ PROTAML, "Para este perímetro de transporte urbano (...) correspondente ao núcleo central da AML e periferia imediata, existe a necessidade de uma utilização complementar de redes semipesadas e ligeiras no sistema de transportes colectivos, que simultaneamente possa responder às funções de transporte e de acessibilidade dentro do espaço definido por aquele perímetro, que como se sabe inclui funções dentro e na

construction, to cite Chichorro (2003), "seen as the positioning of the speaker in current social and cultural relationships through discourse moves" in that the negotiation process is reflected in the normative discourse. As was already put forth by Chichorro, the repetitive text is strengthened by the key idea of sustainable development, featured by lexis used generically, vague use of terms, recurrent and repetitive

proximidade dos limites do concelho de Lisboa."
[Underlined ours]

phrases from topic to topic which contribute to a lengthy and ambiguous text.

Conclusion

The approach adopted in this research has departed from a cross-disciplinary analysis (Gavioli & Aston, 2001), involving two distinct domains, namely linguistics and regional planning. An understanding of development/conservation interrelated issues in regional plans also seems to benefit from the insights of linguistics, i.e., corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, above all in terms of the relations established between the speaker/legislator and the propositional content (deontic modality), together with the speaker and the addressee/s (epistemic modality) on the discourse level.

The sort of data analysis undertaken in this research, particularly on the existence of a meaningful number of lexico-semantic categories underpinning linguistic and discursive choices in the regulations, under scope, made it possible to come to a set of conclusions which shed some light on the research question: whether the regional plans have a development cline or a conservation one. Although these categories sometimes report to the legal discourse, as expected, they are also modal carriers, therefore, accounting for the strong subjective cline of the regulations. In the drafting process of the regional plans/rules under scope, both technical and legal experts seemed to give in to the strong influence exerted by the wide array of voices in the community together with those in the political arenas, thus failing to equalise “interpretative opportunity”, to borrow from Candlin (in Bhatia, 1998: 103).

There is strong evidence that these regulations are much more oriented towards development, and in the case of PROTAML, towards sustainable development, than conservation, given the multiple modal elements of epistemic kind, pinpointed in the case studies section. These unearth a cline on possibility and flexibility concerning the forthcoming courses of action associated with land use shifts, in as much as the speaker/legislator does not seem to adopt an assertive and regulatory stance, especially in terms of the propositional content. This data is somehow unexpected in territory planning. Indeed, plan regulations are usually meant to convey restrictive contents by a normative discourse, yet, focusing on integrated action strategies, as a result of social negotiation underpinning the approval of each regional

plan. Still, it might be advanced that these regulations are also meant to meet the needs (Ferreira, 2003) “in the linkage between local, in-the-moment interactions of individuals and historical, over-time discourse activity of the collective”.

Before coming to an end, it is of utmost importance to reiterate that the subjectivity indebted to the rules, perceived at the outset as restrictive, is due to the complexity in the making of the rules of regional plans as these comprise a wide array of text types stemming both from different sectors and levels of public administration as well as public participation debates in which several lobbies, either pro-development or pro-conservation oriented, co-exist and clash. This concluding remark reiterates empirical evidence set forth by other researchers in domains like planning and discourse analysis. What might seem a mere linguistic / stylistic choice ends up conveying ambiguity and subjectivity in legalese discourse. In so doing, it is our stance that forthcoming regulations of this kind should resort to adjectives, modals, lexical modals and tense more accurately.

With regards to the consequences of our research, to corroborate Sarangi (2006: 199-220), we offer a “set of observations that can be seen as a way of opening a dialogue among communication researchers and professional practitioners around issues of ‘discovery/usefulness’ and ‘discriminatory expertise’, if our research is to attain practical relevance. As for further research, we suggest that studies on the comprehensibility of legal tools together with social negotiation, and the development of legalese discourse in regional and urban plans, are necessary. In this regard, it is our contention to reiterate Bhatia’s postulates (1998: 207) on “the process of language reform, particularly in the context of present-day concern with the simplification, reader accessibility and usability of legal and public documents”. This simplification entails the amount of “obscure expressions and circumlocutions, long-winded involved constructions and tortuous syntax, apparently meaningless repetitions”. All in all, by addressing regulatory issues through linguistic evidence as an affordance to understanding professional legal texts and resorting to corpus tools, this approach is likely to offer a (Bhatia, 1998: 102) “better idea of the communicative purpose(s)” which texts are meant to serve and the constraints met while drafting them.

Appendix

PROTAMIL

1 m potencialidades de reconversão/re^{nov}ação - são áreas marcadas por ocupa
2 aos fenómenos de realocização, re^{nov}ação e incremento industrial dentro
3 nções de nível superior, e ou de re^{nov}ação e requalificação urbanas atrav
4 ma grande determinação, lucidez e in^{nov}ação e, sobretudo, a partilha de res
5 dora, do risco e da capacidade de in^{nov}ação na vida empresarial e na admini
6 rações e projectos municipais de re^{nov}ação ou ampliação dos sistemas de in
7 o de acções de qualificação e de re^{nov}ação urbana que lhes imprima nova e
8 eas com potencial de reconversão/re^{nov}ação, para que cumpram funções de re
9 ue tendem a ser reconvertidas ou re^{nov}adas. A sua posição na AML e a dimen
10 III), deve dar também um sólido e in^{nov}ador contributo na articulação solid
11 r apresenta, deste modo, um traço in^{nov}ador de apoio ao desenvolvimento, es
12 ação dos subúrbios é uma proposta in^{nov}adora e de óbvias consequências soci
13 vés da implantação de actividades in^{nov}adoras e de qualidade, numa lógica d
14 r de: Implantação de actividades in^{nov}adoras e de qualidade; Criação de c
15 stentadas dirigidas a actividades in^{nov}adoras e qualificadas, em detrimento
16 conómicos e das pequenas empresas in^{nov}adoras. A AML pode e deve desemenh
17 alação de actividades dinâmicas e in^{nov}adoras. Integram estas áreas os ant
18 orte/sul e, muito em particular, o ^{nov}o aeroporto de Lisboa na Ota. Nela
19 central da AML. A localização do ^{nov}o aeroporto de Lisboa (NAL) na Ota,
20 previstas no Plano (por exemplo, o ^{nov}o aeroporto de Lisboa, a nova traves
21 o em conta a futura localização do ^{nov}o aeroporto de Lisboa. 1.3.14.2 - I

22 oximidade à área de implantação do **nov** aeroporto de Lisboa. Nesta unidade
 23 itimas, uma vez que as questões do **nov** aeroporto e do TGV deverão ser ana
 24 inistração central (nomeadamente o **nov** aeroporto internacional de Lisboa,
 25 ambuja/Carregado/Ota, associada ao **nov** aeroporto internacional de Lisboa
 26 portes; Porto de Lisboa/Setúbal; **Nov** aeroporto internacional; Redes tr
 27 nto dos respectivos territórios, o **nov** aeroporto internacional de Lisboa
 28 amação do centro de carga aérea do **nov** aeroporto internacional; 5) Orden
 29 territorial para a proximidade do **nov** aeroporto internacional de Lisboa,
 30 rodo e ferroviários associados ao **nov** aeroporto internacional; b) Deve
 31 ção metropolitana. A construção do **nov** aeroporto na Ota será, também, um
 32 l; Torres Vedras; Carregado-Ota (**nov** aeroporto); Setúbal-Palmela. As
 33 fragilidades face à localização do **nov** aeroporto. Pelos factos acima exp
 34 ltural. 1.3.1.3 - Reconverter e re**nov**ar as áreas/espacos e unidades funci
 35 na AML e a dimensão das áreas a re**nov**ar criam condições ao desenvolviment
 36 verifica-se já a necessidade de re**nov**ar o tecido edificado em resultado d
 37 ar as dinâmicas introduzidas pelas **nov**as acessibilidades na paisagem rural
 38 a capacidade de atrair e fixarem **nov**as actividades e funções de nível su
 39 de condições para a instalação de **nov**as actividades económicas geradoras
 40 ela houver lugar, a instalação de **nov**as actividades geradoras de emissões
 41 simultaneamente, a localização de **nov**as actividades para nascente e favor
 42 nas áreas urbanas existentes e nas **nov**as áreas a urbanizar; d) Promover a
 43 cidos urbanos; g) Garantir que as **nov**as áreas de crescimento urbano inclu
 44 iental de Lisboa, em particular as **nov**as áreas envolventes da Parque-Expo;
 45 área classificada; b) Integrar as **nov**as áreas urbanas e as edificações no
 46 eixando ao mercado a realização de **nov**as áreas urbanas e de unidades produ
 47 ivil 2.10.1 - O planeamento de **nov**as áreas urbanas em zonas sísmicas d
 48 ano; d) Destinar os acréscimos de **nov**as áreas urbanizáveis ou a colmataç
 49 ção das áreas já licenciadas ou em **nov**as áreas, atendendo aos impactes eco
 50 nir o agravamento ou surgimento de **nov**as bolsas que a reestruturação económ
 51 na policentrada/desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades - esta estrutura te
 52 na e na proposta «voluntarista» de **nov**as centralidades apoiadas em áreas d
 53 protegidas; O desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades metropolitanas; O
 54 am condições ao desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades metropolitanas com
 55 cado através do desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades metropolitanas base
 56 ondições para o desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades. O eixo Cascais-Si
 57 as suburbanas; Desenvolvimento de **nov**as centralidades; Valorização do pa
 58 orientar as pressões geradas pelas **nov**as condições de acessibilidade e det
 59 vo pólo de Sabugo, a criar, com as **nov**as condições de acessibilidade que s
 60 rla costeira. Simultaneamente, as **nov**as condições de acessibilidade propo
 61 uaram-se significativamente com as **nov**as condições de acessibilidade trazi
 62 de ao reordenamento e à criação de **nov**as condições de funcionamento do sis
 63 na. É neste contexto que se abrem **nov**as condições e oportunidades à reorg
 64 uxe um reforço de acessibilidade e **nov**as dinâmicas de ocupação do solo, a
 65 adequação dos recursos humanos às **nov**as e crescentes exigências do mercad
 66 eas e centros urbanos emergentes e **nov**as formas de alteração de usos do so
 67 ectoriais, destina-se a equacionar **nov**as formas de gestão da mobilidade e
 68 icas, determinadas pela procura de **nov**as formas de habitar que pretendem c
 69 lturas intensivas de regadio, para **nov**as formas de ocupação habitacional e
 70 zir restrições ao licenciamento de **nov**as indústrias consideradas ambiental
 71 os estruturantes supramunicipais; **Nov**as infra-estruturas e interfaces de
 72 e comércio de grande dimensão. As **nov**as infra-estruturas da Ponte de Vasc
 73 ório, os limiaries de construção de **nov**as infra-estruturas e equipamentos d
 74 às áreas onde ocorram projectos de **nov**as infra-estruturas e equipamentos e
 75 elas-Loures integra um conjunto de **nov**as infra-estruturas rodoviárias que
 76 se verificam), hierarquizam-se as **nov**as ligações a criar e as ligações ex
 77 rcado de emprego, condicionando as **nov**as localizações industriais fora daq
 78 no geral, se traduza na oferta de **nov**as localizações preferenciais para a
 79 sivamente os sistemas existentes a **nov**as metas, o que passa por: Avaliar
 80 o Pinheiro; 6) Desenvolvimento de **nov**as plataformas logísticas com função
 81 do Tejo. Ainda que a construção de **nov**as travessias do Tejo em Lisboa se p
 82 oporto internacional de Lisboa, as **nov**as travessias do Tejo e as áreas de
 83 os necessários à implementação das **nov**as travessias ferro e rodoviárias do
 84 rências, através da construção de **nov**as unidades hospitalares de Loures,
 85 sitário existentes e da criação de **nov**as unidades nos centros de nível sub
 86 ão por mimetismo. A construção de **nov**as vantagens competitivas que repres
 87 nta minutos da AML, Leiria, Torres **Nov**as/Tomar/Abrantes, Évora e Sines. N
 88 izam, isto é, na construção de uma **nov**a capacidade de gerar riqueza, segun
 89 itório (PROT), elaborado segundo o **nov**o conceito de plano, consagrado na l
 90 ; Bobadela/Alverca; Coina/Pinhal **Nov**o; 2) Consolidação e integração ter
 91 mação instalados e emergentes. No **nov**o contexto e tendência das economias
 92 s, sediadas no Carregado e em Vila **Nov**a da Rainha as quais já revelam algu
 93 instaladas no Carregado e em Vila **Nov**a da Rainha/Azambuja. 1.3.14.3 - Re
 94 ar/Abrantes, Évora e Sines. Nesta **nov**a dimensão territorial, a AML tende
 95 a construção do troço Coina-Pinhal **Nov**o; e a conclusão das respectivas int
 96 a construção do troço Coina-Pinhal **Nov**o e a electrificação da linha até Se
 97 renovação urbana que lhes imprima **nov**a e acrescida capacidade de atracção
 98 gística, em articulação com Pinhal **Nov**o e apoiada no arco ribeirinho e no

99 se estende entre Alcochete, Pinhal **Novo** e Palmela. Nesta faixa, configura-
 100 mentar o desenvolvimento de Pinhal **Novo** em complementaridade com a área de
 101 decretos-Leis n.ºs 367/90, de 26 de **Novembro**, 249/94, de 12 de Outubro, e 3
 102 12 de Outubro, e 309/95, de 20 de **Novembro**, tendo, no entanto, o seu cont
 103 e diárias com Lisboa, e a menos de **noventa** minutos da AML, Leiria, Torres
 104 rio do Tejo, na configuração de um **novo** espaço urbano metropolitano e anco
 105 orial para a AML tem presente esta **nova** expressão da região metropolitana
 106 nto com a capital, uma dimensão de **nova** fronteira de crescimento e produç
 107 das e indicar as possibilidades de **nova** localização, entre os espaços pola
 108 sentido de promover e aplicar uma **nova** lógica de estruturação e de ordena
 109 tura ferroviária e na aquisição de **novo** material circulante, têm capacidade
 110 dos recursos humanos. Afirmar um **novo** modelo de cooperação A AML, deten
 111 aglomerados de Alcochete e Pinhal **Novo**. O primeiro usufrui de uma posição
 112 uição com logística; Coina/Pinhal **Novo**, organizando o interior da penínsu
 113 ão pública desencadeia de imediato **novos** comportamentos do mercado que pro
 114 uente na investigação e difusão de **novos** conhecimentos e tecnologias. 1.2
 115 as em IPT em vigor necessárias a: **Novos** equipamentos colectivos estrutura
 116 r a viabilidade de localização dos **novos** equipamentos supramunicipais em e
 117 na AML, através da localização de **novos** estabelecimentos ou valências nos
 118 considerado o não licenciamento de **novos** estabelecimentos de salga de pesc
 119 es objectivos: Desenvolvimento de **novos** factores de atracção e manutenção
 120 em analisar e avaliar a criação de **novos** interfaces/pontos de transferênci
 121 struturas, devendo canalizar-se os **novos** investimentos para sistemas de ca
 122 ização da área central de Lisboa; **Novos** mecanismos de programação do solo
 123 curto e resposta rápida, exigindo **novos** modelos de organização e financia
 124 odos de transporte existentes e de **novos** modos a implementar/desenvolver (
 125 técnico existentes e da criação de **novos** politécnicos, principalmente nos
 126 sicas dos espaços existentes ou em **novos** pólos complementares - e pelo apr
 127 cupação do solo, a que se associam **novos** problemas de mobilidade nesta sub
 128 urbanizáveis e no licenciamento de **novos** projectos localizados em áreas j
 129 1.3.9.5 - Orientar e incentivar os **novos** tipos de oferta na produção de es
 130 a ou de outro tipo), privilegiando **novos** usos compatíveis com a proximidad
 131 imento de funções especializadas e **novos** usos, como à reestruturação e qua
 132 ar o eixo urbano de Montijo-Pinhal **Novo**-Palmela-Setúbal (neste último caso
 133 l ferroviário do Montijo ao Pinhal **Novo**, poderá ser equacionado para um si
 134 dustrial dos pólos existentes e do **novo** pólo de Sabugo, a criar, com as no
 135 dministração, da decisão sobre uma **nova** realização pública desencadeia de
 136 progressivamente transferidas para **novo(s)** local(is), designadamente os Ho
 137 âmica dos agentes e operadores. O **novo** sistema de transportes proposto, e
 138 posição e características, Pinhal **Novo** tem potencial para atrair activida
 139 plo, o novo aeroporto de Lisboa, a **nova** travessia do Tejo e as plataformas
 140 -estruturas de transportes na AML **Nova** travessia do Tejo em Lisboa e rede
 141 o-Madrid em velocidade elevada e a **nova** travessia do Tejo entre Chelas e o
 142 ional e populacional decorrente da **nova** travessia do Tejo. O segundo, dese
 143 internacional. 1.3.2.2 - Imprimir **nova** vitalidade e dinamismo ao centro t

1 e e eficácia e contribuir para uma **efectiva** execução coordenada e programada
 2 ocial, no sentido de se promover a **efectiva** integração social, económica e pr
 3 ns competitivas que representem um **efectivo** ajustamento estrutural - face à i
 4 ades que lhes estão associadas e o **efectivo** controlo urbanístico nas suas áre
 5 rtificação profissional, como meio **efectivo** de antecipação das necessidades e

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Empirical Methods in Discourse Analysis and the Internet

Claudia Wunderlich

University of Applied Sciences in Kufstein, Austria

Abstract

Discourse analysis has greatly relied on the tried and tested methods of data collection as well as on the use of traditional corpora. The question therefore arises as to how far the Internet has changed methodology in discourse analysis and to what degree it will do so in the future. A further issue that results from the possibilities the Web offers is whether traditional corpora will still be necessary to thoroughly investigate the structure and functioning of language and discourse, with regard to both native and non-native speech. In this paper the opportunities the Internet offers, the availability of tools to the researcher in using the Internet in DA but also the limits and dangers the linguist is prone to encounter will be investigated.

And finally it will be discussed whether traditional empirical methods will still play any role in discourse analysis in future.

Keywords

Corpus linguistics, empirical methods, Web-as-corpus, discourse analysis, Internet linguistics

Introduction

Empirical methods have played a pivotal role in modern discourse analysis (DA) ever since this field of linguistics developed in the early 1970s (van Dijk 1985: 4-7). Field work, questionnaires, interviews and recordings with transcripts, for example, have been an integral part of this approach to language study in the different areas of DA. DA as a rather heterogeneous cross-discipline has been defined as (cf also Biber, Connor & Upton 2007: 1):

- 1) *The study of language use*
- 2) *The study of linguistic structure 'beyond the sentence'*
- 3) *The study of social practices and ideological assumptions that are associated with language and/or communication.*

Computer-aided corpus linguistics had already come into being in the 1960s, particularly with the development of the Brown corpus (Romero-Trillo 2008: 2). With the advent of powerful microcomputers, it became possible to make the use of corpora accessible to the linguistic community at large, allowing for countless new possibilities in linguistic enquiry.

Almost 50 years into corpus linguistics, a symbiotic relationship has meanwhile formed with DA, which may seem obvious from our present-day perspective. Yet corpus linguistics and DA were once considered to be separate fields of linguistics and have only been forming a symbiotic relationship since, and corpus linguistics has been applied to other fields of linguistics generally (Leech 1992, Sinclair 2004, Romero-Trillo 2008, McEnery & Hardie 2012). More recently, the Internet, with its billions of pages, has been playing an increasingly substantial role in DA and corpus linguistics just as in part of the digital humanities generally. This has been the case particularly in the past two decades, during which technological progress has made online resources including audio and video material more widely available.

1. Traditional empirical methods in DA and their fields of application

Other traditional empirical methods for the study of discourse have included discourse completion tasks (DCTs), interviews and multiple choice questionnaires (MCQs) (Geluykens & Kraft 2008: 112). Furthermore, the recording of conversations followed by the

transcription of the oral data have played a significant role in DA since it became possible to record data in such a way, and this was the basis for Tannen's (1984) seminal analysis of the discourse of her dinner friends. Consequently, insight has been gained for example into conversation strategies, the appropriateness of specific utterances, opinions on correct or most typical usage, terminological clarification, the effect of an individual's speech on others and situation-specific language use in general.

Before the advent of online videos and providers such as *Youtube*, individual data collection by recording private or public discourse (including television and radio programmes) was the only way to be able to gain insight into the workings of spoken discourse without directly questioning or interviewing people. However, in recent years, all these traditional methods of data collection have been losing ground, a development that not only started when Internet resources became widely available. This development had already been set in motion when DA and corpus linguistics began to join forces and thus the investigation of actual language no longer depended exclusively on individual data collection.

2. Corpus Linguistics and DA

Corpora have become invaluable tools for linguists due to the authenticity of the material. The role that corpora and the Internet have come to play generally and in pragmatics / DA constitutes another paradigm shift in linguistics since the Chomskyan one of the 1950s and 60s. Thus, there has been considerable development since the three seminal works on pragmatics and DA were published in 1983/4: *Pragmatics* by Stephen C. Levinson, *Principles of Pragmatics* by Geoffrey N. Leech and *Discourse Analysis* by Gillian Brown and George Yule (cf also Romero-Trillo 2008: 1f).

The common ground, despite the differences that originally divided them, is the pertinence of the analysis of empirical data. This links DA to corpus linguistics and subsequently, a new field has developed over time, which has also been referred to as corpus pragmatics (Knight & Adolphs 2008: 176f). Leech later also became a fervent proponent of corpus linguistics and John Sinclair became an eminent representative of Neo-Firthian corpus linguistics, where discourse also plays a

prominent role along with collocations (Leech 1992, Sinclair 2004, McEnery & Hardie 2012).

That corpora have become increasingly important in DA is also due to the availability of the Internet. This has made corpora accessible online and therefore more easily available all around the globe (Recent overviews of corpora have included: McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2005: 59-70; Mukherjee 2009: 41-64; and McEnery & Hardie 2012). However, the resources available via the Internet have simultaneously been challenging the concept of traditional corpora such as the BNC and ANC. The Internet can be regarded as one big corpus to be queried with the help of regular search engines such as *Google* or with special software to build corpora by extracting websites.

3. Internet resources vs. traditional corpora

The question therefore arises whether we still need traditional language corpora (an issue also discussed at the 32nd ICAME conference in Oslo in 2011); with all the possibilities of the Internet and search engines, the size and diversity of texts found on the Internet has more to offer than any of the existing corpora, it has been claimed. Additionally, diachronic research and synchronic research of historical varieties, both underrepresented in corpus linguistics, are simplified with collections of old texts such as in *Google Books*. Furthermore, linguistic phenomena with a very low frequency can be analysed better on the Web, as they may not be found in traditional corpora because they are still too small even at 100 million words. Such phenomena include for example specific co-occurrences / collocations of words, such as all the possible combinations of determiners that can appear before nouns (Wunderlich 2006). Similarly, in many cases it is only possible to investigate slang, vernaculars, non-native varieties or even pidgins or other rare varieties of English as well as youth codes and language specific to the Web with the help of Internet resources, although particularly in some of these areas traditional methods of data collection as discussed above may still be necessary for optimal results.

Despite the possibilities offered by Internet resources, traditional corpora – be it sample or monitor corpora -- are probably more balanced and more reliable in that they usually only represent one geographic variety of English and reflect native speaker usage (exceptions to this are, for example, the international ICE and the non-native VOICE corpora, however). Also, annotated (tagged) and parsed texts offer additional possibilities to the corpus discourse researcher. This cannot be achieved with regular search engines, although parsing is used as an underlying feature, e.g. in *Google* translate. Therefore it is another advantage over Internet resources that corpora (for example the BNC, FLOB) are often already annotated or parsed, while corpora built with Web resources would still have to be parsed and marked up. This can be achieved automatically with the help of software tools such as the CLAWS tagger.

This is even more problematic in the case of audio and video material when attempting to build oral corpora, where transcriptions including phonetic and prosodic annotation are even more complicated. Altogether, this takes considerable time and causes additional costs. Additionally, Internet texts, which are normally formatted, need cleaning before they can be used as a corpus. This can be achieved for example with the freely available NCLEANER system (Evert 2008), but also costs extra time and effort, which is therefore another caveat of Web material. The same is true for copyright issues that also arise with Web sources.

Despite all this, a challenge in the existing corpora of oral language is the problem of multi-modality: the nonverbal elements of spoken language are lost in transcription, particularly those concerning gestures, facial expressions and nodding (Knight & Adolphs 2008). Furthermore, with pictorial and iconic turns (Mitchell 1994, Böhm 1995) additional contextual factors such as surrounding icons, pictures and animations have been paid more attention in linguistics and multimodal DA in particular (van Leeuwen 2006 & 2011). With the recent return to a new polychromatic age, even written language has become more multi-modal than ever, with the countless font types, sizes and colours modern computer technology offers. Whether, and how far, the Internet is superior to traditional corpora in multimodal DA, and what the best tools for multimodal DA are, will be discussed further down.

Overall, with both traditional corpora and Web-based sources, linguists have more possibilities than ever in DA at their disposal but also more choices to make in order to identify the appropriate resource for their study. Representativeness is a challenge for all corpora and the Internet generally; the Internet, however, usually offers more possibilities due to its size if at a cost of reliability.

Traditional corpora	Internet resources
Balanced	Random
Comparatively small	Large and constantly growing
Specific variety	Ephemeral
Usually native speakers	Native and non-native varieties alike
Usually identity of author of text known	Anonymous, uncertainty of authorship
Often annotated	In multimodal context
Text only	Raw, i.e. not cleaned or annotated
Comparatively little spoken language	Large quantities of audio and video material readily available

Table 1: Corpora vs. Internet resources

4. Web as Corpus vs. Web for Corpus Building

Overall, the Internet can either be used as one big corpus with the help of standard search engines such as *Google*. Alternatively, the Web can serve to build DIY corpora, manually or with the help of specific software tools (Romero-Trillo 2008: 6, Alegria, Leturia & Sharoff 2009).

Search engine linguistics means that the researcher enters the linguistic expressions under investigation into a search engine. Next, the researcher can analyse the context of the hits in the list by visiting the website the word or expression originates from. Using the cached version of the text, when available, speeds up this process, since the word queried is already highlighted in the cached text. Also, various parameters can be set when using advanced search functions in *Google*, the most commonly used search engine by far. These include exact words, region, site or domain, language, last update of the site, when published (within the last year or less).

However, *Google* is not case-sensitive and does not offer wildcards such as *discern** to find derivations or variant forms, such as *discerns* or *discerning*. This wildcard search would be highly desirable from a linguist's point of view. Additionally, words that have not already been stored in *Google's* index, which may take some time, cannot yet be retrieved from the Internet.

Other than regular search engines, there are online tools or software available to search the Web and query it directly or build DIY corpora or even parallel corpora. Corpora created in this way can then be analysed with the help of concordancers such as *WordSmith*.

Linguee is originally an online dictionary displaying the German and English versions of translated texts (other languages are also available) from the Internet, particularly from companies and organisations offering multilingual websites. The various translations can then be compared with each other. Since the site of origin is given under each extract of the translated text, this tool can be used as an online parallel corpus, or the websites can be copied to build a DIY corpus. One issue with *Linguee*, however, is the poor quality of some of the translations, and it needs a highly competent linguist to apply proper judgments before including the texts into a corpus.

Further resources for this type of text mining and for building corpora include software such as *WebGetter*, *WebCorp* and *Multilingual Corpus Toolkit (MLCT)*. *WebGetter* comes with the *WordSmith* concordancing package and allows the building of a corpus as a web-add-on by downloading the data for the first approximately 100 hits of a query in the chosen search engine. *WebCorp* offered by and developed at Birmingham City University is a Web concordancer able to handle results from a maximum of 120 Web pages, and is therefore only able to build corpora of limited size, just like *WebGetter*. *Multilingual Corpus Toolkit (MLCT)*, finally, has a graphical user interface as a Java software package. It allows the building and processing of corpora, including more sophisticated functions such as detecting the boundaries of sentences, extracting collocations as well as compiling concordances.

Overall, using the Web as corpus saves the researcher time and money and gives access to up-to-date information. However, there is no indication of size and, in the main, the resources are ephemeral. DIY Web corpora allow for control of content and text types and enable the creation of annotated off-line monitor corpora. Their size is fixed (and may be limited) and so is the content, which may no longer be up-to-date after some time. It must also be born in mind that not all resources available on the Web can be accessed by a search engine. Some of these resources, however, would be particularly valuable for linguistic enquiry because they reflect language use peculiar to the Web. Facebook, for example, cannot be queried systematically due to the various privacy settings allowing account holders to restrict visibility in search engines, even if their profiles are publicly accessible otherwise. This hampers an automated enquiry into language use on Facebook, for example. Furthermore, the content of audio and video material found online cannot normally be searched, in the current day.

Web as Corpus	Web for Corpus Building
Saves time and money	Control of content and text-types
Always up-to-date	Allows use of annotated off-line monitor corpora
No indication of size	Fixed size
Ephemeral	Fixed content

Table 2: Web as corpus vs. Web for Corpus Building

5. The Internet and Multimodal DA

Another advantage of using the Web as corpus, particularly with the arrival of Web 2.0, is that the resources can be used for multimodal DA more easily than the original source and full context including font type, size, colours as well as surrounding images are accessible at one mouse click. Consequently, the entire context becomes visible and accessible and also allows the analysis of the context and of structures beyond the word, phrase and sentence level, which is of particular relevance for some approaches to the study of discourse. This is not fixed, however, as it varies with changes in colour and representation depending on what hardware is used as well as individual settings and browser configuration.

For these purposes, further possible browser add-ons are already available on Firefox for *Linguee*, for example; or *KrdWrd*, to clean and annotate Web resources (Steger & Stemle 2009), could be considered to further facilitate the use of Internet resources. This could include the retrieval of words and phrases from audio files and videos, their automatic transcription and markup with an XML tagger as well as direct access to advanced search engine functions, for example.

Additionally, a manual DIY corpus with texts of one choice found via a regular search engine could be assembled by choosing and collecting the data along the lines of the reference management system *Citavi* with its picker function, or Google Books' collection mode of favourite online books. A special Facebook app asking the permission of account holders to make their data available and automatically searchable for linguistic enquiry would also open up new possibilities for the study of the language of this social network. This would also be of particular interest to the linguistic community due to the way the Internet changes language (Crystal 2011).

Conclusion

To conclude, traditional empirical methods and corpora will not be replaced by the Internet in DA. They are likely to coexist with their own specific advantages for linguistic enquiry, although the Web as corpus approach will most probably still gain some ground. In future, traditional methods of data collection such as interviews, multiple choice questionnaires (MCQ) and discourse completion tasks (DCT) will probably only be used in specific areas and situations, such as "to find out about appropriateness and norm judgments of speakers, as well as for insights into prototypical realizations of certain strategies" (Geluykens & Kraft 2008: 112).

For language specific to the Web, rare linguistic phenomena, forms of non-standard language, multimodal analysis and approaches requiring the analysis of structures beyond sentence level, the Internet appears to have various advantages over traditional corpora, despite the issues and caveats involved. Web 3.0, allowing for semantic enquiry, will open up even further possibilities. In many other areas, and particularly those where a higher degree of reliability and the representativeness of the data are required, such as in Forensic Linguistics, traditional corpora are and will be superior.

To further facilitate the use of the Internet for linguistic enquiry, additional browser add-ons or apps would be desirable, for example to allow the search of specific sources such as Facebook, for direct access to advanced *Google* search options or for the creation of parallel corpora, as has been partly enabled by *Linguee* already.

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Constructing Digital Rhetorical Spaces in Twitter: A Case-Study of @BarackObama

Alcina Sousa

University of Madeira, Portugal

Anna Ivanova

University of Seville, Spain - University of Madeira, Portugal

Abstract

The present article focuses on the way social sites construct rhetorical spaces within the political domain by uncovering discursive strategies which mark the moves between local/national and global communication in Obama's Twitter. Having deixis at the core of this research study, of exploratory nature, has allowed for the reassessment of discursive strategies in the digital space of online communication across the globe, thereby addressing the collective (national and global) / individual as well

as a diffuse target audience.



A discourse-based view drawing on corpus linguistics (McCarthy & Carter 1994; Sampson & McCarthy 2004; Sinclair 2004; Baker 2006) has benefitted from the perspectives shared by an interdisciplinary approach, namely linguistics and rhetoric (Harriman 1995; Aunte 2008) so as to understand political communication in new social media (Golbeck et al. 2010; Tumasjan et al. 2010) involving the interpersonal function, particularly in the way computer-mediated written production can involve the target audience emotionally and cognitively so as to inculcate a point of view.

For the attainment of this goal, the paper departs from a corpus analysis of deictic items and reference chains in 1094 tweets (totalling 20,466 words), collected from January 2009 to May 2011, corresponding to Obama's governing period. Among the deictic items under scrutiny, stand out personal reference (i.e., we / you / they), demonstratives and locatives, particularly, time and space anchors, like now and binaries here / there. These seem to play a role in reconfiguring or disambiguating local and

global rhetorical spaces thereby (dis)connecting the addressees with the message of political kind. By studying the selected corpus, this paper intends to (i) single out and categorize the occurrence of the aforementioned deictic items in Obama's Twitter (ii) contrast them with the ones occurring in the American National Corpus, the corpus of political speeches, and the Twitter Corpus (Zappavigna, 2011); and (iii) analyse the way they are disambiguated at the textual level so as to discuss the way Barack Obama shapes his digital rhetorical space across contexts. For a more comprehensive display and analysis of their context of occurrence, and thus discussing the way semantic prosody is realized (Sinclair 1991, 2004, Louw 1993 in Sampson and McCarthy 2004, Stubbs 1995, Hunston 1997), this study resorted to a WordSmith v. 5 tool, after having turned the collected tweets into the digital format (saved as .txt file).

The obtained results evidence a large occurrence of deictic references in the corpus. They show ambiguity at the discourse level thereby requiring a close inspection of the collocational meaning and reference chain across tweets so as to come up with patterns of collocation and categories. This might lead to understanding Obama's Twitter as a rhetorical digital platform constructed without distinguished personal, time or space boundaries in global and intercultural context as a way to involve the broadest audience possible. Hence, Obama's mixed-referencing in addressing the virtual audience has shed some light on the way new media reconfigure emerging democracies around the globe. As for the limits of this study, it is also important to flash out the issues which are related to communication and the virtual conditions and constraints of communicating in Twitter as well as other issues worth studying but beyond the scope of this research paper. .

Keywords

Corpus linguistics, empirical methods, Web-as-corpus, discourse analysis, Internet linguistics

Introduction

Political communication in the 21st century has firmly established itself not only in the traditional media such as TV or radio, but also in the Internet. As Hansen and Benoit (2005, p. 219) state:

Candidates vying for the office of president use a variety of communication media to disseminate information to the public, including television, radio, and newspaper ads and stump speeches, debates, and direct mail brochures. The Internet is one of the newest communication media being used by candidates seeking election to the highest office in the land. Web pages are now standard accouterments of the modern political campaign.

Nowadays, politicians use global network on a regular basis creating personal web pages and registering on different social platforms. One of the best examples in the modern political scenario is the 44th President of the United States, Barack Obama, who was a pioneer in demonstrating the potential of the Internet for political communication, and thus, was called "the first Internet president" according to Greengard (2009, p. 16). Previous research into Obama's use of the Internet dealt mostly with its social dimension stating that:

The campaign's new-media strategy, inspired by popular social networks like MySpace and Facebook, has revolutionized the use of the Web as a political tool, helping the candidate raise more than two million

donations of less than \$200 each and swiftly mobilize hundreds of thousands of supporters before various primaries. (Stelter, 2008, p. 1)

This study intends to expand previous research on Obama's use of digital media by applying the concept of rhetorical space to uncover discursive strategies which mark the moves between local/national and global communication in Obama's Twitter. Further on, having deixis at the core of this research study, of exploratory nature, has allowed for the reassessment of discursive strategies in the digital space of online communication across the globe, thereby addressing the collective (national and global) / individual as well as a diffuse target audience.

A discourse-based view drawing on corpus linguistics (McCarthy & Carter, 1994; Sampson & McCarthy, 2004; Sinclair, 2004; Baker, 2006) has benefitted from the perspectives shared by an interdisciplinary approach, namely linguistics and rhetoric (Harriman, 1995; Aunte, 2008) so as to understand political communication in new social media (Golbeck et al., 2010; Tumasjan et al., 2010) involving the interpersonal function, particularly in the way computer-mediated written production can involve the target audience emotionally and cognitively so as to inculcate a point of view of the addressee.

Thus, the present study undertakes an innovative approach to the analysis of rhetorical spaces online. Using the combination of linguistic and rhetorical studies, the article intends to demonstrate the benefits of this symbiosis for the research community. The central place in this approach takes the notion of deixis, which is claimed to be the main component in the construction of Obama's digital rhetorical space. The corpus analysis of deictic references, as well as their collocation patterns, is believed to shed light on "hidden" agenda in the president's own rhetoric, underpinning, thus, his intentions in the construction of special rhetorical space on his Twitter platform.

Literature review

Presidential rhetoric: the case of Barack Obama

There are several studies on presidential rhetoric, some of which in the belief to describe what the presidency is about (Windt, 1984; Zarefsky, 2004; Medhurst, 2008). Zarefsky (2004), for instance, suggests that rhetoric "is a reflection of a president's values and world view" (Zarefsky, 2004, p. 610), and that it defines political reality. It was not until the 1980s that academic research began to recognize and express a specific interest in the presidency and in presidential rhetoric. This is due to the publication, "Presidential Rhetoric: Definition of a Field of Study", by Theodore Otto Windt Jr. in the *Central States Speech Journal* (1984) in which he identified presidential rhetoric as a distinct subfield within the discipline of rhetoric, of which American rhetorical tradition has been under research focus for a long time (Brake, 1969; Windt, 1984; Lucas, 1988; Zarefsky, 1986; etc).

The first Afro-American elected to preside in the White House, Barack Obama, also became famous for his outrageous rhetorical skills and in Coe and Reitzes' bearings (2010, p. 391): "It was a speech that transformed Obama from little-known state senator into a nationally known political celebrity". The importance of the public address to his political life gave rise to a number of studies of Obama's rhetorical techniques, namely those by Elahi and Cos (2005); Rowland and Jones (2007); Frank (2009); Murphy (2009); Coe and Reitzes (2010), to name but a few. However, it is surprising to note that most of this scholarly studies concentrated mainly on the analysis of Obama's single speeches on specific domains, making it difficult to explore and, drawing on the claims by Coe and Reitzes (2010, p. 391), "generalize about Obama's rhetorical

approach and impossible to understand the determinants of his rhetorical choices".

As a matter of fact, Elahi and Cos (2005), for example, studied Obama's 2004 address simply focusing on hope and unity as key concepts of his speech drawing on the use of his personal narrative. Rowland and Jones (2007) also focused on hope and unity in Obama's 2004 address. The latter argued that it was Obama's attempt to recast the American dream by means of a hopeful vision for the country based on shared identity. Frank (2009), in his turn, concentrated on Obama's emphasis on religious themes, while Murphy (2009) looked at Obama's discussion of the economic crisis by illustrating his view on the American economic situation as a constituent part of a broader historical progression.

Apart from the aforementioned research studies on Obama's individual speeches, Coe and Reitzes (2010) carried out an analysis of Obama's rhetoric over the course of 2008 election campaign. Building their study on a computer-assisted content analysis, of exploratory kind, the authors flashed out four main rhetorical appeals in Obama's 2008 campaign, briefly pinpointed as follows: "policy", "thematic", "morality" and "factious"; in which policy and thematic appeals had a greater percentage of use over morality and factious⁷. Each of these appeals was then subdivided into different categories, thus, the final list comprised 18 categories constituting four rhetorical appeals. What is interesting in their approach is that the four categories of appeals were singled out, or decided upon by the authors *prior* to the study of the corpus. In other words, first, the appeals were named; second, the corpus was searched for the lexical choice which could fall under one of them⁸. Finally, Coe and Reizes concluded that Obama's rhetoric during the 2008 campaign "varied by speaking context, geography and poll position, indicating a twofold rhetorical approach of emphasizing policy and thematic appeals while downplaying more contentious issues" (Coe & Reitzes, 2010, p. 391). Briefly put, location and context of speaking were the main determinants of Obama's rhetoric, and, thus, his speeches were "modified from day to day [...] to reflect the concerns and interests of the particular audience and also to reflect a changing major theme of the day" (Abramson, Aldrich, & Rohde, 2007, p. 43). These findings come in the same line as Zarefsky's claim (2004, p. 608) that the field of rhetorical studies "emphasizes contingency and choice rather than predictability and control". Hence, the rhetor, tagging along Mountford (2001, p. 41), meaning the speaker or writer chooses the best way to achieve their goal in the context of specific situation bearing an audience in mind. This situation is also referred to as "situatedness", "rhetorical situation", or sometimes "rhetorical space".

Rhetorical space

Referring to Aristotle's postulates, Zarefsky (2004, p. 610) posits: "Aristotle defined rhetoric as the faculty of discovering the available means of persuasion in the given case. Those last four words emphasize that rhetoric is situational; it is grounded in particulars and resists easy generalization". Similarly, Beasley (2006, p. 5) suggests that "one of the most important characteristics of all rhetoric is its 'situatedness'". This characteristic is often associated with Bitzer's (1980)

⁷ Policy appeals: 58.94 uses per 1,000 words; thematic appeals: 41.93; morality appeals: 6.73; factious appeals: 2.62

⁸ This information was confirmed through the private correspondence between Kevin Coe and Anna Ivanova.

notion of rhetorical situation, defined as "a natural context of persons, events, objects⁹, relations, and an exigency which strongly invites utterance". In its turn, the term rhetorical situation is applied by rhetoricians to recognize the definition of *rhetorical space*, suggested by the feminist philosopher Lorraine Code, back in 1995. By resorting to the example of women's attempt to have "productive public debate about abortion in Vatican in 1995", Code (1995, p. x) noted that "the very possibility of an utterance counting as "true-or-false" or of a discussion yielding insight" depends on one's location". This claim goes back to Aristotle's stance who suggested that "a rhetor must modulate his speech for the old, the young, and the middle-aged, groups whose habits of mind create an exigency that must be accounted for in the invention process" (Mountford, 2001, p. 41). Hence, Code (1995, pp. ix-x) named this phenomenon a rhetorical space by defining it as:

fictive but not fanciful or fixed locations, whose (tacit, rarely spoken) territorial imperatives structure and limit the kinds of utterances that can be voiced within them with a reasonable expectation of uptake and "choral support": an expectation of being heard, understood, taken seriously". [adapted mine]

Having this in mind, one can draw a parallel line between rhetorical space in Rhetorical Studies and discourse in Linguistics, the latter one defined as "a combination of text and its relevant context" (Werth, 1999, p. 47). For a clear understanding of the preceding phrase, it is relevant to point out that a text refers to both oral and written discourse. In the first case, it takes the form of transcription of speeches, which are normally used for this type of studies. Interestingly, a text in presidential rhetoric "refers not only to the words the president speaks but to the entirety of the presidential performance" (Zarefsky, 2004, p. 609). In short, it's a language event, i.e. language together with the context that supports it. This relevant context, or as it is also called, common ground, expresses the same idea as "situatedness" in rhetorical space. The crucial point here is that previous research in rhetorical space concentrated on how "situatedness" defined, or shaped the rhetor's (speaker's or writer's) actions in a certain situation. The opposite view on this issue was covered by Werth in his study of conceptual space in discourse. First of all, he defines discourse as (Werth, 1999, p. 51): "a deliberate and joint effort on the part of a producer and recipients to build up a "world" within which the propositions advanced are coherent and make complete sense". Secondly, as it goes from the above definition, Werth's approach to study discourse revolves around the term text world, defined as (Werth, 1999, p. 51) "a deictic space, defined initially by the discourse itself, and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it." These elements, or deictic subset, denote personal, locative and temporal features of language encoding in the context of utterance. Moreover, this frame of deictic and reference items is believed to form "situatedness" in the speaker's / writer's rhetorical space.

Deixis and rhetorical space

The term *deixis* "refers to the way speakers orient themselves and their listeners in terms of person, time and space in relation to the immediate situation of speaking" (McCarthy & Carter, 1994, p. 178). It can be characterized as "orientational" features of language which function to locate utterances in relation to

speakers' viewpoints" (Simpson, 1993, p. 13). This view was supported by Levinson (1983, p. 55) who claimed that:

Deixis belongs within the domain of pragmatics because it directly concerns the relationship between the structure of language and the contexts in which they are used.

Similarly to this viewpoint, Zupnik (1994, p. 340) calls deixis "a pragmatic phenomenon", explaining it through "the relationship between the structure of languages and the contexts in which they are used." Bühler (1982b) distinguishes between three dimensions (or, according to Fillmore, 1997, sub-categories) of deixis: personal, local, and temporal.

Personal deixis stands for "the identity of the interlocutors in a communication situation" (Fillmore, 1997, p. 61-62). It "allows distinction among the speaker, the addressee, and everyone else" (Trask, 1999, p. 68) such as:

speaker - the sender of the message what grammarians call "first person";

addressee - the message's intended recipient, or "second person";

audience - intended audience, a person who may be considered part of the conversational group but who is not a member of the speaker / addressee pair.

Local deixis, also called place or spatial deixis, is "the linguistic expression of the speaker's perception of his position in three-dimensional space" (Fillmore, 1997, p. 27). It denotes "the relationship of objects to a speaker", or "how a speaker is situated in physical space" (Simpson, 1993, p. 13).

Temporal (or time) *deixis*, "concerns the ways in which the time of the events referred to in an utterance (reference time - *mine*) interacts with the time of the utterance itself (encoding time - *mine*)" (Simpson, 1993, p. 13), and the time when the message was received (decoding time - *mine*) (Fillmore, 1997). Thus, person, time and place are the three "major grammaticalized types of deixis" (Fillmore, 1997, p. 17).

In speech / writing deixis is realized through the use of special "linguistic pointers" (Werth, 1994) called *deictic expressions*, also classified as "indexical symbols" (Peirce in Burks, 1949) "indexical expressions" (Adentunji, 2006), "shifters" (Jacobson, 1957), or "textual references" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Their referents cannot be identified without an understanding of their actual context (Zupnik, 1994). In the case of personal deixis, its indexical items belong to the grammatical category of personal pronouns, such as *I*, *you*, *we*, etc., and their variants *my*, *mine*, *your*, *our*, etc. The most obvious local deictic terms are conveyed by the adverbs *here* / *there* and the demonstratives *this* / *these* and *that* / *those*, which are "the purest indicators of directionality and location" (Simpson, 1993, p. 13). The first words in each pair indicate proximal perspective as they express physical proximity to the speaker. On the contrary, the second sets of words take a distal perspective as they denote a certain distance from the location of the speaker. The same proximal / distal distinction is applied to the deictic adverbs of time *now* and *then*. The deictic *now* reflects proximal perspective meaning "at the time at which the speaker is speaking", while its distal pair *then* "indicates that the events referred to took place at a time anterior to the time of speaking" (Simpson, 1993, p. 14).

The resolving of deictic expressions is performed by means of *deictic anchorage*, the term introduced by the Norwegian psychologist Ragnar Rommetveit in 1968. It consists in the contextualization of a deictic item through the establishing of cohesive ties between this item and the context in which it is used, as Lenz (2003, p. VII) puts it: "whenever the deictic is employed, the speaker refers to a certain entity". Concerning the

⁹ By "objects" Bitzer (1980) has in mind "documents," rather than elements of a physical location (8).

research scope of this study, it is worth mentioning, if only briefly, the role of deixis in political studies.

Deixis and political discourse studies

Deixis has been attracting the attention of political discourse scholars for a quite time now. It has been studied “ranging from personal to political, from persuasive to manipulative”, taking into account “both the context of production and the speaker’s intentions” (Adetunji, 2006, p. 181). As a matter of fact, the major number of these studies is devoted to the use of person deixis by politicians. More precisely, their focus is on the role of first-person plural deictic pronouns. Thus, it has been argued that they may play a powerful persuasive role “since they have the potential to encode group memberships and identifications” (Zupnik, 1994, p. 340) by indexing different groups as included or excluded in the pronoun *we* (Seidel, 1975; Connor-Linton, 1988; Fairclough, 1989; Wilson, 1990). Thereupon, Zupnik (1994) points out the crucial role in the analysis of vague deixis using the example of one interlocutor’s responses in a televised political speech event. She argues that “based on the cohesive ties among the various utterances of the discourse, there are several potential referents of the indexicals” and “hearers may choose to include themselves as members of the class of referents” (Zupnik, 1994, p. 340). Thus, it may facilitate the achievement “of the main goal of political speech: to persuade listeners of the speaker’s viewpoint” (Zupnik, 1994, p. 340).

The problem of inclusion / exclusion of personal deictic pronouns in political discourse has been fully covered by Rees (1983) in his pronominal scale:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	ME	YOU	ONE	YOU	IT	SHE	HE	THEY
		(direct)			(indefinite)			

Table 1. Pronominal scale for political referencing by Rees (Rees, 1983, p. 16)

Starting with the deictic centre *I* and finishing with the distant *they*, this scale shows “the movement from the proximal to the distal” (Adetunji, 2006, p. 180) in the use of pronominal references in political context. In his study of speeches by Casper Weinberger (former United States Defense Secretary), Urban (1988) focuses on the use of the first-person plural pronoun *we*. As Arroyo (2000, p. 4) puts it: “the ambiguous use of pronominal deixis is especially relevant in political language”. Thus, Urban isolates six different uses of *we* by Weinberger (Urban, 1988, p. 8-9):

- 1) the President - *we*;
- 2) the Department of Defense - *we*;
- 3) the Reagan Administration - *we*;
- 4) the U.S. government - *we*;
- 5) the United States - *we*;
- 6) the U.S. and the Soviet Union - *we*.

Similarly, Maitland Wilson (1987) has investigated the use of personal pronouns in the speeches of three different British political leaders (M. Foot, N. Kinnock and M. Thatcher) with the object of “self-referencing”, “relation of contrast” and “other referencing”. Their results showed obvious similarity in the use of deictic pronominals between Kinnock and Foot (Labour Party leaders) and differences between Kinnock/Foot and Thatcher (Conservative Party leader), who is characterized to use the inclusive *we*, putting the people, the government, and herself in the same boat (Fairclough, 2003).

Later on, in 1990, Wilson in his study of the United States presidential debates between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in 1976 analyzes the shifting status of *I* and *we*. He concludes by anchoring it “on self-positioning the desire to spread the load of

responsibility, and the fear of being misinterpreted, by the audience or co-debater” (Adetunji, 2006, p. 182).

In 2004, Iñigo-Mora published a paper in which she studied the strategic use of the first person plural pronouns (*we*, *our*, *us*) during five “Question Time Sessions” in the House of Commons (British Parliament) that took place between 1st December 1987 and 19th April 1988.

She distinguished four indexical meanings demonstrating “an approaching-distancing relationship, depending on the politician’s purpose” (Iñigo-Mora, 2004, p. 49):

- 1) exclusive: I + my political group;
- 2) inclusive: I + you;
- 3) parliamentary community: I + parliamentary community;
- 4) generic: I + all British people.

A similar approach was carried out in the study of personal deixis in Spanish political-electoral debate between Felipe González and José María Aznar during the 1993 general elections (Arroyo, 2000). As a result, the author distinguishes two major personal deictic references: the presidential *I* and the partisan *we*:

“The presidential *I* distinguishes the speaker as the head of the ideological option that he represents and also gives him added weight as a social and political leader”

“[partisan *we*] in which the other members of the same political side participate with the candidate” (Arroyo, 2000, p. 7-8)

Apart from the aforementioned studies on personal deixis in political discourse, time and space deictic references have also been under the research scope. For example, Adetunji (2006) in his paper on Olusegun Obasanjo’s speeches, turns his attention to personal, temporal and spatial deictic anchorage. Likewise, in Billig’s (1995) study the deictic references *I*, *you*, *we*, *here*, and *now* are defined as those creating what Billig calls “banal nationalism.” He argues that although these subtle (“banal”) words do not deliver an obvious message, they serve to create a background for and “flag” nationalism.

Data and methodology

The present study departs from a corpus analysis of deictic items and reference chains in 1094 tweets, the *Tweet-Obama* corpus (totalling 20,466 words), collected from January 2009 to May 2011, corresponding to Obama’s governing period. Among the deictic items under scrutiny, stand out personal references (i.e., *we* / *you* / *they*), demonstratives and locatives, particularly, time and space anchors, like binaries *now* / *then*, and *here* / *there*. These seem to play a role in reconfiguring or disambiguating local and global rhetorical spaces thereby (dis)connecting the addressees with the message of political kind.

By studying the selected corpus, this paper intends to (i) single out and categorize the occurrence of the aforementioned deictic items in Obama’s Twitter; and (ii) analyse the way they are disambiguated at the textual level so as to discuss the way Barack Obama shapes his digital rhetorical space across contexts. For a more comprehensive display and analysis of their context of occurrence, and thus discussing the way semantic prosody is realized (Sinclair, 1991, 2004; Louw, 1993 in Sampson & McCarthy, 2004; Stubbs, 1995; Hunston, 2007), this study resorted to a WordSmith v. 5 tool, after having turned the collected tweets into the digital format (saved as txt file). Mainly, the wordlist and concordance options were used to: (i) select the items under the study; and (ii) look for their deictic anchorage in the corpus. Having fulfilled this task, the deictic references were then grouped according to their antecedents in the corpus.

Findings

Personal deixis

The first set of analyses focuses on personal deixis in Obama's selected corpus. For this purpose, the pronominal forms including possessive adjectives in a total of 13 unique words out of 894 tokens were selected from the general corpus wordlist (19,908). The forms were then organized according to the syntactic function, person, number and gender, in case of the first and third pronominal references, as displayed in Table 1.

Plural				
Subject	Object	Reflexive	Poss. adj	Poss. pron
<i>we</i> N=238	<i>us</i> N=35	<i>ourselves</i> N=1	<i>our</i> N=188	<i>ours</i> N= 1
<i>they</i> N=42	<i>them</i> N=34	<i>themselves</i> N=2	<i>their</i> N=42	-

Table 2. Personal pronouns selected from Obama's Corpus (instances in corpus)

The sort of occurrences of the 2nd person reference as presented in Table 2 only points to its syntactic form, either as a personal pronoun (subject or object) or as a possessive adjective because the category of number is reported (Quirk et al., 1990, p. 343) as "neutralized in current standard English". Yet, there are a couple of instances in the *TweetObama* corpus co-collocating with "guys". Irrespective of the necessary pragma-linguistic analysis to be presented further on, the overriding occurrence of the plural form of the pronoun, the term of address "you guys", explicitly targeted at the larger audience by the speaker / writer, chiefly stands for a North American and Australian collocation of the informal 2nd person plural form (cf. 1.190.000.000 Google entries).

Subject	Object	Poss. adj	Poss. pron
<i>you</i> N=111	<i>you</i> N=60	<i>your</i> N=137	<i>yours</i> N=3

Table 3. Second person pronouns selected from Obama's Corpus (instances in corpus)

It is thus somehow evidenced from both tables that the set of the 1st person references is more frequent than the other two sets: 2nd and 3rd person reference. The results for each set of items are presented below in separate sections followed by the discussion of their semantic prosody underpinning point of view, implied public /collective and individual stances, as they occur in strings, as well as their collocational meaning in utterances.

Personal deictic we

The plural deictic pronouns / adjectives are not only the most frequent in the corpus, but they are also fully deployed in all their possible forms: *we*, *us*, *our*, *ours* and *ourselves* (see Table 2). However, there is a potential ambiguity of assigning participant roles to these deictic items. The close reading of the strings and larger units (tweets) is employed to determine the linguistic environment of the deictic items under scrutiny. It consists in tracking down the reference chains in order to restore the corresponding antecedent elements for each deictic pronoun/adjective. Thus, three main groups of the first plural pronominals are defined based on the implied exclusiveness / inclusiveness of the possible audience:

- 1) inclusive;

- 2) exclusive;

- 3) multiple-indexing.

These groups are further divided into subcategories according to their implied participating bodies as demonstrated in Table 4:

Group	Subcategories
Inclusive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obama + Nation (I-ON) • Generic (I-G)
Exclusive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obama + his cabinet (E-OC) • Obama + US government (E-OG) • Obama + his family (E-OF)
Multiple-indexing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obama + (?)Nation + (?)Government (A-ONG)

Table 4. Classification of the first person plural deictic items in Obama's Corpus

- 1) Inclusive group of the first person pronouns seems to include a possible reader into the discourse:

a) as a part of the American nation (I-ON):
 "America prevailed because *we* chose to move forward as one nation. Again, *we* are tested. And again *we* must answer history's call."

- b) on a general basis (I-G):

"We're putting Americans to work producing clean energy that will lower our reliance on foreign oil and protect *our* planet."

- 2) Whereas in exclusive group deictic pronouns stand for the speaker and/or other entities excluding the hearer from the discourse act. Instead, they refer to:

- a) the president and/or his cabinet (E-OC):

"*We* will continue to work hand in hand with state & local authorities on every front until *we* put this tragic ordeal in the Gulf behind us."

- b) the president (and/or his cabinet), and the government (E-OG):

"I am proposing that starting this year, *we* freeze annual domestic spending for the next five years."

- c) the president and his family (E-OF):

"Michelle and I cast *our* ballots early."

- 3) Finally, in the "multiple-indexing" group (Adetunji, 2006) plural deictic forms are fuzzy and ambiguous while binding them to the intended antecedent element. Consider the following examples:

"*We* are not going back - *we* are moving forward."

With respect to their participant roles in the discourse, the above "multiple-indexing" deictic *we* can be anchored to Obama, the American government, the Americans or even a supra-national audience with equal success. Due to the restricted space of the textual component in Twitter (140 characters), the supporting context in this sort of tweets does not provide much help in retrieving the implied reference, which is, thus, assigned as ambiguous, or as Adetunji (2006) calls it - "multiple-indexing".

Interestingly, frequency data of the 1st plural pronominal elements (see Diagram 1) shows nearly equal distribution of inclusive and multiple-indexing groups in the *Tweet-Obama* corpus, where the first one occurs 152 times, and the second - 170 (168+2) times respectively. Further on, the results from Diagram 2 indicate a clear trend in the use of *we* as an ambiguous (MI=91) and exclusive (E-OG=60; E-OC=42) reference in the corpus vs. an inclusive one (I-ON=45). Similar results are also obtained for the pronoun *us* with major references of multiple-indexing and Obama + his cabinet, thus, excluding the potential audience from the discourse. Contrary to this, the occurrences of the inclusive *our* (I-ON=110) prevails over its exclusive (E-OG=13; E-OC=12) and ambiguous (MI=50) instances.

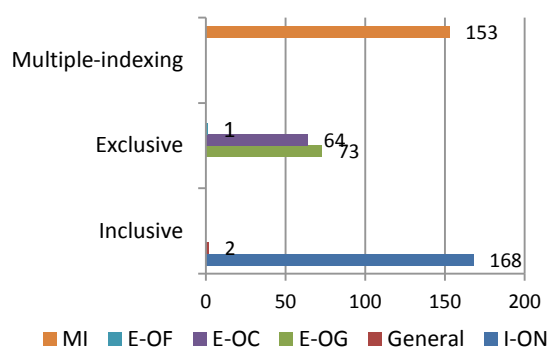


Diagram 1. Frequency distribution of the groups for the 1st person plural pronominal items in the Tweet-Obama corpus.

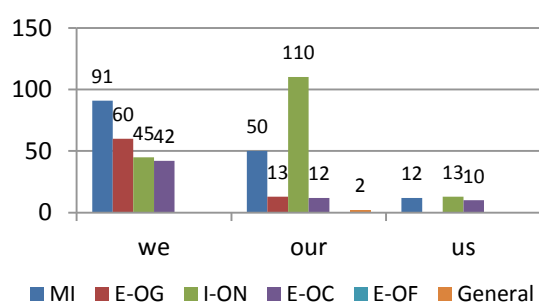


Diagram 2. Frequency distribution of the groups for personal pronouns we, our and us in the Tweet-Obama corpus

Personal deictic you

The group of the 2nd person pronouns is also highly representative in the *Tweet-Obama* corpus (cf. Table 3) *you* as a subject occurs 111 times; as an object – 60 times; as a possessive adjective – 137 times; and as a possessive pronoun – 3 times. The close reading of the tweets indicates their inclusive character (regardless of their form and syntactic function), i.e. directed to the potential reader of Obama's Twitter evidenced in this interrogative statement:

"How many of your friends can *you* inspire to commit to vote this November?" (subject)

Despite of the neutralized category of number for this group of pronominal references, the corpus reveals two instances of their clear use in plural sense. Each of these instances comes accompanied by a co-collocation "guys", typical for North American and Australian English of the informal second person plural form, in:

"*You* guys give me confidence. *You* guys give me hope."

Personal deictic they

Finally, the deictic pronominal reference *they* is characterized by the exclusive character, i.e. it does not explicitly include a possible reader of Obama's Twitter, and is directed to/speak about "third parties" – those, "not directly involved in the origination or reception of the utterance in which they occur" (Quirk, 1990, p. 340): politicians, companies, state issues, reforms, etc. The deictic *they* is represented in the corpus by the subject form *they* 42 times, by the object form *them* 34 times, by the possessive adjective *their* 42 times and by reflexive *themselves* twice (cf. Table 1). In order to assess the implied antecedents of this deictic group, a close reading of the concordance strings and larger

items (tweets) is done, and accordingly, there are four main categories of the 3rd person plural forms in the corpus as it is demonstrated in Table 5:

Category of 3 rd person plural in the <i>Tweet-Obama</i> corpus	Example from the <i>Tweet-Obama</i> corpus	Frequency in the <i>Tweet-Obama</i> corpus
USA, i.e. the Americans	Americans who are fighting to find good jobs and support <i>their</i> families will get the support <i>they</i> need during these tough economic times.	54%
Opposition	If the other side wins, <i>they</i> 'll try <i>their</i> hardest to give free rein back to insurance companies, credit card companies & Wall St. banks.	19%
Supporters	Supporters are fired up. <i>They</i> 've reached out to 500,000 voters so far—keep calling, and keep knocking.	15%
Other	It's time to hold the big banks accountable to the people <i>they</i> serve. Show your support for Wall Street reform.	12%

Table 5. Categories of the deictic 3rd person plural forms in the *Tweet-Obama* corpus.

This table illustrates that the plural deictic forms of the 3rd person pronouns are anchored to the Americans in most of their occurrences in the corpus (54%). *They* and its forms is also referred to the opposition (19%), supporters (15%) and other participating bodies (12%). It is also observed that the major part of these forms also belong to anaphoric use except for 2.5% of times (3 times of all 3rd person plural) which are used cataphorically, and one stance that is not possible to define due to a zero antecedent:

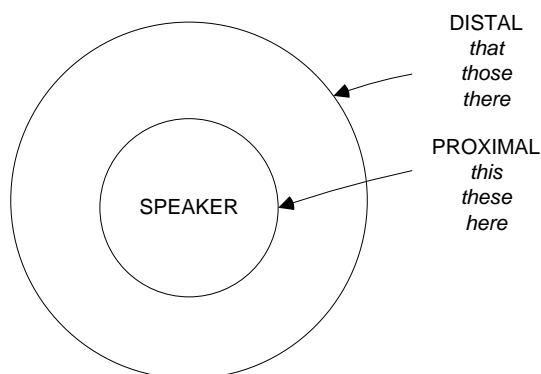
"We measure progress by the success of our *people*. By the jobs *they* can find and the quality of life those jobs offer." (*they* used in anaphoric position)

"For the character *they* build, the doors *they* open, and the love *they* provide, *our* fathers deserve our unending appreciation and admiration." (*they* used in cataphoric position)

"With gratitude for the lives *they* led: L" (impossible to define the antecedent)

Spatial deixis

The second set of analyses deals with the spatial (or local) deictic references based on two-level "distance" criteria with the speaker as a referent point: distal vs. proximal, where the proximal level is considered to be much closer to the speaker and the distal one – closer to the addressee (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1991):



Picture 1. Proximal-distal criteria for the spatial deixis classification in the Tweet-Obama corpus

For this purpose the following set of deictic demonstratives and adverbs of place was selected from the corpus:

Proximal	Distal
<i>this</i> N=184	<i>that</i> N=11
<i>these</i> N=7	<i>those</i> N=24
<i>here</i> N=35	<i>there</i> N=7
Total: 226	Total: 42

Table 6. Two-way levels of spatial demonstratives and adverbs in the Tweet-Obama Corpus

The selected spatial deictic references are detected to occur in cataphoric or anaphoric position to the indicated item in the corpus:

VP Biden spent time Wednesday debunking myths on seniors & health reform. Share *this* with a senior in your life.

Proximal level of spatial deixis: *this* / *these* and *here*

The results shown in Table 6 report a (~) five times quantitative advantage of proximal deictic items over the distal ones. The close reading of concordance strings together with larger units (i.e. tweets) points out four main categories for proximal deictic items according to their main references in the corpus:

1. situational;
2. communicative;
3. time;
4. indefinite.

The quantitative analysis obtained for each category indicates that the major number of proximal deictics occurs with time (N=98) and situational (N=68) referents, followed by indefinite (N=30) and communicative (N=30) ones:

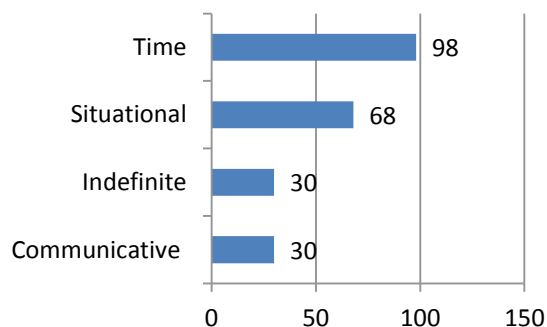


Diagram 3. Quantitative distribution of categories for proximal spatial deictic items in the Tweet-Obama corpus

The first category of spatial deictic references stands for the items that reflect the general situational context of communication, mainly:

(i) speaker's / hearer's tacit knowledge on a shared topic mediated by the demonstratives *this* / *these*: *this* decision; *these* photos; *this* administration; Please read *this*—Vicki Kennedy says it's time to pass H and finish the work of her late husband's life;

(ii) speaker's physical location mediated by the place adverb *here*: I've come *here* to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims.

The locative deictic items in the communicative category refer to a supra-textual content (e.g. video, link, etc.): *this* link, *this* video, *this* account, you can watch online *here*, etc. In this case, the speaker explicitly prompts a hearer to perform an action that lies beyond reading the textual component: check out a link, video or another Twitter account, etc.

The third category of proximal locative deixis indicates the time reference. It is presented only by the demonstratives *this* / *these*, and its description is given in the corresponding section for time deixis.

Finally, the indefinite group includes all those cases where it is not possible to clearly define the referent item of the deictic *this* / *these* and *here*:

"*This* was never just about putting a president in the White House. It was about building a movement for change that endures."

Distal level of spatial deixis: *that* / *those* and *there*

Distal spatial deictic items under the scope in the Tweet-Obama corpus are the demonstrative pronouns *that* (N=11) / *those* (N=24) and the adverb of place *there* (N=7). Regarding quantitative data in the previous section (Table 1), these items occur nearly five times less in the corpus than do proximal ones. Thus, applying close reading method of the concordance strings and larger units (i.e. tweets), distal spatial deictic items in the *Tweet-Obama* corpus can be subdivided into the following categories:

1. situational;
2. indefinite.

The quantitative analysis in the whole corpus places situational category (N=40) in the forefront as the most representative one by both the demonstratives *that* / *those* and locative adverb *there*. On the contrary, the indefinite (N=2) category is represented only by the distal locative *there*:

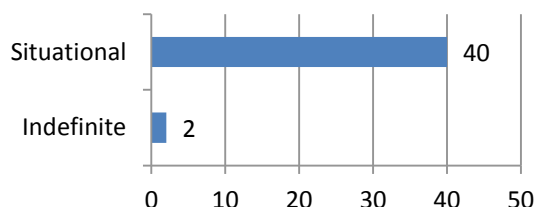


Diagram 4. Quantitative distribution of categories for distal spatial deictic items in the Tweet-Obama corpus

Similar to the situational category of proximal deictic items, this category stands for those distal spatial deictics that refer to the general situational context in Obama's Twitter, mainly:

(i) speaker's / hearer's tacit knowledge on shared topic mediated by the demonstratives *that* / *those*: *that* nation, *that* spirit, *those* jobs, etc.;

(ii) indication of location through the place adverb *there*: "As we mark the end of America's combat mission in Iraq, a grateful nation pays tribute to all who

have served *there*." Unlike a similar description for the proximal deictic *here*, the distal locative adverb *there* does not correspond to speaker's physical location *per se*, rather, it encodes a less precise spatial dimension and the involved parties: "The future is ours to win. But to get *there*, we can't just stand still."

The indefinite category is represented only by two occurrences of the locative deictic adverb *there*:

"Halfway *there*—you've already made 50,000 calls to Congress. Help us reach 100,000."

Low frequency of *there* in the corpus might be a reasonable justification to exclude it from the category list. However, being a deictic reference under the scrutiny, *there* and all its instances in the corpus are considered to be highly important for this study.

Further on, reading the concordance strings for this group of spatial demonstratives reveals that *that* takes NP complementation, while *those* is mostly used with relative clauses (N=9) and adjectival phrases (N=6): *that* nation; *those* who educate; *those* that take deposits; among other.

Time deixis

Finally, the last set of deictic data deals with time references *now*, *then* and *soon* based on the same proximal-distal scheme applied for spatial deictic items:

Proximal	Distal
now N=30 right now N=3	then N=1 soon N=2
Total: 33	Total: 3

Table 7. Two-way level of time references in the Tweet-Obama corpus

Proximal level of time deixis: now

From the data displayed in Table 7 it is seen that the proximal level of time deictic items is reported more frequently than the distal one. In spite of the fact that the deictic *now* can be disambiguated by checking time and date directly in the tweet, the close reading of the concordance strings together with larger units (i.e. tweets) underpins two main categories of *now*:

1. immediate;
2. indefinite.

The immediate *now* is accompanied by a verb in an imperative mode and / or in progressive tense followed by a supra-textual marker, or "non-linguistic reference" (Werth, 1995, p. 156) - a hyperlink. These indices are subjectively assigned as explicit markers to perform immediate actions in Twitter: (i)read the tweet, and (ii)click on the hyperlink *now*, i.e. at the decoding time of the utterance (Fillmore, 1997):

"Watch live *now*: L"

However, the quantitative analysis for the corpus shows that *now* occurs mostly as a vague time reference (N=22), i.e. it does not correspond to its primary meaning of immediacy - "at the present time or moment" (cf. Webster online), or encoding / decoding time (Fillmore, 1997) of the utterance; rather it stands for indefinite, vague time span - "under the present circumstances" (cf. Webster online):

"The time for health reform is *now*."

Interestingly, the combination *right now* (N=3), which stands for *right away*, *immediately* and *without hesitation* (cf. Webster online), also falls under the indefinite category of proximal time deictic references. Alongside the indefinite *now* / *right now* does not correspond to the immediate time reference either, standing for a fuzzy time span in the corpus:

"You do incredible work -- and *right now* is the perfect time to remember where we came from."

Distal level of time deixis: then and soon

Distal level of time deixis in the Tweet-Obama corpus is represented by adverbs *soon* (N=2) and *then* (N=1). It has the lowest frequency rank of all selected deictic references, and, thus, it is not subjected to further categorization:

"Speaking on the economy and taking questions from workers in Buffalo, New York, *soon*. Listen live: L"

The close reading of the concordance strings together with larger units (i.e. tweets) of both adverbs does not disambiguate the implied time period behind them. However, the tweet metadata (i.e. date and time of tweet publication) can be used to infer the approximate time period for *then* which logically follows the one indicated in the tweet.

Discussion and implication

The obtained results evidence a large occurrence of deictic references in the corpus, in which personal references (and their forms) *we* and *you* have a quantitative superiority over *they*; and proximal (temporal and spatial) deictic references over distal ones. All of these references show ambiguity at the discourse level thereby requiring a close inspection of the collocational meaning and reference chain across tweets so as to come up with patterns of collocation and categories. It is interesting to point the ambiguous and exclusive use of the pronoun *we* by Obama in his Twitter. In the last case, *we* does not include possible Twitter public referring rather to Obama and the government, or Obama and his cabinet, than to Obama and the nation. The multiple indexing, however, has a certain degree to include possible Twitter audience into Obama's circle.

On the contrary, the personal deictic *our* is mostly used as an inclusive reference, thus, admitting possible public into Obama's circle, and compensating exclusive *we*. This play between exclusive and ambiguous *we* and inclusive *our* might stand as an implicit language choice of Obama's digital rhetoric as a strategy to involve the broadest audience possible. Regarding these findings, it seems logical that the pronominal reference *they* (and its forms) is found less frequent in the corpus. In terms of constructing Obama's digital rhetorical space, it can be translated as a technique of getting closer to the target audience, i.e. to shorten the distance between the executive power (the president) and the potential audience. Interestingly, 54% of all instances of the exclusive deictic pronoun *they* (and its forms) refers to the Americans, i.e. in spite of the exclusive character of the deictic pronoun, its referents in the corpus are reported as inclusive on the national level.

The results obtained for the spatial deixis demonstrate the prevailing use of proximal over distal references, marking out time as their most frequent antecedent. Similarly, time deixis is also characterized by its use in proximal rather than distal context. These findings clearly emphasize a predominant choice of the inclusive and proximal over exclusive and distal in Obama's digital rhetoric. One might claim that this is typical for the online Twitter environment where the prompt question to post a message is "What's happening?" This could be a challenging hypothesis to test as a continuation of this research. However, in the scope of the present research paper, the dominating proximity and inclusiveness is considered as Obama's discursive technique in constructing digital rhetorical space on Twitter. Mainly, it might lead to understanding Obama's Twitter as a rhetorical digital platform constructed with a proximal and inclusive personal, time and space contour in global and intercultural context as a way to involve the broadest audience possible.

Thus, the Obama's digital rhetorical space is limited to the proximal level which connects the possible

addressees with his virtual self and the message he transmits. @BarackObama is constructed by means of the deictics *we*, *here* and *now*, while *they*, *there* and *then* are left apart, thereby explicitly demonstrating president's priority issues in online discourse. Furthermore, this kind of Obama's addressing the virtual audience has shed some light on the way new media reconfigure emerging democracies around the globe.

As for the limits of this study, it is also important to flash out the issues which are related to communication and the virtual conditions and constraints of communicating in Twitter as well as other issues worth studying but beyond the scope of this research paper.

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Recenzie/Reviews

Interkultúrne dimenzie prekladu/Intercultural Dimensions in Translation

(Ciprianová, E. - Mačura, M. - Vančo, M., *Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, Filozofická fakulta, Nitra 2012*)

Review by Ľudmila Adamová, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia

There is no doubt that the process of communication is influenced by cultural and situational context. Culture, knowledge and experience of communication partners as well as their value systems are factors that directly affect the reception and interpretation of information, and thus the success of communication. In this context, the translation often works as an intersection of different cultural and value systems present on all language levels in a translated text. Therefore, in the process of translation the translator often has a role of a mediator between the culture of the source text and target text. In order to play this role successfully the translator needs not only language skills, but also the intercultural competence, on the development of which the authors have been focused in the publication entitled *Interkultúrne dimenzie prekladu* (*Intercultural Dimensions of Translation*).

The book consists of four chapters. The first one represents a theoretical introduction in which the authors acquaint the readers with the basic concepts of intercultural communication and stylistics. Furthermore, they emphasize that not only communicative function of the text, but also its genre and stylistic conventions in different languages have to be taken into consideration in the process of analysis of the source text and its subsequent transfer into the target language. Besides clarifying the cultural differences in the use of collocations, conceptual metaphors, idioms and proverbs, which is related to cultural differences in the conceptualization of reality, I highly appreciate that the writers did not forget to mention the use of the politically correct language, which is the subject of increased attention not only in English speaking countries, but also in other European countries.

The other three chapters provide a set of practical tasks, which should help the future translators to develop their intercultural competence. Compilation of these chapters is based on Reiss' functional text typology as follows: Culture in translation of informative texts, Culture in translation of appellative texts, Culture in translation of expressive texts. The practical exercises contain the examples of authentic texts belonging to different genres. The positive is that their aim of the exercises is not only to perform the textual analysis, but also to compare the original with the translated text. Through this comparison the students have the opportunity to apply and integrate their knowledge of various linguistic disciplines from both languages (source and target), and thus to avoid the problems that often arise from undesirable and often unconscious interference of the source and the target languages as it is often found in the texts of the less experienced translators. However, the overall asset of these exercises would be strengthened by the inclusion of a brief clarification of the theoretical background and terminology related to the topic at the beginning of each exercise.

In conclusion, the publication of Elena Ciprianová, Martin Mačura and Michal Vančo is an interesting contribution to the field of didactics of translation. The book is a valuable source of useful exercises which emphasize not only the stylistic aspects of the texts, but also the role of culture and pragmatics in translation. Due to its interdisciplinary character it may be useful not only for teachers and students of translation studies, but also for a broader range of recipients interested in intercultural studies as well as comparative linguistics.

Adresy/Addresses

PhDr. Pavla Chejnová, Ph.D.

Univerzita Karlova v Praze – Pedagogická fakulta
M. D. Rettigové 4, Praha 1, 116 39
Czech Republic
Phone: +42 221 900 205
E-mail: pavla.chejnova@pedf.cuni.cz

PhDr. Dorota Chłopek, Ph.D.

University of Bielsko-Biala
ul. Mickiewicza 34/14
43-300 Bielsko-Biala
Poland
Phone: + 33 8279 265
E-mail: dorotach@ath.bielsko.pl

Dean Dawson

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul
107, Imun-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul, 130- 791
Korea
Phone: +82-2-2173-2063
E-mail: hufsdean@yahoo.com

Edita Hornáčková Klapicová, PhD.

Franciscan University of Steubenville
Kartause Maria Thron 1
3292 Gaming, NO
Austria
Phone: +43 7485 98678 17
E-mail: eklapicova@franciscan.edu

Dr Alcina Sousa, PhD.

Humanities Centre - English Studies
University of Madeira
Campus da Penteada, 9000-390 Funchal
Portugal
E-mail: ninita@netmadeira.com

Júlia M. Lourenço, PhD.

Department of Civil Engineering
University of Minho
Campus de Azurém, 4800-058 GUIMARÃES
Portugal
Phone: +351 253-510-243 (office)
E-mail: jloure@civil.uminho.pt

Dr. phil. Claudia Wunderlich, M.A. (CDN), M.A.,

Staatsexamen/state board exam, Adv. Dipl. LH (Oxf)
Fachhochschule Kufstein Tirol Bildungs GmbH
University of Applied Sciences
Andreas Hofer-Straße 7, A-6330 Kufstein
Austria
Phone: + 43 5372 71819-196
E-mail: claudia.wunderlich@fh-kufstein.ac.at

Anna Ivanova, PhD.

University of Seville, Spain - University of Madeira
Portugal
Krasnoarmeyskaya 48b-45
Yoshkar-Ola
Mari-El
Russia, 424036
E-mail: ivanova.re@gmail.com