Being sensible is now a radical concept
I LOVE that quote haha
Quotations in political speeches and user comments

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This paper examines how the communicative act of quotation may contribute to ordinary users' discussion of politics through user comments following up on government- and opposition-party speeches during a pre-election and a non-election period in Britain. It analyses the linguistic formatting of the communicative act – as direct, indirect, mixed, hypothetical and scare quotation – and its production-format-specific distribution in the speeches of the political elite and in ordinary-user comments following up on the elite discourse. Particular attention is given to (1) references to the constitutive parts of the communicative act of quotation, to its felicity conditions and to social-context coordinates, (2) the discursive functions which quotation may fulfil in the two different contexts and timeframes, and (3) their perlocutionary effects.

Keywords: communicative action, context, elite political speech, perlocutionary effect, production format, quotation, social media, user comments

1. Introduction

In our mediated societies, the participation of ordinary users in mediated public talk goes beyond writing letters to the editor, distributing leaflets, or walking around with a sandwich board. Instead, they may set up their own channel, upload multi-modal contributions or engage in discussion forums and comment sections provided by media platforms. D'Ancona examines social-media-based changes with respect to the construction of hyper-reality as "the mode of discourse in which the gap between the real and the imaginary disappears" (D'Ancona 2017: 97) and illustrates the possibilities of social media as follows: "In

the past, a man (…) would have worn a sandwich board and yelled at passers-by in the street. Now he has access to the most powerful politician in the world. What is so important to recognise is that this reflects a structural change" (D'Ancona 2017: 63).

The goal of this paper is to analyse how the communicative act of quotation may contribute to ordinary users' discussion of politics through user comments following up on government- and opposition-party speeches during a pre-election and a non-election period in Britain. It examines how two different kinds of participants, elite politicians and ordinary commenters, use the communicative act of quotation and how they linguistically format the communicative act in their social-media discourse: online political speeches on YouTube on the one hand and users' comments following up on the speeches on the other. 'Ordinary users' are conceptualised as discourse participants who are institutionally positioned by media constraints as commenters on first-frame discourse initiated by elite politicians as public speakers. The affordances of social media allow ordinary users through their comments to have the opportunity of engaging actively in and through social media (Boyd 2014). The changes in participation are not only reflected in the blurring of traditional boundaries between private and public spheres of life with private-domain-anchored ordinary users and public-domain-anchored elite politicians, but also in changing domains of argumentative validity, i.e., real-world experience and real-world-anchored arguments, with ordinary users as the targets of accountability of social and political action in mediated public talk (Weizman and Fetzer 2021).

Research on computer-mediated communication has shown that discursive meanings differ across sites and individuals. YouTube facilitates interactive exchanges among users, who exploit the technical and social affordances of the site to construct different kinds of social relationships through the sharing of multimodal texts with an array of mediated publics (Warner 2002). So, a number of questions arise: do ordinary commenters use the affordances provided by the system, that is do they follow up on elite politicians' speeches and negotiate discursive meaning with their fellow commenters? Do they adapt the linguistic formatting of the communicative act of quotation in their social-media discourse? Is there a difference as regards distribution in the two timeframes, that is the pre-election period, which may contribute to party-political campaigning, and the non-election period, which may promote more 'content-based' interactions?

The paper is structured as follows. The next section provides a pragmatics-based analysis of mediated communicative action. This is followed by a research report on quotations and the contextualisation of the results with respect to felicity conditions. The fourth section presents the analysis of the pre- and non-election periods of the speeches and user comments, and the fifth section

discusses them against the background of production format and follow ups, linguistic formatting and perlocutionary effects. The results and an outlook are presented in the conclusion.

2.   Pragmatics meets mediated communicative action

In the first issue of *Internet Pragmatics*, Jacob L. Mey (2018) sets out to address the issue of how social the internet is. He does this by discussing virtual (or: mediated) and non-virtual (or: non-mediated) interactions, their contextual constraints and affordances, and necessary adaptations to theory-based conceptualisations of a speech act. Mey argues for giving context in general and social context in particular a more central role in conceptualisations of speech act theory and postulates a context-dependent pragmatic act[1] and its particularisation as type-like pragmeme and token-like pract.[2] The explicit accommodation of context, be it social, sociocultural, linguistic or cognitive context, in an analysis of (non-)digital interactions based on communicative acts paves the way for a differentiation between two sets of felicity conditions holding for 'macro communicative acts', or discourse genre[3] as a whole, micro communicative acts and their dialectic interactions. Micro communicative acts are not autonomous acts in their own right, but rather constitutive parts of a genre, and the communicative status of a micro communicative act is ratified by confirming or disconfirming its validity at a local stage in the interaction. The local ratification interacts dialectically with the felicity conditions of the macro communicative act also referred to as genre constraints.

One important felicity condition of communicative action in mediated, non-mediated and, as pointed out by Yus (2011), in blended interactions, is user- (or: participant-) and context-based in- and output conditions in their digital, non-digital and hybrid contexts. This paper is based on the premise that the same input and output conditions obtain for micro and macro communicative acts both in mediated and non-mediated interactions as regards participants' access to

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1. In this paper, pragmatic acts are referred to with the more general term of communicative act.

2. Pragmemes and practs have been examined across discourse genres and contexts, and their analyses as it turned out, have provided more refined insights into the nature of human communication (cf. Allan 2016).

3. Discourse genre is used as an umbrella term in this paper: it is a functional synonym of activity type (Levinson 1979), speech event (Gumperz 1996), or macro validity claim (Fetzer 2000). Discourse genre not only delimits the macro communicative act, but also functions as a blueprint which constrains meaning-making processes.

relevant hardware and other technological facilities; it also holds for their discursive competence comprising particularised digital and multi-modal competences. While input and output felicity conditions apply to the overall interaction, their micro counterparts may undergo communicative-act-specific particularisations for in- and output conditions. This would be the case if a participant claims not to have full digital competence to use technological devices to repair flaws, or not to know the relevant multi-modal semiotic codes to communicate in an appropriate manner. The sincerity condition also holds for both macro and micro communicative acts and generally does not allow for infringements on either level of the interaction,[4] as pointed out by Mey (2018) in his discussion of so-called fake news, which he considers as ratified acts by a particular discourse community. By being thus ratified, some 'fake news/quotes' are assigned the status of 'co-constructed true news/quotes' within that discourse community. Should other discourse communities follow suit, their status as 'true news/quotes' finds itself strengthened.[5]

This paper is anchored firmly in discourse pragmatics and based on the assumption that mediated discourse shares the fundamental premises of natural-language communication, which hold for natural-language communication as well as for its constitutive parts, that is discourse genre and its constitutive communicative acts. In mediated discourse, these generalised (or default) constraints may undergo context-sensitive particularisation. In terms of methodology, the research subscribes to methodological compositionality, accommodating the fundamental premises of pragmatics, particularly rationality, cooperation, and intentionality of communicative action (Searle 1969; Grice 1975; Brown and Levinson 1987), and interactional sociolinguistics, in particular indexicality of communicative action, language as socially situated form, and linguistic variation (Gumperz 1992). The main bridging points between pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics lie in the explicit accommodation of context as a complex and dynamic whole. For the discourse domain of mediated discourse, both the dynamics of context and the complexity of participation are of key importance. Conceiving of participants as rational agents who direct their communicative acts intentionally towards a ratified set of addressees further refines the analytic framework by pro-

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4. In the context of multi-party interactions, with hearers as addressees and not directly addressed participants, Clark and Carlson (1982) examined the dualism of communicative action, differentiating between addressee-directed illocutionary acts and participant-directed illocutionary acts. In the context of (social) media communication, such a 'split illocution' undergoes further 'splits', with multiple discursive values for its multilayered participants (cf. Fetzer 2022).

5. In Habermas's (1987) framework of communicative action adapted to the micro domain of social interaction, validity claims, including quotations, are seen as ratified with an acceptance, unless they are rejected explicitly (cf. Fetzer 2002a).

viding a set of methodological tools, which allow for the analysis of meaning production and meaning interpretation in context.

3.   Quotation as communicative action

Quotations have been analysed in and across linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis and philosophy, to name but the most prominent research paradigms. Discourse analysis addresses questions of hypothetical discourse, talking voices and allusion (e.g., Tannen 2007; Weiss 2020), and conversation analysis considers quotability, formatting and functions (e.g., Clayman 1995). Philosophical investigations examine sense and reference, force, and proper names, as well as the status of quotation as demonstration (e.g., Clark and Gerrig 1990; Saka 2013). Linguistic and pragmatic approaches have focussed on the linguistic formatting and functions of quotation (cf. Brendel, Meibauer and Steinbach 2011; Arendholz, Bublitz and Kirner-Ludwig 2015; Fetzer 2020). All the paradigms differentiate between pure quotes, direct quotes, indirect quotes, echo quotes, and scare quotes, and the hybrid format of mixed quotation. They all discuss their multifarious, context- and quoter-dependent functions ranging from endorsing quoted content and its source to deflecting responsibility from the quoted and assigning it to source only.[6] More recently, other linguistic formats have been added to the list: focussing quotations embed the quotative in a pseudo-cleft-like focussing construction, e.g., 'and this is what they said' followed by the quoted (Fetzer and Bull 2019), and a non-faithful kind of quotation: fake quotes with the intention to mislead, on the part of the quoter, mis-metarepresenting source and / or quoted and / or other relevant contextual coordinates (Kirner-Ludwig 2020).

Cognitive pragmatics addresses the relationship between representation and metarepresentation, and between representation, interpretation and pragmatic enrichment (e.g., Wilson 2012). Quotation is seen as a kind of metarepresentation (Wilson 2012: 232) which "involves a higher-order representation with a lower-order representation embedded inside it. The higher-order representation is generally an utterance or a thought" (Wilson 2012: 232). Quotation can thus only "be analysed in terms of a notion of *representation by resemblance*" (Wilson 2012: 243;

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6. As for terminology, *quoter* refers to the participant who undertakes the communicative act of quoting. The quoter entexualises their metarepresentation of discursive material, or excerpts thereof referred to as *quoted*. *Source* refers to the original producer of the quoted excerpt. *Quotative* refers to the verb of communication through which a quoter entextualises their interpretation of the illocutionary force of source; the scope of the quotative is generally the entire quoted excerpt.

original emphasis), and "resemblance involves shared properties" (Wilson 2012: 244). Because of that, direct quotation can never be a verbatim metarepresentation of metarepresented objects.[7] What is more, not all of the constitutive parts of a quotation can be metarepresented: indexicals, metaphors or prosodic, gestural and facial cues used in the discursive excerpt to be quoted cannot be bound by the quoting context. Thus, it is not only the impossibility to share a full set of features of resemblance with an original representation which makes any kind of quotation referentially opaque, but also its non-bounded indexical expressions and other types of implicit meanings (cf. Brendel, Meibauer and Steinbach 2011).

Sociopragmatics considers the dynamics of context as is reflected in context-importation, (re)contextualisation and entextualisation, stance, and discourse coherence (e.g., Linell 2009; Fetzer 2021). The sociopragmatics of quotatives – or the entextualisation of illocutionary force in accordance with the constraints of the quoting discourse – has been examined by Buchstaller and van Alphen (2012). In line with Wilson's analysis of quotation above, they point out that quotatives are frequently realised with "lexical items that denote comparison, similarity or approximation" (Buchstaller and van Alphen 2012: xiv). Entextualisation is related intrinsically to the process of contextualisation, decontextualisation and recontextualisation. It encodes the actual linguistic realisation (or: product) of an indexical token's contextualised context in discourse. It assigns an unbounded referential domain (e.g., deictic 'now') the status of a bounded object (e.g., 'encoded date [23 November 2023] and time [14h GMT]'): "I link processes of entextualization to the notion of *mediation*, (…) involving the encoding, transfer, and decoding / interpretation of meaning" (Jaffe 2009: 573). Quotations in discourse may embed unbounded referential domains, such as indexicals, or they may be embedded in unbounded referential domains, such as a speech situation. This issue is going to be of particular importance for the analysis of the entextualisation of the metarepresented constitutive parts of the communicative act of quotation.

Discourse pragmatics goes beyond the description of quoting as a complex metacommunicative act, in and through which the focus and perspective of another communicative act are changed and recontextualised, as proposed by Bublitz (2015). Instead, it conceives quotation as communicative action and thus does not only account for the constitutive parts of quotation: speaker (or: quoter),

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7. More traditionally, different types of quotation or speech representation have been described as expressing varying degrees of faithfulness: direct speech claims to represent faithfully the truthfulness of illocutionary force, propositional content, and words and structures used by the quoted speaker (or: source). Indirect speech claims to represent faithfully the truthfulness of illocutionary force and propositional content, but not that of the words and structures used in its original formulation (cf. Short 1991).

addressee, illocutionary force (or: quotative), and one or more propositions (or: quoted). Additionally, it considers the contextual embeddedness of the original communicative act(s), which are considered in speech act theory's felicity conditions. In Austinian speech act theory,[8] felicity conditions (A.1) and (A.2) specify social context. (B. 1) and (B. 2) specify linguistic context and cognitive context, and (Γ.1) and (Γ.2) specify social context and cognitive context (cf. Oishi and Fetzer 2016). In Searle's framework, context is specified in propositional content, preparatory, sincerity and essential rules which undergo speech-act-specific particularisations (Searle 1969: 66–67). Quotation is not addressed explicitly in Searle, but Austin (1975: 163) lists quotation under the expositive class of illocutionary force, which may count as a higher-level speech act class.

Quoting in context means the performance of a communicative act in which the current speaker in their role as quoter entextualises a communicative act which has been felicitous – or a hypothetical communicative act which is assigned the status of having been performed felicitously in the future or some fictional scenario – in accordance with the discursive constraints of the quoting discourse. The quoter may entextualise the original speaker as source, which may be further specified with the entextualisation of their roles and functions. Additionally, the quoter may entextualise the original illocutionary force, which has generally also been implicit in its original use, and the quoter may entextualise the propositional content and its original linguistic representation, as well as their interpretation of the contextual embeddedness of the original discursive contribution. While the quoter may entextualise the original unboundedness of the illocutionary force in a quotative and their interpretation of the original propositional content in the quoted, the entextualisation of other relevant contextual coordinates, such as temporal, local and discursive embeddedness, is generally used to provide evidence

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8. Austin's felicity conditions read as follows:

(A.1) "There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances".   (Austin 1975: 14)

(A.2) "the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked".   (Austin 1975: 15)

(B. 1) and (B. 2) "The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and completely".   (Austin 1975: 15)

(Γ.1) and (Γ.2) "Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further must actually so conduct themselves subsequently".   (Austin 1975: 15)

for the validity and truthfulness of the quotation[9] as regards its degree of similarity with the quoter's entextualisation.

The strategic use of the communicative act of quotation has been examined across varying discourse genres and contexts with respect to their function as argumentative and rhetorical tools (cf. Ilie 2003; Bublitz 2015; Fetzer 2015; Reber 2021). This paper aims at refining these results by not only considering formatting, discursive function and distribution, but by also paying attention to the quoter's entextualisation of the constitutive parts of a quotation, of its felicity conditions and contextual coordinates, and whether and how quotations in the speeches and user comments have been followed up.

4.   Quotations in political speeches and users' comments

In the discourse-pragmatic approach adopted in this paper, the communicative act of quotation is a higher-level act in which a quoter entextualises their metarepresentation of another communicative act, which has been felicitous[10] in another context, in accordance with the discursive constraints of the quoting discourse. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the act of quotation does not count as a meta-communicative act. True, there is a 'meta' aspect to quotation and quotations may be used to perform some kind of metacommunication, but this is, technically speaking, not their primary function. Their primary function is to import context from another discourse – or a prior stretch of the same discourse – into the ongoing discourse. That prior stretch of discourse – generally entextualised in a brief quoted furnished with a quotative – may be used to present another politician as a certain "type" of politician, thus narrowing down a more comprehensive contextualisation of political agent (cf. Gruber 2015).[11]

The following subsections present data and method (Section 3.1.), linguistic formatting and distribution (Section 3.2) and discursive function (Section 3.3).

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9. In Short's (1991) terminology, these references would count as a reference to the quotation's faithfulness claim.

10. For hypothetical quotation, the communicative act is assumed to be felicitous in another discourse.

11. I would like to thank one of my reviewers to draw my attention to the important function of quotations in context.

4.1   Data and method

The research is part of a larger project on contrastive discourse analysis investigating the construction of ordinariness in mediated public talk in British English, German and Israeli Hebrew discourse communities (cf. Fetzer and Weizman 2018; Gross 2024). It draws on one specific set from the British English data: three online pre-election and three online non-election political speeches from YouTube and Facebook by leading politicians: Jeremy Corbyn (Labour Party; leader of the opposition), Theresa May (Conservative Party; Prime Minister), Tim Farron (pre-election) and Vince Cable (non-election – both Liberal Democrats; opposition party) and users' commenting on the speeches either on Facebook or YouTube. The data were collected for two 3-month periods: a pre-election period (10 March to 7 June 2017) and a non-election period (1 April to 29 June 2018). The overall number of tokens for the British data is 5,320,051 with an overall number of tokens of 390,827 for the speeches (91,502) and comments (299,325). As for internet research ethics (cf. Kozinets 2010; Landert and Jucker 2011), public discourse does not only refer to unrestricted access, that is a kind of technological affordance offered by many different modes of CMD, but also to participants' deliberate intention to air and share their views and opinions in that discourse domain.

The distribution of the overall number of words for the speeches and comments has been further refined with the number of tokens for quoted material,[12] as is systematised in Table 1.

The study combines bottom-up corpus-based methods with discourse-pragmatic analysis utilising keywords, co-occurrence and context. As for the former, the extracts embedding quotations were identified through a search for the most contextually relevant keywords and typographic devices, such as verbs of communication and other kinds of quotatives, single and double quotation marks, colons, and empty spaces. As for the latter, the quotation sub-corpus was coded manually for quotations and their linguistic formatting, and for their particularised discursive functions.[13]

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12. In line with Fetzer and Bull (2019), the token count for quoted does not include quotative, quoter, source and contextual coordinates. In a study of quotations in Prime Minister's Questions across two data sets, 10%, respectively 9%, of the exchanges between the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition consisted of quoted material. The highest frequencies of quoted are printed in ***bold and italics.***

13. The data have been interrated by the author and their research assistant Ekaterina Guseva, M.A.

Table 1. Overall number of tokens in the two data sets, and number of tokens in the quoted

Speeches	Corbyn (Labour)		May (Conservative)		Farron / Cable (Liberal)	
	Speech	Quoted	Speech	Quoted	Speech	Quoted
Pre-election	10,883	476	16,240	1,176	10,502	735
		4.37%		7.24%		6.99%
Non-election	20,883	945	22,733	1,236	10,261	267
		4.52%		5.43%		2.60%
Comments	Comment	Quoted	Comment	Quoted	Comment	Quoted
Pre-election	115,261	111	115,565	1,660	26,987	430
		0.09%		1.43%		1.59%
Non-election	19,077	436	19,832	509	2,603	92
		2.28%		2.54%		3.53%

4.2   Linguistic formatting and distribution

In the analysis of online speeches and users' comments, the following quotation formats have been used:

–   *direct quotation* (DQ) is described as the quoter's entextualisation of their metarepresentation of a felicitous communicative act. What has been said is entextualised in the quoted, the illocutionary force is entextualised in the quotative, and the original producer is entextualised in the source. In written discourse, direct quotation is generally signalled with quotations marks, and with air quotes, pauses and other prosodic features in spoken discourse; the metarepresentation of other contextual coordinates may additionally be entextualised in both modes. To count as a direct quotation, only the quoted needs to be entextualised; the other constitutive parts of quotation can be left implicit.[14]
–   *indirect quotation* (inDQ) is described as the quoter's entextualisation of their metarepresentation of a felicitous communicative act produced in another context. Indirect quotation is signalled with the entextualisation of metarepresented deictic and temporal shifts in the quoted, and with the entextualisation of metarepresented source and quotative – and, if necessary, with other relevant contextual coordinates – in both spoken and written discourse. Indirect quotations may additionally be furnished with the complementiser 'that' introducing the quoted.

14.   Short's format of free direct speech is thus included in the discourse-pragmatic conceptualisation of direct quotation.

- *mixed type of quotation* (MTQ) is a hybrid format, which has also been referred to as free indirect speech or free indirect discourse. This act has both indirect-speech formatting, that is an entextualised quotative, and direct-speech formatting, that is no deictic shifts in the quoted.
- *scare quotation* (SC) is an elliptically realised communicative act which is embedded in another communicative act of which it is a constitutive part. If the act in question is a quotation, then scare quotation is subsumed under mixed quotation. If the act is of a different type, then scare quotation counts as the quoter's entextualisation of a metarepresented elliptically realised communicative act. To scare quote felicitously, the act needs to be signalled with typographic quotation marks – usually single quotation marks in British English – in written discourse or with air quotes or functionally similar devices in spoken discourse.
- *mixed quotation* (MQ) is another hybrid format composed of selected parts of a communicative act of quotation formatted as direct, indirect or scare quotation; it is signalled accordingly in spoken and written discourse. In mixed quotation, the quoter is ascribed a particular stance, expressing detachment from the indirectly formatted act while at the same time querying the appropriateness, if not validity, of the directly formatted act.
- *hypothetical quotation* (HQ) may be realised as direct, indirect and focussing quotation with the quotative realised in irrealis mood; it refers to some hypothetical future or past scenario and metarepresents a fictive communicative act.
- *focussing quotation* (FQ) exploits the linguistic formatting of direct quotation with the quotative entextualised in a pseudo-cleft-like construction or supplemented with a deictic pronoun, thus foregrounding the quoted.

In the pre- and non-election data the distribution of quotations and their linguistic formatting is systematised in Table 2. Analogously to the fonts used in Table 1, the highest frequencies for the overall linguistic formats are printed in bold and italics. The cells of the highest frequencies of politicians and user comments following up on the speeches are grey-shaded.

There is a difference in the preferred linguistic formats used in the speeches and comments if raw frequencies are taken as a frame of reference. In the pre-election speeches, it is indirect quotation for all six speeches, and this is the preferred format for the Prime Minister, Theresa May, and for the leader of the Liberal Democrats, Tim Farron. For the leader of the opposition, Jeremy Corbyn, the preferred format is direct quotation. In the non-election speeches, direct quotation is the preferred format for all six speeches for Corbyn; the indirect format is the preferred format for May, and the hypothetical format is the preferred format for Vince Cable.

Table 2. The distribution of quotations and their linguistic formatting in pre- and non-election data

	Quotations	DQ	inDQ	MTQ	SQ	MQ	HQ	FQ
Pre-election speeches								
Corbyn (Labour)	31	13	10	0	3	0	3	2
May (Conservative)	60	13	24	6	5	0	8	4
Farron (Liberal)	49	11	18	7	2	0	9	2
Σ quotations	*140*	*37*	*52*	*13*	*10*	*0*	*20*	*8*
Non-election speeches		DQ	inDQ	MTQ	SQ	MQ	HQ	FQ
Corbyn (Labour)	102	64	19	11	0	2	3	3
May (Conservative)	77	10	40	14	2	3	5	3
Cable (Liberal)	31	5	7	1	8	0	10	0
Σ quotations	*210*	*79*	*66*	*26*	*10*	*5*	*18*	*6*
Pre-election comments		DQ	inDQ	MTQ	SQ	MQ	HQ	FQ
Corbyn (Labour)	18	3	4	0	7	0	4	0
May (Conservative)	217	39	57	9	85	3	22	2
Farron (Liberal)	54	15	15	0	15	1	8	0
Σ quotations	*289*	*57*	*76*	*9*	*107*	*4*	*34*	*2*
Non-election comments		DQ	inDQ	MTQ	SQ	MQ	HQ	FQ
Corbyn (Labour)	49	5	17	2	16	1	8	0
May (Conservative)	55	12	7	5	10	6	15	0
Cable (Liberal)	15	1	6	0	5	0	3	0
Σ quotations	*119*	*18*	*30*	*7*	*31*	*7*	*26*	*0*

In the user comments, scare quotation is the preferred format in both pre- and non-election data sets. This comes as no surprise as users generally comment on relevant extracts, phrases or catch words and voice their opinions accordingly. This is particularly prominent in the pre-election comments as users aim at persuading other users to vote for their candidates. In the non-election data, user comments prefer the indirect format to target the opposition parties. To target Theresa May, they prefer the hypothetical format, as this allows them to enter a fictive dialogue with the Prime Minister.

In the following, the linguistic formatting of the communicative act of quotation is illustrated with extracts from the pre- and non-election data. Extracts[15] (1) and (2) illustrate the format of direct quotation, which is more frequent in the elite data than in the user comments. (1) is from the pre-election speeches with the quoter, Jeremey Corbyn, who entextualises the source in the proper name 'John McDonald', the quotative in the neutral verb of communication 'say' and the contextual coordinates of location in a rather unspecific 'at the meeting' and of time in another underspecified expression 'the other day'. The quoted entextualises the source's negative evaluation of the more determinate 'grey beards'. In the extract from the user comments (2), the quoter James Read entextualises a quotation from the source, Margaret Thatcher, a former Prime Minister from the Conservative Party, and signals his metarepresentation with double quotation marks. Unlike the elite politician, the ordinary user neither entextualises a quotative, nor any contextual coordinates but rather assumes that both speak for themselves and do not require the entextualisation of other contextual coordinates:

(1) Jeremey Corbyn   (Labour Conference Speech, 27 September 2017)[16]
    John McDonald *said* AT THE MEETING **I** was at THE OTHER DAY **he** *said* <u>the grey beards got it wrong</u>.

(2) James Read   (User comment, 18 May 2017)[17]
    <u>"I always cheer up immensely if an attack is particularly wounding because I think, well, if they attack one personally, it means they have not a single political argument left."</u> **Margaret Thatcher**

Extracts (3) and (4) illustrate the format of indirect quotation, which is also more frequent in the speeches. (3) is from the same pre-election speech with the elite politician as quoter and the political opponent, Theresa May, as source. Corbyn metarepresents the original illocutionary force and entextualises it in the neutral quotative 'told'. Relevant contextual coordinates indexing time ('during the election campaign') and target ('voters') are entextualised as well. The quoter comments on his entextualised quotation, addressing the audience and asking them whether they could recall that incident. (4) is from user comments following up on a pre-election speech by Theresa May. The ordinary user is the quoter and

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entextualises the source with the pronoun 'she', referring to the Prime Minister. The metarepresented illocutionary force is entextualised in the neutral quotative 'say' and the quoter indicates that the source had stated the quoted several times in other discourses. What is more, the quoter deconstructs the quoted by entextualising his inferred conclusion. The argumentative connective 'so' introduces the logical conclusion which is entextualised in a hypothetical quotation with the neutral quotative 'say' which is, however, marked with unbounded progressive aspect (cf. Givón 1993) and attributed to the original source, the British Prime Minister. The quoter's metarepresentation of the implied meaning in the quoted is additionally signalled with the keywords 'Weak' and 'Failing', metarepresented with initial caps boosting their negative force:

(3) Jeremey Corbyn   (Labour Conference Speech, 27 September 2017)
     DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, **Theresa May** *told* VOTERS they faced the threat of a coalition of chaos, you remember that?

(4) Paul Stockley   (User comment, 18 May 2017)[18]
     She *kept saying that she'll deliver a stronger, more prosperous Britain*. So she's *saying that the country is currently Weak and Failing*.

Extracts (5) and (6) are from the non-election period and illustrate the hybrid format of a mixed type of quotation which combines direct and indirect formatting: deictic shifts for person reference and quotative, and no deictic shifts for tense in the quoted. The format is slightly more frequent in the speeches. In both extracts the quoter is not entextualised explicitly but it is nevertheless unambiguously clear who the speaker / writer in their role as quoter is. In (5), it is the elite politician, Corbyn, with the source 'Theresa May', and in (6) it is the ordinary user TheArmaniCode with the source 'Corbyn'. The quotative is entextualised in past tense expressing past time and is intensified with the habitual-action-in-the-past marker 'used to' in (5); in (6) the quotative co-occurs with the argumentative marker 'so' introducing the quoter's inferred conclusion. In (5) and (6), the quoted is entextualised without any temporal back-shifting, signifying relevance to the here-and-now of the interaction. Neither (5) nor (6) is furnished with contextual coordinates regarding time, place or discursive embeddedness. As with the commenters' contributions above, they are more explicit in the entextualisation of their intended perlocutionary effects:

(5)   Jeremy Corbyn   (Labour Conference, 26 September 2018)[19]
      Theresa May *used to say that* <u>no deal is better than a bad deal</u>.

(6)   TheArmaniCode   (User comment, 26 September 2018)[20]
      So **Corbyn** *said* <u>he wants to negotiate Brexit terms that keep as many jobs as</u>
      <u>possible and continues to give us a good relationship with the rest of Europe</u>
      <u>rather than completely isolating ourselves</u>.

Extract (7) is from the non-election period and (8) is from the pre-election period.
They are illustrations of mixed quotation, a hybrid format in which a quotation
is embedded in another quotation. Mixed quotation is not very frequent in the
data sets, but slightly more frequent in the user comments than in the political
speeches. In (7) Jeremy Corbyn quotes the source, the elite academic, Professor
Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human
rights, twice. The first quotative is entextualised in past tense with the neutral verb
of communication 'say', and the second is entextualised in present tense with the
performative verb 'quote'. While the elite politician as quoter entextualises the dis-
cursive context of source and quoted for the first quotation, providing evidence
for its truthfulness and validity, no contextual coordinates regarding time, loca-
tion or discourse are entextualised in the comment. However, the quoter is entex-
tualised. The quoted is entextualised in present tense without any deictic shifts,
signifying relevance to the here-an-now of the interaction. In (8), the quoter's atti-
tude is entextualised in the social-media abbreviation ('Ffs'). For the first quota-
tion, the quoter is the commenter 'Ruth Roo B Breakwell', and the source is the 'PR
team'. In the second quotation, quoter and source, the PR team, conflate. While
contextual coordinates are not entextualised in (8), the perlocutionary effects of
the second quotation are entextualised in 'making' the politician 'a laughing stock',
which the quoter agrees with, expanding the referential domain to 'the British
public' who 'are not buying it':

(7)   Jeremy Corbyn
                    (Jeremy Corbyn addresses business leaders at the CBI conference, 19
                                                              November 2018)[21]
      He$_i$ [Professor Philip Alston, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on
      extreme poverty and human rights] CATALOGUED, WHAT **HE$_I$** DESCRIBED, AS
      THE DRAMATIC DECLINE IN THE FORTUNES OF THE LEAST WELL-OFF, and *said*,
      <u>our rates of child poverty</u>, and, **I** *quote*, <u>are not just a disgrace but a social</u>
      <u>calamity, and an economic disaster</u>.

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19.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kJO1iiOXWr4 (accessed 22 March 2022).

20.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ywDeBQpTlg (accessed 22 March 2022).

21.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2PIm7Bdfy0 (accessed 22 March 2022).

(8)   Ruth Roo B Breakwell   (User comment, 18 May 2017)[22]
      Ffs, please sack whoever your PR team are because **them** *telling* YOU to keep
      saying "Strong and stable" IS MAKING YOU A LAUGHING STOCK (quite rightly)
      AND THE BRITISH PUBLIC ARE NOT BUYING IT.

Extracts (9) and (10) are from the pre-election period. They are illustrations of
scare quotation, which is an elliptically realised communicative act embedded in
another communicative act of which it is a constitutive part. Scare quotation is
always signalled, either with typographic – usually single – quotation marks as in
(10), or with a quotative construction, such as 'are called' in (9). Scare quotation
is rather infrequent in the speeches and far more frequent in the user comments.
This is due to the fact that user comments generally follow up on the speeches –
or on other comments – and the quoter entextualises their following up – and the
validity of their claims – by flagging up which part of their comment is their own
entextualisation and which part that of another source.

    In (9), the elite politician as quoter metarepresents the noun phrase 'regener-
ation schemes' and indicates this by entextualising the quotative in a passive con-
struction with implied source. In (10), the ordinary user metarepresents the noun
phrase 'emotions' and signals that with a variant of the written-language quotative
of single quotation marks. As with the elite politician, the source is implicit but
can easily be inferred from the context. The quoter's attitude towards the quoted
is further specified with the social-media abbreviation 'wth'.

(9)   Jeremy Corbyn   (Labour Conference Speech, 27 September 2017)[23]
      After Grenfell, we must think again about what ***are called*** 'regeneration
      schemes'.

(10) Mark Ashton   (User Comment, 4 October 2017)[24]
      Her fake 'emotions' are actually really creepy wth

Extracts (11) and (12) are also from the pre-election period. They illustrate the
format of hypothetical quotation which may be realised as direct, indirect or
focussing quotation with their quotatives in irrealis mood; quoter and source
may conflate. Like scare quotation, hypothetical quotation is more frequent in the
ordinary users' comments. In (11) the elite politician uses the format of indirect
quotation and signals this with the entextualised complementiser 'that'. The role

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22. https://mbasic.facebook.com/comment/replies/?ctoken=10154801975832672_4039764100
01941&count=1&curr&pc=1&ft_ent_identifier=10154801975832672&gfid=AQCLsilBQZMZ9cn
Q&refid=52&__tn__=R (accessed 9 July 2022).

23. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_PHRX1lmAQ (accessed 22 March 2020).

24. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3l3hDo6y-s (accessed 22 March 2020).

of quoter and source conflate, and the quotative is entextualised in the neutral verb of communication 'say', formatted in irrealis mood. The contextual coordinates regarding participation and intended addressees are also entextualised. Extract (12) from the user comments entextualises the contextual coordinates which are necessary to vouchsafe felicitous communication. The contextual coordinates metarepresent the participation format and a performative verb, entextualising addressee ('Kevin Mills') and the speaker's agreement with the addressee as well as the content of the agreement which contains the scare quotation 'stupid', a metarepresentation of a previous comment by the user. That scare quotation is necessary for the quoter's follow up entextualised in a hypothetical quotation in which he self-corrects and reformulates his evaluation ad res ('the comments were stupid') rather than ad hominem. The quotative is entextualised in a neutral verb of communication modified with deontic modality, and the quoted contains a different kind of quotation, thought representation:

(11)   Theresa May   (Theresa May launches Conservative manifesto, 18 May 2017)[25]
What **I** *would say* TO EARNERS ACROSS THE BOARD, is *that* <u>when they come to vote at the election they have a very clear choice, and the clear choice is between a Conservative Party which always has been, is, and always will be a low tax party, and which whose intention in government is to reduce taxes on business and working families, eh and a Labour Party whose natural instinct is to increase taxes.</u>

(12)   Bob Strong   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)[26]
KEVIN MILLS YOU ARE CORRECT I SHOULD NOT *CALL* PEOPLE <u>STUPID</u> AND I APOLOGISE. **I** *should have said* <u>I thought the comments were stupid.</u>

Extracts (13) and (14) are from the pre-election period. They illustrate the format of focussing quotation, which may be formatted as a direct quotation with the quotative entextualised in a pseudo-cleft-like construction supplemented with a deictic pronoun – 'this' in both extracts –, thus foregrounding the quoted. Focussing quotation is infrequent in the ordinary users' comments and more frequent in the speeches. In (13), quoter and source conflate. The elite politician metarepresents the contextual coordinates of her focussing quotation, entextualising temporal – and implying local – coordinates ('when people ask me') as well as discursive context. That context is necessary for the focussing quotation introduced with the quotative 'tell' to be felicitous. Unlike in (13), where the present-

25. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rPLU6QaNJLI (accessed 22 March 2020).

26. https://mbasic.facebook.com/comment/replies/?ctoken=10154801975832672_2220529749 63124&count=28&curr&pc=1&ft_ent_identifier=10154801975832672&gfid=AQD9fG2r48Zm4 ylL&refid=52&__tn__=R (accessed 2 July 2022).

tensed focussing construction refers cataphorically to the quoted, the past-tensed focussing construction in (14) refers anaphorically to the quoted. The focussing quotation uses the format of direct quotation which is entextualised in double quotation marks. The quoter is the ordinary user and the source 'she' refers to the Prime Minister:

(13)   Theresa May   (Tory Conference Speech, 4 October 2017)[27]
AND WHEN PEOPLE$_i$ ASK ME WHY I PUT MYSELF THROUGH IT, THE LONG HOURS, THE PRESSURE, THE CRITICISM, THE INSULTS, THAT INEVITABLE GO WITH THIS JOB, **I** *tell*THEM$_i$ ***this*:** <u>I do it to root out injustice and to give everyone in our country a voice, and that's why, when I reflect on my time in politics, the things that make me proud are not the positions I've held, the world leaders I've met, the great global gatherings I've attended, but knowing that I made a difference, that I helped those who couldn't be heard.</u>

(14)   Lauren Rhodes   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)[28]
<u>"As it happens, personally, I've always been in favour of fox hunting and we maintain our commitment – we had a commitment previously – as a Conservative Party to allow a free vote and that would allow Parliament to take a decision on this,"</u> ***This is*** exactly ***what*** **she** *said*

In the following, the discursive functions of the communicative act of quotation are examined. Particular attention is given to the questions of (1) whether different formats have different discursive functions, and (2) what functions entextualised contextual coordinates may fulfil across the datasets and time frames.

4.3   Discursive function

In the elite-politician datasets the overall number of tokens is 91,502, with 5.28% (4,835 tokens) quoted material. In the ordinary-user datasets the overall number of tokens is 299,325, with 1.08% (3,238 tokens) quoted material. There is more quoted material in the commenters' data from the non-election period, with comments on the Liberal Democrats coming in first, on Theresa May coming in second, and on Jeremy Corbyn coming in third. As for the linguistic formatting, indirect quotation is the most frequent variant in the pre-election speeches with the direct format coming in second and hypothetical quotation coming in third. In the non-election speeches, direct quotation is the most frequent format, the

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27. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3l3hD06y-s (accessed 20 March 2020).

28. https://mbasic.facebook.com/comment/replies/?ctoken=10154801975832672_18898785545 59131&p=10&count=24&pc=2&pgdir=1&ft_ent_identifier=10154801975832672&gfid=AQC69-MyiLODafQP (accessed 20 March 2022).

indirect variant coming in second and the mixed type of quotation coming in third. For the comments, scare quotation is the most frequent variant in both data sets, indirect quotations come in second and direct quotations come in third for the pre-election period and hypothetical quotations for the non-election period. In Section 3, the communicative act of quotation has been described as importing context from another discourse – or from a prior stage of the same discourse – into the ongoing discourse, bringing in voices and opinions while at the same time recontextualising them and adapting their linguistic formatting to the discursive constraints of the quoting discourse, considering the entextualisation of the act's constitutive part, its felicity conditions and other contextual coordinates.

In the pre-election speeches, the leaders of the opposition use self-quotations with conflated quoter and source to promote their ideologies, policies and party programmes – either in their role as leader of an opposition party or as a representative of the collective voice of that party. The quotations are generally formatted as direct and indirect quotations, as for instance the direct quotation in (15). The quoter, who is also the source, entextualises relevant contextual coordinates, that is the discursive context of the quoted, to guide their audience in the recontextualisation of the direct quotation, providing evidence for its truthfulness and validity on the one hand, and the discursive construction of ideological coherence of the politician, on the other:

(15)   Jeremy Corbyn   (Jeremy Corbyn launches Labour's Manifesto, 16 May 2017)[29]
       And as **I** *said* AT THE START OF MY SPEECH, <u>we are determined that a child's future is not decided by the place of birth, that a child's future is not decided by the underfunding of their primary school, a child's future is not decided by the poverty of their community</u>.

Elite politicians also bring ordinary and non-ordinary sources into the discourse, for instance tenants groups, poets and political allies, formatting their input as direct and indirect quotations. Furthermore, they bring in the voices of institutional bodies, such as firefighters, police officers or the NHS, formatting that input as indirect quotation, as in Extract (16) where the quoter, Jeremy Corbyn, entextualises the source and their affiliation ('police officer'), the illocutionary force and performed act in the quotative 'warn', and its temporal coordinates ('two years ago') as well as the intended addressee, the former Prime Minister. The quoted content metarepresents the quoter's entextualisation of his criticism of the government. As in (15), the entextualised contextual coordinates provide evidence for the validity and truthfulness of the quotation and guide the audience in their felicitous recontextualisation of the quotation thus securing uptake:

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29. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2cWG_tX0Aw (accessed 20 March 2021).

(16)   Jeremy Corbyn   (Labour Conference Speech, 27 September 2017)[30]
       The greater Manchester police officer who *warned* TERESA MAY TWO YEARS
       AGO *that* <u>cuts to neighbourhood policing were risking people's lives and secu-
       rity</u>.

Both opposition leaders frequently use direct and indirect quotations with the
source of Prime Minister and their government. They entextualise their decon-
struction of government policies in the quoted, as in the indirect quotation in
(17), where the quoter entextualises source ('Theresa May') and the quotative
'claim', implying some doubts on the truthfulness and validity of the quoted. This
is intensified with the entextualisation of the perlocutionary effects of the quota-
tion which aligns the Prime Minister with the former Prime Minister Margaret
Thatcher, who is – unlike in the user's comment in (2) – entextualised with her
surname only. At that time, Margaret Thatcher was holding hands with the for-
mer US President Reagan, as Theresa May is holding hands with the US President
Trump:

(17)   Tim Farron   (Spring Conference Speech, 18 March 2017)[31]
       Theresa May TOOK OFFICE *claiming* <u>she would be a social justice crusader</u>,
       AND THERE SHE IS TODAY, TO THE RIGHT OF THATCHER HOLDING HANDS WITH
       TRUMP.

While the Liberal Democrat leader also quotes the source of Labour party to
entextualise criticism of their policies and party programme, the Labour leader
does not use any quotations with the source of Liberal Democrats in his speeches.
A deconstruction of their policies does not seem to be an object of talk in the
Labour discourse under investigation from that period.

    Both opposition parties also use self-quotations and quotations from ordi-
nary people to simulate social interaction, thus demonstrating their leadership
skills as regards responsiveness and competence. They present themselves as lis-
tening to ordinary people, voicing their concerns in the public arena, initiating
political action on their behalf, scoring on sincerity and credibility while at the
same time presenting themselves as competent leaders (cf. Fetzer and Bull 2012).
This is the case in (18), where the elite politician in his role as source and quoter
uses a hypothetical quotation to entextualise his political stance and agenda in the
quoted. The quoter provides a lot of contextual information in which he relates his
private sphere of life ('children' growing up, motivation for their political action)
to the public sphere of doing politics ('stand up for their future'). The contextual
information and the modification 'honestly' of the entextualised quotative 'tell' do

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not contribute to the truthfulness and validity of the quotation, which is hypothetical and therefore cannot be verified, but rather to the sincerity and credibility of the quoter (cf. Fetzer 2002b):

(18) Tim Farron   (Manifesto Launch, 11 May 2017)[32]
      I AM HERE TONIGHT, BECAUSE WHEN MY CHILDREN ARE MY AGE, I WANT TO BE
      ABLE TO LOOK THEM IN THE EYE, and *tell* THEM ***honestly that*** <u>when the
      moment came to stand up for their future, I stood up</u>.

Like the opposition leaders, the Prime Minister frequently uses self-quotation to entextualise a positive self-presentation of her government and her party. Self-quotations allow her to present herself not only as a competent, but also as a responsive leader, entextualising her national and international connectedness with experts and colleagues as well as with ordinary people. In (19), the Prime Minister as the quoter uses a hypothetical quotation to entextualise the source ('chancellor), the quotative 'tell' marked with epistemic modality of probability, and the contextual coordinates of temporal embeddedness and intended addressee. The hypothetical quotation may be used to demonstrate the Prime Minister's leadership skills and at the same time express self-irony:

(19) 'Theresa May   (Tory Conference Speech, 4 October 2017)[33]
      The chancellor *will probably tell* ME <u>there'll be a price to pay</u> IN A MINUTE.

In the pre-election dataset, quotations in the political speeches are used to deconstruct political opponents, whose identities and affiliations are entextualised in the communicative act, and their policies, while at the same time constructing the credibility of self and of collective selves. To support the ideological coherence of self, the source of political ally – and other relevant contextual coordinates – are entextualised. This also applies to other sources mentioned in the speeches, that is media outlets, which are used to support the argumentation of self or to demonstrate biased media reports, and ordinary people. Quoting ordinary people in the – more monologic – speeches has the discursive function of presenting simulated social interactions which allow the elite politician to present themselves as 'ordinary individuals', who are sincere and credible and act on behalf of their ordinary electorate.

   In the non-election speeches, quotations are used to simulate social interactions with political opponents, as in (20) and (21), where the quoter switches between the roles of conflated source and quoter and quoter and source of political opponent as in (21), and quoter only as in (20). In these simulated sequences

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32. https://www.facebook.com/libdems/videos/10155351667123270 (accessed 20 March 2020).

33. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3l3hD06y-s (accessed 20 March 2020).

the quotative is generally entextualised in the neutral verb of communication 'say'. Only few other contextual coordinates are entextualised, while the quoter-intended perlocutionary effects are entextualised in unambiguous terms:

(20)   Jeremy Corby   (Jeremy Corbyn's Brexit speech, 26 February 2018)[34]
       The Foreign Secretary *says* <u>it will be a liberal Brexit</u>. **The Prime Minister** *says*
       <u>it will be a red, white and blue Brexit</u>. **The Brexit secretary** AT LEAST NOW
       promises <u>it won't be a Mad Max-style dystopia</u>. (…) OUR MESSAGE HAS BEEN
       CONSISTENT SINCE THE VOTER LEAVE 20 MONTHS AGO.

(21)   Theresa May   (Theresa May's big Brexit speech, 3 October 2018)[35]
       He *says* <u>Britain should disarm herself in the hope others follow suit</u>. **I** *say* <u>no,
       we must keep our defences strong to keep our country safe</u>. **He** *says*, <u>a strong
       NATO simply provokes Russia</u>. **I** *say* <u>no, it is the guarantor of our freedom and
       security</u>. HE POSES AS A HUMANITARIAN, but **he** *says that* <u>military action to save
       lives is only justified with the approval of security council</u>, EFFECTIVELY GIV-
       ING RUSSIA A VETO. **I** *say* <u>no, we cannot outsource our conscience to the Krem-
       lin</u>.

In the non-election data, there are also quotations with the source of international allies, representatives of national and international institutions, such as the EU, the police force or the Archbishop of Canterbury, business leaders, poets and writers, and ordinary people metarepresented as individuals or as generic entities. In general, contextual coordinates – especially the participation format – are entextualised as are the affiliations or identifying features of relevant participants. These references to the private-public interface contribute to the personalisation of political discourse and to securing discourse common ground (cf. Fetzer 2021). The entextualisation of contextual coordinates referring to a quotation's local and temporal embeddedness tends to remain vague, while quoter-intended perlocutionary effects are usually entextualised in more explicit terms.[36] The entextualisation of contextual coordinates is less pronounced in the user comments, while the users' entextualisation of perlocutionary effects is unambiguously clear, as analysed in the following.

     In the ordinary-user datasets the communicative act of quotation is more frequent in the non-election data, but the overall frequency is low with only 1.08% quoted material. The preferred format throughout the data is scare quotation with indirect quotation coming in second. These frequencies come as no real surprise,

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34. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ywDeBQpTlg (accessed 20 March 2020).

35. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFpYYZjj4I8 (accessed 20 March 2020).

36. The entextualisation of quoter-intended perlocutionary effects has also been found in quotation practices in Prime Minister's Questions (cf. Fetzer 2020).

as scare quotation, indirect quotation, but also mixed quotation, as in (30), are economic tools in argumentation, recontextualising contributions in line with the quoter's argumentative goals. In the comments, users generally opt for informal language use furnished with the affordances of digital media style as regards the use of particularised fonts (caps only or initial caps to indicate a boosted pragmatic force or a particular non-verbal reaction) as in (4), (22) and (27), abbreviations as in (8) and (27), emojis, emoticons and gifs. Commenting in social media has been designed to promote participation and social interaction. The communicative act of quotation, which imports contexts from another discourse – or a prior stretch of the same discourse – into the ongoing discourse, is a good candidate for that purpose. In the data at hand that higher degree of discursive content-based interactivity is not always present, but there are sequences in which commenters use quotations to refer to either the political speeches or to other users' comments. In the following, only these comments are considered for the analysis.

In both pre- and non-election periods, commenters use the communicative act of quotation to deconstruct elite politicians' arguments, either ad res – this is generally supported with references to experts or relevant media outlets – or ad hominem. Soundbites from the speeches are recontextualised and quoters frequently furnish them with an ironic interpretation or with loaded presuppositions. These may be entextualised – or metarepresented with emojis as in (25) – in their quoters' intended perlocutionary effects, as in (22) to (28). In (22) the politician is additionally addressed directly:[37]

(22) jenwill11   (User Comment, 4 October 2017)[38]
      Stop *keep repeating*, "that's what I'm in this for" IT'S SO ANNOYING.

(23) j pugh   (User Comment, 4 October 2017)
      she *keeps saying* she wants people to get on accoring to their talents IRONIC
      SEEING AS SHE HAS NO TALENTS AND IS ITHE TOP JOB

(24) Georgia Thomas   (User Comment, 4 October 2017)
      "Building a country that works or everyon" THE REST OF THE WORLD MUST
      NOW HAVE NO DOUBT WHAT STRONG AND STABLE THERESA STANDS FOR!

(25) Kerry Atterbury   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)
      How many times do you hear "strong and stable." 😂😂😂😂

(26) Anthony Leslie Lelliott   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)
      We seem to be "stronger" NOT STABLE ANY MORE. Interesting

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37. Typos and stylistic irregularities in users' comments are authentic.

38. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3l3hD06y-s (accessed 20 March 2020).

(27)   Halcali   (User Comment, 3 October 2018)[39]
       "<u>Let me be clear</u>" LOL!!

(28)   Charlie Duboc   (User Comment, 3 October 2018)
       I'VE JUST STARTED WATCHING AND HAVE NO DOUBT: SHE'LL REPEAT SOUND-
       BITES, EMPTY PROMISES AND OF COURSE: "<u>Let me be clear.</u>"

Users may also deconstruct politicians doing ordinariness, entextualising the respective references in a scare quotation with the quotative metarepresented in single quotation marks, as in (29) to (31). Commenters also use the communicative act of quotation to deconstruct the arguments of other users who may be referred to generically with 'people', with pejorative terms of address terms, for instance 'brainwashed sheep', or with their nicknames. Users frequently align with politicians and their parties, voicing their ideologies.

(29)   Matthew Harrison   (User Comment, 4 October 2017)[40]
       IN 2017 THAT "<u>below stairs maid</u>" WOULD BE USING FOOD BANKS TO FEED HER-
       SELF AND WOULD PROBABLY, IF SHE WAS A SMART WOMAN, DECIDE NOT TO
       HAVE ANY CHILDREN BECAUSE THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO WAY IN A MILLION
       YEARS SHE WOULD BE ABLE TO AFFORD A SECURE ROOF OVER HER CHILDREN'S
       HEADS, CLOTHE THEM OR EVEN FEED THEM PROPERLY

(30)   Norman Ayling   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)[41]
       I KEEP HEARING that <u>labour are the party of "the people"</u> WHICH IS STRANGE
       BECAUSE THE RICHEST PEOPLE I KNOW ARE ALL MIDDLE CLASS LABOUR SUP-
       PORTERS

(31)   Lisa Ashby   (User Comment, 18 May 2017)
       NEVER SAID YOU DID BUT I KEEP *being told* that <u>labour are the party of the
       common working man</u> WHICH IN MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE DOESNT STACK UP
       WITH THE PEOPLE I KNOW THAT SUPPORT THEM THATS ALL

Commenters also use quotations from the political speeches to enter possible discussions to negotiate their validity. These interdiscursive references are generally entextualised, as in 're' in (32) or in double quotation marks in (33). In (34), the quoter follows up on a direct quotation entextualising their intended perlocutionary effects:

39. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFpYYZjj4I8 (accessed 20 March 2020).

40. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3l3hD06y-s (accessed 20 March 2020).

41. https://mbasic.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=10154801975832672&id=148007467671
&p=450&av=100036774521603&eav=AfYXqtVjz0qUZeTMAf_fg_FuknhtRSH5fycu1Ib9wU4tcz
_-hDlVyMf4uUSoTG9v0JM&refid=52 (accessed 20 March 2020).

(32)   Don Wynne   (User Comment, 26 February 2018)[42]
       Re immigration, **JC** *said* quite clearly in his speech ***that*** <u>immigration is the</u>
       <u>product of two things, a skills shortage, caused by poor investment in training</u>
       <u>in this country and by unscrupulous employers using foreign workers to</u>
       <u>undermine wages</u>

(33)   Phillip MacIver   (User Comment, 26 September 2018)[43]
       Haha… "<u>Rebuilding Britain,</u>" plank by plank…and the room is full of
       them!

(34)   Kiel Robinson   (User Comment, 2 March 2018)[44]
       Great speech. "<u>These are the things we want..take it or we leave it.</u>" Strong
       stable and most importantly consistent for 18 months.

In the data at hand, the discursive function of the communicative act of quotation does not depend on its linguistic formatting, but rather on the entextualisation of its constitutive parts, that is quoter, source, quotative and quoted, its felicity conditions and other contextual coordinates. In both time frames and data sets, quotations fulfil an important function in the quoter's argumentation and are used ad res and ad hominem. Elite politicians entextualise not only the relevant constitutive parts of the communicative act, but also its felicity conditions and contextual coordinates. These references to the quotation's embeddedness in context are used strategically to secure uptake on the side of the addressees and to provide evidence for the truthfulness and validity of the quotation. What is more, politicians frequently entextualise their intended perlocutionary effects to score points on behalf of their political opponents. The entextualisation of quoter-intended perlocutionary effects are also found in the users' comments across both time frames, and these explicit comments on the act of quotation are frequently furnished with irony, a less common strategy of criticism in the speeches.

      The following discussion will pay particular attention to the different time frames and different production formats: the more monologic speeches of political leaders and the more interactive comments from ordinary users.

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42.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ywDeBQpTlg (accessed 20 March 2020).

43.   https://mbasic.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=255682838466353&id=143666524748 &p=270&av=100036774521603&eav=AfawrQmbSHspJwWyCOW3VjfRhCPj_ykgLirSjkQeUC FhbrBwHM876rU7eiML3YXqpZA&refid=52 (accessed 20 March 2020).

44.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=liFqvZLY5Yc (accessed 20 March 2020).

5.   Discussion

The communicative act of quotation is intrinsically dialogic. In interactional-sociolinguistic terms, it brings its contextual embeddedness and presuppositions along the discourse, and it brings them about the discourse. From a discourse-pragmatic perspective, the communicative act of quotation is informed by the Austinian higher-level illocutionary act type of expositive act and its felicity conditions supplemented with Mey's situated pragmatic act and its contextual embeddedness, which are supplemented with the act-specific constitutive parts of quoter, source, quotative and quoted. Quotation as a communicative act is firmly anchored in rationality and intentionality, and that is the reason why this paper does not use the interactional-sociolinguistic terms of 'bringing' presuppositions and other contextual coordinates 'along' the discourse and 'bringing' them 'about' the discourse, but rather 'metarepresent and bring into' the discourse and entextualise them in accordance with the constraints of the quoting discourse.

Political speeches are more monologic speech events, while commenting on the speeches is a dialogic endeavour. To engage the audience in their argumentation and reasoning, politicians may use the communicative act of quotation not only to bring other voices and their opinions into the ongoing discourse, but also to simulate dialogic sequences, as has been the case with the four politicians under investigation. These sequences have the discursive function of demonstrating the quoter's underlying argumentation and reasoning and metarepresent and entextualise their policies and ideologies in line with the contextual constraints of mundane ordinary conversation adapted to the contextual constraints of social media. This strategic use of quotations has been found in all speeches across pre- and non-election periods. In the users' comments, simulated dialogues are infrequent. Instead, commenters quote other commenters to either deconstruct their argument or express alignment with their opinions. Quotations are thus brought into the discourse to provide relevant context and common ground for the commenters' voicing of – positive and negative – opinions which they entextualise in intended perlocutionary effects of the quotation and additionally furnish with entextualised irony and metarepresented emoticons, emojis and gifs.

In the social-media discourse at hand, quotations fulfil various discursive functions. The quantitative analysis of their linguistic formatting has provided participant- and genre-specific preferences for particular formats. These are due to the act's adaptation to the media constraints, for instance the multilayered participant framework and audiences or length of comments. This is particularly obvious for the frequent use of scare quotation in the user comments. Scare quotes, which are a constitutive part of the comments' syntax, are an ideal tool for bringing snippets of other voices into the discourse while at the same time entex-

tualising the quoter's attitude towards these fragments. The source of scare quotation in the comments are either frequent soundbites from politicians which are assigned an ironic reading, if not rejected, or commenters' use of scare quotation tends to be ad hominem. If the source is a fellow commenter, their argumentation is supported or rejected, and the use tends to be ad res. In the speeches, direct quotation is a good candidate for simulating interactions in a monologic setting, and politicians have made good use of that tool in the data at hand. Simulating interactions with the 'X says – Y says'-pattern allows for pointing out argumentative flaws on the side of one or more simulated participants while at the same time highlighting the implied superiority of the politician's own argument.

Qualitative analyses have shown that some contexts prefer a particular linguistic format, that is scare quotation in the comments, and direct and indirect quotation in the speeches. There is, however, no formatting-to-function mapping with quotations in the data at hand, with one format fulfilling one particular discursive function, and that is why their formatting is not key to their function.

6.   Conclusion

The linguistic formatting and function of quotations have been examined in two datasets across two timeframes: political speeches delivered by leaders of the three most prominent political parties in Britain, and user comments following up on the speeches on YouTube and Facebook in pre- and non-election periods. The goal of the research was to find out whether the production format – elite politicians and ordinary users – may prefer a particular linguistic format and whether a forthcoming election may have an impact on their distribution and formatting. The communicative act of quotation has been described as a quoter-intended entextualisation of a higher-level act which metarepresents another communicative act from another context and discourse.

The analysis has shown that ordinary users prefer the linguistic format of scare quotation, irrespective of the two timeframes under investigation. As for their overall distribution, there are more quotations in the non-election political speeches, but less quotations in the user comments from that timeframe. As for quoted material, there is 5.28% quoted material in the speeches, and only 1.08% in the comments. This difference is due to the fact that the preferred format in the user comments is scare quotation across the timeframes, and scare quotations are a constitutive part of an utterance. For the politicians, it is indirect quotation in the pre-election data and direct quotation in the non-election data. As in other discourses on and off the internet, quotations have the discursive function of importing context from another discourse into an ongoing discourse.

The imported context fulfils primarily an argumentative function in political discourse, generally to score points on behalf of the quoter and deconstruct the argumentation of source, either ad res or ad hominem. Simulated dialogues constructed of hypothetical or direct quotations serve a similar function. This has also been found in the speeches and comments. The qualitative analysis of quotations in the data at hand has shown that there is no format-to-function mapping in the data across the timeframes, and that the linguistic formatting of the communicative act of quotation is not key to their discursive function in context. What contributes to their discursive function in the political speeches is the quoter's entextualisation of the constitutive parts of the quotation, that is quoter, quotative, source and quoted, and the entextualisation of their contextual embeddedness. It is the latter, which provides evidence for the truthfulness and validity of the quotation and thus reflects positively on the quoter's sincerity and credibility. The entextualisation of quoter-intended perlocutionary effects is found in both datasets across both timeframes: politicians and ordinary users entextualise their intended perlocutionary effects in very explicit terms, and on the users' side these effects may be furnished with irony. This has not been the case with the elite politicians who have opted for self-irony only.

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