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Proceedings of the ESF Strategic Workshop on Follow-ups Across Discourse Domains: “A cross-cultural exploration of their forms and functions”, Würzburg (Germany), 31 May –2 June 2012

Anita Fetzer, Elda Weizman, Elisabeth Reber

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FOLLOW-UPS ACROSS DISCOURSE DOMAINS: A CROSS-CULTURAL EXPLORATION OF THEIR FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

Würzburg (Germany), 31 May – 2 June 2012

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Introduction

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In our modern European society, political discourse can no longer be conceived of only as a static notion which has been produced at some more or less specific location and some more or less specific time. Rather, political discourse has become more and more dynamic. This is due to ongoing changes in modern and post-modern societies in general, and to our mediatized society and the so-called new media in particular. These modern technologies enable us to transmit information instantaneously to anybody who is a member of the web-anchored community. Against this background, it is necessary not just to analyse political discourse as a product, to employ socio-pragmatic terminology, but rather as a process. For this reason, the communicative act of follow-up, which is a process-oriented concept par excellence, is expected to shed new light on the process-oriented nature of political discourse.

This process-oriented approach to political discourse is manifest in the transmission of the discourse as such, for example in (1) Prime Minister's Question Time (and its functional equivalents in other countries) and web-based discussion forums, (2) panel interviews with audience participation and follow-up chat sessions with the politicians interviewed, (3) mediatized party-political conferences with follow-up interviews and web-based discussion forums, (4) live-reports of mediations concerning controversial decision-making processes, and (5) rather spontaneously organized – and videoed – demonstrations, marches or sit-ins. Common mediatized reality thus becomes a kind of common ground.

The process-orientation of political discourse has also become a constitutive part of political decision-making on both micro- and macro-levels of communication, regarding both professional politics and grassroot politics. E-mobility has thus not only changed the interpersonal domains of society but has also transmitted public politics into the private domains of society, as is reflected in the participation of larger – and often also more heterogeneous – groups of society organising successful protests against macro-political

decisions, such as youth unemployment in Spain, mass demonstrations in Egypt and other countries, or the building of extremely expensive public buildings in Germany.

The goal of the edited volume is to present up-to-date and original interdisciplinary research from the fields of linguistics, discourse analysis, socio-pragmatics, media communication, political science, computer science and psychology. The researchers represented here have examined the heterogeneous field of political discourse and its manifestation in diverse discourse genres with respect to different degrees of directness in the presentation of politics and political information; different degrees of responsiveness, directness, indirectness and evasiveness in answering interviewer's questions; various manifestations of redundancy in mediated political discourse in general and in political statements in particular; professionalism and the de-construction of discourse identities in political discourse, to name but the most prominent research questions.

All of the chapters examine the forms and functions of follow-ups, that is, how a particular discourse, discourse topic or discourse contribution is taken up in discourse and negotiated between the communicators, and how it is commented on. Follow-ups are conceptualized as communicative acts (or dialogue acts), in and through which a prior communicative act is accepted, challenged, or otherwise negotiated by third parties. The discourses under investigation comprises political discourse across spoken and written dialogic genres considering (1) the discourse domains of political interview, editorial, op-eds and discussion forum, (2) their sequential organization as regards the status of initial (or 1^{st} order) follow-up, a follow-up of a prior follow-up (2^{nd} order follow-up), or n^{th}-order follow-up, and (3) their discursive realization as regards degrees of indirectness and responsiveness which are conceptualized as a continuum along the lines of fully explicit and fully responsive not containing any attenuation devices.

Most of the chapters use compositional methodology. Within this common framework, perspectives vary representing (1) socio-pragmatics as regards context, sequentiality, participant format, communicative action, and implicature, (2) corpus linguistics as regards quantification of data in order to identify possible communicative patterns across discourse domains and cultures, (3) discourse analysis as regards the definition of genre, and (4) social psychology as regards face and face-work, and evasiveness.

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Redundancy in parliamentary political discourse

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Abstract

This paper is aimed at analysing the use of redundancy in Oral Questions in the Andalusian Parliament. The corpus is made up of 12 oral questions raised by the two main political parties at the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare. Six questions were raised by men and six by women. The study focuses on the identification of the most relevant functions of redundancy, as well as on the analysis of gender differences and differences between the two main political parties. Some of the devices studied in this paper are: anaphora, epistrophe, anadiplosis, epanalepsis, amplification, scesis onomaton, polysyndeton, hyperonymy, holonymy, synonymy, oppositeness.

1 Introduction

It is widely known that politicians use a highly rhetorical style and for that reason their discourse has been studied by numerous authors (Bull and Mayer 1993, Chilton 2002, Ilie 2003, etc.). However, we cannot find so many studies focused on possible gender differences (Childs and Krook, 2006, Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995, Kathlene 1994, Lovenduski and Norris 2003, Rosenthal, 1997 etc.).

Our goal here is to analyse all the possible differences and/or similarities among politicians of different gender and of different political colour in a parliamentary setting attending to the use they make of redundancy. Specifically, we will focus on all the parliamentary sessions that took place in the Andalusian Parliament from the 10th of March till the 22nd of September 2010, which makes a total of 5 sessions.

This term of office (2008-2012) is especially interesting because a very important law was passed: the Parity Law (3/2007). In this way, we could be sure that there is equality in terms of gender in this Committee and, consequently, the results will not be due to a higher proportion of men (as has always been the case in previous terms of office).

The composition of the Andalusian Parliament after the 2008 Elections was as shown in Figure 1:

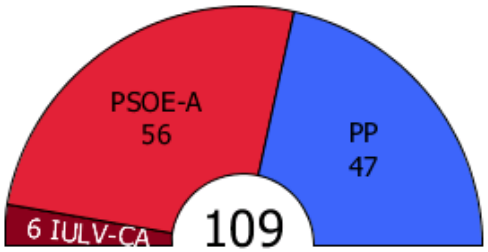

FIGURE 1 Composition of the Andalusian Parliament after the 2008 Elections

Our study focuses on Oral Questions in the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare. There is no doubt that this is the most lively and rhetorical task of all parliamentary actions.

In this paper, we analyse three different discursive mechanisms: (1) simple and complex repetition, (2) rhetorical repetitions, and (3) reiterations. We will focus on differences and/or similarities taking into account (a) gender and political colour of the MP; and (b) the discursive position (ie. first or second question-answer turn).

2 Redundancy as a discursive strategy

In a very general sense, redundancy implies saying the same thing more than once by using either the same words or different words. The term redundancy is being used here to refer to two different discursive strategies, repetition and reiteration.

In repetition the same word or words are used within the same sentence or in consecutive sentences. The function of this strategy is twofold: on the one hand, a word or idea is given more prominence and, on the other hand, a connection between sentences is established, achieving cohesion within the text. As pointed out by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, this communicative device is more typically used in spoken discourse than in written discourse. In contrast, in spoken discourse, the use of repetition is much more extended, mainly because of its dramatic effect.

Two different types of repetition can be distinguished:

1. Simple repetition: repetition of the same word or words while maintaining the same grammatical category, although differences regarding number, tense, gender, etc. can be found (*city/cities*).
2. Complex repetition: the same lexemes are used but with different grammatical categories (*young/youth*).

Sometimes the repetition of words, either simple or complex, takes place in a more elaborate structure, with the aim of attaining higher communicative impact. This is what will be referred to as rhetorical repetition. In contrast to simple or complex repetition, the use of this strategy is also extended to written discourse, since it involves a more elaborate and complex structure. Some of the devices included within rhetorical repetition are the following:

1. Anaphora: repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of clauses.
2. Epiphora or epistrophe: the opposite to anaphora, since it is the repetition of a word or phrase at the end of clauses.
3. Anadiplosis or conduplicatio: repetition of the last word or group of words of a clause or sentence at the beginning of the next sentence or clause.
4. Epanalepsis: repetition of the initial word or group of words of a clause or sentence at the end of the next clause or sentence.

Repetition is also used as a strategy to add information, or to expand the meaning of a word with the idea of increasing its rhetorical effect. This device is known as amplification.

Another rhetorical device that implies repetition is *scesis onomaton*: a word or idea is emphasized by expressing it in a string of generally synonymous phrases. Although any number of synonymous expressions can be used, the most effective type is a string of three (called *tricolon*).

At the phonetic level, repetition is termed alliteration, which is the recurrence of consonant sounds (sometimes they can also be vowels), generally in initial word position or coinciding with stressed syllables. This paper will not focus on the analysis of alliteration, as it is not relevant in our corpus.

At the syntactic level, the same syntactic structure is sometimes repeated in subsequent sentences, clauses or phrases. In some cases, the elements are repeated in the same order (parallelism), in some other cases a reverse order is preferred (chiasmus).

Repetition is closely related to reiteration. The main difference between them being that in reiteration, the second or subsequent terms are not simple or complex repetitions of the first term but a word which is semantically connected with the first one. Sometimes the relation found between terms is one of hyperonymy/hyponymy (*government/democracy*), or synonymy (*subjective/partial*), or a relation of holonymy/meronymy (*triangle/angle*), or even a relation of oppositeness (*good/bad*). The function of these devices is to emphasize or give prominence to a word or idea.

3 Parliamentary Committees

The Andalusian Parliament is the legislature of the Spanish Autonomous Community of Andalusia, and is elected every four years. It consists of 109 members (Figure I) and it is composed of three Parliamentary Groups: PSOE, with 56 MPs; PP, with 47 MPs; and IU, with 6 MPs.

The two main organs of the Parliament are Full Sessions and Committees. The Full Session is a general meeting of all the members of the House. Committees are specialized in certain areas and the number of members is proportional to the number of MPs in the House. Every political party has the right to have at least one member on every Committee. Committees can be permanent or non-permanent. While permanent Committees can pass or defeat a bill, non-permanent Committees are created for something *ad hoc* and have a fixed duration.

4 Corpus

The corpus analyzed in this paper is made up of the Parliamentary Records of the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare in the Andalusian Parliament, from the 10th of March to the 22nd of September 2010.

Our goal was to study differences and similarities in the use of repetitions and reiterations among parliamentarians of the same and/or different political party. For this reason we decided to focus on the most lively and spontaneous task: oral questions. In all oral questions we can differentiate two sections: the first one corresponds to the question asked by the parliamentarian (it has been previously prepared and it is written) and the Regional Minister's answer to that question (it has also been prepared beforehand); the second section, however, is less formal and more similar to common oral language.

In this paper we always tried to choose 3 questions made by men and 3 questions made by women from the three parliamentary groups. In this way, the corpus would be made up of a total of 18 questions. However, it was impossible to include any question from IU because we only found two questions but they were withdrawn.

For this reason we selected: (1) 3 men and 3 women MPs from the Socialist Party, PSOE; and (2) 3 men and 3 women MPs from the People's Party, PP.

5 Results and Discussion

As mentioned earlier in this paper, some of the most important discursive functions of repetition are:

1. To emphasize or give more prominence to a word or idea.
2. To establish a cohesive relation between sentences in discourse.

However, after a complete analysis of our corpus, the previous functions prove not to be the only ones. For example, some parliamentarians make use of redundancy as a dummy device or filler of a pause, in most cases in order to make time to think about what to say:

> …, no le quepa ***ninguna*** duda que vamos a actuar, ***ninguna, ninguna, ninguna*****,** señora Obrero. Ahora, también me gustaría decir una cosa. Me llama poderosamente la atención... Yo no tengo por qué poner en duda lo que usted ha manifestado. (8-10/POC-000628, Mrs. Navarro, September 2010)
>
> […, there is ***no doubt*** that we are going to act, ***no doubt, no doubt, no doubt***, Mrs Obrero. Now, I would also like to say something. It attracts my attention in an overwhelming way … I do not have to doubt about what you have said.]

Another function of redundancy found in this corpus is to attain what we could call "false cohesion". Some parliamentarians repeat words that have been previously used by the person in the preceding turn as a signal of the connection between the two pieces of discourse. One reason why this strategy might be used is because the MP's oral question is not generally raised to get any answer but with other purposes. When the MP who asks the oral question is from the Government party, his/her question turn is generally intended to praise a particular action of the Government and allow the RM to show off with a propaganda speech previously prepared for the occasion. In contrast, when the MP who asks the oral question is from the party in opposition, then his turn will mainly be intended to criticize what the government has done, without taking much care of or being interested in the RM's answer.

It has also been found out that repetition and reiteration are used as devices that contribute to reinforcing the soundness of argumentation. The words more typically used with this function are "*obviously*", "*of course, evidently*", "*no doubt*", etc. Every speaker has a typical word or expression he/she uses with the intention of making his/her argument a sound argument. For instance, the RM tends to use "evidentemente" (ie. *evidently*) continuously, as shown in her following turn, answering an oral question raised by Mr Armijo (PP):

> Señor Armijo, decirle que, ***evidentemente***, es cierto, … y donde hay un compromiso, ***evidentemente***, de concierto de plazas para que estas personas, ... (8-10/POC-000367, Mrs. Navarro, September 2010)

> [Mr. Armijo, to tell you that, ***obviously***, it is true, … and there is a compromise, ***obviously***, of agreed posts so that these people, ...]

Sometimes, what is repeated is not a lexical but a syntactic combination, or clause structure or sentence form, which has a significant effect on the final speech:

> ¿está terminada la unidad de estancia diurna? Si está terminada, ¿por qué no está funcionando? ¿Está equipada, señora Consejera? ¿Qué forma de gestión va a tener? ¿La va a gestionar directamente la Consejería para la Igualdad y Bienestar Social, o se va a sacar a concurso porque se va a hacer una gestión externa? En suma, señora Consejera, qué pasa con la unidad de estancia diurna de Poniente. (8-10/POC-000446, Sra. Botella, junio de 2010)
>
> [Is the unity of daytime stay over? If it is over, why is it not working? Is it equipped, Mrs Minister? What way of management will it have? Will it be managed directly by the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare or will there be a selection process in order to decide if there would be external management? To sum up, Mrs. Minister, what happens with the unity of daytime stay in Poniente.]

Mrs Botella has used five consecutive interrogative sentences (five direct questions and an indirect question at the end).

It has also been observed that politicians make many unnecessary repetitions in order to mark gender differences. For example they repeat terms like "ciudadanos/ciudadanas" (ie., *citizens*), "parlamentarios/parlamentarias" (ie. parliamentarians). In some cases, this gender distinction may be necessary because of the context, but in most cases there is an overuse of the distinction. When a speaker uses the plural of the previous nouns in Spanish, these nouns refer both to males and females:

> ***Los andaluces*** y ***las andaluzas*** somos unos artistas de la compatibilización. (8-10/POC-000446, Sra. Botella, junio de 2010)
>
> [We ***male Andalusians*** *and* ***female Andalusians*** are artists of the reconciliation.]

It must be pointed out that most "gender marking-repetitions" are due to political reasons, often demagogic, since there are no linguistic reasons to mark gender differences, as stated by the Real Academia Española.

In relation to the parliamentarians' use of repetition and reiteration, our results reveal that there is a relationship between the parliamentarian's political colour and the type of discursive strategies he/she has used. PP MPs prefer rhetorical repetition (59) better than

simple/complex repetition (41) and reiteration (23), whereas PSOE MPs use practically the same number of rhetorical and simple/complex repetitions (24 vs. 25).

Both the total of repetitions and reiterations seem to be much higher in the case of PP than in PSOE, but the number of words used by the opposition is also higher. While PP male parliamentarians used up to 35 cases of rhetorical repetitions, PSOE male parliamentarians only used 9. And the same happened with female parliamentarians, PP parliamentarians uttered 24 and PSOE parliamentarians only 16 (Figure 2):

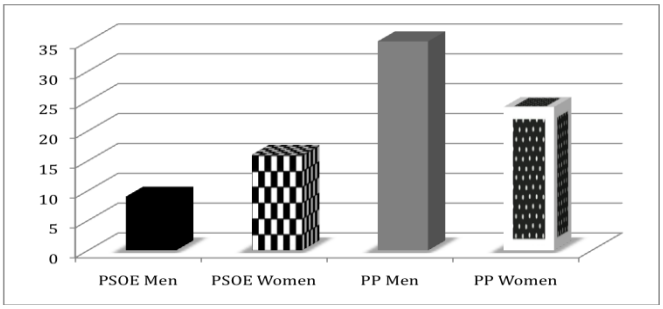

FIGURE 2: MPs' rhetorical repetition

However, taking into account the number of words used by MPs, it can be noticed that it is only male PP MPs that use more redundancy than male PSOE MPs (1/80 words versus 1/112w). However, it is the other way round in the case of women, the proportion being 1/106w for female PP MPs and 1/67w for female PSOE MPs.

In the case of the PP, the differences between male and female parliamentarians are obvious (Table 1):

	Men	**Women**
Anaphora	12 (1/233w)	3 (1/846w)
Epiphora	2 (1/1403w)	0
Anadiplosis	3 (1/936w)	1 (1/2538w)
Epanalepsis	1 (1/2807w)	1 (1/2538w)
Amplification	6 (1/468w)	10 (1/254w)
Scesis onomaton	11 (1/255w)	3 (1/846w)
Polysyndeton	0	6 (1/423w)
TOTAL	**35 (1/80words)**	**24 (1/106words)**

Table 1: PP MPs' rhetorical repetition

Concerning PSOE male and female MPs, results are the following (Table 2):

	Men	**Women**
Anaphora	3 (1/300w)	3 (1/360w)
Epiphora	0	1 (1/1079w)
Anadiplosis	0	3 (1/360w)
Epanalepsis	1 (1/900w)	1 (1/1079w)
Amplification	1 (1/900w)	3 (1/360w)
Scesis onomaton	2 (1/450w)	3 (1/360w)
Polysyndeton	2 (1/450w)	2 (1/540w)
TOTAL	**9 (1/100words)**	**16 (1/67words)**

Table 2: PSOE MPs' rhetorical repetition

Additionally, the number of rhetorical repetitions used by PSOE female parliamentarians (except in the case of anaphora, epanalepsis and polysyndeton) is higher than the number of rhetorical repetitions used by PSOE male parliamentarians (1/67w vs. 1/100w), the opposite to what happens when comparing PP male (1/80w) and PP female parliamentarians (1/106w).

As regards reiterations, the tendency is more cases in PSOE MPs' oral questions (1/141w) than in PP MPs' interactions (1/232w). But they have something in common: women of both political parties used reiterations more often than men (Table 3).

	PP		**PSOE**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Hyperonymy	3 (1/936w)	1 (1/2538w)	1 (1/900w)	0
Holonymy	0	2 (1/1269w)	0	0
Synonymy	6 (1/468w)	8 (1/317w)	5 (1/180w)	8 (1/135w)
Oppositeness	2 (1/1404w)	1 (1/2538w)	0	0
TOTAL	**11 (1/255words)**	**12 (1/212words)**	**6 (1/150words)**	**8 (1/135words)**

Table 3: MPs' reiteration

The most common mechanism of reiteration we have found is synonymy. In the following extract we can see an example of the PSOE parliamentarian Mrs. Pérez (oral question about subsidies to women):

> Y mucho de lo que ***se ha logrado y se ha conquistado*** ha sido, sin duda, gracias a la existencia ***de esas ayudas públicas, de esas subvenciones***, que son … el paso de ***emprender y de formar*** su propia empresa y … ***crear y generar*** empleo. (8-10/POC-000180, señora Pérez, mayo 2010)

> [And much of what has been ***conquered and achieved*** has been, no doubt, thanks to the existence of **those *public grants, of those subsidies***, which are … the step to ***undertake and set up*** their own firms and … ***create and generate*** new jobs.]

We can find up to four instances of synonymy: "*conquered and achieved"*; "*of those public grants, of those subsidies"*; "*to start and to set up their own business"*; and *"create and generate employment"*.

However, we could observe that it was female parliamentarians (both PP and PSOE) who used reiterations more often than male parliamentarians (in PP 1/212w for women *vs.* 1/255w for men, and in PSOE 1/135w for women *vs.* 1/150w for men). So, we could say that while rhetorical repetitions are much more related to different political colours and are commonly used as a persuasive mechanism, reiterations are closer to other triggers like gender.

Concerning the Minister's use of rhetorical repetitions we have to highlight that in the case of the RM's exchanges with PP parliamentarians, her use of rhetorical repetition is much higher (1/66w). It seems that when political differences are bigger the number of rhetorical mechanisms is also higher. One of the reasons might be that a Minister has to use all his/her rhetorical skills of persuasion and defense when he/she is in a hostile arena. Another reason may be that PP MPs' make use of the two turns of oral questions, while PSOE MPs' reduce their interactions with the RM to the first turn of oral questions.

Figure 4 shows a general view of the use of rhetorical repetition by PSOE and PP Parliamentarians and the RM in oral questions.

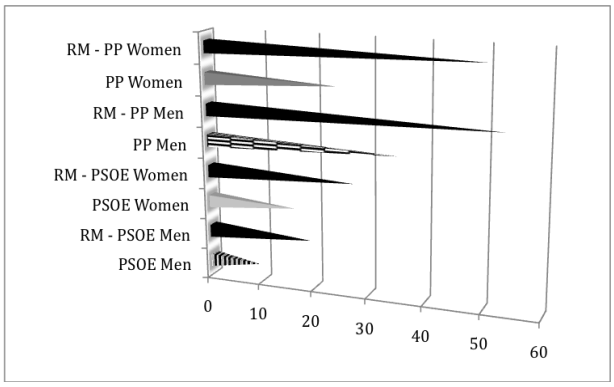

FIGURE 4: Use of rhetorical repetition by RM and parliamentarians

In the following extract (about subsidies to women) we can see an example of epistrophe. The Minister is answering Pérez (PSOE):

…, trabajar en todo lo que significaba creación de ***empresas***, apoyo a ***empresas***, viveros de ***empresas***, ... (8-10/POC-000180, Sra. Pérez, mayo 2010)

[…, to work on everything that implied the creation of ***firms***, support the ***firms***, greenhouses of ***firms***, ...]

In this example we can see how the Minister repeats the words "*firms"* up to three times.

Tables 4 and 5 below show the RM's use of redundancy with men and women MPs from the same political party -PSOE, and with PP MPs men and women:

	with Men	**with Women**
Anaphora	15 (1/253w)	18 (1/166w)
Epiphora	7 (1/543w)	13 (1/230w)
Anadiplosis	8 (1/475w)	5 (1/599w)
Epanalepsis	2 (1/1900w)	4 (1/749w)
Amplification	9 (1/422w)	1 (1/2995w)
Scesis onomaton	10 (1/380w)	4 (1/599w)
Polysyndeton	2 (1/1900w)	4 (1/599w)
TOTAL	**53 (1/71words)**	**49 (1/61words)**

Table 4: RM's rhetorical repetition in interaction with PP MPs

	with Men	**with Women**
Anaphora	5 (1/467w)	4 (1/675w)
Epiphora	1 (1/2335w)	2 (1/1349w)
Anadiplosis	4 (1/584w)	5 (1/540w)
Epanalepsis	2 (1/1168w)	5 (1/540w)
Amplification	4 (1/584w)	5 (1/540w)
Scesis onomaton	2 (1/1168w)	5 (1/540w)
Polysyndeton	1 (1/2335w)	1 (1/2698w)
TOTAL	**19 (1/122words)**	**27 (1/100words)**

Table 5: RM's rhetorical repetition in interaction with PSOE MPs

As we can see, the use of redundancy by the RM is higher with MPs from the opposition (1/34w) than with MPs form the same political party (1/44w). Besides, the Minister used more rhetorical repetitions with PP females (1/61w) than with PP males (1/71w); and the same results are found in relation to the RM's interaction with PSOE females (1/100w) and with PSOE males (1/122). Obviously, this leads us to conclude that there are both gender and political colour differences, as far as the RM's discourse is concerned.

In the case of the Minister's use of simple and complex repetition, we can see that: (1) she uses more simple and complex repetitions than the other female parliamentarians (1/68w *versus* 1/79w, in the case of PP females, and 1/100w *versus* 1/119w in the case of PSOE females), and (2) she uses more cases of simple and complex repetition than male PP MPs (1/106w versus 1/312) but less than PSOE male MPs (1/117 versus 1/56w) (Table 6).

	PP		**PSOE**	
	with Men	**with Women**	**with Men**	**with Women**
Simple repetition	33 (1/115w)	43 (1/70w)	15 (1/156)	19 (1/142w)
Complex repetition	3 (1/1267w)	1 (1/2995w)	5 (1/467)	8 (1/337w)
TOTAL	**36 (1/106words)**	**44 (1/68words)**	**20 (1/117words)**	**27 (1/100words)**

Table 6: RM's simple & complex repetitions

Contrary to what we found when analyzing rhetorical repetitions, it is not the Minister who uses more reiterations. In this case, the difference is bigger between PSOE males and PSOE females (1/467w versus 1/193w) than between PP males and PP females (1/422w versus 1/428w) (Table 7):

	PP		**PSOE**	
	with Men	**with Women**	**with Men**	**with Women**
Hyperonymy	1 (1/3801w)	0	0	1 (1/2698w)
Holonymy	1 (1/3801w)	1 (1/2995w)	1 (1/2335w)	5 (1/540w)
Synonymy	1 (1/3801w)	3 (1/998w)	3 (1/778w)	7 (1/385w)
Oppositeness	6 (1/634w)	3 (1/998w)	1 (1/2335w)	1 (1/2698w)
TOTAL	**9 (1/422words)**	**7 (1/428words)**	**5 (1/467words)**	**14 (1/193words)**

Table 7: RM's reiteration

The analysis of the RM's discourse is particularly interesting because it is the linking element between all oral questions, since she is the addressee of all the questions raised by MPs. Two different discursive styles can be distinguished in oral questions:

(1) The first section, which corresponds to the exposition of the oral question by the MP and then the Minister's answer, has a much more formal style because it has been previously prepared.

(2) The second section, which corresponds to the supplementary question and the Minister's answer, is much more natural and closer to oral discourse because it has not been previously prepared.

The second section is practically nonexistent in the questions raised by PSOE parliamentarians. It seems that PSOE parliamentarians are not interested in adding any more questions to their first turn but just supporting and praising the Minister's job. In the following extract we can see the last words in the first section of a PSOE parliamentarian's turn:

> Por todo, bueno, al Grupo Socialista nos gustaría conocer cuáles son las principales novedades que va a presentar la siguiente edición y cuáles van a ser las actividades principales. Muchas gracias. (8-10/POC-000137, Sr. Rodríguez Acuña, Junio 2010)
> [For everything, we, the Socialist Party, would like to know which are the main innovations that the next edition is going to present and which are going to be the main activities. Thanks a lot.]

Here Mr. Rodriguez Acuña gives the Minister the opportunity to present her achievements and show all the steps she has taken in work camps. Then, the Minister uses her turn to make her party's achievements public. Obviously, the parliamentarian does not add any difficult question to that answer.

However, in all the 6 questions asked by PP parliamentarians there is a first and a second section because every PP MP asked a supplementary question. Consequently, the RM also makes use of two turns in each oral question. The objective of PP's questions is to put the Minister in difficulty asking her about different problems and demanding an explanation. Once the Minister has answered the question, the parliamentarian adds a supplementary question to indicate that he/she has not been pleased with the answer and to counterattack. In the following extract we can see the last words of the first turn of a PP female parliamentarian:

> Hemos hablado de mayores, de dependencia y de recursos en la mañana de hoy, ¿verdad? Bueno, pues yo quisiera que usted me haga la valoración que su Consejería hace respecto a las actuaciones que se han llevado, o que se piensan llevar a cabo por su Consejería para solventarlos. (8-10/POC-000628, Sra. Obrero Ariza, Septiembre 2010)
> [We have talked about the elders, about dependency and about resources today morning, haven't we? Well, I would like you to tell me how your Committee value the actions which have been taken, or what does your Committee intent to carry out in order to solve them.]

The topic of this oral question is controversial because it deals with deficiencies in a residential home for the elderly and, consequently, in a way, it anticipates disagreement. The parliamentarian is pressing the Minister for an explanation. For this reason, the Minister's

answer is mainly defensive and she explains that (1) there are no such deficiencies (she is accusing the parliamentarian of not telling the truth); (2) that matter is outside her competence (it is not her fault but others'); and (3) the problems have already been solved.

When comparing the RM's first and the second turns with PP parliamentarians, it has been found out that there are more examples of redundancy in the first sections (1/32w) than in the second ones (1/35w). Anyway, when distinguishing between genders, this assertion holds true only for the RM's interaction with women (1/25w in the first section *versus* 1/33w in the second section) but it is not true regarding the RM's behaviour with male PP MPs (1/40w for the first section and 1/37w for the second) (Table 8).

	First turn		**Second turn**	
	Minister with PP Men	**Minister with PP Women**	**Minister with PP Men**	**Minister with PP Women**
Simple repetition	15 (1/105w)	20 (1/52w)	18 (1/124w)	23 (1/85w)
ComplexRepetition	1 (1/1574w)	1 (1/1033w)	2 (1/1114w)	0
Rhetorical repetition	19 (1/83w)	17 (1/61w)	35 (1/64w)	32 (1/61w)
Reiteration	4 (1/394w)	3 (1/344w)	5 (1/45w)	4 (1/491w)
TOTAL	**39 (1/40w)**	**41 (1/25w)**	**60 (1/37w)**	**59 (1/33w)**
	80 (1/32words)		**119 (1/35words)**	

Table 8: Minister's use of simple repetition, rhetorical repetition and reiteration

Additionally, we have also noticed that PP males and females also use more examples of redundancy in their first turns (Table 9).

	First turn		**Second turn**	
	PP Men	**PP Women**	**PP Men**	**PP Women**
Simple repetition	3 (1/226w)	11 (1/80w)	5 (1/396w)	15 (1/111w)
Complex repetition	0	4 (1/220w)	1 (1/1978w)	2 (1/830w)
Rhetorical repetition	12 (1/69w)	12 (1/73w)	23 (1/86w)	12 (1/138w)
Reiteration	4 (1/207w)	1 (1/879w)	7 (1/282w)	11 (1/150w)
TOTAL	**19 (1/44words)**	**28 (1/31words)**	**36 (1/55words)**	**40 (1/41words)**

Table 9: Use of simple repetition & reiteration by PP MPs

As noticed in Table 9, the only exception is PP female MPs' use of reiteration, which is higher in the second section than in the first one.

6 Conclusions

Our study shows that redundancy is found to serve other purposes in political discourse, apart from emphasizing an idea and connecting sentences cohesively:

- As a dummy device or filler of a pause, to make time to think what to say.
- To attain so-called "false cohesion".
- As a strategy that contributes to reinforcing the strength of speech and soundness of argumentation.
- To mark gender differences.

Besides, our study also reveals that there are differences related to the MP's political colour:

- Redundancy is higher in the political group in government (1/31w) than in the group of the opposition (1/43w).
- The use of redundancy by the RM is higher with MPs in the opposition (1/34w) than with MPs from the same party (1/45w).

Concerning gender differences in the use of redundancy, it has also been found that:

- There are gender differences in the two parties but they go in opposite directions. There are more examples of rhetorical repetition in PP men (1/80w) than in PP women (1/106w) and more simple and complex repetition in PP women (1/79w) than in PP men (1/312). However, in the party in government, the results are the other way round: more rhetorical repetition in PSOE women (1/67w) than in PSOE men (1/100w), and more simple and complex repetition in PSOE men (1/56w) than in PSOE women (1/119w).
- Our data also reveal that female MPs, both PP and PSOE women, made a more extensive use of reiterations than men (1/212w vs. 1/255 in the case of PP MPs, and 1/135w vs. 1/150w in the case of PSOE MPs).
- It has also been noticed that there are gender differences in the Regional Minister's discourse when interacting with female MPs from the two parties, more redundancy with women than with men (1/39w vs. 1/53w with PSOE MPs, and 1/29w vs. 1/38w with PP MPs).

As regards differences in the two sections of oral questions:

- There are discursive differences between first and second sections of PP MPs interactions.
- PP MPs make a more extensive use of redundancy in the first than in the second turns (1/36w vs. 1/48w), both male (1/44w vs. 1/55w) and female MPs (1/31w vs. 1/41w).

- There are also differences regarding the Regional Minister's discourse in the two sections but her behaviour differs depending on gender. With male MPs, the RM uses more redundancy in the second (1/37w) than in the first sections (1/40w), whereas with women, it is in the first sections where she uses more redundancy (1/25w vs. 1/33w).

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Follow-ups in online political discussions

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Abstract

This paper will focus on the question of follow-up moves in online political discussions: do online political discussions favor the production of follow-ups? Are these discussions based on the I.R.F exchange structure (Initiate – Respond – Follow-up) or not? In a more general level, this question raises the problem of the monologic / dialogic nature of online political discussions.

1 Introduction

This paper will focus on the question of follow-up moves in online political discussions.

The research questions are the following:

- Do online political discussions favor the production of follow-ups? In other terms, are these discussions based on the I.R.F exchange structure or not?
- What are the factors which determine the production of follow-ups?

These questions will be developed in three times:

- The conceptual background of this research will be presented.
- The date will be described?
- The main results of the analysis will be explained and discussed.

2 Context and conceptual background

In a narrow sense, follow-up move can be defined as the third part of a ternary exchange. With a follow-up move, a speaker A, who initiates an exchange, reacts to the response(s) of B.

A1 – Initiative

B1 – Reactive

A2 – Follow-up

The prototype of this structure is the well-known IRF (Initiation-Response-Follow-up) structure, proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) for exchanges in classrooms: teachers, after initiating a question to a student, and receiving a response, often produce a follow-up response (typically a positive or negative evaluation).
This structure of exchange can be applied outside of the classroom as well, for example for political interviews: the journalist produces a follow-up in evaluating the politician's response (Fetzer 2007).

Furthermore, some researchers consider that any exchange is intrinsically ternary in the sense that A has to ratify (or not) the reaction of B in order to build a complete exchange (Roulet *et al*. 1985, Trognon 1999).

This ternary structure (I-R-F) can integrate a series of follow-ups, when a follow-up produced by A is followed by a follow-up produced by B, etc.

I: a message written by A (initiation)
R : a reaction produced by B
F1 : a follow-up produced by A, in reaction to R.
F2 : a follow-up produced by B, in reaction to F1
Etc.

With a loose definition, follow-ups can also be classified as self-initated or other-initiated follow-ups. For example, in political interviews, follow-ups can be produced by both interviewer and interviewee (Fetzer 2007).

In a same way, follow-ups can be produced by a third participant, for example in discussion forum or in article's comments, with the following structure:

I : initiation (an article written by a journalist A)
R : reaction produced by a reader B
F: a reaction produced by C, to what B has posted.

For example, in France, during the last Presidential campaign, the main political parties created teams dedicated to response (les "*cellules ripostes*"). Their mission was to evaluate and criticize the media discourse of their opponents.

Few works deal with follow-up in compter-mediated discussions (for example, Hatter 2002). However, follow-up messages are rather important for the dynamics of computer-mediated discussions. Indeed, because of the lack of co-presence, of the weak visual awareness, and of the asynchronicity (Sproull and Kiesler 1986), follow-up messages in computer-mediated discussions are in fact the only explicit way for A to ratify the reaction of B and to make manifest the mutual exchange. In other terms, follow-ups messages can be seen as markers of dialogism or markers of interaction.

This question of follow-up is also relevant for the analysis of the impact of internet on political discourse and communication. Indeed, the internet is supposed to favor the citizens' participation to political discourse and to modify the way politicians spread their messages. The internet is supposed to be more participatory, with potential interactions between citizens and politicians. The observation of follow-up moves in online political exchanges allows verifying this claim.

2 Data: different types of online political discussions

The internet permits various genres of online political discussions. For example, two main online political discussions types can be distinguished according to the nature of the participants: discussions between "ordinary citizens or lay persons" *versus* discussions between "citizens" and "professionals" (politicians, experts, journalists, etc.).

On the one hand, the political discussion forums (as some *Google groups*) are dedicated to the discussions between "ordinary citizens". The platforms of participatory journalism also permit the same kind of exchanges. On the other hand, the internet is also supposed to permit exchanges between "professionals" and "ordinary citizens" (for example, the blogs, Twitter or Facebook of politicians). In a same way, online newspapers generally allow the readers to comment the articles about politics and, potentially, the journalist to discuss with their readers.

These different situations can be defined as "discussions genres"; the influence of these discussion genres (and of the technological platforms) on the presence of follow-ups can be analyzed.

Our comparative analysis is based on five types of online political discussions:

- Discussions between "ordinary citizens" using a discussion forum (as *fr.soc.politique)*

- Discussions in a participatory journalism website: an “ordinary person” publishes an article, followed by comments
- Discussions initiated by the publication of an article written by a journalist in an online newspaper
- Discussions initiated by the publication of a twitter message by a politician
- Discussions initiated by the publication of a comment by a politician in his/her Facebook page

Our data is made of a sample of every type of these online discussions.

3 Results

3.1 Discussion forums

In political discussion forums, the discussion structure is very often the IRF structure. Indeed, when speaker A posts a message which opens a discussion thread, and when this message is followed by reactions, speaker A very often produces follow-up messages.

When B’s reaction to A is an agreement, the follow-up produced by A is a confirmative message (example 1) which displays the argumentative co-orientation of A and B. On the contrary, when B’s reaction is a disagreement or a refutation of A (example 2), the follow-up of A is often an argumentative counterattack. The disagreement between A and B is ratified by A, and this ratification permits the argumentative dynamics of the discussion.

(1) Excerpts from fr.soc.politique: discussion thread « la part des immigrés dans la population” [the proportion of migrants in population]

A1 - Assertive message: migration is a global phenomenon

Qatar : 87% , Émirats Arabes Unis :70% , Koweït : 69% , Jordanie 46 % , Palestine : 44%, Singapour 41% , Israël 40% , Arabie Saoudite 28% , États-Unis 14 % , France 8%

L'immigration est un phénomène mondial.

[Migration is a worldwide phenomenon]

B1 - Assertive message – B agrees (or not?) with A (or produces an ironic message)

Il faut bien reconnaître que ce Monde est peuplé de plus en plus d'étrangers.

[One can say that this World is inhabited by more and more foreigners]

A2 - A ratifies B2 and displays the agreement between A and B

Comme le monde de nos ancêtres.

[Like the world of our ancestors]

(2) Exchange structure the discussion thread « le programme de Mélenchon" [Mélenchon's program] (fr.soc.politique).

A1 - Initiation: A claims "Melenchon's program is utopic"

B1 - Response: B rejects A's claim "No, Melenchon's program is a real socialist program"

A2 - Follow-Up: A ratifies the disagreement and reiterates "Socialism is utopy"

B2 - Follow-Up: B rejects A's follow-up and maintains "Socialism is not utopy"

A3 - Follow-up: A rejects B's follow-up and is ironic: "LOL"

3.2 Participatory journalism

The platforms of online participatory journalism allow citizens to publish articles. These articles are often followed by comments produced by other participants. In fact, this communicative genre (article + comments) often leads to a discussion, in which the exchange is initiated with an article. In other terms, the discussion structure of participatory journalism is often the IRF structure, as in example (3).

(3) Excerpt from Mediapart Website

A1 – Initiation: article about the « affaire Boulin » (the inexplicable death of a French Minister, in the 70's)
L'Affaire BOULIN, le boulet de la Ve République, 31 Mars 2011 Par AAAAA
Beaucoup s'étonnent encore de "l'absence de réouverture de l'enquête" devant les évidences rapportées par les journalistes sérieux. Quand rendra-t-on Justice à Robert BOULIN et à sa famille ? (…)

B1 – Reaction: B agrees with A and completes the argumentation by proposing a strategy in order to discover the truth about the "Boulin affair"
31/03/2011, 10:44 par BBBB
Mon très cher AAAA, nous pouvons agir en qualité de citoyen républicain, il suffit de constituer une association et de se porter partie civile dans cette affaire. (…)

A2 – Follow-up: A displays his disagreement with B and explains his reasons
31/03/2011, 10:59 par AAAA
@BBBB
Je ne me permettrais pas, je ne me permettrais jamais d'ailleurs de parler au nom de Fabienne BOULIN-BURGEAT, voire de dire ou d'écrire ici ou ailleurs ce qu'elle fera ou ne fera pas. (…)

Even if the initiating message is in fact a monological text (a press article), the production by A (the author of the article) of follow-ups (reactions to the comments of readers) changes the nature of the communicative genre, from "pure mass-media" to interpersonal mass communication (Baym 1998).

3.3 Online newspapers articles followed by comments

The platforms of online newspapers are generally based upon the format "articles followed by comments". The readers are indeed encouraged to comment the articles published by "professional" journalists or editorialists and essayists. This format is the same as in participatory journalism but, here, we can observe that the journalist rarely reacts to the readers' comments (4).

(4) Excerpt from Le Monde.fr

(4.1) Article, dealing with the growth of Sarkozy's wealth during his presidential term of office

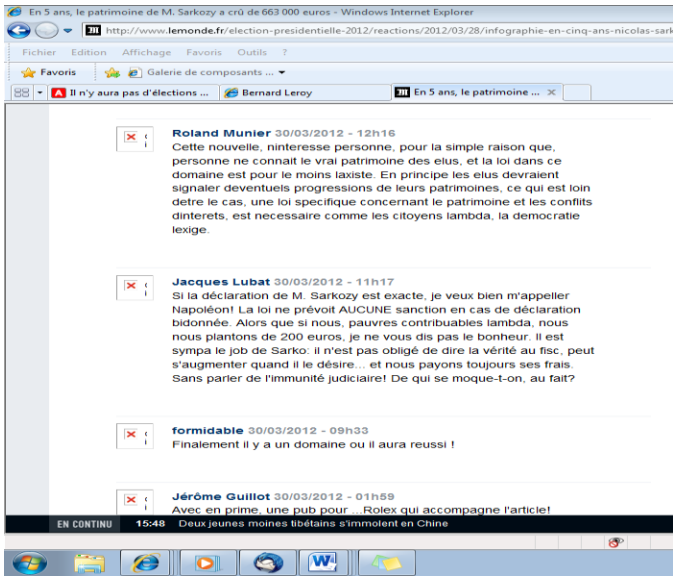
En 5 ans, le patrimoine de Nicolas Sarkozy a crû de 663 000 euros

Le Monde.fr | 28.03.2012 à 18h19 •

En cinq ans, la fortune déclarée du chef de l'Etat est passée de 2 077 997,40 € à 2 740 953 €

(...)

(4.2) Comments



In this example, 115 comments follow the article but none of them is a follow-up message produced by the journalist. In fact, the communicative genre is not a discussion between journalist and readers but rather a kind of online letters to the editor.

Nevertheless, the production of comments can give rise to discussions between the "readers-commentators". In fact, the format "article followed by comments" does not favor a discussion between journalist and readers but permits a political discussion between readers, who produce reactions to the article and follow-ups (but this IRF structure is less important than in discussions forums).

3.4 Facebook

The politicians' Facebook pages are supposed to permit direct contact and discussion between politicians and citizens (for example their constituents). Nevertheless, the observation of several Facebook pages of French politicians (from left and right parties: François Rebsamen, Nadine Morano, Manuel Valls, Valérie Pécresse, etc.) shows that, in our data, politicians never react when "followers" comment their posts. For example, the message of Valérie Pécresse (former Minister of public finances) is followed by 35 comments but Pécresse does not react to these comments.

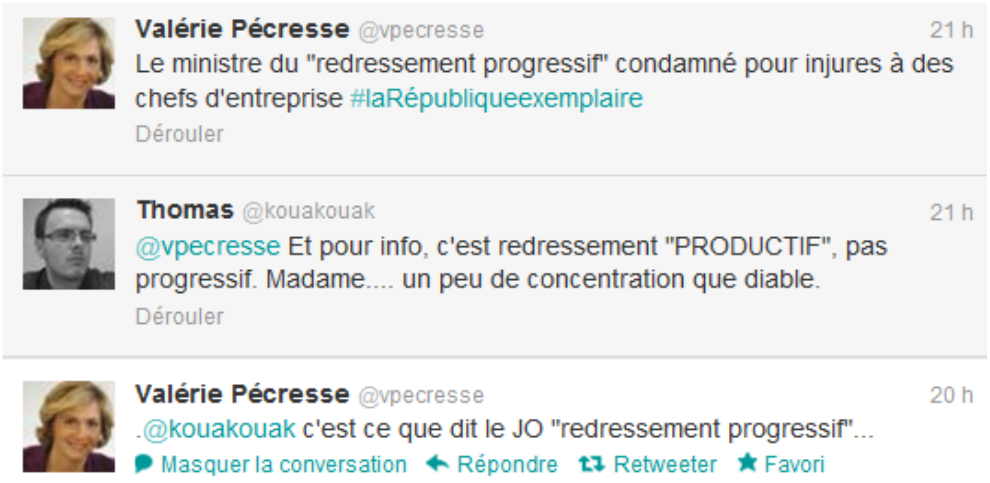
(5) Facebook page of Valérie Pécresse

Like in online newspapers, there is generally no discussion between "professionals" (journalists or politicians) and "citizens". On the other hand, politicians' Facebook Pages can give rise to discussions between the followers (supporters or opponents).

3.5 Twitter

The social networking site Twitter has become popular among politicians who want to spread their ideas or to be connected with citizens. Contrary to the Facebook pages, Twitter seems to favor more dialogue and interaction in the sense that the politician reacts to his/her followers' comments. For example, the same politician as in the previous example, Valérie Pécresse, produces follow-up messages in her twitter page (6).

(6) Twitter Page of Valérie Pécresse



I: Pécresse criticizes a present Minister and is ironic about his title ("ministre du redressement progressif" – Minister of the progressive recovery)
R: Thomas – an ordinary citizen – corrects the previous twit: the title is in fact "minister du redressement productif" (Minister of the productive recovery).
F: Pécresse produces a follow-up: she reiterates her message and re-establishes its coherence (it is "redressement progressif").

It is interesting to observe that the same politician has two different communicative styles according to the media she uses. Twitter favors apparently follow-ups and dialogue contrary

to Facebook. The main reasons are probably the concision of the messages (which favors "turn taking" rather than long text), the synchronicity of the exchanges and the use of smartphones for Twitter more than for Facebook.

4 Conclusion and perspectives

In conclusion, the presence or absence of follow-up messages in online political discussions is a relevant marker of dialogic action. Indeed, when the speaker does not produce a follow-up after the reaction of his/her recipient, the exchange (and the dialogue) is not explicitly ratified. Through this approach, our analysis permits to assess the dialogic nature of different platforms of online discussions, as in this table.

Communication device	*Participants*	*Follow-ups*
Discussion forums	"citizens-citizens"	Usual
Participatory journalism	"citizens-citizens"	Often
Online newspapers	Journalist-citizens	Produced by journalists : never Produced by citizens : often
Political Facebook pages	Politician-citizen	Produced by politicians : never Produced by citizens : sometimes
Political twitter	Politician-citizen	Produced by politicians : sometimes Produced by citizens : often

Table (1): synthesis of the results

These results lead to a more general observation about the impact of the internet on political discourse and communication. Even if the Internet technically permits a more participatory and interactive communication, professionals (politicians and journalists) reproduce a usual model of media communication: mass media based on a top-down communication, without follow-ups and ratification of the recipients' feedback. In fact, only Twitter seems to combine interpersonal and mass media. Contrary to the "professionals", when "ordinary citizens" use the internet in a political context, the preferred format is the discussion, with dialogic actions

as follow-ups, displays of agreement/disagreement, argumentation, counter-argumentation, etc.

It is obvious that the Internet favors the ordinary public discourse, which can sometimes stand for the official political or media public discourse. For example, "ordinary people" can play the role of interviewers by producing "delayed" follow-ups: when a journalist does not produce a follow-up for challenging a politician, an ordinary citizen can produce it. This communicative process is generally in relation with the phenomenon of "fact-checking".

In these cases, the exchange structure is the following:

- Initiation: in TV or radio, a journalist interviews a politician.
- Reaction: the politician answers
- The expected follow-up is not produced: the journalist does not produce an evaluation of the response, for example.
- (Delayed) follow-up: on the internet, a citizen can evaluate the quality of R (for example, by checking the facts) and produces a follow-up which is delayed and self-initiated.

For example, in March 2012, during the French presidential campaign, the outgoing President Sarkozy is interviewed by Jean-Pierre Elkabbach on the radio station Europe 1. The interviewer is known to be a supporter of Sarkozy.

I – The question deals with financial crisis.

R – The reaction of President Sarkozy: "France is the only country which is not in recession since 2009"

Ce qu'il a dit : *"Il y a un pays occidental, un seul, qui depuis le deuxième trimestre 2009 n'a pas connu la récession, c'est la France. Il y a un seul pays qui, depuis 2007, a connu chaque année une augmentation du pouvoir d'achat des Français, c'est la France."* Nicolas Sarkozy, au micro d'Europe 1, vendredi 30 mars.

Absence of F - The journalist does not challenge this very questionable affirmation.

F - In the internet, two kind of evaluative follow-ups are produced in order to show that Sarkozy's affirmation is false, by journalists and "ordinary citizen".

For example, the weblog "*Le Monde – les décodeurs*" (a fact-checking blog) offers these two types of follow-ups:

- A professional fact-checking ("*c'est faux*" – It is false)

- A participatory fact-checking, which looks like a discussion forum, with 133 messages.

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Follow-ups in broadcast political discourse: speeches, interviews, and parliamentary questions

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Abstract
The concept of the follow-up as the third element of a sequential triad was originally formulated in the context of classroom discourse by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). In this paper, it is applied to the analysis of three distinct genres of political discourse: speeches, interviews, and parliamentary questions. Illustrative examples are drawn from television broadcasts with British politicians. It is proposed that the concepts of the follow-up and the sequential triad can be usefully applied to all three genres of political discourse. This analysis also highlights significant gaps in the current research literature, most notably, how both interviewers and politicians follow up both equivocal and unequivocal responses by politicians to questions. In addition, it is proposed that the concept of the follow-up can be usefully extended beyond the sequential triad to analyze not only sequential interactions over time, but also various forms of political action within and outside parliament.

1 Introduction

"A person who asks a question has a right to talk again, after the other talks" (Sacks 1992: 49). In Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) analysis of classroom discourse, teaching exchanges can be conceptualized in terms of a sequential triad: opening, answering, and follow-up moves. The follow-up move, which is typically produced by the teacher, takes place after the answering move as a reaction to the student's response. This move is considered vital in telling the students whether they have done what the teacher wanted them to do. Notably, if the follow-up is withheld, the students might think that they produced the wrong answer or that there is some kind of problem (McCarthy 1991: 16-17).

In this paper, it will be argued that the concept of follow-ups is also highly relevant to the analysis of political discourse. Three distinct genres of political communication will be discussed: speeches, interviews, and parliamentary questions. Illustrative examples are drawn from television broadcasts with British politicians. Each genre can be seen as representing a

different form of political discourse (Bull and Fetzer 2010): politicians addressing an audience (monologue), politicians questioned by professional interviewers, and politicians in debate with one another. According to Thibault (2003: 44), "Genres are types. But they are types in a rather peculiar way. Genres do not specify the lexicogrammatical resources of word, phrase, clause, and so on. Instead, they specify the *typical* ways in which these are combined and deployed so as to enact the typical semiotic action formations of a given community". Finally, consideration will be given to the wider implications of the concept of follow-up in the analysis of political discourse.

2 Political speeches

Although a political speech is essentially monologic in form, it can also be understood as an interactive event. Notably, Atkinson (e.g., 1983, 1984a, 1984b) compared speaker-audience interaction to the way in which people take turns in conversation, although in the context of a political meeting, audience "turns" are essentially limited to gross displays of approval or disapproval (such as cheering or heckling). He pointed out that audience responses are not random, indeed, they are highly synchronized with speech: typically applause occurs either just before or immediately after a possible completion point by the speaker. This close synchronization suggests that audience members must in some way be able to project possible completion points in advance of their occurrence. According to Atkinson, it is features in the construction of talk itself that indicate to the audience when to applaud. In particular, he identified two distinctive formulaic rhetorical devices: *three-part lists* and *contrasts*. In a three-part list, once the listener recognizes that a list is under way, it is possible to anticipate the completion point (the end of the speaker's utterance), thereby signalling an appropriate place to applaud. The contrast (or antithesis) involves the sequential juxtaposition of an item with its opposite. To be effective, the second part of the contrast should closely resemble the first in the details of its construction and duration, so that the audience can more easily anticipate the point of completion. According to Atkinson, contrasts and three-part lists are by far the most frequently used devices for inviting applause.

If an audience fails to respond to such applause invitation, speakers may actively pursue applause, termed a *pursuit* by Heritage and Greatbatch (1986). A common method of doing so is to re-complete or simply repeat the previous point. Alternatively, speakers may re-summarize the gist of a previous point as a means of pursuing applause. A third form of

pursuit involves a shift in what Goffman (1979) calls *footing*, for example, a speaker might shift from speaking on his/her own behalf to speaking on behalf of a collectivity (e.g., the government, or the political party s/he represents).

From the perspective outlined above, the pursuit may be regarded as the third part of a triad comparable to that identified by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). At the same time, there are several notable differences. Firstly, the second element of this triad actually refers not to a response but to its absence, that is to say, a lack of applause from the audience, to which the speaker responds with a pursuit. Secondly, the absent response is not verbal, but nonverbal (i.e., applause). Thirdly, the pursuit itself may also be nonverbal as well as verbal, as illustrated below.

An example of a nonverbal pursuit can be seen in this leader's speech delivered by Ed Miliband (EM) to the Labour Party annual conference (Liverpool, 27 September, 2011). Early on in the speech, EM says: "Ask me the three most important things I've done this year and I'll tell you; being at the birth of my second son, Sam". This extract can be understood in terms of two forms of applause invitation identified by Heritage and Greatbatch (1986): the *puzzle-solution* and the *headline-punchline*. In the puzzle-solution device, the speaker begins by establishing some kind of puzzle or problem, and then, shortly afterwards, offers the solution - the important and applaudable part of the message. The headline-punchline device is structurally similar to the puzzle-solution format, although somewhat simpler. Here, the speaker proposes to make a declaration, pledge or announcement (headline) and then proceeds to make it (punchline). Thus, EM sets a puzzle ("Ask me the three most important things I've done this year"), and then a headline ("I'll tell you"); this is followed by the solution/punchline ("being at the birth of my second son, Sam"), which should be the applaudable part of the message. But the audience do not applaud, there is a pause. Presumably, the audience are still waiting for items two and three, because EM has said "Ask me the <u>three</u> most important things"). EM then nods his head during the pause, and the audience applaud. Arguably, the head nod can be understood as a nonverbal form of pursuit, indicating to the audience that EM has invited applause at this point.

Thus, in terms of the above analysis, the sequential triad (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) in the context of political speeches can be extended to include nonverbal as well as verbal communication. As such, this application of concept of the sequential triad in the context of political speeches contributes to the growing literature on the close interdependence between nonverbal communication and speech (e.g., Kendon 2004, McNeill 2005, Bull 2012).

3 Broadcast political interviews

The concept of the sequential triad can also be applied to the analysis of broadcast political interviews. Such interviews characteristically take the form of question-response sequences; the interviewer is expected to ask questions, the politician is expected to reply (e.g., Greatbatch 1988, Clayman 1989, Heritage, Clayman and Zimmerman 1988). This is the principal means used by interviewers for creating and sustaining talk (Schegloff 1989), although they may also engage in non-questioning actions to open and close the interview (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991).

A notable feature of broadcast political interviews is the extent to which politicians equivocate in response to interviewer questions. For example, Bull (1994) analyzed 33 broadcast interviews with British political leaders, broadcast between 1987 and 1992. Results showed a reply rate of only 46%, based on the analysis of 1,026 questions. (Reply rate was defined as the proportion of questions to which the politician gave a full reply). The results are notably similar to those of a completely independent study by Harris (1991), who found a reply rate of 39% with a different set of broadcast interviews, principally with Margaret Thatcher (Conservative Prime Minister, 1979-1990), and Neil Kinnock (Leader of the Labour Opposition, 1983-1992).

In comparison, it is interesting to consider reply rates in televised interviews with people who are not politicians. The late Diana, Princess of Wales, in her celebrated interview with Martin Bashir, replied to 78 per cent of questions (Bull 1997). Louise Woodward, the British au-pair who was convicted for the manslaughter of eight-month-old Matthew Eappen, in an interview with Martin Bashir replied to 70 per cent of questions (Bull 2000). Monica Lewinsky replied to 89 per cent of questions posed by Jon Snow in an interview concerning her affair with President Clinton (Bull 2000). The mean reply rate of 79 per cent across all three interviews is significantly higher than the mean reply rate of 46 per cent for the 33 political interviews reported above (Bull 2000).

The ways in which interviewers respond to equivocation by the politicians can be regarded as follow-ups in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) sequential triad. For example, one distinctive form of equivocation used by Neil Kinnock was to make use of what were termed *negative answers*, in which he would state what would not happen instead of what would happen (Bull and Mayer 1993). Negative answers can be regarded as a particularly ineffectual form of equivocation, because they simply invite the interviewer to follow up with a request for a positive answer (e.g., "That is why I'm asking what you would

do", Sir Robin Day, interview with Neil Kinnock, 1 June, 1987, BBC1 Panorama, general election campaign). In contrast, a distinctive form of equivocation used by Margaret Thatcher was to make personal attacks on the interviewer (Bull and Mayer 1993). In most cases, following a personal attack, interviewers typically asked another question (in 83 per cent of cases) rather than following up the original question. Thus, whereas Margaret Thatcher's aggressive tactics had the effect of inhibiting the interviewers from pursuing follow-ups, the defensive tactics of Neil Kinnock simply invited further questioning on the same topic.

The above incidents are intended to illustrate how particular follow-ups utilized by interviewers can be related to a politician's interview style. But these are only illustrative examples. Whereas the author has devised an equivocation typology which systematically distinguishes between 35 different ways of not replying to questions (Bull and Mayer 1993, Bull 2003), there has been no comparable systematic analysis of interviewer follow-ups in response to equivocation by the politicians.

Arguably, how best to handle equivocation by the politicians is an important aspect of an interviewer's communicative skills (cf. Bull and Elliott 1998, Elliott and Bull1996). Furthermore, this aspect of interviewer skill can be evaluated more effectively through the identification and analysis of different follow-up techniques used in response to political equivocation. In this respect, the application of the concept of follow-ups to broadcast political interviews is particularly useful, because it highlights an important aspect of interviewer communicative skill which has been largely neglected up till now in the research literature.

4 Parliamentary questions

Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs) are by far the most well-known form of parliamentary questions in the UK House of Commons; these can also usefully be analyzed in terms of follow-ups. Like a broadcast political interview, PMQs take the form of question-response sequences. The principal difference is that the questions in PMQs are posed by politicians, not by professional political interviewers. Thus, whereas interviewers in broadcast interviews are expected to be impartial, there is no such requirement in PMQs. Indeed, Members of Parliament (MPs) can be as partial and as unashamedly partisan as they choose. Thus, opposition MPs can ask difficult and challenging questions, while government MPs can flatter the Prime Minister (PM) with toadying and obsequious questions.

PMQs take place while Parliament is sitting once a week every Wednesday, lasting for just 30 minutes. They always begin with the same tabled question to the PM, asking if s/he will list his/her official engagements for the day. All other questions are supplementary, hence they may have the important elements of unpredictability and surprise. MPs are protected by parliamentary privilege, which allows them to speak freely in the House of Commons without fear of legal action for slander. But they are also expected to observe certain traditions and conventions regarding what is termed "unparliamentary language". Specifically, they should not be abusive or insulting, call another member a liar, suggest another MP has false motives, or misrepresent another MP. The Speaker (who presides over House of Commons debates) may ask an MP to withdraw an objectionable utterance, or even *name* an MP, i.e., suspend the MP from the House for a specified period of time. Thus, in summary, MPs in PMQs must orient both to the expectation that dialogue should follow a question-answer pattern, and that they should refrain from unacceptable unparliamentary language. Nevertheless, within the constraint of these conventions, the discourse of PMQs has been shown to be highly face-threatening (Harris 2001, Bull and Wells 2012).

The procedure of PMQs is as follows. Backbench MPs wishing to ask a question must enter their names on the Order Paper. (In the Westminster system, the Order Paper states the parliamentary business for the day. Backbench MPs are Members of Parliament who neither hold governmental office nor are spokespersons (frontbenchers) for the Opposition). The names of entrants are shuffled in a ballot to produce a random order in which they will be called by the Speaker. The Speaker then calls on MPs to put their questions, usually in an alternating fashion: one MP from the government benches is followed by one from the opposition benches. Notably, backbench MPs are limited to one question each. Thus, in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) sequential triad, follow-ups from backbench MPs are not possible, because they are explicitly not allowed to pursue the PM's response with any further utterance (Harris 2001).

However, this is very much not the case for the Leader of the Opposition (LO), who may ask up to six questions at PMQs, either as a whole block or in two separate groups of three. (The LO is conventionally the leader of the largest opposition party, currently the Labour Party). Accordingly, if the PM equivocates, it is possible to investigate follow-ups utilized by the LO in response to that equivocation. But it is also of interest to contrast follow-ups by the LO when the PM does answer the question.

The following examples come from the British phone-hacking scandal of 2011, in which employees of the News of the World and other British tabloid newspapers published by

News International were accused of engaging in phone hacking, police bribery, and exercising improper influence in the pursuit of publishing stories. In this context, the LO Ed Miliband (EM) launched a full-scale attack not only on News International but also on the government's handling of the scandal (PMQs, 6 & 13 July, 2011).

The following example is illustrative of how EM followed up an unequivocal reply by David Cameron (DC). EM asked whether the PM would ".....support the calls for a full, independent public inquiry to take place as soon as practical into the culture and practices of British newspapers?" (6 July, 2011). DC conceded this demand immediately, and agreed to setting up a public enquiry. EM's follow-up response is interesting, because in his next question he immediately upped his demands. "He [i.e., DC] should immediately appoint a senior figure, potentially a judge, to lead this inquiry, make it clear that it will have the power to call witnesses under oath, and establish clear terms of reference covering a number of key issues: the culture and practices of the industry; the nature of regulation, which is absolutely crucial; and the relationship between the police and the media". Although DC did not consent to these new demands immediately, he did concede them all a week later. Thus, in a statement to the House of Commons (13 July 2011), DC announced an inquiry to investigate the role of the press and police in the phone-hacking scandal, to be chaired by a senior judge (Lord Leveson), with the power to summon witnesses, including newspaper reporters, management, proprietors, policemen and politicians of all parties to give evidence under oath and in public. The Leveson enquiry (as it has become known) was opened on 11 November, 2011, and is still ongoing.

The second example is illustrative of how EM followed up an equivocal response by DC. Thus, at PMQs on 6 July 2011, EM asked whether the PM would join him in calling for the resignation of Rebekah Brooks, the then chief executive of News International, who was editor of the News of the World when illegal phone hacking was allegedly carried out by the newspaper. In his response, DC neither agreed nor disagreed with EM: ".....I think that we should let the police do their work. They must follow the evidence wherever it leads and if they find people guilty of wrong doing, they should have no hesitation in ensuring that they are prosecuted". EM in his follow-up question then explicitly drew attention to DC's equivocation: "I do not know from that answer whether the Prime Minister says that the chief executive of News International should stand down or not. I am clear: she should take responsibility and stand down".

The sequel to this interchange is interesting. Two days later, at an emergency press conference, (9 July, 2011), DC noticeably shifted his ground. He stated that "....it's been

reported that she [i.e., Rebekah Brooks] had offered her resignation over this and in this situation I would have taken it". At PMQs the following week (13 July, 2011), EM returned to his question of the previous week, and asked again whether the PM agreed with him that Rebekah Brooks should no longer be in her post. This time DC gave an explicit reply, implicitly referring to his prior statement at the emergency press conference (9 July, 2011): "I have made it very clear that she was right to resign and that that resignation should have been accepted". This time, EM followed up DC's response with an explicit acknowledgment: "I thank the Prime Minister for that answer. He is right to take the position that Rebekah Brooks should go". The contrast between EM's follow-ups to these equivocal and unequivocal responses is striking. When DC conceded EM's demand for a public enquiry into the culture and practices of British newspapers, EM followed up with further demands. Conversely, when DC equivocated in response to EM's question regarding the resignation of Rebekah Brooks, EM followed up by explicitly drawing attention to that equivocation, then pursued the issue again the following week (13 July, 2011); this time he obtained a reply. Notably, the following day (14 July), News Corporation's second largest shareholder (the Saudi Prince Al Waleed) called for Rebekah Brooks' resignation in a BBC interview; she resigned a day later (15 July). Thus, the application of the concept of follow-ups to PMQ discourse highlights these different kinds of responses, and the potential for further research on this topic.

A second important feature of these interchanges is the possibility of extending the concept of follow-ups beyond the sequential triad as initially identified by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). In the case of DC's equivocal response to EM's initial question regarding the resignation of Rebekah Brooks (6 July 2011), EM arguably "follows up" DC's equivocal response by putting the question again at PMQs the following week (13 July, 2011). This is not a follow-up as strictly defined by Sinclair and Coulthard, but by extending the concept of follow-up over time in this way it can be used usefully to include other features of political discourse.

For example, in the context of PMQs, given that the LO is entitled to ask up to six questions in each session, it is possible to see how topics are developed through all six question-response sequences. If the PM equivocates in response to a particular question, it is perfectly possible for the LO to follow up that particular issue through all the remaining questions. Conversely, if the PM replies to a particular question, it is of interest to analyze how this may be followed up by attacks on other aspects of government policy or performance. In addition, the LO has the opportunity to ask a further six questions the

following week, and in future sessions of PMQs. Hence, it is possible to investigate how a particular topic is followed up from one week to another, or over a period of weeks.

By extending the concept of follow-ups in this way, it is also possible to extend its use to the analysis of questions from backbench MPs. Follow-ups can occur in a variety of ways, for example, if an issue raised in a question by the LO is taken up by a question from a backbencher, or if a backbencher takes up an issue raised by another backbencher, or if a particular issue is pursued by backbenchers over several sessions of PMQs.

All the above examples illustrate how the concept of follow-ups may be used to analyze sequential interchanges over time. Another way of extending this concept is to consider the whether the discourse so analyzed results in any significant form of political action. In the example above (6 & 13 July 2011), DC conceded EM's demand for a public enquiry into the culture and practices of British newspapers. The Leveson enquiry has caused continued embarrassment to DC's government. The political damage so inflicted arguably represents a substantive oppositional achievement for EM. In the case of Rebekah Brooks, she handed in her resignation as chief executive for News International nine days after EM's initial call for her resignation (6 July, 2011). As a former editor of both the *News of the World* and *The Sun*, Rebekah Brooks had been a remarkably powerful and influential figure in the British media. Again, her fall from office represented a remarkable oppositional achievement for EM.

Of course, it is not possible to say in either instance that EM actually "caused" these events. But once DC had committed himself at PMQs (6 July 2011) to setting up an enquiry into the culture and practices of British newspapers, it would have been extremely difficult for him to back down without serious loss of face, comparable to what Schimmelfennig (2001) in a different context has referred to as "rhetorical entrapment". Similarly, it is open to question whether Rebekah Brooks would have actually taken the step of stepping down as chief executive of News International had not EM so publicly and explicitly called for her resignation.

5 Conclusions

In this chapter, it has been argued that the concept of follow-up as originally formulated in Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) sequential triad is directly applicable to political discourse.

Three distinctive genres have been considered: political speeches, broadcast interviews, and parliamentary questions.

In the context of political speeches, how politicians invite applause has been analyzed through the concept of rhetorical devices embedded in the structure of speech (e.g., Atkinson 1984); if unsuccessful, applause invitations may be followed up through what have been termed pursuits (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986). These three elements (applause invitation, absence of response, and pursuit) were conceptualized in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) sequential triad, but with several notable differences. Firstly, the second element of this triad refers not to a response but to its absence (i.e., the lack of applause). Secondly, the absent response is not verbal, but nonverbal. Thirdly, the pursuit itself may also be nonverbal, as well as verbal.

In the context of broadcast interviews, the concept of the sequential triad can be used to highlight substantial gaps in the research literature. Whereas question-response sequences have been analyzed in considerable depth, there has been little research on the third element of the triad, on how interviewers follow up the politicians' responses. Thus, whereas the author has devised an equivocation typology which systematically distinguishes between 35 different ways of not replying to questions (Bull and Mayer 1993, Bull 2003), there has been no comparable systematic analysis of how interviewers follow up equivocal responses. Furthermore, it would also be of interest to analyze how interviewers follow up responses where the politician does answer the question. Political interviewing can arguably be conceptualized as a form of communicative skill (cf. Bull 2011), and from this perspective, the concept of follow-ups highlights significant aspects of interviewer skill which have been largely neglected in the research literature.

In the context of parliamentary questions (PMQs), illustrative examples of notable difference between follow-ups to equivocal and non-equivocal responses by the PM were analyzed, and proposed as a topic for future research. From the analysis of PMQs, it was proposed that the concept of follow-ups could be extended well beyond a strict application of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) sequential triad to include other aspects of political discourse. Follow-ups can be analyzed over time, both within one particular interaction, and between two or more interactions, to investigate how particular political issues are taken up and pursued by the politicians. Another way of extending the concept of follow-ups is to consider the whether the discourse so analyzed results in any significant form of political action, either within and/or outside Parliament. Although these possible extensions of the concept of follow-ups were considered in the context of PMQs, they are of course readily applicable to

the genre of broadcast interviews and political speeches as discussed above, and arguably to other forms of political discourse as well.

To summarize, although the concept of follow-ups was originally identified in the context of classroom discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), the above analysis has shown not only how it can readily be applied to three distinct genres of political discourse, but also extended to analyze both sequential interchanges over time, and various forms of political action. In addition, this analysis has highlighted significant omissions in the current research literature, and pinpointed interesting topics for future research - in particular, how both interviewers and politicians respond to both the equivocal and unequivocal responses of politicians to questions. In conclusion, it is proposed that perhaps it is not question-response sequences but the sequential triad that should be the primary unit of analysis in the context of both broadcast political interviews and parliamentary questions.

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Monologic follow-ups in political legitimization discourse: The case of the Iraq war

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Abstract

Follow-ups are conventionally considered a dialogic phenomenon. I argue that the concept of the follow-up could be extended to cover monologic discourses as well, especially those in which the speaker realizes a macro-goal over a number of texts produced in different contextual conditions. These dynamically evolving conditions have the speaker – as happens in dialogue – continually update her rhetorical choices to keep realization of the macro-goal intact. I illustrate this proposal in the analysis of the US rhetoric of the Iraq war (2003-2004), showing how the legitimacy of the US intervention in March 2003 was saved in later "follow up" texts redefining the original legitimization premise, i.e. the alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction by the Iraqi regime.

1 Introduction: what are follow-ups?

At the most general level, follow-ups are understood as instances of dialogic communicative action, contributing to thematic progression and negotiation of meaning between the dialogue participants. Typically, on "conversational analytic" and "exchange theoretical" views, they are considered the third move in the three-part "initiation-response-follow-up" sequences (Stubbs 1983; McCarthy 1991; Coulthard and Brazil 1992; Francis and Hunston 1992; among others). While on these "canonical" views follow-ups tend to be produced by only one party, the initiator of the sequence, other approaches do not set up such a condition – for instance Fetzer's (2000) work on political interviews sees follow-ups as moves which pertain to both parties, the interviewer and the interviewee, in her case.

Notwithstanding this and other controversies surrounding the status and constitution of follow-ups at the micro level of conversational/dialogic exchanges, virtually all approaches recognize the vital role and relevance of follow-ups in contextual updates and macro-context evolution. As a conversation unfolds, the topic introduced by one party gets acknowledged, accepted, challenged or otherwise evaluated by the interlocutor, which creates a new context frame and, usually, a prompt for the initiator to follow up on the response by a relevant act,

such as agreement, denial, or provision of more argument to support the original point. The interlocutor may also herself elaborate on that point (beyond what is minimally required to deliver a valid response), in which case the "follow up" arises at the stage of the second move, and not the third, as classical approaches would have it.

2 From dialogue to monologue: the dynamics of the macro-context

In dialogic forms of political communication (from interviews, press conferences and debates, to talk shows and blogs), topics or points raised in the "first move" rarely disappear quickly; it usually takes a substantial number of moves from the participating parties (whether two or more) to close the topic, without of course any guarantee as to a general consensus. The large number of moves means normally a large number of follow-ups, intended by the participants as legitimate reactions to the dynamically evolving context. This is evident to anyone who has ever watched a journalist trying to elicit an uncomfortable confession from a politician:

(1) a. (Journalist): You said the Iraqi regime is a threat. Was it a threat?
b. (G.W. Bush): Saddam Hussein was an evil man. The world is better without him.

(2) a. (Journalist): You said the Iraqi regime is a threat of unique urgency. Was it a threat of unique urgency?
b. (G.W. Bush): Saddam Hussein was an evil man. He was a threat.

(3) a. (Journalist): But you said, quote, the Iraqi regime is a threat of unique urgency. It is a threat that we must deal with as quickly as possible. Did you say it or not?
b. (G.W. Bush): I think, if I might remind you that, in my language, I called it a grave and gathering threat. But I don't want to get into a word contest.

In this NBC's *Meet the Press* interview, broadcast in June 2004, a journalist is attempting to have G.W. Bush admit he was wrong about the direct [WMD] premise for the US intervention in Iraq in March 2003.[1] To that end he uses follow-ups ("of unique urgency" in (2a); "It is a threat that we must deal with as quickly as possible" in (3a)) to pile up direct, literal and thus irrefutable content. This strategy is however countered by Bush, who, in turn, uses his follow-ups not as vehicles for literally interpreted content, but to set up inference

[1] The US troops entered Iraq on March 19, 2003 to "disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction [WMD]" and "break Saddam's connections to terrorist groups". By the end of 2003 that premise was proven false: it became clear there were no WMD in Iraq.

links detracting from the directness of the journalist. Forced to admit there was a threat, in (2b) he positions the "threat" as a follow-up on a personal description ("Saddam Hussein was an evil man"), rather than a description of the 2003 government of Iraq. As a result, he implicitly detracts from the interpretation of "threat" as a material threat posed by Iraq's capacity to deliver a WMD attack. In (3b), forced to admit he supported a prompt pre-emptive action, he uses a follow up to point to the existing relativities of interpretation ("a word contest"), thus denying responsibility for the meaning of any such words as "threat", "unique urgency" or "must deal with", which the journalist had used to build up his argument.

The primary contribution of this dialogue to our discussion is that, as can be noticed, follow-ups engage in functional macrostructures, where the macro-goal is realized over a series of segments, each of which responds to the current manifestation, or temporal instance, of the macrostructure's general context. We have seen that any moment the journalist senses his quotes are yet insufficient to get Bush to admit fault, he uses a follow-up to supply more of the content. On the other hand, any moment Bush feels he might have to agree he indeed said what is quoted, he at least tries to change the construal plane – from the literal to the inferential – for which, again, follow-ups are used. Both Bush and the journalist rely on linguistic and extralinguistic clues as prompts for their consecutive moves.

That said, we shall venture the following claim. Since macro-contexts and macro-goals involving performance of individual communicative acts against a given current frame of the macro-context, are not merely the domain of conversation/dialogue but equally the domain of monologic communication, the concept of the follow-up seems to apply to monologic discourses just as much as it applies to dialogic communication. It applies to precisely those discourses in which the speaker realizes a macro-goal over a number of texts produced in different contextual conditions. These dynamically evolving conditions have the speaker – as happens in dialogue/conversation – continually update and redefine her rhetorical choices to keep realization of the macro-goal intact. Such a view subsumes what can be called a "quasi-dialogic" relation between the speaker and the ongoing discourse context. This amounts to an extension of the (standard) dialogic relation between the speaker and a "human" interlocutor, a relation that takes place in a conversation. Of course, the application of the concept of the follow-up to monologic discourse on the grounds proposed leads to a theoretical re-definition. The follow-up can now be understood, in highly universal terms, as an instance of rhetoric that has had to be modified from (or added to) a previous instance, to keep enacting the speaker's macro-goal against the requirements of a current context (whether

created by the interlocutor's linguistic input or by the extralinguistic context not involving a specific interlocutor at all) within a macro-temporal frame.

In the rest of the paper I illustrate this proposal by monologic data from political legitimization discourse, which naturally operates within temporally extensive and dynamic contexts, and thus often entails modifications of the speaker's rhetoric at the micro-level of linguistic choices, in the service of the continuity of macro-level goals. Specifically, I look at G.W. Bush's rhetoric of the Iraq war (2003-2004) and how the macro-goal of this rhetoric (legitimization of the US pre-emptive strike in March 2003) has been saved in the late 2003 speeches "following-up" on and (by necessity) redefining the original legitimization premise, i.e. the alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction by the Iraqi regime.

3 The "initiation": soliciting legitimization based on physical threat

Before declaring war on Iraq on March 19, 2003, G.W. Bush's administration had been facing a question by no means alien to their predecessors, namely: how to justify and legitimate the American involvement in military action in a far-away place, among a far-away people, of whom the American people knew little (Bacevich 2010). In that context, the possibility of linking the current situation with the 9/11 attacks could not be underestimated; cynical as it may sound, the public memory of the terrorist attacks of 2001 was more than beneficial to the construction of a plausible pro-war stance. It took little time for the White House to use the opportunity. A well worked-out, analogy-based model was developed whereby the Iraqi question was construed relative to the global issue of the "war on terror" (Silberstein 2004). The following excerpts come from President Bush's address at the American Enterprise Institute. The speech was given on February 26, 2003, the mere three weeks before the first US troops entered Iraq on March 19. Ever since, it has been considered one of the strongest manifestos of the pro-war rhetoric of G.W. Bush, reflecting his doctrine of pre-emption as well as the US National Security Strategy of 2002 (Dunmire 2011):

> (4) We are facing a crucial period in the history of our nation, and of the civilized world. (...) On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century. (...) We learned a lesson: the dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and our cities. And we will not allow the flames of hatred and violence in the affairs of men. (...) The world has a clear interest in the

> spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. (...) Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction are a direct threat to our people and to all free people. (...) My job is to protect the American people. When it comes to our security and freedom, we really don't need anybody's permission. (...) We've tried diplomacy for 12 years. It hasn't worked. Saddam Hussein hasn't disarmed, he's armed. Today the goal is to remove the Iraqi regime and to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. (...) The liberation of millions is the fulfillment of America's founding promise. The objectives we've set in this war are worthy of America, worthy of all the acts of heroism and generosity that have come before.

To make the case for the intervention, Bush reaches for the most potent argument accessible within the micro-contextual frame of early 2003: an (alleged) possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by the Iraqi regime. His line can be represented as follows: a) Saddam Hussein possesses WMD; b) Saddam Hussein has links to terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda which masterminded and performed the 9/11 attacks; c) a lesson of the past is that foreign threats must not be disregarded as they can materialize within the US borders, viz. 9/11; d) there is thus, currently, a direct threat from terrorist groups which may get hold of WMD to attack America, either within the US or from overseas.

To enact his argument, Bush uses the strategy of proximization (Chilton 2004; Cap 2006, 2008, 2010), which can be defined as a forced construal of impact of the apparently remote antagonistic entity (call it here the "THEM" party[2]), upon the home entity (the "US" party), which the latter involves the speaker and her direct audience, i.e. the American people, in our study. Proximization subsumes a symbolic shift of THEM or THEM's actions (or values) in the direction of US, which leads to a clash of devastating consequences to the US entity. Proximization involves different types (spatial, temporal, axiological, cf. Cap as above) and which type is actually used depends on what contextual premises are available to the speaker at a given moment to construe the symbolic shift. Since on the eve of the Iraq war Bush has direct access to the WMD premise, as well as to the "9/11 analogy" (i.e. the analogy between the current (2003) situation and the situation preceding the WTC attacks in 2001 – when the foreign threat was disregarded), he mostly draws on the spatial type which involves construal of a physical impact. Thus, his lexical choices and grammatical patterns construe an essentially material, tangible, physical threat, which, although apparently distant, grows, and can materialize anytime within the home territory, i.e. America.

[2] This is a necessary simplification following from space constraints of the present paper. In Cap (2006, 2008, 2010, 2011), as well as in Chilton (e.g. 2005, 2010, 2011) the dynamics of proximization shifts is discussed with regard to the complex organization of the Discourse Space, which involves such formal concepts as "deictic center", "deictic periphery", "Outside/Inside-the-Deictic-Center entities", and more.

There are a number of lexical builders of spatial proximization in Bush's AEI address. They include, principally, "secret and far away", "all free people", "stable and free nations", "Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction", "direct threat" and "flames". They are lexical choices marking the THEM entity, the US entity, and crucially, the 9/11 analogy-setting choices construing the threatening movement of the THEM entity towards the US entity ("threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale"). Although originally distant from the current event stage, the threat-carrying concepts ("weapons of mass destruction", etc.) are made increasingly proximate to and ultimately part of the deictically and axiologically close domain ("all free people", "stable and free nations"). The proximization occurs typically, as has been said, by forced inference or by metaphorization. The mechanism of forced inference involves a strong emphasis on the 9/11 attacks as a "lesson", which prompts the interpretation of the "secret and far away" in terms of a current "direct threat", in fact even stronger than the past threats, given the WMD factor. The metaphor of fire, which underlies a substantial part of the text, adds to the imminence of the danger; first, by invoking again the potentiality of a terrorist attack salient in the 9/11 analogy, second, by stressing the speed and capacity of the destructive force of nuclear (as well as biological and chemical) weapons as such. To sum up, both the forced inference and the metaphor operate based on essentially "material" or "physical" premises accessible to the speaker, G.W. Bush, at the beginning of the Iraq war legitimization macro-frame.

4 The context's "response" and the speaker's "follow-up": a switch to axiological argument

The month of November 2003 "responds" to Bush's legitimization rhetoric with a set of extralinguistic context updates which, as we will see below, put an end to the spatial proximization rhetoric. Most crucially, the original (WMD) premise for war is proven false, so there is no longer a rationale to force construals of THEM's physical impact. Accordingly, the Bush administration "follow up" on the original legitimization pattern by making a swift change of emphasis upon an alternative rationale for the Iraqi engagement. That alternative rationale is deftly spelt out in Bush's Whitehall Palace address (November 19, 2003):

(5) We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq and pay a bitter cost of casualties, and liberate 25 million people, only to retreat before a band of thugs and assassins. And who will say that Iraq was better off when Saddam Hussein was strutting and killing, or that the world was safer when he held power? (...) By advancing freedom in the greater Middle East, we help end a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people. By struggling for justice in Iraq, Burma, in Sudan, and in Zimbabwe, we give hope to suffering people and improve the chances for stability and progress. (...). Had we failed to act, Iraq's torture chambers would still be filled with victims, terrified and innocent. The killing fields of Iraq – where hundreds of thousands of men and women and children vanished into the sands – would still be known only to the killers. For all who love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and safer place.

Clearly enough, the loss of the WMD premise for legitimization engaging the spatial proximization strategy (as demonstrated in (4)) has been offset by an imposed conceptualization of the intervention in Iraq in terms of part of a "bigger cause", involving a broader geopolitical spectrum as well as a deeper axiological anchoring. In (5), Bush no longer forces a construal of physical action as the 9/11 analogy, sanctioning such a construal, has ceased to operate. Instead, the "spatial" THEM entities (an extended representation of countries including not only "Iraq", but also "Burma", "Sudan", etc.) are construed collectively as carriers of antagonistic (THEM) values endangering the axiological composition of the US elements. The linguistic enactment of values antithetical to those of the home space of US (involving the American addressee as well as the majority of the world community) employs an explicitly drastic imagery which makes for the rejection of the alien ideologies. The proximization that occurs is thus a proximization within the axiological dimension: foreign ideological concepts ("dictatorship", "radicalism", etc.), approached globally, are shown to inspire actions which come in increasingly direct conflict with the very basic human principles of not only the American audience but in fact any social and political audience worldwide that would call themselves "civilized".

By way of digression, it can be noted that the language of axiological proximization as applied in (5) goes beyond the direct function of the construal of the US-THEM axiological conflict. It works, too, towards a continual enactment of political competence of the speaker representing the US party. The image of competence follows from the aura of premeditation underlying the speaker's actions within a territorially extended activity domain (i.e. involving a vast range of countries/operations of which Iraq is one).[3] Additionally, the strategy in (5)

[3] Many have claimed (see Bacevich 2010 for an overview) that references to a wide variety of countries in the discourse of the "late Iraq war", as opposed to Iraq alone in the war's early stages, were supposed to give an

involves a logical continuum soliciting legitimization of current or future actions (i.e. further military operations) on the basis of actions undertaken thus far ("We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq and pay a bitter cost of casualties, and liberate 25 million people, only to retreat…").

Most importantly however, in its function of a follow-up, the axiological proximization in (5) does not really disqualify the legitimization premise salient in the legitimization "initiation" part, i.e. the early 2003 texts construing the threat in purely physical terms. That would quite clearly disqualify the speaker/author as well. It rather functions, most of the time, as a rhetorical substitute or a compensation formula whose task is to save the general legitimization stance against the requirements of a new extralinguistic context. Moreover, at places it explicitly connects with spatial proximization, to form a complex syntactic-rhetorical progression:

> (6) The greatest threat of our age is nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons in the hands of terrorists, and the dictators who aid them. It is the growing radicalism and extremism of these dictatorships. **This evil might not have reached us yet but it is in plain sight, as plain as the horror sight of the collapsing towers**. (G.W. Bush, November 19, 2003)

The boldface part in (6) exemplifies a rhetorical pattern whereby a (remote) ideological threat turns, gradually, into a (direct) physical threat. The conflict scenario includes four stages. First, the noun phrase "this evil" [radicalism, extremism] is used to mark the existence of THEM as an ideologically antagonistic entity. Second, the epistemic modality of the verb phrase immediately following ("might not have reached us yet") initiates the scenario of a possible conflict between THEM and US. At that point, the conflict can be described as already *possible*, though not yet *probable*. What makes it probable is the change in the modality of, third, the "is in plain sight" verb phrase – which concretizes the threat. Fourth, the threat is assigned an unequivocally physical meaning as the closing noun phrase invokes an analogy to the "collapsing towers", an actual occurrence from the past. There are, in other words, two scripts within the pattern, each of which is a nominal-verbal combination: the first signals an ideological conflict ("This evil [NP1] might not have reached us yet [VP1]"), and the second shows its probable materialization in terms of THEM's physical/spatial impact ("it is in plain sight [VP2], as plain as the horror sight of the collapsing towers [NP2]"). Such a

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impression of the WMD intelligence failure as not a major blunder of the CIA, but rather a "minor incident" in the otherwise "right course" of the US administration (and their intelligence services).

formula not only enacts an alternative, ideological rationale for a pre-emptive action, but since it makes a direct link between an ideological conflict and a physical clash, it does not disqualify the original rationale, either.

5 Conclusion

This short paper has been a much-tentative proposal to consider the follow-up as a concept potentially pertaining to monologic discourses, especially those in which the speaker, realizing her macro-goal over a number of texts produced in a dynamically evolving macro-context, often faces contextual instants which entail redefinition of the original ("initiation") rhetorical choices to keep the realization of the macro-goal intact. As such, the proposal recognizes a kind of conceptual analogy between the speaker1-speaker2 relation as occurring in conversation, and the speaker-extralinguistic context relation, a property of monologic discourses, particularly macro-structural discourses, in terms of their theme(s), function(s) and temporal spans (van Dijk 1980, etc.). Both relations, as has been claimed, produce context updates, which the speaker-initiator has to take into account to keep forcing her communicative goal. The communicative act in which the goal is forced (or rather reinforced) after a context-motivated rhetorical update, is exactly what constitutes a follow-up. That said, at the language level, the follow-up can be anything from a single-sentence move (as in a conversation), to a series of texts (as in macro-discourses).

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Framing as a continual and repetitive process in political communication

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Abstract

Political communication aims at influencing the public. An important technique for influencing the public is *framing*. A frame embodies a particular view on a specific topic, and entails an evaluation. Frames work through continuous repetition: their success hinges on its continual repetition, through which they become part of tacit background knowledge among the public. Politicians must use attention attracting devices in their communication to invoke and establish a certain frame. They aim at having these frames used in subsequent discourse by other politicians or by media representatives. In this contribution some cases from Dutch politics are analyzed where politicians use innovative framings, and where subsequent reactions reinforce the frame, so as to demonstrate the value of framing theory for the analysis of political communication.

1 Framings in political communication

In general, politics aims at policy and decision making and the exertion of power: this is the essence of politics. As a consequence, political communication (conceived as communication between and/or with political actors) aims permanently at influencing the public (i.e. the electorate), because the legitimization of politics should be based on the public's consent. Political communication has many forms: negotiations between politicians, parliamentary debates, media interviews and media performances by politicians, journalistic reports and comments, and so on. Since influencing the public always is an important purpose, it is important that any form of political communication takes this into account. To put it simply and exaggeratedly: in many forms of political communication, the communication partner is the public, rather than the direct addressee. Political actors try to achieve more or less conventional interactional perlocutive effects with their direct addressees, but at the same time they try to build desired images, both of themselves and of the policies they promote, among the public: these are the intended general follow-ups of political communication.

To describe the way intended images are created and established among the public I propose to use two theoretical starting points, both of which relate to the core concept of *framing*.

1.1 Frames as cognitive structures

The essence of *framing* is: to put an object into a preexisting cognitive structure: 'Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world' (Lakoff 2004: xv). During the past few years, this concept has become increasingly popular in the analysis of political discourse and of media representations, mainly due to the (cognitive linguistically inspired) work of George Lakoff.

Framing is a key concept in cognitive literature (Ensink and Sauer 2003). Framing is often conceived in a static and descriptive manner. That is, the concept is used for the description of all kinds of perception. Frames present a format for perceptions. The structure of the frame allows one to immediately recognize some object or event as what 'it is', but 'what it is' means essentially: as what *we think* it is. A person's perception is determined less by what is perceived in itself than by the cognitive structures used by that person in the perception process.

> One of the major results in the cognitive and brain sciences is that we think in terms of typically unconscious structures called ''frames'' (sometimes ''schemas''). Frames include semantic roles, relations between roles, and relations to other frames. A hospital frame, for example, includes the roles: Doctor, Nurse, Patient, Visitor, Receptionist, Operating Room, Recovery Room, Scalpel, etc. Among the relations are specifications of what happens in a hospital, e.g., Doctors operate on Patients in Operating Rooms with Scalpels. These structures are physically realized in neural circuits in the brain. All of our knowledge makes use of frames, and every word is defined through the frames it neurally activates. All thinking and talking involves ''framing.'' And since frames come in systems, a single word typically activates not only its defining frame, but also much of the system its defining frame is in. (Lakoff 2010: 71-72)

The basic idea thus is cognitive: there is a structure that makes even disparate or partial observations meaningful.

This cognitive principle may be used strategically in political communication (Druckman 2011). Lakoff (2004; 2010) has pointed out the dynamic potential of framing. Because frames generally operate as unconsciously presupposed structures, it is also possible to try to influence perception actively through such a structure. The audience doesn't see

(political) facts, the audience sees specific presentations (i.e. *framings*) of facts. It makes no sense –if one does not condone the frame– to deny the frame because even the denial invokes the frame. The intended structure is invoked, and repeated many times, both by the frame supporter and by anyone discussing with or reporting on the frame supporter. Frames thus derive their effectiveness from continual repetition: the success of a frame hinges on the repetition also by others: "... one cannot avoid framing. The only question is, whose frames are being activated –and hence strengthened– in the brains of the public." (Lakoff 2010: 72)

1.2 Media frames

The description of how frames operate in politics must be supplemented by the role of frames in the media process.

> Millions of citizens turn to the news media daily and 'the media' is a cornerstone institution in our democracies. One influential way that the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. (de Vreese 2005: 51)

An overall diagram of frames in the media process is presented by de Vreese 2005. He proposes the following scheme (Figure 2):

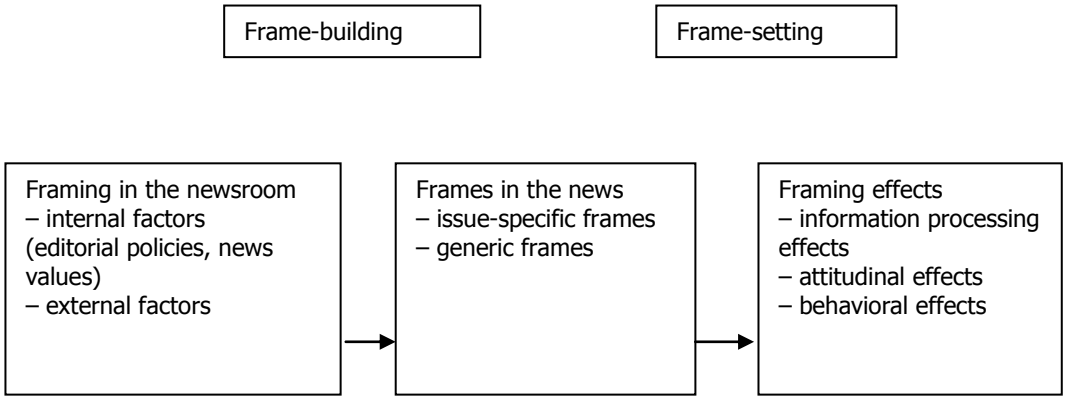

Figure 2. An integrated process model of framing (de Vreese 2005: 52)

This model consists of two important subsequent processes: frame-building and frame-setting. These processes may be characterized as follows:

> *Frame-building* refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (...). Equally important, however, are factors external to journalism. The frame-building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (...) and social movements (...). The outcomes of the framebuilding process are the frames manifest in the text. (de Vreese 2005: 52)
>
> *Frame-setting* refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. This part of the framing process has been investigated most elaborately, often with the goal to explore the extent to which and under what circumstances audiences reflect and mirror frames made available to them in, for example, the news. The *consequences* of framing can be conceived on the individual and the societal level. An individual level consequence may be altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions. (de Vreese 2005: 52) [Italics in original]

For political actors the ultimate goal is in the rightmost box of Figure 2: *framing effects*. These effects may be either cognitive, attitudinal or behavioral. It should be clear that the framing processes described in 1.1. should also be placed here. Politicians themselves (certainly the most successful ones) actively perform the first part of the process: *frame building*. The basic idea is that one should try to repeat a desired image (frame) as often as possible, and possibly have it repeated by others (in discussion, in quotation) to get it established in the process of *frame setting*. When this succeeds, a dominant image has been established. An image, once established, often becomes so to speak fact-free: people do not perceive facts but immediately use the pre-established image.

2 Application of the framework

I will now discuss a few cases, mainly from Dutch politics, of *innovative* framings (i.e. those having frame building potential) by a politician, and subsequent reactions by fellow politicians, by media representatives, and others. The following pattern is typical. A politician

who has a particular position relative to a particular issue, looks for a term that offers a specific emotional expression of that position. This emotional expression gives a remarkable and poignant character to the term chosen, so as to make the term highly quotable (Atkinson 1984, Ch. 5). The emotional expression is based also on a particular framing: most frames involve values, and values carry emotions for those who cherish that value (see Lakoff 2004: 17-21).

2.1 Framing political issues in a catch phrase

In Dutch politics, in recent years we have seen a whole number of attempts to frame certain political issues in a *catch phrase containing the whole idea in a nutshell*:

- *casino pensioen* 'casino pension': Pensions the value of which are not fully guaranteed. This term was used by trade union representatives opposing a reform of the pension system.
- *villasubsidie* 'villa subsidy': Reduction on income tax of mortgage loans. This term was used by left parties opposing the existing regulation on the basis of which house owners are entitled to subtract interests paid on mortgage loans.
- *kopvoddentaks* 'head rag tax': Taxation on the wearing of head scarves by Islamic women, because 'the polluter has to pay', according to a proposal by Geert Wilders made in a discussion in Parliament (see Kuitenbrouwer 2010: 33-36 and 52).[4]
- *theedrinken* 'to drink tea': An expression ironically characterizing the attitude: 'when confronted with radical opposition we'd rather drink a cup of tea with them in order to appease them than confront and fight them'. This term is used satirically because the former Mayor of Amsterdam, Job Cohen, member of the Dutch Labor Party, visited in 2004 a group of Muslims drinking tea with them when there were tensions following the assassination of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam. When Cohen became party leader of the Dutch Labor Party, he was systematically referred to by Geert Wilders as 'tea drinking multiculti fan' and 'champion tea drinking'.
- *(s)linkse kerk* 'cunning left church': This term is used by many conservative right wing people. They refer to the Left as the Left Church, meaning that the Left consist of irrational believers, whereas the pun *(s)links* contains a combination of the words *links* 'left' and *slinks* 'cunning'.
- *Partij van de Arabieren / Partij van de Allochtonen*: The Dutch Labor Party, abbreviated 'PvdA' (*Partij van de Arbeid*), is systematically referred to as 'Party of the Arabs' by Wilders and his followers, because of the many Turkish and Moroccan voters, as in the following twitter message by Wilders:

[4] See also: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DtWUdjhi0I

Geert Wilders @geertwilderspvv Sluiten
Gefeliciteerd Job met de 65e verjaardag van de PvdArabieren. Jullie gaven NL massa-immigratie en importeerden velen kanslozen en criminelen.

> "Congratulations Job [=Job Cohen, party leader of PvdA] on the 65th birthday of the PvdArabs. You gave mass immigration to the Netherlands and you imported many underprivileged and criminals." This example also makes it clear that it is hard to deny the frame implied in the chosen term. Cohen's reaction could simply not be: "Our name is not PvdArabs". Instead, Cohen's twitter message in reaction read: "*Geert, dank voor je gelukwens. Mooi dat je laat zien hoe we elkaar in ons land feliciteren, ondanks politieke verschillen. #inburgercursus*" "Geert, thanks for your best wishes. It is good that you show how we congratulate one another in this country, notwithstanding political differences. #naturalisation course".

In these examples, framing occurs by means of a specific word choice. (It may be noted that the word choice often is an instance of a rhetorical device, such as metaphor, euphemism, or word play.) In most cases, these terms are invented or used for the first time by some party who has a specific interest in the viewpoint contained in the catch phrase. The very first use of the term is remarkable, as a result of which it is often quoted by other political actors and in media messages. At first there is discussion about the value and relevance of the term, but soon the term becomes a word in everyday language use, as shown for example in internet fora or discussions. From that moment on, the use of the term does not invoke discussion, rather it finishes it off. Is there an issue with Moroccans? 'Let's drink tea!' (meaning: I think that weak governors just look away and do not deal with the real issue). Is there a verdict which I consider too lenient and soft? 'The judge is *(s)links*: a member of the left and cunning church' (meaning: I do not trust the judicial system because judges have been appointed because of political preferences).

2.2 Framing a person

In the examples mentioned above *issues* were framed, but in many cases it is *people* or *persons* that are framed. The case of Wilders who frames his political opponent Cohen as a 'multicultural tea drinking fan' is also an example of this. Persons may be framed by others, often political opponents who try to establish a negative picture of them. But it is important to note that persons also frame themselves by their very actions. A politician performing a

certain activity is attributed a label associated with that activity. These phenomena are often described either as *footing* (Goffman 1981) or as *positioning* (Weizman 2008)[5], but the point here is that both footing and positioning may have framing effects among the public, i.e. by taking a certain position, or by being forced by someone else in a certain position, a person may be perceived within a certain cognitive frame, and from that moment on associated with that frame.

In the example discussed above where Wilders proposes to introduce a 'kopvoddentaks', he obviously meant to invoke an anti-Islamic frame. At the same time, however, he shows himself in the eyes of many to be someone who does not hesitate to offend individuals.

Another typical example is found in the case of a Dutch television interview[6] in February 2012 between the TV journalists Pauw and Witteman and Nebahat Albayrak who was running at that time to become leader of the Labor Party. In this interview Albayrak was not directly asked about her political ambition and the policies she wanted to pursue, but she was asked to comment on the fact that she was running as a *woman* with *Turkish roots*. In her response, she refused to enter into this question. A fragment from their conversation:

> Pauw: *Maakt het uit dat u Turks bent?* 'Does it matter that you are Turkish?'
> Albayrak: *Dat je die vraag nog durft te stellen! Wat maakt het uit?* 'That you dare to ask such a question! What does it matter?'
> Pauw: *Ik heb anders hele leuke ervaringen met Turkse vrouwen.* 'I have had very pleasant experiences with Turkish women.'
> Albayrak: *Met mij heb je die ervaring niet, voor de duidelijkheid.* 'You don't have that experience with me, let that be clear.'

As a result, many commentators criticized interviewer Pauw for being sexist and racist, whereas many others perceived Albayrak's reaction as over-sensitive and bitchy, showing her to be incompetent to be a party leader standing in the heat.[7] For example, a (female) journalist

[5] I thank Zohar Livnat for pointing out this similarity.
[6] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kQHva02XaO8
[7] http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2824/Politiek/article/detail/3206040/2012/02/27/Botsing-Albayrak-met-Pauw-Witteman-seksistisch-en-xenofoob.dhtml and
http://www.telegraaf.nl/vrouw/actueel/11622648/__Man_of_vrouw__doet_het_ertoe___.html

who recently had been interviewed by Pauw and Witteman was asked to comment on the Pauw-Albayrak interview. Her comment was[8]:

> *(...) reageerde Albayrak natuurlijk zo vreselijk, onhandig, star en ijskast-achtig. Door haar reactie werd het gesprek vooral vervelend. Als ik een vrouw was geweest van allochtone afkomst en ik zou leider van de PvdA willen worden, dan zou ik antwoorden: 'Ja het is natuurlijk fantastisch dat ik als vrouw van Turkse afkomst in het land van Wilders de PvdA ga leiden. Zeker omdat we vergeleken met andere Europese landen behoorlijk achterlopen wat betreft vrouwen aan de top.' Kijk dan ben je meteen klaar. Maar het is natuurlijk zo typisch PvdA om een soort partijlijn te bedenken en daar dan niet meer van af te wijken. Albayrak had nu dus bedacht: dat ik vrouw ben en van Turkse afkomst, is geen issue. Ze reageerde zo onvrouwelijk, zonder humor en vooral niet charmant. Als ik dat zie dan denk ik alleen maar: daar ga ik niet op stemmen.*
>
> Albayrak's response was of course so horrible, clumsy, rigid, and like a refrigerator. Her reaction made the conversation particularly annoying. If I had been a woman of ethnic origin and I would like to be leader of the Labor Party, I would reply: "Yes it is fantastic that I, as a woman of Turkish origin in the country of Wilders, am about to lead the Labor Party. Especially since –compared with other European countries– we lag behind in terms of women at the top." With such a reaction you have instantly settled the issue. But it is typical for Labor to think up a party line and then stick rigidly to that line. Albayrak's thought was: the fact that I am a woman of Turkish origin, is not an issue. She responded so unfeminine, without humor and especially without charm. When I see that I just think: You're not getting my vote.

2.3 Media take the initiative

The discussion in section 2.2 has shown yet another aspect of framing. The analysis of political communication is often focused on politics and politicians as they are represented and discussed by media. But media (journalists, columnists, bloggers) are also active.

[8] http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/3184/opinie/article/detail/3206963/2012/02/28/Pauw-en-Witteman-seksisten-Albayrak-was-onvrouwelijk.dhtml

Albayrak was responding to an interviewer, and as a result she was seen by some as an inflexible bitch.

There are many similar incidents in which a representative of the media take an initiative to which a politician must respond, as a result of which imaging effects take place. Germany's former President Wulff's reaction to reports in *Bild* is an example. I mention another rather extreme case from Dutch politics.

The Dutch minister of Integration and Housing, Ella Vogelaar, was confronted in April 2008 by a journalist working for a popular blog. The journalist asked her whether she had hired a spin doctor. She refused to answer. She tried to walk away from the interviewer, but he followed her persistently, insisting on his question. The minister said 'This conversation is closed', but was unable to free herself from the journalist, and she froze into silence. The journalist kept talking to her, saying things like: "Come on, I just ask you a normal question, I don't ask for your underwear", "I almost start to feel pity for you", and finally, after minutes: "OK, I'll protect you then, we'll stop".[9] Although the journalist was perceived by some to be intrusive and rude, the overall reaction was that Vogelaar showed herself to be an embarrassing failure. About half a year later, her political party PvdA withdrew its support, saying that Vogelaar lacked authority. Vogelaar resigned. The interview was chosen in an internet poll by the public as "The Political Moment of 2008"[10].

The cases of Albayrak and Vogelaar may be characterized as follows. Some action by media representatives provokes a reaction from a politician. This reaction has severe effects on the perception by the public of this politician. But media representatives may provoke issue related framing effects as well. Consider the following case.

In March 2011, a car driver killed a female cyclist in a hit-and-run accident. The driver lost his license plate in the accident, so he could easily be traced. In September 2011, the driver was sentenced to 18 months (6 months of which are suspended) in prison on account of reckless driving, and leaving the scene of an accident. (The prosecutor had required 4 years imprisonment for manslaughter.) But in February 2012, less than 6 months after the sentence, the family of the killed cyclist complains in a newspaper article about the premature release from prison of the convicted driver. A popular Dutch blog *Geenstijl* writes an article about this topic, referring to the newspaper article.[11] The blog is indignant about the low penalty, about the early release, and about the fact that the low penalty is motivated by the 'shame

[9] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YKUHWD7Yw4s
[10] http://weblogs.nrc.nl/dag/2008/12/19/het-politieke-moment/
[11] http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2012/02/schande_doodrijder_floor_loopt.html

culture' of the driver, who is of Moroccan descent. Some 900 posters on the blog share the indignation. A MP of Geert Wilders's party PVV subsequently asks formal questions to the Minister of Justice, also merely referring to the newspaper article. One of these questions is:

> *Bent u het met mij eens dat het volstrekt idioot is dat de rechter bij het bepalen van de strafmaat rekening heeft gehouden met de (islamitische) schaamtecultuur van de dader? Dit valt toch niet onder de omstandigheden waaronder het feit is begaan of de persoon van de dader?*
> Do you agree that it is totally idiotic that the judge in determining the verdict took into account the (Islamic) culture of shame of the perpetrator? This cannot be counted to the circumstances under which the offense was committed or to the identity of the accused, or is it?

The Minister answers as follows[12]:

> *Het past mij niet een oordeel uit te spreken over de hoogte van een door de rechter opgelegde straf. (...) Uit het vonnis blijkt nergens dat de rechtbank de 'islamitische schaamtecultuur' van de verdachte als relevante omstandigheid heeft meegewogen bij het bepalen van de strafmaat.*
> It does not suit me to pass judgment on the penalty imposed by the court. (...) There is no evidence in the sentence that the court has taken the 'Muslim shame culture' of the suspect into account as a relevant circumstance in determining the penalty.

Some other commentators (in other blogs[13]) had pointed out already that neither the newspaper article nor the court's verdict[14] referred to a shame culture. In that sense, the questions of the MP were premature and based on false information, spread by the blog.[15] In this case, we should notice that media initiatives have, whatever their quality, consequences in the field of political communication. We may even surmise that the relevance of the MP's

[12] http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/kamerstukken/2012/03/15/antwoorden-kamervragen-over-het-bericht-dader-doodrijden-floor-van-der-wal-vervroegd-vrij.html
[13] http://www.frontaalnaakt.nl/archives/fact-check-schaamtecultuur.html
[14] http://zoeken.rechtspraak.nl/detailpage.aspx?ljn=BT2353
[15] It is interesting to observe that the blog took the mere fact that the driver was of Moroccan descent as evidence that the soft verdict took the 'shame culture' into account: a case of a pre-established frame creating 'facts' that fit the frame (Lakoff 2004: 37).

questions was not to get an answer, but rather to attract once again media attention in order to reinforce the image of the PVV as a party that is tough on Islamic matters.

2.4 Wilders's framings

The Dutch politician Geert Wilders is internationally known for expressing strong anti-Islamic views and advocating strong policies such as deportation. Since he left the fraction of the VVD (the Dutch liberal conservative party) in Dutch Parliament in 2004, and started a political movement (under the name PVV, *Partij voor de Vrijheid*, 'Freedom Party') in 2005, he dominated Dutch politics. In the 2006 elections, the PVV got 9 seats in Parliament (out of 150), in the 2010 elections the PVV won 24 seats. Wilders's communicative style has often been analyzed (e.g. Kuitenbrouwer 2010; and see his references). In general, his political movement is characterized as extreme right (although some socio-economic views are rather traditional left) and populist. Apart from anti-Islam, the PVV is anti-Europe, anti-immigration, skeptic about climate change, and an unconditional defender of Israel in the Middle East conflict.

In the sections above some examples of Wilders's framings have been discussed. I will add one more characteristic example. The PVV opens on February 8, 2012, a website where people can file complaints about nuisance they experience from people from Central and Eastern Europe.[16]

This website leads to a large number of follow-ups, which are based on different framings. The website itself is of course based on the combination of two basic ideas, namely that immigration is undesirable and that 'Europe' is hostile to one's own country. On the basis of these frames, the invitation on the website is stated. The abbreviation of the name of the site (MOE) invokes the Dutch word *moe* 'tired', and therefore seems deliberately chosen. Interestingly, the formerly nonexistent term *moelanders* 'CEE-inhabitants' became a frequently used Dutch expression within weeks: another example of the use of a catch phrase for framing an issue.

[16] http://www.meldpuntmiddenenoosteuropeanen.nl/

Filing complaints on Central and Eastern Europeans

Since May 1, 2007, there is free movement of workers between the Netherlands and eight countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE- countries). At present the estimates of the number of people from these countries who reside in the Netherlands, range from 200,000 to 350,000 people. As one of the few parties, the Freedom Party opposed from the beginning the opening of the labor market to Poles and other CEE-inhabitants. In view of all the problems associated with the massive arrival of especially Poles, this attitude has proven to be right. Recently, the PVV voted against the further opening of the labor market for Romanians and Bulgarians.

This massive labor migration leads to many problems, nuisance, pollution, displacement in the labor market and housing problems. For many people, these issues are a serious problem. Complaints are often not reported, because people have the idea that nothing is done.

Do you experience problems because of CEE-inhabitants? Or have you lost your job to a Pole, Bulgarian, Romanian or other Central or Eastern European? We would like to hear. The Freedom Party has a platform on this website to report your complaints.

> We will inventory these complaints, and offer the results to the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment.

The website provoked different reactions[17]. Especially leftist parties considered the website as discriminatory because it singles out one group for snitching, thus setting that group apart. According to the Dutch business community the site is harmful to international trade. It wanted the government to distance itself from the website. The ambassadors of the countries of Eastern Europe in the Netherlands sent a joint letter to the Dutch government to reject the site. Members of the European Parliament condemned the site. The European Parliament adopted a resolution calling the Dutch government to distance themselves from the website. Wilders responds to this message with a tweet: *Wat een wanvertoning in Europees Parlement over PVV-meldpunt moe-landers. ik heb het EP opgegeven bij het Meldpunt Overbodige Parlementen*. 'What a bad performance in European Parliament on PVV complaint site cee-inhabitants. I have reported the EP on the Complaint Site Unnecessary Parliaments.'

Two points are important to notice here. First, different actors have mutually exclusive frames for perception. The site itself is framed in terms of the needs of ordinary people who have to suffer from the immigration of Eastern Europeans, whereas opponents see the site as harmful to business, and as discriminatory. Second, from the point of view of Wilders's PVV as the initiator of the site it is rather not important that their initiative meets opposition. Any form of opposition needs to mention the site and its goal before objecting it, thus generating media attention. This way, the desired image of Wilders's party is merely reinforced.

3 Discussion

In several examples I have shown, based on the mechanism described in section 2.1., how framing operates in political communication. This way it is demonstrated that these processes occur in and are relevant for political communication. Of course, it is not to say that all political communication takes place on this basis. The extent to which this process occurs has also not been made clear in this approach, but should be analyzed in a quantitative approach.

[17] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17078239 and http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/pressroom/content/20120315IPR40874/html/MEPs-urge-Dutch-government-to-condemn-PVV-website

Apart from political actors, media play a crucial role in this process. Furthermore, media play different roles, both passive, as observers of events, and active, as societal actors with own agendas. The interplay between media and politics is an important issue in research on political communication.

What is the value of frame theory? A weak point is that the concept of frame relies on intuitive plausibility rather than on formal rigor. Nonetheless, when applied to politics, framing theory draws attention to important mechanisms of influencing the electorate. Framing as discussed in this paper bears some resemblance to propaganda. This implies also a shift from an analytically and rationally based approach toward an emotionally based approach of politics (Lakoff 2004: 17-21). Here is a fruitful field for future research.

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Quotations in monologic and dialogic political discourse

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Abstract

This paper examines the form and function of quotations in mediated political discourse in Britain, considering (1) form and content, (2) function, (3) source, (4) audience, and (5) context. In the data at hand, quotations are used strategically to achieve particular communicative goals. In the interviews, the interviewer may use quotations to challenge the argumentative coherence and credibility of a politician (and her / his party). In the speeches, quotations may serve a number of communicative functions. Politicians (and their ghost-writers) employ them to challenge the argumentation and credibility of political opponents, to support the argumentation of self and their party, and to align with the audience by sharing past experience.

1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the form and function of quotation in political discourse. It is based on the premise that political discourse, that is monologic, dialogic and CMC-based political discourse, shares the basic premises of natural-language communication, viz. cooperation, rationality, intentionality and indexicality of communicative action (Brown and Levinson 1987; Grice 1975; Gumperz 1996; Searle 1969, 1995). These fundamentals do not only hold for natural-language communication and political discourse as a whole, but also for all of its constitutive parts, that is the meso units of communicative genre, activity type, macro speech act or macro validity claim, to name but the most prominent ones (cf. Fetzer 2000, Levinson 1979, Luckmann 1995, van Dijk 1980), and for their constitutive communicative acts, such as response and quotation. In political discourse, this contribution argues, those generalized (or default) constraints may undergo context-sensitive particularization.

The chapter is organized as follows. The next section examines the contextual constraints of political discourse and of the communicative act of follow-up, considering in particular their connectedness with quotation and the participation framework. Section 2 presents the methodological framework, section 3 exemplifies the form and function of quotation within an empirically oriented analysis of data, and section 4 concludes.

1.1 What is political discourse?

Mundane everyday natural-language communication may take places in private and public spheres of life. While it may be constrained quite severely by contextual constraints and requirements in public domains by choice of topic, duration of the communicative exchange, self- and other-selection of speaker, institutional role the participant, and style and register, to name but the most prominent ones, it is less constrained in private spheres.

Political discourse is public discourse, institutional discourse, and media discourse, and it has become some kind of professional discourse. The latter is particularly true of institutional political discourse while grass-root-anchored political discourse may display a different kind of professionalism. Political discourse is thus constrained by its situatedness in public, institutional and media domains, as is reflected in the choice of public topics, institutional topics, media topics and professional topics, and in the choice of public, institutional and media styles and registers (cf. Fetzer 2000). Those macro constraints do not only regularize topic, style and register but also the location and duration of the communicative exchange, self- and other-selection of speaker, and their institutional and interactional roles. As has already been pointed out above, the particularized constraints do not only hold for political discourse as a whole, but also for its constitutive parts, such as agent, topic, style, or register. This is systematized below and adapted to follow-ups and quotations, which are at the heart of this investigation:

Political discourse is

1. public discourse, and that is why follow-up and quotation in political discourse are also public
2. institutional discourse, and that is why follow-up and quotation in political discourse are also institutional
3. mediated discourse, and that is why follow-up and quotation in political discourse are also mediated
4. (mostly) professional discourse, and that is why follow-up and quotation in political discourse are also (mostly) ‘professional’.

Adapting the methodological tools of cognitive semantics to a definition of political discourse, political discourse is conceptualized best as a cognitive prototype with more prototypical and

less prototypical representatives. That is to say, if all of the defining features, viz. public, institutional, mediated, and professional, obtain, then we have political discourse par excellence; if three features obtain, we have a sort of political discourse, if two of the features obtain, we have some sort of political discourse, and of only one feature obtains, we have a peripheral sort of political discourse. Those defining features hold for political discourse as a whole, and for its constitutive parts and sequences. This is particularly true for our westernized post-modern society, where political discourse has become hybrid discourse containing elements of private-domain anchored discourse, expert discourse and conversationalized styles and registers (Fairclough 2001, Lauerbach 2004, Lauerbach and Fetzer 2007, Fetzer and Johansson 2008).

1.2 What are follow-ups?

Follow-ups are an optional part of natural language communication. They may occur in a three-move exchange, they may be part of a longer sequence of talk, or they may connect different discourses, contributing to the construal of interdiscursitivity.

In a narrow definition, follow-ups are a constitutive part of a three-move sequence, which may form an autonomous sequence or be a constitutive part of a larger sequence. The former comprises an initiating move, a response and another move. The third move only counts as a follow-up if it refers explicitly to either the initiating move or the response and takes up their content (or parts of it) and / or their force (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). In a wider definition, follow-ups refer anaphorically to other discourses and import relevant content, force and /or context into an ongoing discourse (cf. Fetzer 2011). They are made manifest by intertextual and interdiscursive reference, and by thematic progression. As regards their function, follow-ups recontextualize parts of the discursive content or the content as a whole, and / or they recontextualize its force.

In the framework of argumentation theory, follow-ups are a constitutive part of argumentation (cf. Livnat, this volume). In a dynamic theory of communication, they are a constitutive part of negotiation-of-meaning sequences, of the ratification of validity claims and of their negotiation in the Habermasean paradigm (Habermas 1987, Fetzer 2000). In speech act theory they may be attributed to perlocutionary effects, if not to the perlocution (Austin 1971, Searle 1969).

Follow-ups can be classified with respect to the questions of what has been followed-up as

1. Content-based follow-up
2. Force-based follow-up
3. Implicature-based follow-up

And analogously to reformulation, they can be classified as

1. Self-initiated follow-up
2. Other-initiated follow-up

In the political-discourse data from the British sociocultural context, follow-ups tend to be other-initiated in dialogic interaction, challenging the coherence and credibility of a politician and of the party s/he represents using content-based, force-based and implicature-based follow-ups. In that context, self-initiated follow-ups may be used to re-establish the coherence and credibility of self and her / his party. In monologic speech, follow-ups are, of course, self-initiated and serve a number of different functions, such as re-establishing ideological coherence across discourse domains, and aligning with the audience and potential allies while at the same time expressing dis-alignment with political opponents. What is of relevance to this analysis is the observation that the communicative function of quotation is highly context-dependent: one and the same quotation may be used both for re-establishing the credibility of self while at the same time deconstructing the credibility of political opponents.

1.3 Quotation as follow-up

Quotations represent follow-ups par excellence, importing something which has been said/ written before into a new (or different) discourse while at the same time placing its content and /or force in a different context. Inherently connected with the importation of the quotation and its source is its evaluation and possible re-evaluation.

In discourse in general and in political discourse in particular quotation is used strategically to import context into the ongoing discourse and to express the speaker's attitude towards the source of the quotation and / or towards its content. It is not only the content and source which are re-evaluated but also the quotation, its constitutive parts and context which are assigned the status of 'quote-worthiness' or, in Clayman's terms 'quotability' (Claymam 1995).

In linguistics, quotation is categorized as (1) direct quotation, (2) indirect quotation, and (3) mixed quotation, and defined as a meta-representation of 'something' which has been said / written before. While direct quotation is looked upon as verbatim speech-report or citation of what has been said /written, and therefore are seen as non-evaluative, indirect quotation is considered as reference to some prior speech-report which is presented and evaluated from the present speaker's perspective. Mixed quotation is seen as a hybrid form of quotation, comprising constituents of direct and indirect speech.

In mediated political discourse, it is not only the content of the quotation, which is of relevance but also the attitude of the present speaker in her/ his role as 'quoter' towards content, illocutionary force and source. In mediated political discourse, quotations are addressed to a mass audience. Against this background, the ascribed source of the quotation is generally made explicit, e.g., proper name, affiliation, party programme, or a more indeterminate entity, and communicated to the mass audience. This does not only serve as a means of identification. Rather, by making the identity of the source explicit, the present speaker assigns it the status of 'quote-worthiness', and by making the verb of communication explicit, the quoter implicates her/ his evaluation of the speech-report, as is the case with, e.g., the more neutral verb *say* and the more specific one *make the point*. Looked upon from an interdiscursive perspective, quotations may serve as soundbites in other discourse.

In the monologic and dialogic data examined, quotation is used in a genre- and context-specific manner. In the dialogic data, self-quotation tends to be used in particularized contexts only, where self intends to assert her/ his credibility. The infrequent use of self-quotation in the dialogic data is in line with the more generalized modesty principle (Leech 1983). Other-quotation, especially recycling what other has said/ written before, is less constrained. It is used to challenge the politician's argumentation, signifying a lack of coherence and/ or credibility on her/ his side. In the political speeches, the use of self-quotation, self-representing-the-party-quotation, and other-quotation is less constrained. In that genre, politicians use self-quotation to promote their party-political programme and ideology, to re-establish coherence and credibility, and to do leadership in context (Fetzer and Bull 2012). They use other-quotation to support their own argument, if the ascribed source is a member of an in-group, or to challenge their opponent, if the ascribed source is a member of the opposition or another out-group.

1.4 Participation framework

Participation is a complex matter in social interaction. This is particularly true of the production and reception formats, and of social and interactional roles, which may change according to contextual constraints and requirements (cf. Goffman 1981, Levinson 1988). The particularization of interactional roles also holds for political discourse with its multi-layered setting, comprising the first-frame, viz. the actual interview between interviewer and interviewee, sometimes with an audience in the studio, or the politician delivering a speech in front of a face-to-face audience, the second-frame or media frame, that is the first frame with a mediated audience, watching the first-frame interaction at home in front of their TV-sets, computers or mobiles, and further, more remote frames, that is other sets of audience watching the first-frame and second-frame interactions, for instance. The discourse-domain-specific participation framework is particularized as follows:

1. The reception format is ratified for both dialogic interviews and monologic speeches, and is distinguished with respect to
    a. direct addressee and directly addressed audience, and mediated audience, which can also be addressed directly, and further audiences
    b. direct and indirect targets
2. The first-frame speaker who produces the quotation adopts the footing of animator, viz. the speaking machine, and principal, viz. someone whose position is established, whose beliefs have been told, and who is committed to what the words say. The first-frame speaker directs her /his quotation to a set of ratified participants: her /his direct communication partner and a possible face-to-face audience in the interview scenario, or a face-to-face audience in a conference hall, and to some more and less remote mediated audience(s).
3. For quotation, the source is presented as author, viz. the author of the words that are being read, and who has selected the sentiments and encoded them, and their principal, who at the time of producing the quoted may have directed that to a different set of ratified participants.

For indirect and mixed quotation, the source is author while the speaker who employs the quotation is animator and principal; the reception format is the same as for direct quotation.

2 Methodology

The analysis of political discourse in general and of the use of quotation in monologic and dialogic political speech in particular is a complex and multifaceted endeavour, which needs to account for social and sociocultural contexts, participants and their conversational contributions and possible perlocutionary effects, the communication of direct and indirect meaning, and the contextual constraints and requirements of media communication, to name but the most prominent desiderata. For these reasons, the research design of this chapter is based on methodological compositionality, accommodating the fundamental premises of

1. pragmatics, especially rationality, intentionality of communicative action and cooperation, accounting in particular for social and sociocultural context, possible perlocutionary effects, and direct and indirect meaning
2. interactional sociolinguistics, particularly indexicality of communicative action, conversational inference and language as socially situated form, accounting specifically for participants and their conversational contributions, and the contextual constraints and requirements of media communication
3. frame analysis (Goffman 1986), particularly participation framework and multi-layeredness of interactional frames, accounting especially for participant roles in media communication

The main bridging points between pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics and social psychology are the explicit accommodation of context as a complex and dynamic whole, and of the participants and their social and interactional roles. For the discourse domain of political discourse, both the dynamics of context and the complexity of participation are of key importance. Conceiving of participants as rational agents who direct their conversational contributions intentionally towards a ratified set of addressees further refines the analytic framework by providing a set of methodological tools which allow for the analysis of meaning production and meaning interpretation in context.

In the following, the use of quotation is examined in political interviews and political speeches from the British sociocultural context. To illustrate their strategic use, the following section focuses on a qualitative analysis.

3 Data analysis

In the political-discourse data at hand, quotations have been used quite frequently in both interviews and speeches. Their function, however, has been quite different. In the speeches, they are used primarily to promote party-political ideology and support, and in the interviews they often have a challenging function, trying to unbalance the politician.

3.1 Interview data

In the interview data at hand, other-quotation is more frequent than self-quotation. If used by the interviewer, it tends to have a challenging function, and if used by the politician it is used to support her /his own argument or to challenge a political opponent.

3.1.1 Other-quotation

The following excerpt stems from a panel interview between Tony Blair (TB), the then British prime minister, and Jonathan Dimbley from 2001. Here, a member of the audience (AM) uses an indirect other-quote, which is printed in italics and underlined, challenging TB:

Excerpt 1

AM Thank you. Er, since voting Labour at the last election, I've been really appalled to see you continue the sleaze, lies, hypocrisy and incompetence in fact of the previous administration. ***When you came into office,*** **you said that** *your government would be different.* Why did you say that if you didn't mean it?

In the data at hand, quotations are often used in the local context of temporal and /or local references, supporting the authenticity of the quoted. This is particularly true if there is some more pronounced social hierarchy between the communication partners, as is the case in excerpt 1, where TB is the source of the quote, its direct addressee and its direct target. As regards its perlocutionary effects, TB and the government he represents are accused in a rather direct manner of not having been sincere, targeting their credibility and their ideological coherence.

The employment of other-quotation in interviews with one interlocutor quoting their direct addressee can be seen as parasitic self-quotation with a very high face-threatening potential targeting other's credibility, as in excerpt 1.

The function of other-quotation by non-present sources may have varying functions. In excerpt 2, which comes from the same interview, the interviewer JD imports a mixed quotation from an ally of TB, Peter Mandelson. Here, source and verb of communication are named, and the quoted is formulated as direct quotation:

Excerpt 2

JD **Peter Mandelson said *the other day,*** there's been too much spin, there ought to be more vision. Do you accept the charge that there's been too much spinning?

Analogously to excerpt 1, the function of the mixed quotation is to challenge the direct addressee and target TB. As above, it is not only the prime minister who is challenged and blamed for not having been sincere and ideologically coherent, but also his government and the Labour Party he stands for. The face-threatening potential of an other-quotation not quoting their direct addressee but rather an ally is not as high as is the case with other-quotations quoting the direct addressee.

3.1.2 Self-quotation

In the context of political interviews, the use of self-quotation introduced by a first-person-singular personal pronoun is less frequent than the use of other-quotation. There are, however, quite a number of self-quotations with a first-person-plural pronoun indexing collectivity. In that scenario the politician does not speak on behalf of her/himself as an individual but rather as a representative of a collective, e.g. a political party, government or other relevant group.

Excerpt 3 stems from the same panel interview. Here TB uses a first-person-plural pronoun signifying that he speaks on behalf of his government and party:

Excerpt 3

TB Well, let me try and answer those points, then. First of all, in relation to single parents. *Yes, it's correct* **that we said that** the benefit rules should change, so that single parents were treated the same as married couples.

The referential domain of the first-person-plural pronouns is left underspecified, but the context makes the domain quite clear, indexing the government and/ or the Labour Party. The form and content of the underlined indirect quotation is characterized by a high degree of explicitness, which is in accordance with the introductory confirmation 'yes, it's correct'. The

function of the self-quotation is to re-establish argumentative and ideological coherence, and on top of that, the credibility of the government including the prime minister himself. At the same time, TB presents himself as a responsive and competent leader, who may account for any possible query.

Excerpt 4 comes from the same interview. This time, TB uses a first-person-singular self-reference, speaking on behalf of himself as an individual:

Excerpt 4

TB **I've said that** awaiting his response is obviously the right thing to do.

The social role of the self-quotation is the prime minister himself using a pragmatically boosted indirect quotation with the adverb 'obviously'. As above, its function is to re-establish argumentative coherence and credibility, and to present the speaker as a competent and responsive leader.

In the interview-data, self-quotation is generally formatted as indirect quotation, and it is used to reformulate a prior conversation contribution of the ongoing discourse, or of some prior discourse. In some cases, self-quotation can indirectly criticize the interviewer for not having provided the correct – verbatim - quotation, thereby attempting to repair some more or less explicit misunderstanding.

3.1.3 Negotiated other-quotation

Quoting in political interviews is not always done by a single follow-up move, which is then responded to. Due to the dynamics of discourse in general and to political discourse in particular, quotations can also be negotiated by spelling out their original temporal and local contexts, as is the case in excerpt 5, coming from an interview with Charles Kennedy (CK) and JD from 2001:

Excerpt 5

JD But **you're also the only party leader who says***, as you said to me-*

CK Indeed I did.

JD ***not so long ago***, erm, ***when*** **I asked you whether** users of cannabis were criminals, **you said,** I don't regard them as criminals. **And you say** – I'm right, aren't I? – you don't regard them as criminals.

CK *I- I- that's what I said to you*, ***in a- in another studio, in an equivalent programme some time ago, that is my personal view***. It is not the position of the Liberal Democrats, let me be quite clear about this

The excerpt is quite interesting as it shows that it is not only the content or pragmatic force of the quoted which is of relevance to importing context into an ongoing discourse, but also the social role of the source. While CK agrees with both force and content of the quoted, he makes it very clear that he did not speak in his role as leader of the Liberal Democrats, which is made manifest by JD's reference to CK as 'the only party leader who says', but rather on behalf of himself as an ordinary citizen. The formatting of the quotations is remarkable here, switching between past tense and past time and present tense and present time. As in excerpt 2, JD uses a mixed quotation with a high degree of explicitness. Time and place are left underspecified and referred to as some prior occasion when CK was interviewed by JD, which is confirmed by CK. As above, the other-quotation is used to challenge CK's argumentative coherence and credibility.

Quotation in political interviews can be used to boost the force of an argument, thus supporting the interlocutor's argumentation, and it can be used non-supportively, challenging the coherence and credibility of other. Quotations tend to be introduced by making explicit their source, and time and place of occurrence. While the source needs be more determinate, time and place can be left underspecified.

3.2 Speech data

The political speeches analysed were delivered at annual political party conferences to a face-to-face audience, and the speeches as a whole or excerpts ('relevant soundbites') were broadcast to a media audience and possibly to further audiences, as is the case with the mediatized political interviews. In their analyses, two types emerged: more monologic speeches and more dialogic speeches.

For that set of data, the question whether attitude-report quotation may count as a follow-up is considered (Pafel 2011). This is because propositional-attitude-report quotation makes the process of reasoning and internal argumentation explicit and is, for this reason, highly relevant to the genre of political speech. Necessary constituents of attitude quotation are (1) a self-reference (as source), a cognitive verb and the complementizer 'that', and the

quoted. To count as a follow-up in that context, however, attitude-report quotation needs to be an other-attitude-report quotation.

The classification of political speeches as more monologic and more dialogic is a local and global phenomenon. The classification presented here considers primarily the former.

3.2.1 More monologic speeches

The more monologic speeches contain a higher frequency of attitude-report quotation, and a lower frequency of speech-report quotation.

In the context of attitude-report quotation the cognitive verb *believe* plus the complementizer *that* is the most frequent one. As for speech quotation, *say* is the most frequent verb of communication. Excerpt 6 stems for a speech delivered by David Davis (Conservatives) in Manchester:

> **Margaret Thatcher said *then***: "This attack has failed and all attempts to destroy democracy will fail".
> **And I can tell you *this***: this new threat will fail too.

David Davis names the source of the direct quotation explicitly, importing an important historic figure and the ideology she represents into the ongoing discourse. The direct presentation of the quoted assigns the content present relevance. Following-up on the quotation, Davis comments on the quoted, employing a mixed quotation, which contains the cataphoric reference 'this', connecting the stance taken by Margaret Thatcher with his own position. By using an other-quotation in combination with a self-quotation, which recontextualizes former, David Davis presents himself as a competent and responsive leader.

3.2.2 More dialogic speeches

The more dialogic speech can be considered as the more 'modern one', combining features of traditional monologic speech with conversational interaction, thus being in accordance with the critical-discourse-analytic observation that British institutional discourse has become more and more conversationalized (Fairclough 2001). Excerpt 7 stems from a speech delivered by David Cameron (Conservatives):

> You know even **Norman Tebbit** has been doing some fresh thinking. It's true <LAUGHTER> I had dinner with him ***not long ago*** I survived. **He said** David you

have achieved <LAUGHTER> one thing. **He said** I used to describe the Conservative approach as lean and mean. **He said** now I call it lean mean and green. I suppose that's progress.

(…)

Tony Blair *once* said that Britain was a young country. As always he was wrong. This is an old country, we've got a proud past but we've got an incredibly bright future

A characteristic feature of quotation in political speeches is that the speaker names their source explicitly. Location and time of the original can be left underspecified. In the more dialogic speeches, mixed quotation occurs frequently as is the case with excerpt 7. There is a direct presentation of the content, displaying characteristic features of spoken language, as is reflected in the use of the discourse maker 'now', the form of direct address 'David' and 'you', and the quoted self-reference 'I', which counts as an embodied quotation. Analogously to their function in the more monologic speeches, quotations are used to present political self and her/ his different roles, to align with the audience and re-establish solidarity, to secure support, and to do leadership in context.

In the political-speech data, it is not possible to negotiate a quotation directly and immediately. That is why politicians often refer to its source and to the context in which the speech-report occurs. The context of the speech-report may, however, be left underspecified. In both the more monologic and the more dialogic speeches, attitude-reports as quotation are used frequently, but this is not the case with attitude-reports used as follow-ups. Analogously to the interviews, quotations are used to support the politician's argumentation, boosting the pragmatic force of their argument. If their source is not an ally, they are used non-supportively, challenging the coherence and credibility of other.

4 Conclusion

Mediated political discourse contains both quotations of speech-reports and of attitude-reports. The former make explicit what a source, usually not the speaker him/herself, has said before while the latter make explicit the speaker's argumentation and internal process of reasoning. In dialogic interviews, the use of self-quotation is more constrained if the speaker refers to her/himself as an individual. It is less constrained if the speaker speaks on behalf of a

collective. The use of other-quotation is less constrained. Depending on their source, they are used to challenge political positions and ideologies, or they are used to support a politician's argumentation.

In both genres, quotations are used strategically and fulfil an important interpersonal function with respect to political self aligning and dis-aligning with the audience-as-a-whole or with particularized subsets of the audience, and with political allies. Quotations thus play an important role in the presentation of political self in media discourse as regards the interactional organisation of credibility and ideological coherence.

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Intertextual references in Austrian parliamentary debates. A pilot study

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Abstract

In this paper, the contributions Austrian MPs' deliver during the debate after the inaugural speech of a new chancellor are investigated under a discourse analytic and rhetorical/ argumentative perspective. It is argued, that this specific kind of parliamentary debate provides a quasi-experimental setting in which "follow-up" moves in political discourse can be studied as the contributions can only refer to a limited set of reference texts and because of a pre-established speaker order and fixed lengths of contributions. "Follow-up" moves in political discourse are defined as any "second" move which refers to a previous statement and which expresses a stance towards it. The debate contributions of one inaugural speech debate (approx. 12 hours) are investigated on three dimensions: reference source, linguistic form of reference, rhetorical/ argumentative function of statement. Political affiliations of MPs and the time of statement delivery (during live TV broadcast or after TV broadcast) represent the independent variables of the analysis. Results show that evaluation patterns change during time (more negative evaluations during TV broadcast and more positive evaluations after live broadcast) and that there are two "genres" of debate contributions: the "alternative policy focussed statement" and the "evaluation focussed statement" which display different linguistic and rhetorical/ argumentative characteristics.

1 Introduction: Two kinds of political discourse

Although political discourse may be seen as a typical instance of a public discourse which is aimed at multiple audiences and which is brought to these audiences by a variety of traditional and modern ("new") media, this view is only partly true. In fact there are two different kinds of political discourse which can be distinguished by employing Goffman's differentiation between "front stage" and "backstage" activities (Goffman 1959): on the one hand there are genres of political discourse in which actors – although interacting with each other – act publicly in front and for the general public. These "front stage political activities" are performed for an audience which itself consist of multiple groups with partly differing interests – journalists who are interested in "good stories", fractions of the population who are directly affected by certain political activities, groups of the population with differing political views, etc. Typical genres which are realized in and associated with

this kind of "front stage political" discourse are press-conferences, political interviews, political discussions in the media, public speeches, parliamentary debates, etc. These political genres are intricately related to different media genres (political reports, political commentaries, political blogs, etc.) or they even take place in the media (like many forms of political discussions which are organized by media) and their communicational purposes are essentially two-fold: firstly they are directed towards their direct recipients and secondly they are directed towards an overhearing audience (cf. Gruber 1993a).

It is, however, often the case that in the speech events which are related to the production of these genres, politicians announce issues which had been negotiated for quite a while in situations which are hidden from the pubic like party-internal negotiations, inter-party negotiations, parliamentary committee meetings, and other confidential meetings (see Girnth, 2002: 36 for a differentiation between different fields of "internal" and "external" political activity). Genres associated with these kinds of speech events include negotiations, deliberations, drafting bills, etc. These "backstage genres" thus often provide the background for politicians' activities at the political "front stage". The border between "front-stage" and "backstage" political discourse and genres, however, should not be considered as sharp and categorical and there are thus some caveats in place: (1) front stage genres do not have the sole function of proclaiming the results of backstage activities, politicians rather will put their own (party-political) spin on the backstage issues they make public at the front stage; (2) front stage political interactions (public debates) may gain their own interactional dynamics and thus provide the public with genuine front stage political activities which are not rooted in previous backstage activities; (3) contents of backstage activities may "leak" into the general public through indiscretions performed on purpose by the involved actors or through investigative work of journalists who are always in search for exclusive stories/ information.

Nonetheless, Goffman's differentiation between these two kinds of activities (or "frames" as they are called in later phases of his theorizing) and their systematic interactional differences seem to provide analysts of political discourse with an appropriate methodological tool for characterizing the different genres which are used in them and especially for accounting for the different audience designs which are involved in the production and reception of these genres. Parliamentary debates are showcase examples for a "front stage genre" during which politicians exchange debate contributions which often contain issues which had been subject of long and complicated backstage deliberations. The public debate then often serves the purpose of informing the followers of the own party in the general audience of the outcome of these deliberations; of explicitly marking the differences between

party standpoints; and of opening up "rhetorical spaces" which can provide reference points for later (discursive and non-discursive) political actions. Parliamentary debates are also typical instances of a "macro-genre" (Martin and Rose 2008) which comprises a variety of initiative and follow-up contributions/ genres. The parliamentary debates which follow the inaugural speeches of Austrian chancellors (for details of this genre, see Gruber 2012) are even more specific in the sense that they contain (in principle) only one "initiative genre" – namely the chancellor's inaugural speech – and a vast number of follow-up contributions in which this speech should be commented on by the members of parliament (see below). This debate thus offers analysts of political discourse interested in forms and functions of follow-up contributions a quasi-experimental setting in which a very limited set of reference utterances/ genres can only be followed by a very limited set of follow-up utterances/ genres.

In the remainder of this paper, I will firstly discuss the different interactive and pragmatic aspects of "follow-up" utterances and present the research questions of this paper, then I will provide more detailed background information on the specific kind of parliamentary debate I analyze in this paper and on the characteristics of the pilot-study data analyzed here. Then I will give an overview on the analytic categories which were used; this is followed by the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis. In closing, I discuss the relevance of the results for the questions which guided the analysis, but I will also present suggestions for further research in this area.

2 Follow-ups: towards a functional definition

The term "follow-up" as a description for a certain kind of discursive practice has been mainly used in studies of journalistic language, esp. in investigations of journalists' question techniques in press conferences (for a recent overview see Eriksson 2011). In these studies, "follow-ups" are defined as journalists' second questions to a politician during a press conference. The use of a "second question" (by same journalist) signals (at the sequential and at the content level) that the journalist did not view the politician's answer to the first instalment of their question as sufficient. Journalists' "follow-ups" during press conferences thus signal an "adversarial stance" towards the previous answer or towards the respective politician (Eriksson 2011). The "display" of an adversarial stance is also related to the journalists' role as representatives of the general audience who can demand to get clear answers to their questions. This definition of "follow-ups", however, is rather closely

connected to the genre in which they are used, namely the political press conference or the political interview in a wider sense. In different genres (or "macro-genres"), modified definitions of "follow-ups" may be appropriate or even needed.

As mentioned above, in the parliamentary debate of which the inaugural speech of the Austrian chancellor is the central part, every MP's debate contribution is expected to comment on the chancellor's speech (or on a very limited set of other utterances, see below) and this instance of a "system of genres" (Bazerman 1994) itself becomes the object of mass media coverage and hence establishes a second "system of genres" (consisting of media reports and commentaries in different forms of media) which emerges from the first one. Figure 1 presents a diagrammatic representation of these two genre systems:

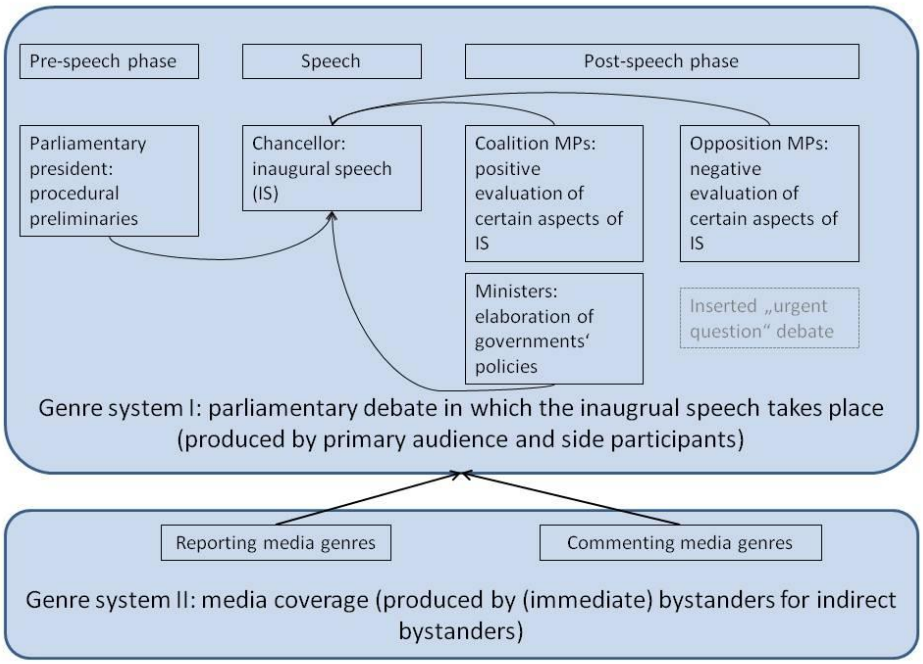

Figure 1: Genre systems in the inaugural speech debate

Figure 1 shows that the parliamentary debate (as a "front stage" political activity) is characterized by a complex audience design in Goffman's sense (Goffman 1981): the "primary audience" of the inaugural speech are the MPs of the newly elected Austrian parliament with the members of the newly formed government as "side participants" and a group of direct "bystanders" who are watching the debate at the parliament's visiting gallery (this group also includes the president of the Austrian republic). There is, however, also a large group of "indirect" bystanders who may either watch the live-broadcast of the debate or who will read the media reports and commentaries on the debate during the following days. During the debate which follows the speech the audience structure of genre system I slightly

changes: the ministers of the new government change from side participants to primary audience members as they may be addressed directly during the MPs' statements and because they may also deliver statements which deal with the planned policies of their respective ministry.

As figure 1 also shows, the contributions of the MPs after the speech constitute the major bulk of discursive activities in genre system I. Under a very limited conversation analytic view, the MPs' debate contributions could be seen as "second pair parts" of an adjacency pair in which the inaugural speech functions as a (complex) "first pair part". But this exclusively sequential characterization would conceal a major interactive, audience oriented, function of the debate contributions: all these contributions are "stance-taking" (and "stance-displaying") utterances and in this sense they are comparable to the "follow-ups" which have been investigated in press conferences and political interviews. The stance taking and stance displaying in MPs' contributions, however, is not exclusively critical, but the expressed stance depends on the political affiliation of the respective MP: MPs of the government coalition are expected to praise the speech (or certain of its aspects) whereas MPs of the opposition are expected to criticise it. The display of stance is – of course – mainly directed towards the bystanding audiences (i.e. journalists, the general public). In terms of audience design and stance taking and displaying characteristics, the MPs debate contributions may therefore legitimately be coined "follow-ups", yet with a different definition:

A "follow-up" is any consecutive (reactive) move which is noticeably related to a prior move and which expresses a stance towards this prior move.

This definition of "follow-up" should hold for more political contexts than the parliamentary debates under investigation in this paper. The definition also gives rise to a set of possible research areas (apart from the apparent sequential placement of follow-ups as following a first move) as the relation between first move and follow-up move can be conceptualized and investigated on different levels:

- Follow-up as an aspect of illocutionary structure (activity structure): which kinds of follow-ups do first pair-parts project? How "strong" is the projection force of a first pair part? – Does it allow for one, two, three, … n different follow-up illocutions/ actions and which role does the context play for this projection force?
- Follow-up as an aspect of coherence structure: which kinds of coherence relations are established between first and second parts? – Are there strong and loose kinds of relations

and by which mechanisms are they inferred by participants (cognitive frames, search for relevance, etc.)?

- Follow-up as an aspect of discourse cohesion: which linguistic devices are used to signal the connection between the two (or more) parts of a follow-up sequence?

The parliamentary debate investigated here, sets specific limits to the follow-up move characteristics which the general definition above would allow as the debate establishes a quasi-experimental setting in which the general properties of political follow-up moves can be studied. The follow-ups in this kind of debate are limited with respect to different aspects as there are:

- A limited set of reference texts
- Strict time limits for the statement of each MPs
- A pre-established sequence of speakers
- Clearly defined political affiliations and hence expectations of the general evaluative stance of statements (no criticism of views and/or politicians of own party expected which may occur in other settings)
- A clear and explicit division into a broadcast- and a non-broadcast phase

From these contextual characteristics the general research questions of this paper follow:

- Which follow-up moves do MPs of different political affiliations (coalition vs. opposition parties) produce in response to the chancellor's inaugural speech?
- Which specific setting characteristics account for the linguistic/ discursive characteristics of the MPs contributions?

3 Situational context and data

Before going into details of the categories of analysis and the results of my study, I will shortly present some background information on the data I investigate in this paper. The parliamentary debate which is investigated here is part of a larger corpus of inaugural speech debates in the Austrian parliament (see Gruber 2012). In the current paper, the last inaugural speech debate in Austria was scrutinized. It took place on December, 3rd, 2008, between 09.04 – 22.18, the TV live broadcast lasted from 09.04 to 17.00. 127 debate speakers participated in the debate (from a total of 183 MPs) and contributed 136 debate contributions. 53 statements were made by government coalition party speakers of the SPÖ (Social

democratic party) and ÖVP (Austrian people's party: a Christian-conservative party), 74 contributions came from the opposition parties FPÖ (Freedom party: a right-wing national populist party), BZÖ (Alliance for Austria's future: a liberal-conservative spin-off from the FPÖ founded in 2002), and the Green party (a left-liberal environmentalist party).

The inaugural speech and the ensuing parliamentary debate on the speech takes place few days after the official formation of a new government in Austria. The party-deliberations which precede the formation of a government are showcase examples for the above mentioned "backstage" political activities as they take place in closed sessions between the party which gained most votes in the preceding elections and (consecutively) all other parties which were elected in the Austrian parliament. The forming of a government is also accompanied by the presentation and signing of the government program of the new government. The inaugural speech of the new chancellor, however, is not a mere presentation of this program but its compilation and drafting is preceded by a diligent search for relevant data and facts from the single ministries (Welan 1989). The inaugural speech and the parliamentary debate which follows it are thus the first "front-stage" political activities of the new government and the MPs of the newly elected parliamentary assembly. At the time of the debate, the government program has been already available for about one week in written form whereas the speech (in most cases) is delivered orally just before the start of the debate and no written version is available for the MPs. Many MPs prepare their statements on the basis of the government program and therefore comment mainly on the government program and less on the chancellor's speech (see below). Prior to the speech (during the pre-speech phase, cf. figure 1), all parliamentary groups (i.e. the parliamentary parties) agree on a list (and on a pre-assigned sequence) of speakers for each group and a "block" (i.e. total) speaking time for each group during the debate. The debate after the speech, however, is divided into time-slots during which the speaking time is limited to certain intervals (i.e. there is first time slot during which speakers can speak for 15 minutes, a second slot with 10-minute contributions, etc., until a debate period is reached in which speaking time is limited to three minutes). During these time slots, the speakers of the different parties take turns, i.e. each speaker is followed by a speaker of a different party. Additionally, the whole debate (starting with the pre-speech phase) is live broadcast until 17.00 whereas the debate may last until the early morning of the following day. This complex arrangement of pre-defined speaker orders and speaking time limitations results in very limited opportunities for spontaneous interaction (except of the so-called "interruptive comments", Zima et al. 2010, which are not scrutinized in this study). As this study is based on the stenographic protocols

of the Austrian parliament which are available online (http://www.parlament.gv.at/SERV/STAT/DOK/index.shtml) and which are edited before being published (cf. Zima et al. 2010) even less spontaneous interaction as in the original debates will be visible in the data. This lack of spontaneity, however, does not influence the analysis, which is not interested in sequential debate phenomena but rather in discursive properties of the single contributions.

4 Categories of analysis

The analytical categories were developed in an abductive way, i.e. neither a pre-established set of categories which was solely based on previous investigations was applied nor a bottom-up, grounded theory oriented approach was taken but the categories were developed after reviewing the relevant literature and after a first cursory reading of the data. The set of categories operationalized the following three basic dimensions:

- Source of uptake: to which previous utterance/ event does the current statement refer
- Form of uptake: linguistic/ discursive variants
- Rhetorical/ argumentative function of debate contribution: critique/ praise/ presentation/ support for own arguments/ political standpoint with reference to previous utterance

As mentioned above, the choice of reference statements for the MPs' debate contributions seems to be limited to the inaugural speech and the government program, nonetheless a first reading of the debate showed that the MPs in fact also refer to additional statements and/or events. Therefore the following set of categories was used to investigate the first of the above dimensions:

- Chancellor‘s inaugural speech
- Government program
- Speech delivered during the debate (by one of the new government‘s ministers, MP of government parties, MP of opposition parties)
- Previous political statement of:
  - Chancellor
  - Minister
  - Third person
- Previous political event

The second of the above dimensions (form of uptake of previous utterance) was operationalized by relying on previous investigations of reported speech (Leech and Short 1981) in general and on types of reported speech in media discourse (Weizman and Dascal 1991; Gruber 1993b). Combining and adapting the different types of reporting which were discussed in these previous studies and taking into account the linguistic properties of the current material resulted in the following set of categories:

- Direct quotation as a starting point for a presentation of own political claim
- Direct quotation as a means for implicit evaluation of source text
- Topical mentioning of reference statement (Indirect speech, reference to a single topic of the reference statement)
- Global mentioning of reference statement (Narrative report of a speech act, general reference to reference statement)
- Indirect mentioning of reference statement (exploiting background knowledge of primary audience)

The analysis of the third of the above dimensions needs a more differentiated set of categories. Three aspects of the rhetorical and argumentative function of the debate contributions were investigated by adapting different dimensions of appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005):

- The type of appraisal which is expressed in a contribution:
  - Affect: registering positive and negative feelings
  - Judgement: attitudes towards behaviour (criticise, praise etc.); how we should/ should not behave
  - Appreciation: evaluation of natural and/ or semiotic phenomena; what are phenomena worth?
- The way of expressing appraisal:
  - Inscribed: “Mr. Chancellor, what you impose on the Austrians is a bit strong” (Strache, FPÖ): expression of appraisal by using explicitly evaluating lexis.
  - Invoked: “The planned measures of the new government are highly suitable for countering the upcoming economic crisis“ (Haupt, ÖVP): inviting appraisal (positive evaluation) by pointing at positive consequences of government‘s planned actions.
- Positioning of the author: this category is especially relevant in the case of utterances which refer to previous utterances; related to the linguistic form of uptake of the reference statement (cf. the second dimension of analysis), two poles of a cline of author positioning were defined:

- Heteroglossic: explicitly relating an own utterance to the utterance(s) of another speaker and hence acknowledging different stances toward a topic ("You say X but I say Y")
- Monoglossic: no explicit relation of an own utterance to prior utterance(s) and hence negating different stances toward a topic ("You plan the wrong policy")

The operationalization of this last subset of categories on the rhetorical/ argumentative dimension relies mainly on Bakhtin's original work on hetero- and monoglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Vice 1997)) rather than on Martin and White's integration of the Bakhtinian concepts into appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), but their application was of course inspired by Martin and Whites treatment of Bakhtin in their theory.

The categories of the first two dimensions and a coding for "positive" vs. "negative" evaluation of the source utterance were applied by using the Atlas.ti coding tool for qualitative data analysis and all contributions to the debate were coded and then a simple quantitative analysis was performed using the party affiliation of the speakers as an independent variable. The categories of the third dimension were only applied to a selected set of debate contributions and hence the results for these dimensions are purely qualitative and the generalizations which are drawn from them are preliminary.

5 Results

I will firstly present the results of the two quantitative analyses and then proceed to presenting the qualitative analyses of the rhetorical/ argumentative functions of the contributions. Although on the first analytic dimension (source of intertextual reference) three subcategories were added to the two basic categories "government program" and "inaugural speech", the quantitative analysis of this first dimension shows that these three additional categories are not relevant in a quantitative sense. The following crosstabulation (table 1), therefore, shows a multi-dimensional distribution of the categories "source of intertextual reference", "form of uptake", "global evaluation", and "party affiliation" of speakers.

Form of uptake	Reference text	Appraisal	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	BZÖ	Green	Total
Direct	Inaugural speech	Negative			1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (3)	5
	Government program	Negative			6 (4)	4 (4)	2 (2)	12
Topical	Inaugural speech	Positive	2 (2)	2 (2)				4
		Negative			5 (5)	4 (3)	3 (2)	12
	Government program	***Positive***	***18 (17)***	***15 (15)***	***2 (1)***		***4 (3)***	***39***
		Negative			9 (7)	6 (6)	9 (8)	24
Global	Inaugural speech	Negative			4 (4)	2 (2)	4 (3)	10
	Government program	Positive	9 (6)	7 (5)				16
		Negative			***11 (9)***	***13 (9)***	***27 (12)***	***51***
Indirect	Government program	Positive	5 (5)	3 (3)				8
		Negative					3 (3)	
Total			34	27	38	30	56	185

Table 1: Counts for "appraisal of reference text" and "form of reference to source text" by party affiliation of debate speakers (numbers in brackets: number of different speakers who used the respective intertextual reference from)

Table 1 shows that far more speakers refer to the government program than to the inaugural speech in their debate contribution (n.b. that there can be more references to a source utterance within one debate contribution, therefore the total number of follow-up utterances (185) is higher than the number of MPs' statements during the debate) which is not surprising as the text of the government program had been available at least a few days before the debate whereas the speech was delivered immediately before (see above).

Table 1 also shows that topical or global references to the source text are by far the most common ways of referring whereas direct quotations and indirect references are not used very often. Additionally, table 1 shows that all negative evaluations of both the inaugural speech and the government program come from opposition party speakers whereas almost all positive evaluations come from government party speakers. This does not come as a big surprise, but if we have a more differentiated look at these results, one at least unexpected aspect turns up: if we break down the above results concerning the positive vs. negative evaluations of either the government program or the speech according to the time when they were delivered (during live TV broadcast vs. after TV broadcast), we see that the majority of negative evaluations by opposition party speakers occurs during the live broadcast phase of the debate whereas the majority of the positive evaluations by coalition party speakers occurs after the live broadcast (see table 2):

Evaluation	**Time of statement**	**Government parties**	**Opposition parties**	**total**
Positive	During TV broadcast	27	2	29
	After TV broadcast	***34***	5	39
Negative	During TV broadcast	0	***82***	82
	After TV broadcast	0	35	35
Total		61	124	185

Table 2: Kinds of evaluation during and after the live TV broadcast of the debate

Considering the different audience designs of the debate during and after the TV broadcast phase (cf. above) and the fact that the sequence of speakers is fixed in advance, this results indicates that the opposition parties (at least in this debate) were more successful in transmitting their various criticisms of both government program and inaugural speech to a general public than the coalition parties were in publicly praising the same texts.

I turn now to a closer qualitative analysis of the results in which I try to integrate the results from the investigation of the first two analytical dimensions with the complex categories of the third dimension. Different kinds of reference to a previous statement place an utterance in various ways on the heteroglossic-monoglossic cline. Additionally, speakers seem to use different ways of intertextual reference in positively vs. negatively evaluating utterances. I present firstly the relationships between positively evaluation utterances, authorial stance, and kinds of intertextual references found in the data (cf. figure 2).

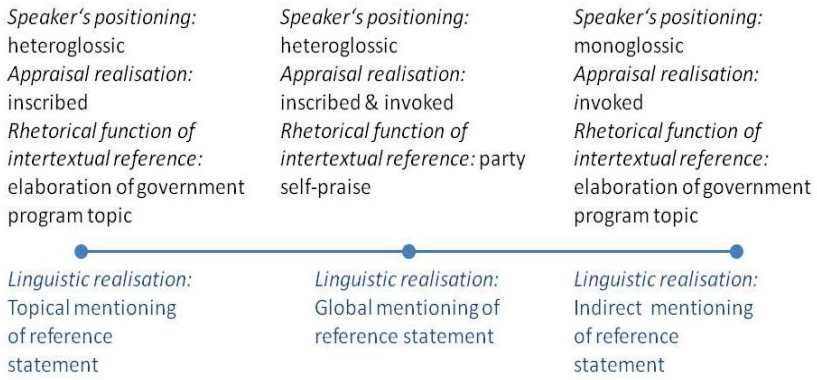

Figure 2: The heteroglossia – monoglossia cline: positive evaluation (mainly government parties)

In the positively evaluating utterances (which are mainly produced by government party speakers), three kinds of intertextual references are used: "topical mentioning of reference statement", "global mentioning", and "indirect mentioning", no forms of direct mentioning occur. The first two kinds of reference result in heteroglossic auctorial stances which allow a clear distinction between the reference statement and the MPs debate contribution, whereas the latter form of reference results in monoglossic auctorial stances. No clear pattern of appraisal realization emerged from the qualitative analysis: whereas in contributions which indirectly mention the reference statement only invoked appraisal realizations occur, in the two other kinds of reference both appraisal realizations (inscribed and invoked) were found. The rhetorical functions of these kinds of utterances are twofold: either they are used to elaborate certain topics from the government program or (less often) they are simply aimed at party self-praise.

Figure 3 shows the schematic structure of these contributions. The two different schemata which are included in figure 3 illustrate the two different rhetorical functions: in the topic-elaborating contributions, an "evidence" relation (in RST terms, see e.g. Mann and Thompson 1988) is used at the top-level of the coherence structure to relate the evaluative part with the following content issues, on lower levels of the structure "elaboration" relations prevail. In the party self-praise statements, "volitional cause" relations prevail at the top level coherence graphs which indicate that the respective party cared for the praised policy issue in the coalition negotiations.

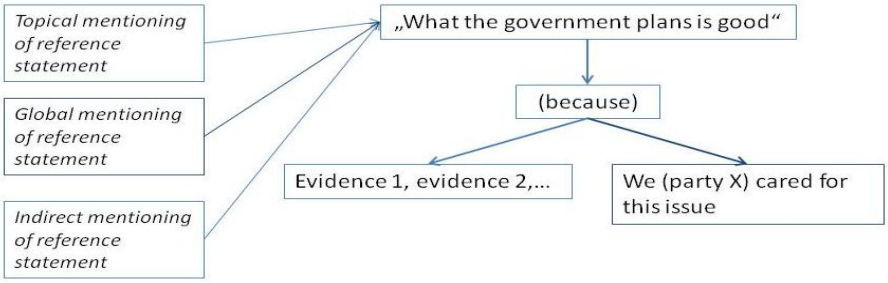

Figure 3: Positively evaluating statements: forms of intertextual reference and argumentative structure

Applying Martin and White's (2005) appraisal categories, there are two different kinds of appraisal expressed in these statements: judgement/ social sanction/ propriety and affect/ satisfaction. Whereas the former kind of appraisal is expectable in political statements, the latter in which a personal affective relation towards the policies of the government program (or the inaugural speech) is expressed come a bit surprising in a Western democratic parliament.

The negatively evaluating statements show more variability in terms of forms of intertextual references which are used by speakers and hence they allow a more fine-grained differentiation of the heteroglossic-monoglossic cline as figure 4 shows.

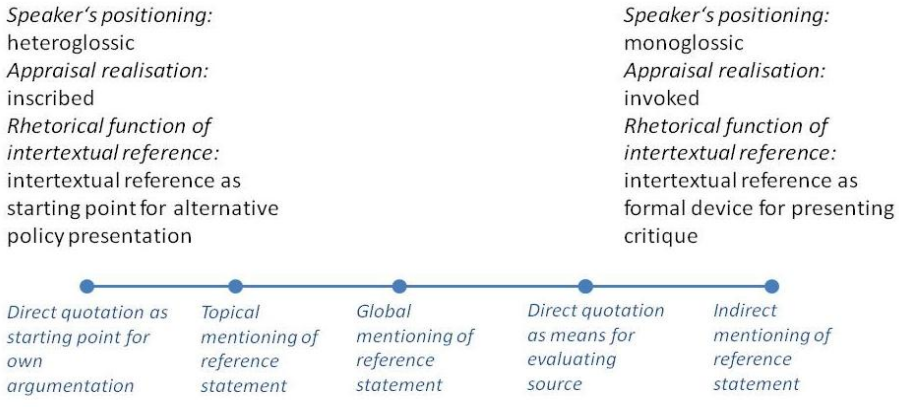

Figure 4: The heteroglossia – monoglossia cline: negative evaluation (opposition parties)

Figure 4 shows that in the negatively evaluating contributions all forms of intertextual reference to a previous statement are employed. The direct quotation as a starting point for an own argumentation construes the strongest heteroglossic speaker's stance as in these contributions speakers use a direct quote from the reference text for an explicit negative evaluation in order to present an own alternative policy presentation. In the present qualitative study, this argumentative device is exclusively found in debate speakers from the Green party. The respective contributions have an argumentative form which is illustrated in figure 5.

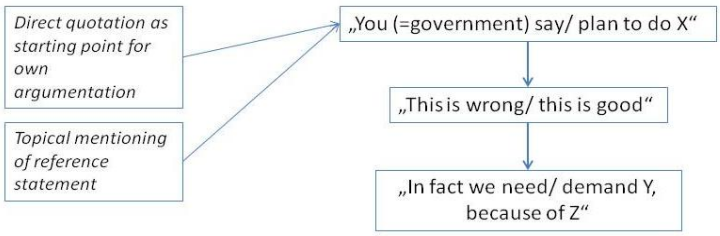

Figure 5: Negatively evaluating statements: forms of intertextual reference and argumentative structure; the Green party: Alternative policy focussed statements (inscribed evaluation)

Figure 5 shows that the "alternative policy presentation" contributions use either (and mainly) direct quotations or instances of topical mentioning of a reference statement in order to realize a three-partite argumentation scheme which explicitly contrasts the (alleged) government position with an own political proposal. The central evaluative element is always realized as a token of the "judgement/ social sanction/ propriety" appraisal category (Martin and White 2005). Figure 5 also shows that the negative evaluation is sometimes realized as a (partly) positive evaluation of a policy planned by the new government. In these cases, speakers concede that the government is "on a good way", but that much more (and different) political efforts would be needed.

At the other end of the cline, direct quotations as means for evaluating a source text construe monoglossic auctorial stances in which the speakers use single terms or phrases from a reference statement or other ways of alluding to the reference text in order to ridicule or negatively evaluate this source text. This rhetorical device was exclusively found in FPÖ and BZÖ speakers. The underlying argumentative scheme of these utterances is illustrated in Figure 6.

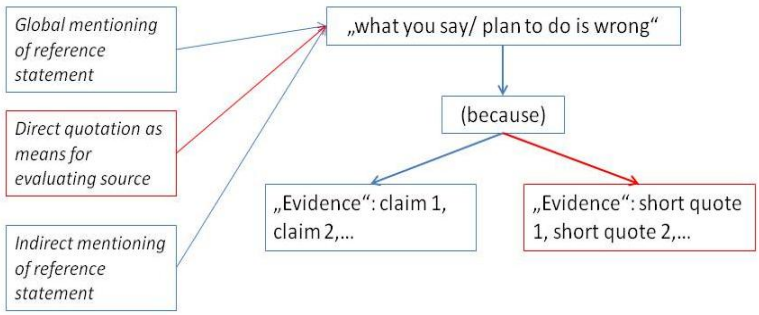

Figure 6: Negatively evaluating statements: forms of intertextual reference and argumentative structure; BZÖ, FPÖ, and Green party: Evaluation focussed statements (inscribed evaluation or invoked evaluation)

The use of short direct quotations as a means for evaluating the source, however, resembles quoting strategies which have been identified in mass media discourse (Weizman and Dascal 1991; Gruber 1993b) as a means for devaluing a source from which the quotes are taken. The short quotes are thus used as "evidence" for an invoked negative appraisal, often realized from resources of the "appreciation/ valuation" appraisal categories (Martin and White, 2005).

Figure 6 shows that the use of "indirect" or "global mentioning of a reference statement" (i.e. the other two ways of negatively evaluating the source text without presenting an own policy) results in an argumentative structure which is similar to the positively evaluating contributions. The difference between these two kinds of statements lies only in the appraisal polarity. In the negatively evaluating statements appraisal resources from "judgement/ social sanction/ propriety" category are used, but combined with a negative attitude whereas in the former kind of statements a positive attitude towards the reference statement is expressed.

The results presented here show that there is not only an expected and apparent difference between the debate contributions of government coalition and opposition MPs, but that the latter use two different argumentative schemes for criticizing government policies: one scheme provides argumentative and rhetorical space for elaborating an own alternative policy towards a certain topic whereas the other one is only used to criticize certain policies and providing reasons for this critique.

6 Conclusions and discussion

The first of the above reported results concerns the reversal of evaluation patterns during and after the live TV broadcast phase of the debate. *During the broadcast phase* (i.e. between 9.00 – 17.00) a predominance of negative evaluations by opposition party MPs and the majority of "direct quotations from government program" occurs. This implies that the rhetorical focus of MPs (of the opposition parties) during this phase is on the "negative evaluation of government" and a "presentation of alternative policies" which can be interpreted as an orientation towards the "bystanding" audience in front of the TV screens. Results also showed that the "presentation of alternative policies" scheme was only applied by speakers from the Green party whereas the "negative evaluation" scheme was found in all parties.

After the broadcast phase (17.00 – end of debate) a predominance of positive evaluations of the government program and the inaugural speech by government party MPs was found. This implies a rhetorical focus on the "positive evaluation of government" by government MPs during this phase which is exclusively oriented towards the primary audience, i.e. the other MPs. These positive evaluations which are not oriented towards an overhearing audience must have an integrative interactional function for the parliamentary groups. Here, additional research and other research methods (e.g. interviews with MPs) would be necessary in order to arrive at a conclusive interpretation of this result.

The qualitative analysis showed that two general "genres" of debate contribution seem to exist: the "alternative policy focused" genre and the "evaluation focused" genre. The first instance of the term "genre" is put under quotation marks here as it is not yet absolutely clear whether it is justifiable to speak of "genres" when discussing these two kinds of contributions: on the one hand, they have a clearly definable interactive purpose and also display other defining criteria of a genre. Many short contributions only contain one instance of one of these contribution types and many longer contributions simply consist of a series of these statement types – this would justify the use of the term "genre" for these statement types. On the other hand, many of the longer debate contributions contain one or more instances of one or both of these contributions types, but also other types (phases). A closer analysis of these complex long statements would be needed in order to determine whether these long debate contributions could be characterized as "macro-genres" (Martin and Rose 2008) which consist of several embedded simple genres.

The "alternative policy focussed statement" has as its source an opposition party speaker from the Green party and its audience are the other MPs and the general public. The

projected audience stance of these statements is that of a topic orientated audience who is interested in an alternative policy presentation. Its main purpose lies in criticising a planned government policy and presenting an own alternative. The positioning of the author in such a statement is heteroglossic. The evaluations of the mentioned government policies is "negative", "inscribed", and realizes the "judgement/ social sanction/ propriety" category. The intertextual references which are used in these statements are "direct quotations" and "topical mentioning" of a reference statement.

The "evaluation focused statement" has as its source speakers from all parties, the expressed attitude, however, depends on whether a speaker is an opposition or a government MP. Its audience is primarily the general public but also the primary audience if it is used after the live TV broadcast. The projected audience stance of this kind of statement is and evaluation oriented audience who is not interested in political alternatives but rather in explicit or implicit evaluation of the reference text. Its main purpose lies in either praising or criticising a planned government policy. The projected positioning of the author/speaker is in most cases monoglossic (but sometimes heteroglossic). The evaluation of government policies is positive or negative, inscribed or invoked, and draws on all three appraisal resources: judgement/ social sanction/ propriety; appreciation/ valuation; affect/ satisfaction. The intertextual references which are used in these statements are "global mentioning of reference statement", "direct quotation as means for evaluating source", "indirect mentioning of reference statement".

For an integrative interpretation of the results reported in this paper more research would be needed along the following lines: an analysis of more inaugural debates would be needed in order to identify patterns of opposition vs. government's, left vs. right wing parliamentary rhetoric. A more detailed analysis of the function of follow-up moves in complex debate contributions would allow a conclusive characterisation of these utterance types as "genres" (or not). Closer attention to the staged character of the debates (esp. its first, broadcast part) could cast more light on the question what it means to the overhearing audience when an MP presents an "alternative policy" and what it means when they evaluate other politicians. Finally, a comparison of "genres of follow-up moves" found in the present investigation with follow-ups in other political genres outside parliamentary debates (political media discussions, political interaction in the new media etc.) could show in which respects the results presented here are typical for parliamentary debates only and to which extent they are also relevant for other political contexts.

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"I have nothing to do but agree": The reciprocal positioning of journalists and experts in broadcast television news discourse

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Abstract
The present study explores the distinctions, convergences and inner tensions of the affiliated journalist and expert interviews – two sub-types of the news interview, which share many similarities and exhibit some ambiguities. A sample of Israeli broadcast television news was used to locate items combining interviews with both affiliated journalists and external experts. Analysis of the reciprocal positioning of participants in these items reveals a dominant pattern of a largely symmetrical positioning of senior journalists and experts as colleagues, constructed, among other devices, by the recurrent use of meta-discursive comments framing contributions as affiliative follow-ups. The affordances of the tendency towards symmetry and alignment for interviewees, and its implications for the social role of the news and for public perceptions of expertise, are discussed.

1 Theoretical background: Journalists and experts on the news

Interviews with affiliated journalists, members of the broadcasting institution, and with external, unaffiliated experts (e.g., academics, journalists from other news organizations, political consultants, and retired public servants) have been described as two distinct sub-types of the news interview, which exhibit systematic discursive differences (Montgomery 2007, 2008; Roth 2002; Weizman 2008). At the same time, in line with the growing hybridization of news interviews in general (e.g., Thornborrow and Montgomery 2010), they exhibit high degrees of hybridity and ambiguity – both within each sub-type and between the two.

1.1 The ambiguities of experts' positioning

Experts typically appear on the news as neutral commentators, who explain and evaluate events from the sidelines. However, they may be involved to certain degrees in the events and institutions they analyze (Montgomery 2007). Similarly, while experts are typically presented on the news as unaffiliated with the broadcasting institution, and accordingly, as offering an independent point of view (Montgomery 2007), studies of news production practices suggest that the cooperation, influence and power relations between experts and journalists may be complex and varied (Albæk 2011; Reich in press). Consequently, there may be discrepancies between the public discursive positioning of experts and their actual backstage relationship with the news organization. Moreover, to successfully perform on the news, experts are required to adapt to the popular logic and discursive style of the media (Lefstein 2008). Accordingly, they may in fact affiliate with the broadcasting institution and be integrated into news discourse to varying degrees. Finally, there are many functional and thematical similarities between the expert and the affiliated journalist interview, as both are focused on information, explanation, background and analysis (Montgomery 2007).

1.2 The ambiguities of journalists' positioning

The ambiguities and inner tensions of journalistic positioning result from the highly dynamic nature of contemporary news discourse, which is informed by both traditional and emergent norms and practices (Montgomery 2007). Traditionally, journalistic authority is constructed by highlighting professional practices and values, by emphasizing institutional affiliation and by downgrading personal authorship (Coupland 2001). At the same time, in line with contemporary trends of personalization and celebritization of journalism, authority may also be constructed using more emergent practices, such as highlighting the recognizable personas of individual journalists (Hamo 2010; Higgins 2010; Liebes and Kampf 2009; Marshall 2005; Patrona 2012).

Another ambiguity, which is the focus of ongoing academic discussion, concerns the possible status of journalists as experts. Journalists, and particularly senior journalists, gain significant experience and understanding of the fields they cover, but are sometimes criticized as exhibiting quasi-expertise and possessing non-systematic and limited knowledge. Journalists have also been described as parasitic interactional experts, who rely heavily on

expert sources whose knowledge they merely mediate to the public (Reich in press; Tolson 2011).

2 The present study

The present study aimed at further exploring these ambiguities, by focusing on (1) the distinctions and hybridization of the affiliated journalist and expert interviews, (2) the relative importance of traditional and emergent practices for constructing journalistic authority, and (3) the tensions between independence and affiliation and between neutrality and involvement in the role of experts of the news.

The study set out to examine the dynamic in-situ negotiation of these tensions, convergences and distinctions, by analyzing the reciprocal positioning of journalists and experts when they appear on the news together. To this end, items combining interviews with both affiliated journalists and external experts were located within a database of one composite week of all weekday pre-prime and prime-time news shows on the three Israeli broadcast channels, sampled in early 2008.

A total of 20 items, appearing mostly in the extended coverage of highly newsworthy, at times breaking, news, were found, transcribed and analyzed. Particular emphasis was placed on the use of meta-discursive comments and follow-ups as reciprocal positioning devices. Within this framework, follow-ups were defined as meta-discursive comments which explicitly frame talk as relating to previous discourse in the item, regardless of their sequential positioning.

3 Findings

The analysis revealed great diversity of reciprocal positionings, ranging from a clear role distribution, by which journalists report and experts analyze and comment, to a conflation of the two roles, by which both journalist and expert provide a mixture of facts, background, analysis and opinion. These positionings were context-sensitive, influenced by the journalist's seniority and the show's general format, among other factors. Furthermore, the reciprocal positionings of expert and journalist were constantly and dynamically negotiated and re-negotiated by all participants throughout the item, often resulting in intermediate and

ambivalent positionings. This flexibility provides further evidence of the growing complexity of contemporary news discourse (Montgomery 2007).

One dominant pattern emerged out of this wide range of possible reciprocal positionings – a largely symmetrical positioning of senior journalists and experts as colleagues, with only relatively delicate local distinctions between the two roles. This symmetry is discursively constructed through several devices. First, journalists and experts are positioned in parallel interactional roles of interviewees who answer questions, usually with no direct interaction between them. As interviewees, both journalists and experts are clearly distinguished from hosts-interviewers, and the differences in their professional and institutional affiliations are undercut. Secondly, experts and journalists are often symmetrically positioned by hosts, who ask both participants similar, sometimes identical questions. Thirdly, both interviewees produce functionally and thematically similar contributions, which combine facts, background and analysis and exhibit high degrees of confidence and authoritativeness (see examples 1 and 2 below).

3.1 Affiliative follow-ups as a reciprocal positioning device

A key reciprocal positioning device which contributes to the symmetry between experts and journalists is the use of meta-discursive follow-ups. As the majority of the items analyzed are composed of an affiliated interview followed by an expert interview, the expert's contributions as a whole may be interpreted as following-up on the journalist's talk. Experts tend to explicitly orient to this status of their contributions, by meta-discursively framing statements as follow-ups.

As illustrated by Example 1, such meta-discursive comments serve the textual function of maintaining inter-speaker continuity, coherence and cohesion, but often, they also specifically mark the expert's statements as conveying agreement with previous statements by journalists. Part of a lengthy item, example 1 begins as the host concludes an affiliated interview with the channel's military commentator, and introduces the external expert (turn 1).

Example 1:[1] *Today on the news*, pre-primetime highbrow news magazine, Channel 1, February 13 2008. As part of the coverage of the assassination of Hezbollah's Imad

[1] Examples are translated from the original Hebrew. Full transcripts and transliterations are available upon request. Transcription conventions: [words] – overlapping talk; = – overlatch; (.) – pauses, untimed; (...) – incomprehensible words; (words) – transcription doubt; .h – in breath; . – a falling intonation at the end of an

Mughniyah, the host, Keren Noibach (F), interviews the channel's Arab affairs commentator Oded Granot, the channel's military commentator Yoav Limor, and Dr. Boaz Ganor, an expert on terror.

1. Noibach: [>Okay, so let's really open this issue up and add to the conversation Doctor Boaz Ganor, an expert on terror from the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya.< Hello to you.
2. Ganor: Hello Keren.
3. Noibach: So Yoav actually here describes the::: what would have happened, (.) if we'd been before the second, e Lebanon, war and what would have been then, how would look Hezbollah's reaction, to the hit on Mughniyah. Your estimate?
4. Ganor: *First, I have nothing ((to do)) but agree .h with Yoav*, e one should understand that Hezbollah, is perhaps one of the only organizations in the world, that not only wasn't deterred by a state for years, but succeeded in deterring a state, and I mean the state of Israel. It create:d two insights in the state of Israel, that i:f Israel hits, one of the leaders of the organization, then the reaction- or hits it >with another harsh blow, then the reaction will surely follow,< most likely against an Israeli or Jewish interest overseas, *and indeed was mentioned* Buenos Aires in- in its double move, and there were more examples throughout, e throughout history. It also accustomed us that if during an Israeli militar:y operation or an air strike civilians are hurt immediately it reacts with Katyusha ((missiles)), and these insights were learned in the state of Israel, and I think that the Lebanon war, this is at least what the prime minister declares, was meant to actually change these rules of the game, the bad ((rules))=
5. Noibach: =mm=
6. Ganor: =For Israel, that were established. There's no doubt, at least from my point of view, that- *I agree with that too, e with what Yoav said*, it doesn't matter by the way if Israel is responsible or not, and if it turns out tomorrow that in fact it was a Lebanese intelligence

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utterance; , - a continuing rising intonation; ? – a rising intonation at the end of an utterance; WORD – high volume; °word° - low volume; word – emphasis; wo::rd – sound stretch; wor- - cut off; >words< - fast rhythm; <words> - slow rhythm; ((comment)) – transcriber's comments; *words* – meta-discursive follow-up. As the vast majority of participants in the database are men, gender is indicated only in the cases of women, with an (F). For reasons of space, transcripts do not include detailed visual data. The materials exhibit a shared visual pattern of a cyclic transition between medium shots of speakers; long shots of the entire studio; topically relevant, mostly archive, video footage, with the interaction in voice over; a split screen with two separate medium shots of speakers, side by side; and a split screen with a small medium shot of the speaker and a larger window presenting video footage. In addition, there is extensive use of subtitles identifying speakers and summarizing main points, and of a rolling news-bar at the bottom of the screen.

servi:ce, or or a Syrian, the- already now they're preparing in Hezbollah, for an operation (.) against Israel, for- a retribution operation, ((Turn continues))

In turns 4-6, the expert produces three meta-discursive follow-ups (italicized in the transcript). The first – "I have nothing to do but agree with Yoav" – is a reaction to the host's request to evaluate the analysis previously presented by the military commentator (turn 3). This request implicitly sanctions the expert's superior knowledge and authority, and positions him as providing independent corroboration. In his response, the expert not only supports the journalist's analysis by meta-discursively framing his own contribution as agreement, but also presents himself as redundant, unable to make any unique contribution to the discussion, other than reiterating the journalist's analysis.

The second follow-up – "and indeed was mentioned" – serves the textual function of maintaining inter-speaker cohesion and coherence, by citing a previously mentioned fact. The third – "I agree with that too, with what Yoav said" – is again an affiliative follow-up. Here, the expert's ostensible superior status is not invoked, and the agreement conveyed may be interpreted as merely that between colleagues. Finally, Ganor's contribution also demonstrates that expert discourse on the news, as manifested in the present database, exhibits high degree of confidence and underscores personal authorship (e.g., "There's no doubt, at least from my point of view", turn 6).

As illustrated by example 1, the recurrent use of affiliative follow-ups, which frame experts' contributions as agreement with and corroboration of journalists' earlier comments, has dual effects on the positioning of both journalists and experts. As the expert is sanctioning the journalist's knowledge and analytic competence, he supports the journalist's authoritative persona as an expert in the field he covers. On the other hand, the journalist's knowledge and analysis are implicitly presented as requiring verification by a 'real' authority, highlighting the limits of his expertise. In a parallel manner, the expert is positioned as providing independent corroboration for news discourse, but at the same time, by aligning with the journalist, affiliates with news discourse.

These complex dual effects underscore the ambiguities of the journalist-expert relationship. However, alignment, co-authorship and symmetry seem to be the generally dominant effects. First, the possible power hierarchy between expert and journalist is downplayed and symmetry is supported by the fact that journalists produce parallel meta-discursive follow-ups conveying agreement with experts – though more rarely, given the typical sequence of interviews, which gives them fewer opportunities to do so. Secondly, the

preference for alignment and support is evident in the mitigation of disagreement, as illustrated by example 2.

Example 2: *First Edition*, an afternoon news show, Channel 2, April 8 2008. As part of the coverage of the surprise annulment of a plea bargain in the sexual harassment case against the former Israeli president Moshe Katzav, the host, Oren Weigenfeld, talks to three participants, in two rounds of consecutive separate interviews: Guy Peleg, the channel's legal reporter, Amit Segal, the channel's political reporter, who spent the day covering the protests and reactions outside the courthouse, and law Professor Suzie Navot (F). A-D are non-consecutive excerpts.

A. Peleg: ((Beginning of turn omitted)) and if we sum up, back at the time said Meni Mazuz ((the attorney general)), if there hadn't been a plea bargain we would have filed against Moshe Katzav, a severe indictment, including, a series of rapes, it seems to me that it can be estimated today after this announcement and the clear things, written by the ministry of justice, that the inclination (.) prior to the consultations, the inclination >of the attorney general,< is to create a new indictment, ((which is)) much more severe against Moshe Katzav that will include, the- the gravest sexual charge in the law books, the charge of rape.

B. Navot: ((Beginning of turn omitted)) *in continuation to the things e that Guy said*, >it's true that we're going back< to the initial situation, and even if a very severe mm indictment will be filed, that is including rape charges, ((one)) must remember .h that against the- that indictment there are today dozens of pages, of an id::i- a do:cument submitted actually by Mazuz to the court when he tried to justify that amended indictment, .h who:le page:s where he actually details the problems he has, with the evidence, the problems that exist with the credibility of the complaining ((witnesses)), and these are the same complaining ((witnesses)) that today need, to stand, by his si:de, and need to support a new indictment. It can't be ignored (.) th- that we're not going back, [it's] not a situation of zero, (but) we're going back >in a very problematic situation for the prosecutors.<

C. Segal: ((Beginning of turn omitted)) after Meni Mazuz (.) has already explained to the court, to- to the supreme court, (.) that there is no possibility, of convicting Katzav of the more serious charges, of rape, and e the indecent acts detailed >in the indictment draft,< n:o

real possibility to see Katzav, e e Katzav charged with (these) things by Mazuz >after the same Mazuz explained why this can't be done< ((Turn continues))

D. 1. Peleg: ((Beginning of turn omitted)) and it seems to me:, *I will address here the comm[ents said] by my colleagues*,
2. Weigenfeld: [aha]
3. Peleg: em (.) regarding e the- clear things said by Meni Mazuz regarding the credibility of the complaining ((witnesses)), one mustn't forget that the m- head of the country's justice system, the president of the Supreme Court, she said, so what if you have doubts, so what if there's disputes [(…..)]
4. Weigenfeld: [Let the judges] decide=
5. Peleg: =exactly, let the judges decide, and from this moment ((on)) >I think that Meni Mazuz can feel< e at peace, and secure, with this kind of backwind from the president of the Supreme Court, ((Turn continues))

Example 2 demonstrates the relatively symmetrical positioning of journalists and experts and the conflation of their roles: all three participants focus on the same issue – the plausibility of a severe indictment, including rape charges, against former Israeli president Moshe Katzav – while drawing on background information on the Katzav affair in support of their evaluations. Symmetry is further reinforced by the legal reporter's reference to both a fellow reporter and a law professor as "my colleagues" (D1), and by his insistence to maintain and defend his initial evaluation despite the expert's disagreement, not yielding to her superior knowledge but rather positioning himself as her equal (D3).

As the above excerpts illustrate, only minute differences in the positioning of participants are preserved within the general symmetry. For instance, while the contents of the contributions of law professor Navot (B) and political and field reporter Segal (C) are almost identical, Segal uses a more colloquial register, in line with the normative perception of journalists as mediators who translate expert knowledge to the public (Montgomery 2007; Reich in press).

In excerpts B and D, Law professor Suzie Navot and legal reporter Guy Peleg present contradictory evaluations while mitigating their disagreement. Both frame their contributions in neutral, non-adversarial terms ("in continuation to the things e that Guy said"; "I will address here the comments said by my colleagues"), and present counter-arguments in impersonal form ("It can't be ignored"; "one mustn't forget"). The mitigation of disagreement

is further supported by the fact that Navot opens her contribution by accepting some of Peleg's comments ("It's true").

Such mitigation is particularly noteworthy in the context of Israeli mediated political discourse, which, due to the influence of the highly adversarial traditional Jewish-Israeli discursive style, typically exhibits a preference for intensified disagreement (Blum-Kulka, Blondheim and Hacohen 2002). Accordingly, the mitigation of disagreement in the present database provides strong evidence of the preference for agreement and mutual alignment between journalists and experts as co-interviewees.

3.2 The expert interview's affordances for politicians

Recently, the relative salience of both affiliated journalist and expert interviews in broadcast television news has risen. This has been partly explained by the growing distrust towards politicians, which leads to a greater emphasis on expert analysis of their actions rather than on direct communication with them, in the format of the classic political accountability interview (Hopmann and Strömbäck 2010; Horsbøl 2010; Kroon-Lundell and Eriksson 2010). The same trend is reflected in a shift within accountability interviews, which are becoming increasingly adversarial (e.g., Eriksson 2011). Against the backdrop of this journalistic hostility, the rare occasions when politicians are invited to perform as expert interviewees provide them with unique and valuable affordances, demonstrated by example 3.

Example 3a: *London and Kirshenbaum*, highbrow pre-primetime news magazine, Channel 10, February 13 2008. As part of the coverage of the assassination of Hezbollah's Imad Mughniyah, and following two affiliated interviews, with senior Arab affairs correspondent Zvi Yehezkeli, and with military commentator Alon Ben-David, the host, Yaron London, turns to a third interviewee – Dani Yatom. Yatom was introduced at the beginning of the item as "a Knesset Member of the labor party ((then in the coalition)) who was a retired IDF general and also the head of the Mossad".

1. London: =Dani Yatom, when, when e it's decided, em when Israel decides, to settle the score with someone, em how, what is the process of- by which we-=
2. Yatom: =I don't know, I don't know if Israel is behind this=
3. London: =No, behind this, no way,=

4. Yatom: And I don't know, I don't know who's doing this, or who did this, I only know that Imad Mughniyah was destined to die for many many years, and he's o:n the top part of the wanted list, of many many countries, including countries much bigger much stronger, and with much greater capabilities than, than our capabilities, for example the United States of America. An:::d he: e was responsible for many years, for all the secret activity of Hezbollah, that which even after its execution was not made public, (.) Hezbollah did not claim responsibility for it. He was not only, the master of hiding, *as was said here by Alon*, but he had a creative devilish mind. I think that this is the major loss for Hezbollah, in them losing one of the more creative planners, one of the more meticulous executors, because even after he executed ((terror)) attacks, it was very hard, to retrace his steps, for instance the investigatio::n regarding the two attacks i:n Buenos Aires, in Argentina, has taken many many years not just because of the fact, that the: authorities who investigated the attacks, on the Amia building, the Jewish community building, a::nd the Israeli embassy, e acted in a shoddy manner, but also because of the fact that Imad Mughniyah used to, leave, very few traces if any, and mo:st of the activities he did overseas, were a full cooperation with the Iranian intelligence. And there is in thi:s a great loss for Hezbollah, a remarkable e:: intelligence penetration, exceptional, and a >very very< great operational ability.=
5. London: =What were his assumed identities whi:le, in his stays overseas?

In turn 1, the politician is asked to provide privileged information on decision making processes in the Israeli security establishment. This reflects his hybrid status, as an interviewee who may be called upon to demonstrate expertise and/or be held accountable. He rejects this hybridity by refusing to answer the question, even hypothetically (turns 2-4). Instead, he re-positions himself as strictly an expert: He gives detailed background on Mughniyah (turn 4) – echoing and repeating, as he meta-discursively acknowledges ("as was said here by Alon"), information provided earlier in the two affiliated interviews, thus aligning with the journalists.

In the context of a political accountability interview, such a blatant topical shift and role re-negotiation would be considered extremely evasive (Weizman 2008). Here, in the context of an expert interview, the same move goes unchallenged, and the politician is allowed to continue his lengthy monologue. Moreover, the host adopts and extends the new topical agenda and discursive role set by the interviewee (turn 5).

Example 3b: *London and Kirshenbaum*, highbrow pre-primetime news magazine, Channel 10, February 13 2008. As part of the coverage of the assassination of Hezbollah's Imad Mughniyah, after concluding the interview with Yatom, the host turns back to military commentator Alon Ben-David, with questions regarding possible retribution for Mughniyah's assassination. Following Ben-David's answer and a few follow-up questions and clarifications, the following interaction ensues.

1. London: [Is it advisable- is it advisable- I rai:: think a theoretical question, is it advisable to eliminate such a person?
2. Ben-David: That's a very difficult question. Very difficult. Some will say to you, e there are people who should die, whatever the cost may be. As we have learned in the flesh-
3. London: Justice? Jus[ice?
4. Ben-David: [or-
5. London: A matter of justice?
6. Ben-David: A matter of stopping their activity. Bu[t, as we have learned after the attacks in Argentina,]
7. London: [Yes. (.) You want (after him?) Yes.]
8. Ben-David: The elimination of Abbass Mussawi both brought about a hundred and twenty casualties and raised Hezbollah, to a level of an organization much more dominant than [it was before. ((Theme music that signals a commercial break starts))
9. London: [Would you settle for a short sentence?=
10. Yatom: =In a short sentence, I think tha::t in the war on terror, which is a very very long and at times Sisyphean war, one should try and locate all the points of weakness and points of strength and hit them. And one of the major stre- strength points of any terror organization is the leadership, and one should carry out attacks there too.
11. London: Thanks very much.

In example 3b, the politician takes the initiative by non-verbally requesting permission to speak (as evidenced by the host's reaction in turn 7). Again, his initiative is supported and accepted by the host (turn 9). Once he gains the floor, Yatom provides an answer to a question originally addressed at the military commentator (turn 1), which in itself supports the symmetrical positioning of politician and journalist as fellow authoritative experts, who are entitled to provide evaluations and judgments.

Note that within this general symmetry, some differences are maintained: Yatom presents an unequivocal and unmitigated pro-assassination stand ("one should carry out attacks"), while underscoring his personal commitment ("I think"). By contrast, Ben-David presents both pro- (turns 2, 6) and con- (turn 8) considerations, and refrains from personal authorship by using an unspecified attribution (turn 2) and by presenting facts without fully explicating the conclusions they entail (turn 8).

While Yatom and Ben-David present somewhat opposing views, the potential conflict remains entirely implicit and is not emphasized or developed. Both Ben-David and the host refrain from assuming a challenging 'watchdog' capacity and holding Yatom, as a member of the Israeli government, accountable for the possible dire consequences of a pro-assassination policy. Thus, Yatom uses key features of the expert interview – its non-challenging and respectful setting, the preference for support and alignment among participants and the possibility to dynamically re-negotiate their reciprocal positioning – to foster an authoritative and trustworthy persona, to construct an affiliative, rather than an antagonistic, relationship with the journalistic community, and to deflect accountability.

4 Conclusions

The analysis indicates that affiliaitive follow-ups are a key reciprocal positioning device, which, combined with other devices, reflects a tendency towards symmetry, alignment and support between journalists and experts on the news. As this tendency positions senior journalists as the colleagues of experts, it highlights their own expertise and experience in the fields they cover, underscoring an individual-personal, rather than professional, positioning. It also supports the affiliation of external experts with the broadcasting institution and their integration into news discourse.

The discursive construction of expertise, of external experts and journalists alike, may have detrimental socio-cultural and political implications. First, as the preference for alignment promotes a single co-authored argument, rather than a multi-voiced debate, it may circumscribe public discussion. Similarly, as expertise presents itself as highly self-confident and unchallengeable, it may foster uncritical submission to authoritativeness.

Moreover, both the symmetry between experts and journalists and their authoritativeness lead to an emphasis on discursive performance. It seems that expertise is manifested foremost by the communicative competence to produce highly confident and

opinionated discourse, and less in neutral analysis supported by institutional credentials, experience, and the provision of factual evidence. This provides further evidence of the growing celebritization of journalism and expertise (Lewis 2010; Marshall 2005).

Consequently, and in sharp contrast to some of the explicitly declared goals of the growing emphasis on background, analysis and commentary by experts and journalists on the news, the discursive construction of expertise on television news does not seem to promote critical thinking and a better understanding of political issues among audiences (cf. Tolson 2011).

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Metadiscourse in follow-ups: Crossing the micro-macro divide in political dialogue

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Abstract

One of the recurrent discursive and argumentative strategies in political discourse is the use of multi-functional metadiscourse in follow-ups, which can operate on several levels of discourse, from the micro- to the macro-level. A wide range of metadiscursive practices (Craig 1999, Ilie 2000, 2003) are used by Members of Parliament in follow-ups not only to challenge each other and seek to undermine each other's line of argumentation, but also to call into question each other's credibility and thereby influence the audience's perception and understanding of their actual political goals. By investigating instances of follow-ups that occur in Prime Minister's Question Time, the present study shows how particular micro-level types of metadiscourse can account for (re)shaping institutional relationships and for producing shifts in the balance of power at the macro-level.

1 Correlating the micro- and macro-levels of analysis

Communicative acts performed by language users in varying kinds of *micro-level* interactions are constitutive elements of *macro-level* phenomena such as social, legal, or political actions, to name but a few. Hence these communicative acts need to be analysed within wider frameworks of societal environments, legal systems, or political cultures. Macrostructures are composed of aggregations of recurring micro-encounters which do not only create, but also sustain and recreate the macro. The interpretation of reiterated and sequencing actions at micro-level is context-dependent and can be predictable to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the regulations and procedures of particular institutional settings. The impact at macro-level, however, can be highly unpredictable. This is why a more systematic analysis and a stronger correlation between the two levels – micro and macro – is necessary if we want to get a better understanding of their mutual influence and interdependence.

The examination of political discourses entails scrutinising the interaction between individual agency and the larger constraining social networks and institutional structures

within which that agency is enacted. The interactive strategies used in interpersonal and institutional interaction to maintain or challenge the power balance by role and position shifts can adequately be examined only by correlating the micro- and macro-levels of analysis in relation to socio-political cultures, dialogic norms, institutional procedures, professional roles and rhetorical speaking styles. A theoretical approach is proposed in this study that integrates a micro-level with a macro-level analysis. The discursive practices of tradition-based and rule-governed political institutions like parliaments need to be studied at the micro-level from the perspective of patterns of cooperation, competition, domination and/or subordination among its members, and at the macro-level as shaped by institutional forces (political and socio-cultural traditions, moral norms of conduct and interaction) that involve both opportunity (acquiring and maintaining power and influence) and constraint (complying with norms of interaction, avoiding prohibited behaviour and forbidden words or expressions).

2 Metadiscourse at the micro-macro level interface

The correlation between the micro- and the macro-level analyses can contribute to highlighting the convergence, as well as the divergence, between the intentions and expectations of the interlocutors. The notion of *metadiscourse* is central to the present paper since it is instrumental in relating the micro and macro levels of discourse. Metadiscourse serves to foreground and background rhetorical strategies used in ongoing negotiations of the degree of directness, explicitness, appropriateness, etc., of the interlocutors' discursive input and feedback. Since metadiscursive phrases and utterances are simultaneously situated inside, outside, and beyond, the discourse proper, i.e., they may refer to, and be a part of, either the sequential or the hierarchical organisation of discourse, it is important to find a suitable frame of analysis that should capture all the aspects of this complexity. Moreover, as has been pointed out by Caffi, "metapragmatic competence is potentially subversive, for instance, when it enables the hearer to verify whether the preparatory conditions of appropriateness of a speech act are fulfilled" (1998: 585). A wide range of metadiscursive practices (Craig 1999, Ilie 2000, 2003) are used by political speakers and debaters to fine-tune, highlight or play down humorous interplay, positive self-disclosure or negative other-disclosure, defensive or offensive moves, interpersonal dissent or mutual understanding. Politicians often resort to metadiscursive devices (e.g. parentheticals, clichés, quotes, terminological re-definitions, metaphorical formulations, humorous or ironical innuendos) to criticise, attack and discredit

political adversaries by targeting their personal shortcomings and political failures. An interdisciplinary framework of analysis involving speech act theory, discourse analysis and rhetoric will be used in this study to account for the multi-layered functions of metadiscourse in parliamentary interaction.

3 Metadiscourse and rhetorical acts

By using language reflexively, metadiscursive utterances involve concomitant or accompanying rhetorical acts, which are correlated with particular speech acts that they highlight, tone down or challenge. In parliamentary debates, metadiscursive utterances contribute to negotiating and re-negotiating interactant positions, statements and actions, since interlocutors are involved in co-constructing the meaning being communicated. In parliamentary interaction speakers often use metadiscursive utterances to obliquely allude to and reflect on interlocutors, hearers, third persons, institutions, events, etc. A systematic and consistent analysis of metadiscourse as an instance of language reflexivity should be able to account for the correlations between the interlocutors' representational and discursive processes, on the one hand, and for the shifts and overlaps between discursive and interpersonal levels, on the other.

Bateson (1972 [1955]) distinguishes between *metalinguistic messages*, where the subject of discourse is language, and *metacommunicative messages*, where the subject of discourse is the relationship between speakers. Extending Popper's evolutionary epistemology (1972) and functional theory of language (1972 [1963]), Leech (1983) goes so far as to define the *argumentative (metalingual) function* of communication as part of a framework of parallel and hierarchical worlds. According to Stati (1982), who uses the term *metadialogica*, the dialogue involves three main elements: phatic, metasemantic and metapragmatic. He adds a temporal dimension. His metadialogic time frame may refer to a past moment, a past and present moment, or a present (concomitant) moment.

Traditionally, in terms of target orientation, the functions of metadiscursive utterances have been normally divided into three main orientations:

- **message-oriented**: focused on the structure of what is said (linguistic markers: 'let me begin by', 'first of all I shall', 'in conclusion')

- **hearer-oriented**: focused on the way the interlocutor is to interpret the content of what is said (linguistic markers: 'in confidence', 'between you and me', 'frankly', 'briefly')

- **speaker-oriented**: focused on the speaker's commitment to what s/he is saying (linguistic markers: 'obviously', 'justifiably', 'of course', 'possibly', 'perhaps')

However, in parliamentary interaction the picture becomes more complex, due to the real, as well as virtual, polyphony of voices (Bakhtin 1986) occurring within an institutionally pre-determined discourse environment and turn-taking system. Moreover, none of the three metadiscursive orientations is a discrete category in the sense that there are overlaps between them. Thus, **message-orientation** does not only mean orientation towards the **speaker's message**, it can also mean orientation towards the **hearer's message** or some other **message originating in the institution/party represented by the hearer**, too. Similarly, in parliamentary debates **hearer-orientation** can also involve **audience-orientation** (orientation towards the present audience of Members of Parliament, visitors in the Strangers' Gallery, and TV viewers). In many cases it is the co-occurrence of more than one communicative orientation that contributes to giving rhetorical force to the metadiscursive message. One of the major rhetorical strategies used in parliamentary confrontation is the interactive dialogic metadiscourse performed at several discourse levels. In order to get a proper understanding of the ways in which metadiscursive messages are integrated and function at different discourse levels, it is necessary to take into account the following distinguishing features:

(a) It is not always possible to isolate discourse and metadiscourse. They may be distinguished, but not separated. What counts as metadiscourse in one situation may simply be discourse in another situation.

(b) There are several levels of dialogic metadiscourse, within and between individual turns.

(c) Various categories of metadiscourse, like categories of discourse, are a matter of degree.

While performing their institutional commitments, Members of Parliament are rhetorical agents impersonating at least two roles, public and private, constantly oscillating between the public role as representatives of a part of the electorate, and the private one, as members of the same electorate they represent. As representatives of the electorate, Members of

Parliament are particularly interested and highly motivated to reinforce their **credibility** (which is a concept closely related to the rhetorical "*pistis"* deriving from the classical personification – through Pistis in Greek mythology – of good faith, trust and reliability). As a result, Members of Parliament are expected to impersonate a **consistency** between their statements and actions in their two interrelated roles as public and as private persons. Their major goal is to create a trustworthy self-image and to construct a convincing line of policy-based argumentation, while at the same time challenging and seeking to undermine the credibility of their political adversaries. This is why some of the most frequently recurring issues in parliamentary confrontation are related to the rhetorical imperative of "*responsibility"* (politicians are expected to act responsibly, to assume responsibility for their initiatives and policies, in other words to be responsive to and responsible for the others) and "*accountability"* (politicians must be held accountable for their acts by the electorate and by the citizens).

The ethical prerequisites and consequences of responsibility and accountability are usually articulated in terms of the connection between present contingencies with situations originating in the past. Rhetorically, the principle of *"kairos"* refers to timeliness, which can be conceived in two ways: first, the deterministic notion of kairos as a preordained 'right' time in which certain activities are appropriate or called for, and second, the relativistic notion of kairos as an exercise "in the nick of time." Taking into account the two interpretations of rhetorical kairos makes it possible to understand that some well-timed rhetorical effects (humor, for example) cannot be determined by strict rules, but rather are relative to context and situation. Applied to political discourse analysis, the relativistic dimension of kairos helps to explain how rhetorical *"truth"* relies not on the representation of objective facts, but on the terms of what is generally understood and accepted at a particular time. According to this sense of kairos, identical rhetorical acts can appear justified or good at one time, unjustified or evil at another. On a moral level, the absence of absolute standards by which to hold political agents accountable for their acts actually invests them with greater moral responsibility to discern when to act and what act to perform. The recognition of these two views of kairos implies that political acting, reacting and interacting involve combining the wisdom to judge the proper time to speak with the courage to speak at the precise moment when one's rhetorical contribution will be most effective.

4 Follow-ups as metadiscursive speech acts

The various types of speech acts performed by interacting agents within the framework of varying dialogic institutional contexts exhibit a wide range of context-based meanings, which emerge from a convergence of linguistic norms, social conventions and institutional regulations. More often than not, these speech acts involve metadiscursive messages meant to reinforce, challenge, or change the focus and scope of ongoing dialogue. Following Vande Kopple (1985), Crismore (1989) pointed out that in written discourse "metadiscourse calls attention to the communicative speech act itself, seeks to engage the reader as an active human being, and signals the presence of the author" (p.11). With regard to spoken discourse, a significant contribution was made by Beauvais (1989) in an attempt to integrate the theoretical approach to metadiscourse into the larger framework of conversation analysis provided by speech act theorists. He identified particular instantiations of metadiscourse in terms of different functions performed by context-specific speech acts. Three of the *complex speech acts* he identified are relevant to the study of political metadiscourse: *relational*, *evaluative* and *commissive speech acts*. According to him, *relational speech acts* supplement the basic illocutionary force conveyed by a speech act by pointing to sequential and causal links between passages of propositional discourse. By extrapolation, sequential and causal links can be identified in the metadiscourse within and between turns in dialogic interaction. *Evaluative speech acts* indicate the speaker's assessment of propositional meaning. In addition to performing acts of stating, evaluative speech acts express the speaker's attitudes concerning the validity of the propositions, as well as other judgemental reactions to propositions (e.g. "I believe", "I doubt"). *Commissive speech acts* indicate that the speaker is committed to performing specific acts and therefore assumes full responsibility.

When analysing the structure and functions of metadiscursive speech acts at both micro- and macro-level, an obvious interdependence is noticeable between the two analytical levels. At the micro-level, performing a speech act in an institutional setting such as the parliament involves the use of ritualised forms of address (Ilie 2005a, 2010a), recurring key words (Ilie 1999a, 2007), recycled clichés (1999b, 2000), counter-clichés (Ilie 2006b), specific questioning and answering patterns (Ilie 2003, 2005b), to name but a few. Political discourse enacted in parliamentary interaction exhibits context-specific instances of interpersonally managed metadiscourse. The structure and sequence of the interlocutors' utterances is conditioned, apart from institutional constraints and practices, by their respective viewpoints and by what they assume about each other's political positioning, ideological

commitments and cognitive experiences. When engaging in political confrontation and deliberation, MPs initiate and respond to each other's speech acts through **metadiscursive *follow-ups*** at varying levels: textual, intertextual and interpersonal. Political speech acts enacted as follow-ups are not performed separately, as self-standing units. Rather, they occur in discourse sequences and are performed by speakers engaged in well-defined speech activities, such as debating, explaining, challenging, accusing, justifying, a.s.o. In such cases the appropriateness of the speech acts embedded in follow-ups needs to be evaluated at the macro-level, with reference to broader frames of action and goals than those implicit in the act itself.

5 Analytical approach

Parliamentary confrontation is largely ritualistic and role-related, but can take unpredictable forms depending on the rhetorical skills and power balance between the interlocutors. A follow-up is normally conditioned by preceding metadiscursive speech act(s) and, in its turn, it conditions subsequent metadiscursive speech acts. This can be observed both in the successive speech acts performed by one speaker and in the succession of alternating speech acts performed by interacting debaters. In parliamentary dialogue, more than in other types of dialogue, **metadiscursive follow-ups** indicate how interlocutors negotiate not only the pros and cons of topic-related issues, but also the' status, roles and power positions of Members of Parliament.

In order to identify the correlation between particular metadiscursive speech acts at micro- and macro-level in terms of interconnected follow-ups, the present analysis has been carried out on data from a parliamentary corpus including transcripts of Prime Minister's Question Time in the UK Parliament. The focus is on metadiscursive speech acts used as follow-ups in Prime Minister's Question Time (PMQT) on 7 April 2010.

In terms of turn structure, three main levels of metadiscursive speech acts are identifiable in parliamentary dialogic interaction, as indicated by different colours in extract (1) below:

- **TURN-INITIAL level (marked in blue)**

- **TURN-MEDIAL level (marked in red)**

- **TURN-FINAL level (marked in green)**

Extract (1)
Mr. David Cameron (Witney) (Con): As this is the last Prime Minister's questions of this Parliament, it is the last chance for this Prime Minister to show that he is accountable for the decisions that he has made. Will he start by admitting that when British forces were sent into Helmand, they did not have sufficient helicopters to protect themselves and get the job done?
The Prime Minister (Gordon Brown): I do not accept that in any operation to which we sent our troops our commanding officers gave wrong advice; they told us that they were properly equipped. Every time, in every operation, we ask our commanding officers, "Are we able to do this operation?" and our commanding officers have said yes, they can. So I have to say to the right hon. Gentleman that we have done our best to equip our troops, and we will continue to do so. It is right that I take full responsibility, but I take the advice of our commanding officers, and the advice of our commanding officers is very clear.
Mr. Cameron: That answer sums up this premiership. The Prime Minister takes no responsibility and always blames somebody else. Why can he not just admit something that everybody knows to be true - that there were not enough helicopters? Let us listen to Colonel Stuart Tootal, former commander of 3 Para. He said:

> "repeated demands for more helicopters fell on deaf ears. It increased risk for my paratroopers, but",

as he put it,

> "the decision-makers"-

yes, the Ministers -

> "were not the ones driving into combat when we should have been flying in."

The Foreign Office Minister that the Prime Minister appointed, Lord Malloch-Brown, said as late as last year:

> "We definitely don't have enough helicopters."

Presumably, the Prime Minister is going to tell us that all those people were just deceived.
The Prime Minister: We have increased the number of helicopters in Afghanistan. We have increased the flying time by more than 100 per cent. I think that the right hon. Gentleman should recognise that the Merlins were adapted, and are now in Afghanistan. He should also recognise that the Chinooks were also adapted, so that they, too, can be in Afghanistan. He should recognise that we have other helicopters in Afghanistan that are working, and we are part of an international operation in Afghanistan, where we share equipment with our coalition partners. I have to say to him that the amount of money spent in Afghanistan now is £5 billion a year; that is 1,000 extra vehicles, and twice the number of flying time hours for our helicopters. I think that he should accept that our troops, for the operations that they are asked to undertake, have been given the equipment that they need. That is the right position.
Mr. Cameron: Again, no answer. *[Interruption.]*
(Hansard Transcripts, House of Commons, Prime Minister's Question Time, 7 April 2010)

In terms of sequential focus and scope, the question-response interaction in parliamentary debates displays three main types of metadiscursive speech acts:

- **CHALLENGING acts (marked in italics)**
  - **accusing**

- defending

- countering

- **PARENTHETICAL acts (marked in bold)**
  - **- insinuating**
  - **- paraphrasing**
  - **- quoting**

- **EVALUATIVE acts (underlined)**
  - **- message-evaluative**
  - **- other-evaluative**
  - **- self-evaluative**

Basically PMQT sessions consist of identifiable sequences of questions and responses of Members of Parliament, both of which include follow-ups. While the parliamentary line of questioning is institutionally pre-determined to a certain extent, there is no fully predictable sequence of questions and responses. This can be accounted for by the high degree of complexity and correlation exhibited by the discursive and metadiscursive acts performed in each turn of the debating Members of Parliament. One and the same turn may include one to several kinds of metadiscursive acts (challenging, parenthetical and/or evaluative), as illustrated in the annotated extracts 1(a) to 1(e) below.

Extract 1(a)
Mr. David Cameron (Witney) (Con):

Opening Statement As this is the last Prime Minister's questions of this Parliament, *it*
Intro & Insinuating act *is the last chance for this Prime Minister to show that he is accountable for the decisions that he has made*.

(yes-no) Question *Will he start by admitting* that when British forces were sent
Accusing act into Helmand, they did not have sufficient helicopters to protect themselves and get the job done?

Extract 1(b)
The Prime Minister (Gordon Brown):

(neg) Follow-up Resp. *I do not accept* that in any operation to which we sent our
Countering act troops our commanding officers gave wrong advice.

(pos) Response *So I have to say to the right hon. Gentleman* that …
Defending act

(pos) Follow-up Resp. *It is right that I take full responsibility*, but I take the advice of …
Countering &
Self-evaluative act

Extract 1(c)
Mr. David Cameron (Witney) (Con):

(neg) Follow-up State. That answer sums up this premiership.
Evaluative act

(neg) Follow-up State. The Prime Minister takes no responsibility and always blames somebody else.
Accusing &Evaluative act

(wh-)Follow-up Question *Why can he not just admit* **something that everybody knows to be true** - that there were not enough helicopters?
Accusing & Insinuat.act

Intro & Follow-up State. **Let us listen to Colonel Stuart Tootal, former commander of 3 Para. He said**: […] **as he put it** […] **yes, the Ministers** […]
Quoting & Paraphrasing

(neg) Prefacing State. *Presumably, the Prime Minister is going to tell us* that all those people were just deceived.
Accusing act

Extract 1(d)
The Prime Minister (Gordon Brown):

(pos) Follow-up Resp. *I think that the right hon. Gentleman should recognise that* [the Merlins were adapted, and are now in Afghanistan]. *He should also recognise that* […] *I have to say to him that* […] *I think that he should accept* […]
Countering acts

Extract 1(e)
Mr. David Cameron (Witney) (Con):

(neg) Follow-up State. Again, no answer.
Evaluative act

In 1(a) the challenging metadiscursive acts of David Cameron, leader of the opposition, are meant to introduce and reinforce his challenging questions as expected attacks on Prime Minister Gordon Brown. At issue is the Prime Minister's accountability regarding his decisions related to the suitability of the equipment (in particular the number and quality of helicopters) provided to the British troops in Afghanistan. Having started by insinuating that the Prime Minister cannot show accountability for his decisions, Cameron challenges the

Prime Minister by means of an accusing metadiscursive act framed as a loaded question. This type of question is used to limit a respondent's options in answering it (Walton 1981). Moreover, it is often rhetorically fallacious in the sense that it combines several presuppositions, which amounts to combining several questions into one, i.e. the *fallacy of many questions*. A classical example is "Have you stopped abusing your spouse?" No matter which of the two answers ('yes' or 'no') the respondent gives, s/he concedes engaging or having engaged in spousal abuse. By treating the negative assumptions about the Prime Minister's past action as commonly accepted, Cameron manages to add an assumed answer to a question that was never asked. The question "Will he start by admitting [X]?" presupposes that the validity of [X] has already been established in agreement with the Prime Minister, which is actually not the case.

Since Cameron is entitled, as leader of the opposition, to ask several successive questions, he takes advantage of this situation and in 1(c) uses several discursive and metadiscursive follow-ups to continue attacking the PM. These follow-ups are framed as both statements and questions. The first statement is intended as an evaluative metadiscursive act ("That answer sums up this premiership."), whereas the second ("The Prime Minister takes no responsibility and always blame somebody else.") has the force of both an accusing and evaluative metadiscursive act. Cameron's follow-up question (*Why can he not just admit* **something that everybody knows to be true** […]?") functions as an accusing and insinuating act. Unlike the question in 1(a), which is a yes-no question, this one is a particular type of wh-question, i.e. why-question, which is often used to incriminate the addressee since it contains embedded claims for which no evidence is provided (e.g. "something that everybody knows to be true"). A rhetorically powerful way used by Members of Parliament to reinforce their attacks on the Prime Minister during Question Time is the use of metadiscursive paraphrases ("**yes, the Ministers** […]") and metadiscursively introduced quotes ("**Let us listen to** […]"; "**He said**: […]"; "**as he put it** […]"), which are meant to provide supporting evidence against the Prime Minister from members of his own government.

As can be seen in 1(b), the Prime Minister starts responding to Cameron's attacks with a negative follow-up statement ("*I do not accept*") framed as a countering metadiscursive act which refutes the presupposition of Cameron's fallacious metadiscursive question ("*Will he start by admitting* […]?"). A similar refutation is conveyed by the PM through the countering and self-evaluative follow-up "*It is right that I take full responsibility*" in response to Cameron's insinuating act "*it is the last chance for this Prime Minister to show that he is*

accountable […]". By means of such follow-up statements and questions Members of Parliament engage in an ongoing exchange of *competitive metadiscursive acts* that are intended to cancel each other.

In 1(d) the Prime Minister responds by counter-attacking his opponent by repeatedly using the same metadiscursive speech act pattern – "he should recognize/accept" – in a rhetorical three-part list: "*I think that the right hon. Gentleman should recognise that* […]"; "*He should also recognise that* […]"; "*I think that he should accept* […]". Thus, the Prime Minister continues to challenge Cameron with countering, rather than defending, metadiscursive acts.

6 Concluding remarks

In parliamentary dialogue speech act sequences allow interlocutors to negotiate not only the pros and cons of topic-related issues, but also the status, roles and power positions of Members of Parliament. Within the institutional frame of parliamentary debates, the acts, identity, and multiple roles of Members of Parliament are explicitly challenged and called into question. The extracts analysed above contain prototypical metadiscursive speech acts and follow-ups that occur in the interaction between questioner and respondent during Question Time. As the analysis has shown, political speech acts enacted as follow-ups are not performed separately, as self-standing units. Rather, they occur in discourse sequences and are performed by speakers engaged in well-defined speech activities, such as debating, explaining, challenging, accusing, justifying, a.s.o. By using accusing or countering metadiscursive acts, for example, Members of Parliament are not only challenging each other and seeking to undermine each other's line of argumentation, they are actually calling into question each other's credibility and accountability with respect to their assumed responsibilities towards electors and citizens. The varying uses of micro-level metadiscursive speech acts indicate that both the questioner and the respondent seek to challenge the justifiability and effectiveness of each other's macro-level political acts in order to influence the audience's perception and understanding of their actual political goals.

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Columbine revisited: Follow-ups and the fractalization of events in the modern media

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Abstract

Typically, journalistic follow-ups are said to shed new light on things already thought to be known by providing more information about them. Herein lies their potential power to steer perceptions, influence public opinion, and promote different political, ideological, and commercial agendas. The paper surveys follow-ups to the 1999 Columbine High School massacre in the USA over the past thirteen years, focusing on the event's instrumentalization in the media as a projective surface for attempts to market differently motivated conclusions about its implications. The outcome of the past decade's media follow-ups and spin-offs to the Columbine massacre seems less to have been a clarified picture of the shootings themselves than a kaleidoscopic proliferation of ad hoc hypotheses about reiterated details. Information overload seems to have resulted in a progressive 'fractalization' of the event. The paper concludes that making sense of events in the world becomes increasingly problematic when the amount of information about them available in the media exceeds our capacity to process it.

1 Introduction

Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?
(T.S. Eliot, *Choruses From 'The Rock'*, 1934)

At the time T.S. Eliot wrote these lines, he could hardly have imagined the quantity of information that would be produced, stored, and disseminated through the media eighty years later. Already twenty years ago it was claimed that a normal weekday issue of the *New York Times* contained more information than a person in seventeenth century England would have encountered in a lifetime (Wurman 1989). A decade later, it was said that the past thirty years had produced more information than the previous five thousand (Bird 1997). Today, *Wikipedia* is claimed to be editing and updating eleven million internet articles each month (onlineschools 2011).

This paper is broadly about media follow-ups and the limits of public understanding in

an age of information overload. Never before have media users had access to more information about breaking news events, faster, longer, and in more modes and media, than they do today. The temporal and emotional immediacy of breaking news television coverage and the nearly unlimited retrievability of information from the internet have come to profoundly influence not only modern journalistic practice but also the public's perceptions, knowledge, and understanding of reported events in the world.

Critics of modern information technology have long shared T.S. Eliot's skepsis about information for its own sake, claiming that too much information disrupts discourse, complicates attempts to understand complex events, and triggers uncertainty and anxiety (Michael 1984; Wurman 1989; Jungwirth and Bertram 2002). In his book *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, Neil Postman states that one of the greatest threats posed by modern information technology is its massive proliferation of context-free information:

The milieu in which Technopoly flourishes is one in which the tie between information and human purpose has been severed, i.e., information appears indiscriminately, directed at no one in particular, in enormous volume and at high speeds, and disconnected from theory, meaning, or purpose (Postman 1993: 70).

The paper addresses some of the effects of information disconnected from knowledge and appearing in enormous volume at high speeds in the past thirteen year's media reports about the Columbine High School massacre in Littleton, Colorado in April, 1999. The Columbine massacre generated unparalleled media attention in the U.S.A. at the time it occurred. Many myths grew up around it in the initial coverage that have continued to persist in the U.S. press, television, film, and internet since then. At the same time, the objective facts about the event have remained unclear to much of the public. In part, this is because the most authoritative accounts of the shootings by police and investigative journalists are vastly outnumbered today in the internet by masses of earlier reports, follow-ups, and spin-offs based on the myths. The Columbine story – in all of its retrievable variations – exemplifies some of the difficulties of attempting to forge understanding out of context-free information in an age of media overkill.

2 The Columbine High School massacre

On April 20th, 1999, at 11:21 a.m., the Jefferson County (JEFCO) Colorado Sheriff's Office received an emergency call reporting that gun shots had been fired at Columbine High School

in the affluent Denver suburb of Littleton. Two Columbine students, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, had entered the school in black trench coats throwing homemade bombs and shooting students in a spree of violence that left twelve students and a teacher dead, and twenty-four students injured. When police teams began entering the building at about noon, Harris and Klebold committed suicide. It was the deadliest high school shooting in US history up to that time. Partly due to the intensive live media coverage it received, in the next ten years, more than a hundred similar school shootings took place in the U.S. (Roberts 2009). Today, the Columbine massacre serves as the prototype for student killing sprees in schools throughout the Western World.

The speed and magnitude of the media response to the breaking story in Littleton was unprecedented in American television journalism up to that time. Reporters were already covering the scene before the first large police units arrived. According to the official Sheriff's report later, somewhere between 400 and 500 reporters were present at the height of the media coverage. With them came 75 to 90 Satellite trucks, several news helicopters, and up to 60 television cameras. At least 20 of the television crews arrived from other countries (Jefferson County Sheriff's Office 2000).

A *Denver Post* staff writer wrote on the next morning, "with news of the murders being broadcast locally and nationally on live television, Columbia High School looked like a war zone" (Obmascik 1999). At times, media crews outnumbered police forces. Interviews were being broadcast live on national TV even as the massacre took place, long before anyone – including the police officers in charge – knew what actually was happening.

3 The breaking TV coverage

Lacking hard facts and under pressure to provide breaking news coverage, the media compensated by broadcasting dramatic aerial imagery of arriving police units and fleeing students. TV crews taped eyewitness interviews with traumatized teenagers, rescue workers, and distraught parents on the scene. The interviews were highly emotional, sometimes hysterical, and later often proved inaccurate, and they were presented to the public live in the real time order in which they became available, without contextual background. Broadcast nationally throughout the day and repeated and commented upon in news summaries into the night, these initial interviews came to serve as the basis for the publics' understanding of the shootings in the coming days and weeks. In the absence of objective factual information, the

subjective *co-text* of the ongoing live media coverage evolved through exposure and repetition into the accumulating *context* of its own interpretation.

The breaking coverage presented a confusing picture of what had happened. Especially the live interviews with survivors standing under shock left room for conflicting interpretations of the shooter's motives and intentions, e.g.:

(1) Revenge for school mobbing

> "They were saying that uh that they wanted to do this for their revenge, um, for the school, I guess, because I mean they're such an outcast at our school" (NBC live interview, 20.4.1999).

(2) Hatred of minorities and athletes

> "And then they came in and they like started blowing up and shooting everyone in the cafeteria, and you could hear them laughing and running upstairs, and they were shooting anyone of color, wearing a white hat, or playing a sport, and they didn't care who it was, and it was all like close range..." (ABC live interview, 20.4.1999).

(3) Hatred of Christians

> "I saw them kill a girl because she was praying to God." (ABC live interview 20.4.1999)

(4) Membership in the Trench Coat Mafia – Goth fascination with death and violence

> "They like wear trench coats every day to school. Like they wear like make-up, and paint their nails and stuff. They're just like uh a kind of underground. Kind of think of themselves as different, and they always just hang around with themselves only, and kind of associate themselves with death and violence" (CBS live interview, 20.4.1999).

(5) Membership in the Trench Coat Mafia – admiration of Adolf Hitler, Nazi movement

> "The shooters may have belonged to a group that was known as the Trench Coat Mafia. There were about 8 or 10 of them who wore black trench coats to school every day, no matter what the weather, and some of them used to draw swastikas on their body. It may or may not be relevant, but today, April 20th would have been Adolf Hitler's 110th birthday" (ABC Nightly News, 20.4.1999).

Uncontextualized information like this – spontaneous, impressionistic, unconfirmed – came during the course of the day to play a central role in the construction of the media's narration of the Columbine story, and the live coverage influenced everyone watching it throughout the day. The fact that the shooters had worn black trench coats as they entered the school received

special emphasis in the early reports, as it suggested that they were members of a small, marginalized group of Goths in the school known as The Trench Coat Mafia (henceforth TCM). At one point, a distraught father of one of the shooters called the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office to report that his son was a member of the TCM.

(6) Father's call to the JEFCO Sheriff's Office on the day of the shootings (JEFCO Sheriff's Office Recording 20.4.1999):

A: Uh, my son is Eric Harris, and I'm afraid that he might be involved in the shooting in Columbine High School.
B: Involved how?
A: Uh, he's a member of what they're calling the Trench Coat Mafia.
B: Have you spoke with your son today Mr. Harris?
A: No I haven't, have they picked up anybody yet?
B: They're still looking for suspects. You son is with who? With what gang?
A: Well, they're calling them the Trench Coat Mafia. I just heard that term on TV.

However, weeks later, after interrogating Harris's and Klebold's families, friends, and acquaintances and all former members of the TCM, JEFCO Sheriff's Office investigators concluded that there was no connection between the shootings and the TCM, and the group turned out to be less threatening than the initial media coverage had suggested. Investigators described it as:

> [...] a loose, social affiliation of former and current Columbine High School students with no formal organizational structure, leadership, or purpose such as that typically found in traditional juvenile street gangs. Contrary to reports following the Columbine shootings, there is no evidence of affiliated Trench Coat Mafia groups nationwide [...] TCM members participated mainly in playing video games, such as *Doom*, and producing videos together for school projects. The TCM appears to have had cliques or small subgroups, not much different than most other social groups in a high school setting (Jefferson County Sheriff's Office 2000).

Harris and Klebold were acquainted with a few members of the TCM and were known to wear black trench coats occasionally, but their contact to the group was judged by investigators to be marginal and, in any case, no sufficient motive for the killings. Contrary to media reports which vilified the TCM from the beginning, investigators found the group to be merely a clique of computer nerds and nonconformists who rejected sports, mocked preppy

Columbine High School conventions, and wore Goth makeup and black trench coats to mark themselves off from the others; far from being helpless victims of mobbing, its members, in fact, prided themselves on being different. A caption beside their picture in the 1998 Columbine High School yearbook a year before the massacre read, “Who says we're different? Insanity is healthy! Stay alive, stay different, stay crazy! Oh, and stay away from CREAM SODA!” (BBC News 1999).

4 Follow-ups in the press

The front-page stories about Columbine in newspapers across the country on the next morning were the first follow-ups to the television coverage of April 20th. Adhering to the traditional pattern of news follow-ups, the stories were structured reiteratively, tying whatever new information reporters had been able to collect during the night back into the previously reported facts. That the previously reported facts themselves were skewed was not immediately recognized. Hence, the questions steering reporters' attempts to gather further information about how and why the shootings had taken place tended implicitly to validate stereotypes in the initial reports. And as a result, the first day's uncontextualized information became the context for the next day's follow-ups. With this, intertextual loops in the media began joining reports together in a recursive fashion, and survivors' early hypotheses about the shooters' motives quickly came to be treated as 'factual' objects of further journalistic research.

On the day after the shootings, *The Denver Post*, with more than forty reporters on the scene, was a primary source of local background information for the nation's other newspapers. Its front-page story explained the reasons for the massacre as follows (Obmascik 1999):

- the shooters were social outcasts, bullied in school, and bent on revenge
- they targeted athletes, minorities, and Christians
- they were members of a violent neo-Nazi Goth group called The TCM
- the massacre was planned to take place on Adolf Hitler's 110th birthday
- one victim's last act was a gunpoint profession of her Christian faith

To this previously reported, unsubstantiated information, the *Post* only added further

interview quotations, provided more background on the police action, and reported the reactions to the tragedy of the President of the United States, the state School Supervisor, and the Governor of Colorado.

The additional interviews in the *Post* article largely echoed those of the previous day's TV coverage (Obmascik 1999): A shooter was claimed to have said, "I'm doing this because people made fun of me last year" (the mobbing hypothesis). A witness reported, "They shot a black kid. They called him a nigger. They said they didn't like niggers, so they shot him in the face" (the anti-minorities hypothesis). A shooter was claimed to have shouted, "All the jocks stand up. We are going to kill you" (the anti-athletes hypothesis). A witness identified Harris and Klebold as members of the TCM, "a bunch of kids who were teased and pushed around a lot" (the TCM hypothesis). Another claimed members of the TCM smeared school restrooms with threatening graffiti: "You'd go in there and it would have 'Columbine will explode some day' [...] There'd be pictures of guns and swastikas" (the neo-Nazi hypothesis). Another said members of the TCM talked in class about beheading people and "sang Marilyn Manson songs, and some had headbands that said 'I hate people' – ." Another said, "In our class [...] they would always write about death" (the Goth-horror hypothesis).

On the third day, media attention suddenly shifted to stories about the shooting's alleged Christian martyrs published in local Denver newspapers. The *Rocky Mountain News* was the first newspaper to publish a follow-up about the victim Cassie Bernall, who allegedly had been murdered for answering 'yes' when asked by a shooter if she believed in God:

(7) **Martyr for her faith**
Youthful Christian confesses her belief to rampaging gunman, they pays with her life

> A Columbine killer pointed his gun at Cassie Bernall and asked the life-or-death question: 'Do you believe in God?'
>
> She paused. The gun was still there. 'Yes, I believe in God,' she said.
>
> That was the last thing this 17-year-old Christian would ever say.
>
> The gunman asked her 'Why?' She had no time to answer before she was shot to death.
>
> Bernall entered the Columbine High School library to study during lunch. She left a martyr (Staff Reporter RMN 1999).

A second Christian martyr made out by the media was Rachel Scott, the first victim of the

massacre, who was murdered in front of the school as the shooters entered (see below).

The story of Cassie Bernall's martyrdom, however, like the rumors about the malevolence of the TCM, eventually turned out to be false. Cross-interrogations by JEFCO Sheriff's Office investigators revealed that the question of belief had not been posed to Bernall, as reported by the *Rocky Mountain News*, but to a student on the other side of the library, Valeen Schnurr, who had given the same answer but was not killed. A girl hiding with Bernall under a table in the library when she was murdered testified that Eric Harris had slammed his hand on the table, yelled 'Peekaboo,' looked underneath, and then shot Cassie without exchanging a word (Cullen 2009: 227-228). Earlier reports attributing Schnurr's story to Bernall had apparently confused eyewitness's retrospective perceptions of what had actually happened in the library. Nevertheless, the story of Cassie Bernall's martyrdom eventually became transformed through massive media exposure and a flood of internet blogs sponsored by fundamentalist evangelical Christian groups into one of the central myths of the Columbine massacre (Watson 2002).

5 Recursive effects in the investigation

Confusion between actual perceptions and media representations was to become a major problem for the JEFCO Sheriff's Office investigation. Officers interrogating survivors in the following weeks noted a marked tendency among witnesses to confuse what they had experienced on the day of the murders with perceptions of the media coverage they had seen after being rescued (the following examples are from Jefferson County Sheriff's Office 2000):

(8) “The witness said he had assumed the shooter was Eric Harris because [...] the media had announced the shooters as Eric and Dylan” (19.5.99).

(9) “The witness stated that while in the hospital, she saw a TV news program which identified the two shooters as Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. She stated she knows that the individual standing next to her table was Dylan Klebold” (18.5.99).

(10) “The witness told investigators he thought he had heard a girl named Cassie screaming 'Please God, save me! Help me!' When asked how he knew who it was, he said he had heard on recent news reports that this was her name” (21.5.99).

The Sheriff's Office final report concluded:

> It was evident the media had an impact on witness' statements. Students would watch or read coverage of the Columbine shootings and make conclusions based on impressions presented by the media rather than from their own perceptions (Jefferson County Sheriff's Office 2000).

Virtually everyone interviewed by the press or police in the weeks following the massacre was influenced in some way by the media coverage. It became evident that even survivors trapped in the building when the evacuation began had been in cell phone contact with the media, friends, and family throughout the siege. One survivor hidden in a closet with a television set had even watched the live coverage for three hours before being rescued. And later, wherever survivors were taken after being evacuated – whether to shelters, hospitals, or private homes – they gathered together in small groups to watch the ongoing broadcasts on television (Cullen 1999).

6 Commentaries

Conflicting accounts of what had happened on the day of the shootings soon crystallized in the media into competing explanations of the underlying reasons for them. For days, criminologists, psychologists, sociologists, guidance counselors, education experts, public officials, politicians, and lobbyists for different activist organizations received broadcast time on television and space in newspapers for follow-ups. With the onset of the expert (and other) commentaries, the shooting began to serve the media as a mirror for reflections on the state of the nation. Commentaries and blogs in the following weeks marked the beginning of a shift from the massacre's coverage as a news story to its marketing as a media event. In the commentaries, Columbine was depicted as the tragic consequence of innumerable alleged ills of American society: mobbing, teenage depression, violent computer games, lack of parental guidance, lack of adequate school security, lack of aggression counseling, police inefficiency, lack of adequate gun control legislation, the disintegration of American values, and so forth.

The two dominating topics, however, were the shooters' alleged membership in the TCM (and with this, their alleged obsession with horror, Nazis, Marilyn Manson, Goth-rock, shooter games, death and violence, and their hatred of athletes, minorities, Christians, and humanity in general) and the deaths of the massacre's two alleged Christian martyrs, Cassie

Bernall and Rachel Scott. Two competing theories crystallized out of these: first, the theory that the shootings originated in escalating social conflicts in the school (mobbing) – mainly tensions between the school's athletes and members of the TCM:

> The trench coat ideology appears to have been specifically intended to challenge the power and authority of the jock clique at Columbine, and to make a statement about what the trench-coaters perceived to be preferential treatment given to athletes. It does not appear that the trench-coaters, including Harris and Klebold, had any hopes that they would supplant the athletes in terms of power and authority—to 'take over the school,' in other words. But they clearly wanted to make a statement about what they perceived to be the power dynamics at work at Columbine, and it may well have been this urge, at least in part, that motivated Harris and Klebold to plan and carry out their attack (Tappan and Kita 1999:16-17).

Second, the fundamentalist Christian theory that the massacre was an earthly manifestation of the apocalyptic confrontation between the powers of good and evil. On this account, the Satanic 'culture of death', represented by Harris, Klebold, and the TCM, had lashed out against the Christian 'culture of salvation', represented by the martyrs Cassie Bernall and Rachel Scott:

> Religious and social conservatives argued that this horrific event was not about gun control or high school cliques, but about religion, morality, and cultural decay. Cassie and Rachel, innocents martyred for their affirmation of God, stood in stark contrast to Harris and Klebold, the embodiments of a secular and evil 'culture of death' (Watson 2002: 6).

It seemed that in a situation characterized by uncertainty, contradiction, and ambiguity, the media and public were longing for a sense of closure – for a discovery, on the one hand, of something tangibly identifiable as the 'evil' that had befallen the community (the heart of the darkness that had led to the shooters' seemingly senseless act of violence), and, on the other, of a clear sense of what the violence had been directed toward (the real object of the violence as opposed to the particular victims). Neither of these had been decipherable up to then from the conflicting information disseminated through the media. In fact, what the media and public were longing for was *understandability*: an unambiguous explanation of the event's

locus, focus, and meaning. The sheer amount of information available through television, press, and the internet had long since surpassed their ability to make sense of it.

7 The marketing of Columbine

After the initial shock, politicians, educators, entertainers, filmmakers, evangelists, publishers, bloggers, computer game designers, Columbine survivors, and some of the victims' own families were quick to recognize the commercial opportunities opened up by the event.

The parents of the two alleged Christian martyrs were the first in the Littleton community to publish books about their children as follow-ups to the earlier reportage. Cassie Bernall's mother's book *She Said Yes: The Unlikely Martyrdom of Cassie Bernall* (Bernall 1999) appeared only months after Bernall's death, sold over two million copies, and was subsequently translated into 20 languages (McGrath 2007). Rachel Scott's parents' book *Rachel's Tears: The Spiritual Journey of Columbine Martyr Rachel* (Nimmo, Scott and Rabey 2000) appeared soon afterward and was followed by *The Journals of Rachel Scott: A Journey of Faith at Columbine High* (Nimmo and Klingsporn 2001), *Chain Reaction: A Call to Compassionate Revolution* (Scott and Rabey 2001), and *Rachel Smiles: The Spiritual Legacy of Columbine Martyr Rachel Scott* (Scott and Rabey 2002). In the wake of these books' popularity in evangelical circles, Scott's parents founded a now booming, multi-million dollar non-profit evangelical organization named 'Rachel's Challenge', which today organizes inspirational presentations in schools throughout the U.S. promoting safer learning environments (Keuss and Sloth 2006). Follow-ups by Columbine survivors also appeared: *Surviving Columbine: How Faith Helps Us Find Peace When Tragedy Strikes* (Carlston 2004), *A Columbine Survivor's Story* (Lindholm and Lindholm 2005), and *I Asked, God Answered: A Columbine Miracle* (Taylor 2006).

Brooks Brown, a former friend of Harris's and Klebold's, published one of the early books claiming to present the true story of Columbine: *No Easy Answers: The Truth Behind Death at Columbine* (Merritt and Brown 2002). This book also generated numerous follow-ups. Among the two most authoritative of these were written after years of investigative research by former staff reporters of the Denver *Rocky Mountain News* and published on the commercially attractive tenth anniversary of the massacre: Jeff Kass's *Columbine: A True Crime Story – a Victim, the Killers, and the Nation's Search for Answers* (2009) and Dave Cullen's best-selling *Columbine* (2009). The public's need for answers to the many unresolved

social and spiritual questions raised by the tragedy proved to be profitable for many U.S. publishers. Amazon.com currently lists nearly two thousand titles related to the "Columbine school shooting."

Throughout the past decade, the massacre has been marketed by writers, publishers, evangelists, pop musicians, dramatists, filmmakers, bloggers, and others (Pierami 2011). Today, Christian websites honoring Bernall and Scott can be found side-by-side with Goth websites honoring the TCM and Harris and Klebold. It is possible to order 'Rachel's Challenge' T-shirts and coffee mugs and 'Columbine Trenchcoats'. A first-person shooter game called 'Super Columbine Massacre RPG' appeared on the internet in 2006 in which players steer avatars of Harris and Klebold through the shootings in a virtual Columbine High School modeled after the original. A year later it had been downloaded more than four-hundred-thousand times. Today, virtually no aspect of Columbine, no possible interpretation of it, and no possible commercial use of it, is inaccessible in the internet. Through its commercialization, the Columbine massacre has achieved an iconic status in the minds of the American public as a synonym for the incomprehensibility of violence in U.S. culture. The 'Columbine story' – in all its confirmed, unconfirmed, thinkable, and nearly unimaginable variations – has become a national trauma to be relived anew each time another bombing or shooting spree occurs. We last saw this on July 20th, 2012 in connection with the movie theater shootings in Aurora, Colorado.

8 The fractalization of events in the modern media

But what are we finally to make of an incident like Columbine, in which four dead teenagers become elevated through the reporting, reiteration, and commercial embellishment of distorted information into national symbols of good and evil? What happened during the follow-ups and spin-offs – the TV coverage, the press reports, the commentaries, the investigation, and the commercial marketing of the event – to turn the Columbine massacre from a relatively open-and-shut case of mass murder into a savage occult conspiracy, a symbol of national cultural decay, an epic drama of revenge and martyrdom, an evangelical spiritual movement, material for books, pop music, films, and weblogs, and finally little more than meaningless marketable content for internet vendors of coffee mugs, T-shirts, posters, and computer games? Above all, echoing T.S. Eliot's opening questions, what *knowledge* about the massacre has ultimately accumulated from all the information that was produced

about it for more than a decade in the media, and how much of the information has been *understood* by the American public? The answer is probably very little. A survey of what the public knows today about the shootings would probably confirm the myths about Columbine rather than the investigative facts.

The findings of the JEFCO Sheriff's Office and FBI investigators, at any rate, were clear: Cassie Bernall may have been a born-again Christian, but she died before she had a chance to become a martyr. Rachel Scott may have kept a young girl's diary about her faith in a better world, but she did not fashion herself as a Christian visionary. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold may have been cold-blooded killers, but they did not regard themselves as members of a Gothic horror sect or a paramilitary neo-Nazi group (Jefferson County Sheriff's Office 2000; Federal Bureau of Investigation 2003). A panel of psychiatrists convened by the FBI five years after the shootings concluded on the basis of Harris's and Klebold's journals and video recordings that Klebold was suffering from suicidal depression and Harris was a clinical psychopath with the psychological profile of a serial killer (Cullen 2004).

As media consumers, we tend to believe that no matter how complex, confusing, or ambiguous events may appear to be when first reported, follow-ups will ultimately appear that clarify matters and help us disambiguate them. This, we assume, is their function: to provide additional information about previously reported events and shed new light on that thought to be already known. Their purpose, we believe, is help us interpret the facts. But this belief is predicated on the prior belief that the reported facts themselves are 'factual', and this, as I've tried to show, was not the case in the early live reportage on the Columbine shootings and is probably seldom fully true in modern breaking news coverage.

In the days when print journalism was the public's main source of factual information, reportage unfolded over days, weeks, and sometimes months. Reporters had time to research follow-ups. A breaking event would first be reported in a straight news story outlining what had happened, where, and when, and to whom by whom, and then followed up by a more detailed account of how, why, and with what effects it had taken place. The function of the follow-up was to fill in missing details to the point where the public could believe it had understood 'what had happened'. With the advent of ever faster and more flexible communication technology (radio, live television, internet), however, the speed of the reporting process increased dramatically, as did the capacity to store information and the pressure to make as much information available to the public as fast as possible.

Today, the quantity of information accessible to the media and the speed at which it accumulates make both the selection and the verification of the information fed forward to the

public problematic for journalists. Reporters and commentators have access to more information – and more conflicting information – than ever before, and less time to process it. And at the same time, the public is forced to adapt to the speed and amount of information it receives as well, often having to sort through the kaleidoscopic proliferation of available details and ad hoc hypotheses to find information patterns that seem to fit together and make sense. In attempting to do this, we often find ourselves in a position not unlike that of the blind men in the ancient Hindu parable of the blind men and the elephant – only that in the modern media, the elephant seldom stands still to be touched.

Live coverage of events like Columbine tends, as said earlier, to produce enormous amounts of information, disconnected from context, at high speeds. Especially under time pressure, this accumulating information, regardless of its original reliability, coherence, or cohesiveness, often becomes incorporated through reiteration into the assumptive bases of the journalistic research following it: the output of the breaking coverage becomes the input for the follow-ups. When this happens, as it did in the case of Columbine, media texts begin to form recursive loops; i.e., in computational theory, patterns that expand themselves automatically from their own feedback. If the information on which they are based is faulty, media myths develop.

The myths about the shootings, the TCM, and the Christian martyrs discussed in this paper are but a few of the many recursive loops perpetuated in media discourse about Columbine during the past thirteen years. We have seen how these myths evolved through time from the original TV reports, through the press stories, the sheriffs' investigation, the commentaries, and their ultimate commercialization, into bizarre patterns that today seem somehow interrelated but at the same time understandable *in toto*. The competing versions of the Columbine story circulating today in the internet all tend to have the character of recursive loops, and most of them can be traced back to myths born in the original reportage. Metaphorically, we could say that the Columbine story has become *fractalized*: an informational pattern of self-similar patterns repeating and multiplying themselves through time like crystals in a growing snowflake (see Figure 1).

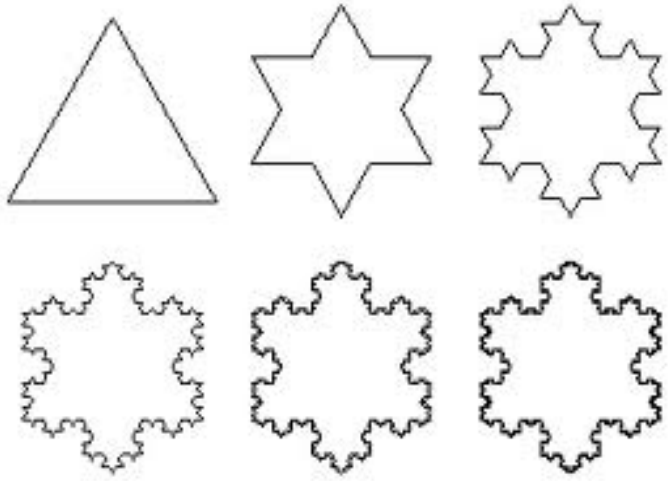

Figure 1. Fractal snowflake.

From an epistemological point of view, Columbine is hence likely to remain an enigma. Columbine – 'the event in itself' – has become what Friedrich Dürrenmatt might have called a *borderline concept* (1998: 529): something thought up, aimed at, searched for in the labyrinth of available information, misinformation, and disinformation, from which our thoughts reflect back to us as inferences, hypotheses, or theories that we chose to regard as our understanding of what happened that day in the high school.

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Editorial and its comments: Follow-ups in a discussion forum

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Abstract

In this paper, we present an analysis of one discussion forum that is related to an editorial in an online newspaper. Follow-ups are communicative acts involving stancetaking. They take up prior discourse that they may accept or challenge. In the data analyzed, the challenging follow-ups target the editorial and its content, the journalists, their writing and the stance expressed. These follow-ups exposed the lack of accurate information in the editorial. They cast doubt on the editorial and provided more information on the object of the discourse. The follow-ups that accepted the editorial used positive evaluations such as congratulations. Their additional information served to support the excellent analysis they felt the editorial presented.

1 Introduction

Discussion forums are mediated, everyday public discussions. They are asynchronous written interactions that involve one or more participants on various electronic platforms. They are usually short in duration, containing posts concerning a timely issue. In an online newspaper, there can be different types of discussion forums: an independent discussion forum initiated by readers on a topic of their own choice or a non-independent one that follows a news article or an editorial. Both allow the readers to comment and to network on the "virtual pages" of the newspaper.

In this article, our objective is to study posts in a discussion forum related to an editorial. An editorial is an argumentative media genre, whereas a discussion forum consists of comments by anonymous writers. It is an intersection where institutional writing and the standard use of language meets non-edited, private sphere vernacular writing (Cf. Androutsopoulos 2011). At the same time, journalistic views on newsworthy issues meet the everyday, public understanding of these same issues. When commenting, writers use follow-ups that target the objects of discourse in the editorial and more largely, the matter in question (Johansson 2006). The follow-ups include stancetaking, by which the writers evaluate objects, position themselves in regard to the editorial (DuBois 2008). In sum, follow-ups target prior discourses and the communicative acts that they challenge or accept.

Our article presents a case study. Our objective is to study follow-ups, and their features in a non-independent discussion forum. Our research questions are the following: 1) How do follow-ups take up prior discourse in the editorial, and what is their stancetaking? and 2) Do they accept or challenge the prior discourse? Our theoretical framework is that of dialogical linguistics (Linell 2009), sociopragmatics, and discourse analysis, especially media and digital discourse studies.

2 Editorials and discussion forums as communicative genres

2.1 Editorials and discussion forums

An editorial is a journalistic genre through which the newspaper takes the position of a social actor and a provider of news (Cf. Le 2010: 19). They are written by editors on very newsworthy topics. As a communicative genre, it contains an explicit stance based on evaluation and argumentation (Cf. Charaudeau 1997). According to Le (2010:24-28), editorials in the Le Monde contain mostly speech acts of constatives and directives accompanied with negative evaluations.

In an online newspaper, an editorial and the discussion forum following it are two interrelated genres. They form a dialogical and intergeneric relationship between each other. This type of discussion forum is a non-independent, responsive genre. Its discussions also participate with other ongoing discourses in society, thus forming interdiscursive links with them. Their visible, concrete sequentiality is based on the temporal order determined by the technological platform. It may be reversed so that the most recent post is shown first. The number of posts may vary from one to a potentially unlimited number.

Several researchers have described the interactional sequentiality of asynchronous interactions. Very often the investigations are based on comparative approaches with spoken interaction and textual linguistics. Herring (1999) for instance talks about disrupted adjacency in multiparty conversations, where moves are performed stepwise or parallel to each other. Mondada (1999) analyzes how different linguistic mechanisms establish conversational adjacency or sequentiality between posts in what she calls asynchronous turns (a-turns). Other approaches examine interactional coherence from the perspective of topic development, shift, deviation, and decay (Cf. Lambiase 2010).

Depending on the type of social encounter, basic communicative activity in discussion forums may differ. They include forms of collaborative or confrontational written interaction. In a peer discussion, participants strive to collaborate with specific type of contributions, such as giving advice, seeking information, and sharing experiences (Tanskanen 2007; Lindholm 2010). In a confrontational discussion, participants express disagreement and defend their own opinions and positions (Kleinke 2010). Management of the relationships between writers has been studied from the perspective of concessives in argumentation (Lewis 2005, Tanskanen and Karhukorpi 2008) as well as metapragmatic utterances (Tanskanen 2007), for instance. Kleinke (2010) investigates disagreement in discussions and their networks. Our approach consists of examining follow-ups in posts.

2.2 What are follow-ups?

Communicative acts constitute communicative events, and relationships between social actors who are engaged in a dialogue. They are utterances that social actors use in situated communicative action in context (Cf. Fetzer 2004). They position individuals, displaying their subjectivities and forming intersubjectivities with others participants to gain the common ground between them (Benveniste 1966:259; Vion 1992:94-96; Linell 2009: 81).

In this article, follow-ups are understood as communicative acts that contain a social actor's response to a contribution in a prior context, be it a textual or situational context (Fetzer, Weizman in this publication). They involve recontextualization of an object of discourse (or parts of it) from another context, stancetaking, and the negotiation of new meaning (Cf. Linell 1998:154, Johansson 2006). Although follow-ups could be considered to contain only responsive properties, they may also contain initiative aspects. According to Linell (2009:179), on the local level of sequences, "an interactive sequence involves responsitivity, initiatives, projection (anticipation) and reciprocity of contributions". Responses show how prior contributions are understood. Initiatives introduce new material and project next contributions (Linell 2009: 179). They are not separate actions, but are tightly connected because they are *aspects* of communicative acts. "They are simultaneously present in any contribution or utterance" (Linell 2009: 179-180).

The responsive features of follow-ups contain linguistic anchoring that can be inexplicit or explicit. They can be based on a sequential position of adjacency, or they may be determined by textual devices establishing coherence. Explicit anchoring is based on different types of metadiscourse, e.g., quotations or metacomments on participation. They show how

closely follow-ups are connected to the prior context. Their initiative aspects can be numerous. They open up a negotiation of a prior meaning, comment on it, and construct a new "layer" of meaning of an object of discourse (Johansson 2006).

Follow-ups include stancetaking where social actors *evaluate* objects, *position* themselves and other social actors, and *dis/align* themselves with other subjects (DuBois 2008: 163). These are three aspects of stance that are realized in social action by a stancetaker and in relation to an object of stance (DuBois2007). Stance is considered a property of utterances in certain dialogical and sequential activities (DuBois 2008:148-194). They may include the explicit expression of subjectivity and intersubjectivity (DuBois 2008:152; Benveniste 1966) and the positioning of social actors (Weizman 2008).

Follow-ups are a specific type of responses as they may *challenge* or *accept* prior communicative acts (Fetzer, Weizman in this publication). In interactional linguistics, Keisänen (2008: 253) defines challenge the following way:

> […] challenges are constructed by displaying doubt toward a claim or a stance embedded in the prior turn, thereby suggesting that this stance or claim is problematic, and holding the recipient accountable for it.

They occur in a local context that consists of disagreement or other negative communicative action (Keisänen 2008: 255). In conversation analysis, preference organization is the basis for determining the nature of the next activity (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). In ordinary conversation, agreement is the product of activity in which a speaker claims knowledge about something directly and invites a co-speaker to share this in a preferred way (Pomerantz 1984). In contrast, disagreement is a marked activity in ordinary conversation (Pomerantz 1984). In computer-mediated communication, Baym (1996) found that disagreeing involved using quotations in a collaborative type of interaction. Kleinke (2010) distinguishes propositional, personal, and meta-pragmatic disagreement in discussion forums.

3 Data and methods

The data are collected from the major French newspaper *Le Monde* in the autumn of 2008. In this article I will use one editorial and a discussion forum following it. The translation of the

editorial is in Appendix 1. The different phrases are numbered (LM1, LM2), where the abbreviation LM refers to the newspaper.

The editorial was published on 10/14/2008 and is titled "Dangerous America". It describes the situation of the presidential campaign in the US on the eve of the elections in 2008 (LM1). In this first phrase as well as in later ones, the economic situation as well as racist discourse and the threat of violence are evoked (LM1, 2, 7, 8, 10). It portrays the two opposing candidates John McCain and Barack Obama. This portrayal is initiated by the positive evaluation *good news (bonne nouvelle)* (LM2-6). It is followed by a section evaluated as *bad news (mauvaise nouvelle*) (LM7-10). This consists of a critique that B. Obama has received during the campaign and the characterization of the extreme right. The editorial ends in two evaluative phrases where different outcomes of the situation in the U.S. are predicted if B. Obama wins (LM11) or if J. McCain wins (LM12). All of the content in these phrases were commented on in the discussion forum except LM9.

This editorial is followed by a discussion that contains 38 posts. The first comment was posted in the afternoon of the same day (13h 22) and the last in the following day in the evening (20h32). In the discussion there are two writers who post twice. The length of the discussion is approximately a day and a half, but the posts are divided quite evenly throughout each day.

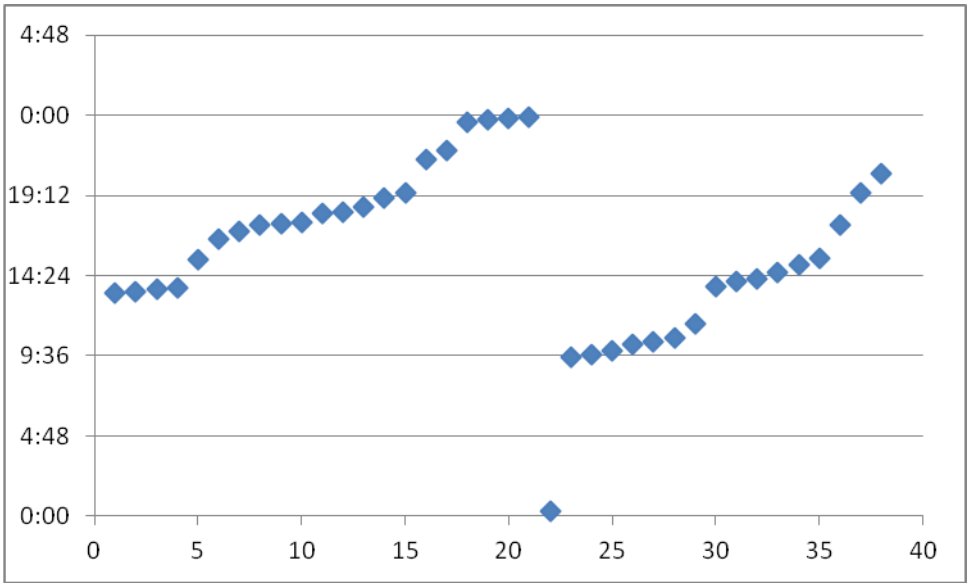

Figure 1. Frequency of posts in the discussion forum during two days

In the analysis, we use the original French posts as such without making any corrections to the text even if they contain orthographical or grammatical errors. These are followed by our

translations into English. We use [brackets] to fill in meaning or provide explanations of the translations. All of the usernames have been replaced (e.g., Writer1, Writer2) to protect the writers' anonymity. In our explanations, different parts of the posts are marked by small letters, a), b), etc.

Our method consists of sociopragmatics and discursive analysis. We try to identify some basic types of follow-ups and analyze how they target the editorial, leaving aside other types of commenting. We study their stancetaking and how they challenge or accept the prior objects of discourse in posts, their local textual context.

4 Follow-ups in the discussion forum

4.1 Opening post: challenging the editorial

In the following example, the opening post in the discussion forum mentions explicitly the editorial and its (nonexistent) content:

1) Writer1

Un peu creux comme *éditorial*, non?

A little bit empty [of content] as an *editorial*, don't you think? [italics added]

The stance expressed contains a negative evaluation of the editorial. In this post, Writer1 uses *creux (empty*) as stance predicate modified by *un peu (a little bit)* that negatively evaluates the editorial's content. With this stancetaking, Writer1 disagrees and disaligns her/himself with the editorial. The post challenges it by casting doubt on the reliability of its content by downgrading it considerably. At the same time, it suggests that the writer possesses more knowledge on the topic and does not share the same common ground with the editorial. While this post does not contain explicit subjective positioning indexed with a personal pronoun, it nevertheless contains an interesting marking of intersubjectivity by the use of the negative tag question *non* (translated here as *don't you think*). As this writer hints that she/he has more knowledge on this issue, this tag question suggests that other readers of the editorial know more as well. With this, he does not only challenge the editorial and its content, but invites others to express their *similar* opinion on the matter and share the common ground with

her/him by negotiating the meaning. The opening post sets the preference for disagreement, inviting others to disagree with the editorial. In the discussion, approximately 2/3 of the 38 posts challenge the editorial, while 1/3 accept it. This means that the majority of the writers share the same stance as the first writer in the opening post; therefore, we initially analyze challenging follow-ups in the next section.

4.2 Follow-ups challenging the editorial

In the posts, the majority of objects of stance regard the content of the editorial and its claims. This is similar to Kleinke's (2010) results of propositional content of disagreements. In the following example from the beginning of the discussion, the object of stance is the headline of the editorial:

> 2) Writer4
>
> a) Pourquoi "*dangereuse Amérique*"? b) Si l'Europe était un peu plus unie, elle serait bcoup plus forte et l'Amérique moins "dangereuse".
>
> a) Why *dangerous America*? b) If Europe was a little bit more united, it would be much more powerful and America less "dangerous".

In part a) the recontextualization consists of repeating the words in the headline that establish textual coherence between the editorial and the post. Writer4 (with a masculine username) uses the words in the headline to form a rhetorical question to evaluate the claims in the editorial. He does not share the same common ground because he does not know what the headline means. In part b), he introduces a claim with other content because *Europe* is not mentioned in the editorial at all. He brings in new information that Writer1 has asked for. Writer4 disaligns himself with the editorial and aligns himself with Writer1 although this is not done explicitly.

In some posts, the objects of stance are not the editorial or its claims, but the journalists, the newspaper itself, and the stance they express. These target the newspaper as well the journalists' writing. They include interpersonal relationships between readers, journalists, and the newspaper. In the following example, posted towards the end of the discussion, Writer36 gives advice to the editor to change the writing:

3) Writer36

Il est utile de rappeler aux *éditorialistes de LM* que l'utilisation des signes de ponctuation dans *les titres* n'est pas interdite. Un point d'interrogation après aurait fait une sacrée différence.

It is useful to remind *the editors of Le Monde* that use of punctuation marks is not forbidden *in the headline*. A question mark after would have made a damned big difference.

The recontextualization is made by referring to *editors* and the *headline* in the beginning of the post. It targets the evaluation of the meaning given and the stance in the editorial. This negative advice shows the disalignment of Writer36 with the editorial. It casts doubt on its meaning, thus challenging it.

In the following example, there are two objects of stance. The first one is a claim made in the editorial that is quoted almost verbatim, and the second targets the newspaper.

4) Writer29

a) "Celui-ci est attaqué non seulement parce que noir, mais parce que son père était kényan, parce qu'il a vécu en Indonésie, parce que son "middle name", hérité de sa grande-mère paternelle, est Hussein."b) *Vraiment?* A part quelques connards qui peuvent dire cela, peut on avancer qu'ils représentent les Républicains dqns leur ensemble? c) *Je me demande parfois* qui renseigne *"Le Monde"?* Cette désinformation est affligeante.

a) "He has been attacked not only because he is black, but also because his father was Kenyan, he has lived in Indonesia, and his "middle name", inherited from his paternal grandmother, is Hussein." b) *Really?* A few assholes can say this, but is it possible to say that this represents all the Republicans? c) *I sometimes ask myself* who informs Le Monde? This disinformation is sad.

In part a) of example 4), Writer29 recontextualizes a quote from the editorial (LM8) in the beginning of her/his post, thus anchoring the link between the comment and the editorial. The challenge is made in the form of a rhetorical question *Vraiment? (Really?)* in part b). This is an epistemic adverb that challenges the prior claim, disaligning the writer. Like other writers before her/him, she/he adds yet another piece of information, correcting the content in LM8. In part c), Writer29 indexes her/his subjectivity by the use of the 1st person pronoun and a communicative verb denoting the cognitive action of thinking (*se demander/ask myself*). In this local context, it makes subjective reasoning explicit and calls for the intersubjective negotiation of this point (Fetzer and Johansson 2010:241). Writer29 invites others to share

this view about the disinformation in *Le Monde*. It concerns the knowledge and stance expressed in the editorial that this writer argues to be false.

4.3 Follow-ups accepting the editorial

In the following example, from the middle of the discussion, Writer21 refers to the topic of the editorial and repeats some of its words as well:

> 5) Writer21
>
> a) *l'amérique* est à un tournant de son histoire avec B.Obama, reste à savoir si toute la population prendra le même chemin, *la crise ne seras pas une période facile*, M.Obama peux autant y briller, qu'y echouer. b) pour tous le premier cas serait le plus souhaitable.
>
> a) *The U.S.* is at a turning point of its history with B. Obama, [we] only have to find out if all of the population takes the same road, *the crisis is not going to be an easy period*; however, Mister Obama has the chance to either excel or fail. b) The first case would be the desirable one.

Here, this writer refers to the headline and the claims made in the phrases LM1 and LM12 of the editorial. Recontextualization is based on textual and topical coherence with the editorial. This evaluation of the U.S. presidential election is positive. Writer21 does not disagree with the evaluation of the crisis described in the editorial. This way she/he shows that she/he shares common ground with the editorial and aligns her/himself with it. The follow-up accepts the claims in the editorial. In part b) she/he adds a wish.

In the next post, the follow-up consists of parts (a-b) that accept the editorial.

> 6) Writer13
>
> a) Nee aux US, *j'ai passe* la moitie de ma vie en France. b) *Je felicite* l'analyse concise et perspicace sur les deux candidats et la situation politique actuelle. Avec *mes excuses*, c'est rare de lire une comprehension aussi fine dans les medias. c) *On ne peut pas dire* autant des commentaires enregistres...Les UUEE sont un pays comme un autre. Les stereotypes grossieres ne sont jamais une base de comprehension ni de communication. d) *Regardez* les murs en vers chez vous avant de jetez des pierres
>
> a) Born in the U.S., *I have spent* half of my life in France. b) *I congratulate* this concise and perceptive analysis about the two candidates and the actual political situation. With *my excuses*, it is very rare to read such a fine understanding [on the matter] in the media. c) *One cannot say* the same about the comments that have been posted. The U.S. is not like any other country. Rough stereotypes are never a basis of

understanding or communication. d) People in glass houses should not through stones before looking around in their own neighborhood.

Here, Writer13 (who has a female username) exposes her subjectivity by the use of the 1st person personal pronoun *je (I)* and possessive *(mes/my)* in the parts a-b). In a), she gives biographical details: her origin and experiences of the U.S. and France. It constitutes a claim to backup of her authority. In part b) she uses metadiscourse, in which she congratulates the editorial analysis, followed by excuses that downgrade this unexpected applause, giving it more credibility in the discussion (Cf. Tanskanen and Karhukorpi 2008). With this follow-up she accepts the editorial and its content. In parts c-d) she targets other the posts and explicitly challenges them and their claims.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have analyzed follow-ups on a discussion forum in *Le Monde*, a major French newspaper. This type of discussion forum is often based on divergent opinions, mostly those that show disagreement with the editorial. This was also the case in the data analyzed. Our research question concerned first, how follow-ups take up prior discourse in the editorial and their stancetaking, and second, if they accept or challenge the prior discourse.

The anchoring of the follow-ups to the prior discourse was based on metadiscursive devices, such as quotations, and mention of the genre, journalists etc. on the one hand and on textual devices establishing coherence, such as repeating words of the editorial on the other. The objects of stance included the content of the editorial, the journalists, and the newspaper as well as the stance expressed in the editorial. In the analysis, we identified follow-ups that challenged or accepted the editorial.

In the opening post, the writer challenged the level of information in the editorial, and a major proportion of the other writers did the same. As such, the preference in the discussion was disagreement, contrary to ordinary conversation (Cf. Pomerantz 1984, Kleinke 2010). In challenging follow-ups, the linguistic devices used were rhetorical questions, impersonal constructions, and epistemic elements to set up a local context of disagreement. They did not share the common ground with the editorial, but showed that they did have more knowledge regarding the subject. They provided additional information on the topic that was more

accurate and correct according to the writers. Thus, they negotiated a new meaning of the object of discourse, the U.S. elections, by correcting the information in the editorial.

In the follow-ups that accepted the editorial, writers agreed with the information given in the editorial by expressing wishes about the outcome of the U.S. elections or by congratulating the analysis presented by the journalist. By the latter, they strived to show the excellent quality and accuracy of the analysis presented in the editorial. They also gave additional information, but its role was to support the already given information and to show that the writers were on common ground.

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Appendix 1.

Translation in English
Editorial of Le Monde
Dangerous America (345 words)
LE MONDE | 14.10.08 | 13 h03 • Updated the 14.10.08 | 13 h16

LM1) After eight years of presidency of George Bush, the choice that Americans are going to make in the presidential election the 4th of November is of great importance as it occurs at a moment when their credit has become weakened in the world, and the crash of their banking system threatens to plunge most parts of the planet into a crisis.

LM2) The good news has been the selection of candidates who are remarkably intelligent people, strong characters, and free thinkers.
LM3) The republican John McCain has shown during his senatorial career and in his relations with Mister Bush to be a reformer, who is capable of allying himself with representatives of the other side to make improvements in certain deficiencies of the system.
LM4) He is naturally a nationalist and conservative, and he also defends the principles of liberty and morality that are the founding principles of American and occidental communities.

LM5) On the democratic side, Barack Obama has been shown to be the candidate of a new generation and a new era that are the result of the globalization that is forcing a dynamic change in the U.S., as in the rest of the world.
LM6) This black [metis] candidate, who is black from the American perspective, proposes to go beyond the inherited differences from the origins of the slavery and the segregation that was in effect until the 1960s.

LM7) The bad news is that the color of the skin of Mister Obama seems to become the only argument for the Republicans that oppose him as the democratic candidate as they have been disarmed by the unpopularity of Mister Bush and the financial recession.
LM8) Obama has been attacked not only because he is black, but also because his father was Kenyan, he has lived in Indonesia, and his "middle name", inherited from his paternal grandmother, is Hussein.

LM9) The Republicans do not speak a lot about the choices of Mister Obama regarding energy and his tax proposals.
LM10) They tolerate and often encourage racist name-calling, xenophobic lies, and venomous rumors that are the fuel of hypocritical and "supremacist" extreme right.
LM11) If Mister McCain wins under these conditions, violence threatens the U.S.
LM12) If Mister Obama is elected against this reappearance of hate, hope will win, but the fear will continue to haunt.

Article published in the edition of the 15th of October 2008.

Find the reactions to this article (38 – the most recent is the first one) by the subscribers of Le Monde (2 218 words)

Follow-ups in a loose argumentative context: The pragmatic effectiveness of figurative analogy

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on the newspaper coverage of a single event from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the responses to this coverage in later op-eds. I assume that Follow-ups reflect the dialogic nature of political discourse, and their analysis exposes the dialogue between different voices in the public arena.

I propose to distinguish between 'strict' and 'loose' argumentative contexts. In a loose argumentative context, a critical assessment of arguments is less relevant. Rather, the rhetorical framework can offer an assessment of the pragmatic effectiveness of the arguments. An argument is pragmatically effective if it provides information relevant to the issue in question and if this information can serve as an interpretation of the issue, framing it for the audience and suggesting an explanation of it.

1 Introduction

Follow-ups are dialogic acts, embedded in a more or less dialogic context. Following Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), the notion of follow-up might be used as a technical term, meaning the third move of a sequence taking the form of Initial-Response-Follow-up (see for example Atifi and Marcoccia, this volume; Bull, this volume). Alternatively, it can also be understood in a broader sense as including any kind of response that accepts or challenges a prior communicative act. In this sense it might also be the second move of a sequence, rather than the third one, when the two moves do not necessarily form an adjacency pair such as question-answer, accusation-justification etc., i.e. the connection between the two acts may be weak and unstructured.

It thus might be useful to distinguish between 'strict' and 'loose' argumentative contexts. In a strict argumentative context, such as a parliamentary debate or political

interview, the initial move of one actor is expected to elicit a specific second move from the other. This response could be logically judged or critically evaluated as appropriate or not, and the second actor can be accused of not providing the required reaction and of being uncooperative. In contrast, in a loose argumentative context, for instance newspaper coverage and the responses to this coverage in later op-eds, no pre-defined role is expected to elicit a specific reaction from a specific actor, and consequently, a critical evaluation is less relevant. In a loose argumentative context, the participants are not pre-defined and there are many possible speakers: politicians, journalists, ordinary citizens on the internet etc. Speakers and writers may express their opinions in various modes, not necessarily directly oriented to the explicitly expressed standpoints. It is an open-ended context in many senses, unlimited in terms of time and place.

In producing a follow-up, the speaker might naturally use the other party's words, formulations, metaphors, as well as ideas or presuppositions. Thus, this notion may be located in a theory of dialogicity and connected to the Bakhtinian emphasis on the dynamic process of taking and using another person's words or thoughts as a natural element of communication, and on the different degrees of distance that one may assume in regard to one's own discourse.

In his literary theory, Bakhtin extensively discussed the dialogic nature of language (1981: 273). In his essay "Discourse in the novel," he writes:

> The transmission and assessment of the speech of others, the discourse of another, is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech. In all areas of life and ideological activity, our speech is filled to overflowing with other people's words, which are transmitted with highly varied degrees of accuracy and impartiality. The more intensive, differentiated and highly developed the social life of a speaking collective, the greater is the importance attaching, among other possible subjects of talk, to another's word, another's utterance, since another's word will be the subject of passionate communication, an object of interpretation, discussion, evaluation, rebuttal, support, further development and so on (Bakhtin 1981: 337).

According to Bakhtin, the phenomenon of internal dialogicity is present to a greater or lesser extent in all realms of the life of the word (1981: 284). Thus dialogism for Bakhtin is a constitutive element of all language (Allen 2000: 21), and this is true even for what he calls "extra-artistic prose" (everyday discourse, rhetorical discourse, and scholarly discourse), that "cannot fail to be oriented toward the 'already uttered,' the 'already known,' the 'common opinion' and so forth. The dialogic orientation of discourse is a phenomenon that is, of course, a property of *any* discourse" (Bakhtin 1981: 279, italics in original).

One aspect of dialogicity is that every speaker, by his very use of a certain word, gets involved in the dialogue surrounding this word, which includes the ways other speakers used it before him. According to Bakhtin, the most important aspect of language is its reference to preceding utterances and to pre-existing patterns of meaning that anticipate future utterances. "Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances" (1986: 69). Our speech, according to Bakhtin, is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances. It is filled with "varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of 'our-own-ness' […]. Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account" (ibid.: 91).

Public life in our times is characterized by extremely intensive dialogicity, especially via the new media. One example is the high degree of responsiveness of on-line comments, known also as 'talkbacks.' For example, the Israeli online versions of the newspapers enable online written comments from the readers on almost every article, report or story, and these responses in turn may trigger further responses from others. In recent years, these 'talkbacks' have been the subject of considerable research, including investigations from the fields of sociology, rhetoric and pragmatics (see for example: Sela-Sheffy, 2006; Kohn and Neiger, 2007; Weizman, this volume).

In light of the general assumption about the dialogic nature of political discourse, in the present paper, I will focus on the newspaper coverage of a single event from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the responses to this coverage in later op-eds. The polyphonic nature of political discourse will be explored through this analysis, which will demonstrate how different opinions, positions, beliefs and values can be expressed in the public arena by using the words of others.

2 Background

On a January night in the year 2002, an elite commando unit of the Israeli army seized an arms ship making its way from the Persian Gulf towards the Israeli coast. This event occurred at the height of the period known in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the "Al-Aqsa intifada" – an uprising of Palestinians against the State of Israel, which began in September 2000 and was characterized by the extensive use of suicide attacks by Palestinians carried out in the heart of Israeli cities. The Al-Aqsa intifada erupted following nine years of relative quiet between Israel and the Palestinians, and one of the events that triggered its

outbreak was the failure of the Camp David summit in 2000. The breakdown of these talks caused the almost complete collapse of the Oslo agreement of 1993 and severely undermined the Israeli public's belief in the possibility of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by means of a negotiated settlement. The violent events were met by numerous measures to impose order, which continued up until the Karin A affair in early 2002. When the ship was seized, Israel's government maintained that the large cache of various types of arms found on the arms ship had come from Iran and was on its way to the Palestinian Authority. It presented this as proof positive that the peaceful intentions of the Palestinian leadership could not be trusted. When the ship arrived in the Israeli port of Eilat, the most southern Israeli city, the arms were displayed on the dock and a press conference was held in the presence of the Israeli prime minister, defense minister and chief of staff. The Palestinian Authority denied any connection to the ship.

On January 6, the first day the event was reported in the Israeli press, Israel's two largest newspapers – *Ma'ariv* and *Yedioth Ahronoth*– devoted 15 entire pages each to the subject, including huge pictures of the arms displayed on the dock, a map of Israel with all the locations that would have lain within the range of the missiles on the ship had they fallen into the hands of the Palestinian Authority, and an illustration showing all the stages of the seizure of the ship by the Israeli commandos. By and large, the report reflected the official position of the Israeli government – that the arms were on their way to the Palestinian Authority; that Yasser Arafat, then the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, had known about the ship and authorized it, and that the arms had apparently come from Iran. The ship was offered as evidence of Iran's active support for terror and of the continued arming by the Palestinians.

However, in the newspapers of the same day a negotiation over the facts was taking place. The Palestinians claimed that the operation was in fact an Israeli provocation, that the arms had been on their way to Hezbollah in Lebanon rather than to the Palestinian Authority, and that this was an attempt by Israel to evade negotiations with the Palestinians. Since the American mediator, General Anthony Zinni, had just arrived in the region, this Israeli provocation could be aimed at trying to cause his mediation attempts to fail. The Americans also took the view that the arms had been on their way to Hezbollah in Lebanon.

On the op-ed pages, the debate was not over the facts of the case, but rather over its general context. Some claimed that it was the policies of the government of Israel that were driving the Palestinians to take action of this kind, because Israel was not giving the Palestinian people sufficient incentive to abandon the battlefield, that the diplomatic deadlock was intensifying the violent dynamic. Voices were heard to claim that it was not difficult to

understand why the Palestinians would want to arm themselves, and that what they were doing was in fact no different than what the Israelis had done during their own fight for independence.

In the following sections, I will point to a dominant analogy used in the coverage of the affair by the Israeli press, and show how this coverage reflects different voices in Israeli society. The rhetorical perspective will contribute to the understanding of the argumentative power of analogy and of the various ways in which opponents can exploit this power to promote their own positions.

3 Critical evaluation vs. Pragmatic effectiveness

Argument from analogy implies that there is a series of similarities between two concepts, although in the argumentation itself these similarities usually remain explicit and may come about only in the critical testing procedure that follows the advancing of the argument, where the opponent may come up with critical questions about specific similarities and differences (Garssen 2009). Informal logic and the Pragma-dialectic approach provide us with quite rigid criteria for critically evaluating arguments by analogy. Since "basing argumentation on a relation of analogy assumes that X and Z share *all* characteristics relevant to the argumentation" (van Eemeren et al. 2002: 100), the main critical question would be whether there are any significant differences between the two concepts. Pointing to such differences may serve to refute the argument. The opponent may directly show that the original argument misrepresents the situation at hand or that it omits relevant knowledge from consideration (Shelly 2004: 237), she may indirectly propose a counter-analogy presented as better adequate to the target (Doury 2009: 151), and so on.

However, in actual interactions, a critical assessment of arguments is not always the issue at stake. First, it is important to mention that not all uses of analogy are argumentative. According to Juthe (2005:3), most analogical reasoning is about solving problems, describing something, learning or explaining things by extending our thought from things we are able to understand to things we are as yet unable to comprehend. For Perelman (1982: 116), the basic role of analogy is to clarify the *theme* (target) through the *phoros* (source), because the *phoros* is usually better known than the *theme* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 373).

Second, in 'loose' argumentative contexts, where responses and follow-ups may vary significantly, the opponent, in order to achieve a rhetorical effect, may do more than try to

refute the analogy. Thus, in many cases of using analogy, reasoning, validity or refutation are irrelevant terms, while it is possible to replace it with "pragmatic effectiveness" as a relevant criterion.

The notion of pragmatic effectiveness is taken from the *multiconstraint theory of analogy* suggested by Holyoak and Thagard (1995). From the perspective of cognitive science, the theory provides three general criteria for evaluating "the goodness or *coherence* of analogies" (Shelly 2004: 227), although not all of them need to be satisfied entirely:

(a) Structural consistency: one-on-one mapping of the elements.

(b) Semantic similarity: corresponding concepts are similar in meaning.

(c) Pragmatic effectiveness: the analogy provides information relevant to the issue in question. This information can serve as an interpretation of the issue, framing it for the audience and suggesting a kind of explanation of it.

Figurative analogy is in principle an analogy, which is neither "good" nor "coherent." It has only partial structural consistency, and almost no semantic similarity. However, it may still have a significant pragmatic effectiveness. In this case, the pragmatic effectiveness may be more relevant than incoherence that can be exposed by critical testing. Thus, if we want to trace the argumentative or rhetorical power of a specific figurative analogy, the first question would be: What makes it pragmatically effective?

When reviewing the journalistic texts related to the Karin A affair, we find a single analogy that repeatedly appears among a variety of journalists and newspaper sections. According to this analogy, the operation was "like a movie," namely, it resembled the actions and operations that are familiar to members of Western culture from Hollywood action movies. In the next section, I will discuss the initial uses of this analogy and try to provide an answer to the question of its pragmatic effectiveness.

4 Karin A operation as a Hollywood action movie

Consider these examples (originally in Hebrew), from the first 2 days of the coverage, in Israel's two largest and most popular newspapers. The source of this analogy is in something stated by an Israeli officer:

> (1) *A swift action,* ***classic James Bond****, as one of the members of the General Staff put it* (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 6).

This analogy appeared in the headline in the same newspaper:

(2) *Like* ***in the movies*** (Headline, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 6).

It appeared both in the lead editorial and in the commentary, as well as is in the other newspaper:

(3) *…operation carried out with high-quality performance,* ***of the type that goes beyond any special effects produced by a Hollywood scriptwriter*** (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 6).

(4) *…a successful military action, à la* ***James Bond****.* (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 6).

(5) *The operation looked as if it had been taken from a* ***Hollywood action movie****. But it really happened, early Thursday morning at high seas, 500 kilometers from Israeli shores* (*Ma'ariv*, January 7).

What makes this analogy pragmatically effective? Any political event requires an interpretation, and the figurative analogy provides the readers with tools to understand its meaning. In this sense, it is a way of framing the event. The analogy is based on a number of similarities. For example, in action movies, events generally take only a short time. And in this case, the capture of the ship took only 6 minutes. However the effectiveness of the analogy is derived from the fact that Hollywood thrillers have a number of characteristics that are usually absent from a political event that is part of a prolonged dispute: The viewers of the movie are usually given a clear picture of who the "good guys" and "bad guys" are along with a clear concept as to the goals of each side. The movie usually enables the viewers to easily understand and assess the outcome attained through a specific action. Without these characteristics, the film would have difficulty being understood and gaining popularity. But events in political reality are rarely that clear cut. In other words, this analogy has a significant interpretive power: It serves to clarify the meaning of the political event in simple terms of good and bad, success and achievement.

We can see that at the initial stages of the affair, this analogy was used to convey praise and admiration. The analogy to a Hollywood movie enables these journalists to express a certain position in regard to the dispute that exists in Israeli society surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the ways to resolve it. The implicit position here is that the

Palestinians in any case do not want peace and will never stop posing a threat to Israel. Consequently, the only option available to Israel is the use of force and military operations.

It is not surprising that this voice is reflected by the manner in which the event was reported in the popular press (*Ma'ariv* and *Yedioth Ahronoth*). This is related to the fact that this event gave Israelis the opportunity to look back and once again see themselves as they did before the occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967: as the citizens of a tiny, impoverished and beleaguered country, surrounded on all sides by enemies, fighting a just war for its survival. The Karin A operation had all the features needed to uphold this image. The huge quantities of arms depict Israel as the victim (see Ophir, 2000); the report on the missile ranges reminds the reader how small Israel is; the complicated operation involved the gathering of intelligence over a long period, the operation by an elite unit that lasted only six minutes on a stormy night, far from Israeli shores. And what is especially important about this operation is what did not happen – no one was injured. Thus, this event appeared to restore to the Israel Defense Forces its image of yore, that of an army established upon the resourcefulness and valor of individuals. In other words, it enabled Israelis to look in the mirror and feel pride at what they saw.

However, these features of action thrillers mentioned here are not the only features of those films. Looking at follow-ups in the next section I will demonstrate how further aspects and characteristics of Hollywood movies are emphasized in order to enable that analogy to serve other voices too. The discussion will propose an answer to a further question: What kind of responses to that analogy may be considered effective?

5 Follow-ups: Responses in the Israeli press

A party to a dispute seeking to reject an argument from analogy has a few available options, each of which has its rhetorical advantages and disadvantages. One option is to disregard the analogy; a second option is to explicitly reject it as inappropriate; a third option is to reject the analogy and replace it with a more appropriate one. It is also possible to reject the analogy without suggesting an alternative one. Another important option available is to adopt the analogy and then to expand it. Perelman (1982:119) considered only two options as argumentatively effective: (a) to reject the analogy as inappropriate and to replace it with another, more appropriate one, thus reframing the issue or the event; (b) to adopt the other side's analogy and then to adapt, expand and enrich it to suit the needs of one's own side for

argumentative purposes. In the present section, I will demonstrate these two basic types of responses: rejection and expansion.

Two days after the publication of the texts presented in examples 1-5, *Haaretz,* considered Israel's most "highbrow" newspaper, also made use of the analogy of a Hollywood movie. Yoel Marcus wrote the following in his column:

> (6) *I hope the reader will forgive me if I am not swept up in waves of enthusiasm at the* ***"James Bond operation right out of the movies,"*** *as the seizure of the Karin A was described in the media headlines that triggered a national erection. The seizure of the large amount of arms was important in itself, but also as a public relations instrument that was squeezed like a lemon, with the entire security establishment hitching a ride on it. For a moment, we were allowed to feel like* ***Israel of yesteryear*** *– Israel of the Entebbe rescue, which it no way resembles in planning and daring; Israel that demolished the nuclear reactor in Iraq, for which the world thanks it to this day, or Israel preparing to get as far as Iran and perhaps to return to Iraq. The problem is that between* ***the glory of yesteryear*** *and the preparation for the dangers of the future, we have been unable to find a solution to the immediate danger at our doorstep and our leaders have no idea what is going to happen the day after* ***"the daring raid taken right out of a Hollywood action movie"*** (Yoel Marcus, *Ha'aretz*, January 8).

The main thrust here is that the current operation does not resolve any real problem. Expressions such as "the glory of yesteryear" and "the Israel of yesteryear" seem to hint that the time for military solutions has passed, and they are worthless if not backed up by political ones. This voice, which expresses reservation with the above proposed analogy, rejects the analogy without proposing an alternative analogy to replace it. How does it attain rhetorical and pragmatic effectiveness?

Its power stems from the use of irony. Ironic utterances, which inherently include an echoed voice (Sperber and Wilson 1981; Wilson and Sperber 1992), allow for the explicit mention of the analogy proposed by the other party, while at the same time holding it up to ridicule, thereby causing the rival's arguments to be indirectly rejected. By the use of quotation marks around such expressions as "James Bond operation right out of the movies" and "the daring raid taken right out of a Hollywood action movie," the author echoes those reports that had appeared a day or two earlier in the newspapers. Since the ironic echo is the echo of utterances that originally served to indicate praise and amazement, this text reflects the opinion that seeing the Karin A operation as a step that promotes a solution to the conflict is ridiculous.

Another option, and perhaps a more effective one, is to accept the analogy, expand and develop it, and in this way use it as a means to reject the other party's point of view and offer

a different one. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) put it, "Instead of being extended by the author, an analogy may be extended by his critic, who will derive from it a means of refutation" (p. 387). Cognitively, the effect of analogy is not necessarily to provide new information, but rather to focus attention on certain parts of the existing information (Gentner 1989, p. 201; Aragones et al. 2001). "Every analogy underscores certain parts, playing down others" (Perelman 1982:119). For rhetorical purposes, the other party can emphasize different elements of the analogy that were not highlighted by the interlocutor. It is a way of expressing a different stance without changing the frame, without re-framing.

Example 7 demonstrates the rhetoric power of this option. It is a quote from a personal column published in a weekend supplement a full week after the event. The example includes excerpts from a much longer article entirely turning on the movie analogy. Even the title is the name of a movie (by director and producer Stanley Kramer, USA 1965):

(7) *Ship of Fools*

Last week, one of the satellite stations showed an action-packed film about the American commando unit, Navy Seals, cast with handsome, testosterone-saturated actors – Michael Biehn, Billy Paxton and Charlie Sheen – who entered and exited violent Beirut in an attempt to destroy Stinger missiles that terrorists had managed to lay their hands on. The Seals leap out of helicopters, ***slide down ropes*** *and use state-of-the-art technology to complete their mission, leaving their dead behind, rendezvousing with a submarine waiting for them off the coast of Lebanon. This cartoon-action picture is worth taking in at the end of a hard day's work. Since "You Only Live Twice" with Sean Connery as James Bond, we have seen* ***commando units sliding down ropes*** *to get the bad guys as they fitfully doze hundreds of times.*

On the background of the manner in which the much admired art of guerilla warfare has been translated into cinematic language in dozens of films, and in light of the fact that American and British forces ***slide down ropes*** *into Taliban caves and that the world is sick of its media-hyped representatives slipping in to slit the throats of* ***villains*** *in their sleep in the name of an obscure idea, on the background of the recognition that all violence, even that which serves the most noble idea to eradicate terror is an unnecessary appendage, left over from the previous millennium – it was difficult not to smile in pity at the pathetic and foolish attempts, completely lacking any media acumen, by official Israel to market – in installments, and like* ***three Indiana Sharon sequels*** *– the seizure* ***(drumroll)*** *by the naval commando unit* ***(trumpets)****, that is Flotilla 13, on board the Karine A –* ***the fishing boat whose sailors all slumber*** *– belonging to the Palestinian Authority. [...]*

Even if today, tomorrow or next week, the IDF Spokesperson's film unit releases archive shots of ***our fine young men*** *seizing the Karine A at high seas, a movie about the Navy Seals will always be more fascinating and convincing. Moreover, in a world and state overflowing with far more serious and painful problems, which yearns to lay down its weapons, the raw footage, like the repeated presentation of the weapons that*

> *were seized, turned into* ***an item devoid of viewers*** *or clients* (Ron Meiberg, *Ma'ariv*, January 11).

Here, the analogy to a Hollywood movie not only dominates the entire text, but it is also enriched in numerous ways. Specific details are noted, such as a typical action-movie soundtrack ("drumroll", "trumpets"), the existence of "sequels," the use of the name "Indiana Sharon," which echoes the name of the "Indiana Jones" movie series, together with the name of the then prime minister, Ariel Sharon.

All of these elements combine to create a text whose purpose is to enable again a different voice to be heard: one that expresses loathing for the nature of the operation and the type of thinking that generates this type of operation; to argue that the circumstances have changed, and that these new circumstances require a corresponding change in the perception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The two voices that are heard, both in this example and in the previous one (6), reflect on the one hand, the yearning for the old days when the majority of the Israelis shared an unqualified belief in the justice of the Israeli cause and the actions of the Israeli military, and on the other hand, the realization that this belief belongs to the past.

5 Concluding remarks

The present paper proposes a few points to contribute to the concept of follow-ups:

1. Follow-ups reflect the **dialogic nature** of political discourse, and their analysis exposes the dialogue between different voices in the public arena. The expression of different attitudes to a specific event enables different positions, views, feelings and hopes in regard to the political, social and cultural reality to be reflected.
2. It might be useful to distinguish between **'strict' and 'loose' argumentative contexts**. In a loose argumentative context, a critical assessment of arguments is not always the issue at stake. Rather, the rhetorical framework can offer an assessment of the pragmatic effectiveness of the arguments. Thus, the approach suggested here is to assess follow-ups in such contexts in terms of **pragmatic effectiveness**.
3. I suggest that tracing the uses of a **specific expression or concept** and their reuse in follow-ups could be a beneficial method.

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Strategies of response and responsiveness in diplomatic communication

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Abstract

This study of discursive strategies in international treaty monitoring exchanges is based on politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson. The framework allows identifying general character of the interaction (cooperative or defensive-aggressive) as well as differentiating between the parties' modalities of follow-up on particular topics (acceptance or rejection of criticism, acknowledgement or refutation of specific arguments, etc.). This framework is extended to cover the interactive coherence of the exchange. The paper highlights the extent of parties' responsiveness and offers several explanations of selectivity of response to criticism.

1 Introduction

Report-based monitoring is a usual choice of implementation mechanism in many areas of international law: the United Nations' human rights regime, for example, is largely based on the regular submission of reports by State Parties to the treaty bodies, which, in their turn, provide the States with a detailed feedback on the policies and legislation and indicate ways to improve compliance with the treaty in question (Alston and Crawford 2000; Alfredsson, Grimheden, Ramcharan and de Zayas 2001; Alston 1995). While international organizations usually do not have means to directly enforce compliance of sovereign States with the letter and the spirit of the treaties, they act in more nuanced, 'soft' ways to induce policy and mentality changes (Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Hurd 2011). One such way is to involve State Parties into a 'constructive dialogue' with the treaty body, maintaining communication and information exchange throughout consecutive cycles of monitoring. In some cases, maintaining such dialogue is one of the legal obligations that States undertake when joining the treaty. This is true, for example, for the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (H(1995)010, Article 25).

While some (mainly, realist IR scholars) argue that such 'weak' implementation mechanisms are utterly inefficient in inducing compliance, others note that the mere obligation of reporting to a body of independent experts is already a challenge to the concept of State sovereignty (Henkin 1994: 41). Procedures of monitoring by a treaty body are a means of holding states accountable for their behavior and checking its compatibility with the declared positions (Simmons 1998: 88). The introduction and normalization of the principle of accountability of States for internal policies vis-à-vis international community brings with it, in this second perspective, an important transformation of international order (Forsythe 2012).

The present study subscribes to this perspective and assumes that involvement of States in regular communication with treaty bodies has consequences for the relative power of international organizations and sovereign States as well as for the legitimation and de-legitimation of some types of action internationally and domestically. It therefore focuses on the issue of *responsiveness* of States within report-based monitoring mechanisms. It does so by applying tools of rhetorical and communication analysis to monitoring exchanges situated in a complicated politico-technical context, in a shadowy zone between the public space of political action, the confidential space of diplomacy, and the non-partisan space of bureaucratic technicalities.

2 Analytical framework

2.1 Monitoring exchange as written negotiation

Since 1970s, when the first international report-based mechanisms were developed to monitor States' compliance with the United Nations' human rights treaties, little has changed in what concerns the basic procedure. After a treaty enters into force, States submit initial (later – periodic) reports with detailed information on the measures taken to implement the treaty - usually, through adjusting legislative framework and policies. A special body within the international organization (IO) in question – called 'treaty body' or 'monitoring body' – considers State reports and practices and issues an opinion on State's compliance with the treaty. It thus interprets the treaty and evaluates State's legislative action and implementation. While identifying whether the State is in compliance or in breach with a concrete clause of the treaty, the treaty body 'walks on a balance beam' (Hoffman 2004:19), acrobatically maneuvering between providing a comprehensive 'objective' evaluation of State's policy and

law, thus sustaining its status as an impartial expert body, and establishing a productive long-term relationship with the reporting State.

After the treaty body issues its opinion, the procedure involves the political organ of the IO or its assembly body, which adopt a final resolution/conclusion/ observations, drawing largely on the findings of the treaty body. Additionally, in some cases, States have a possibility to submit comments immediately after the issuance of opinions and in this way respond to the conclusions of the treaty body before the issuance of the final observations by the IO.

It appears that the process is an exercise in policy evaluation, conducted on the international scene – an instance of international policy evaluation. Whereas oral discussions are important steps in this process (especially, discussions over conclusions of the treaty body, which are usually held behind closed doors), the bulk of the exchange functions in writing: all the documents making part of the official exchange (reports, opinions, comments, resolutions) are publicly available texts. Studying monitoring based on the analysis of these texts is what is attempted in this paper.

2.2 Communicative needs and discursive strategies

I argue that politeness theory provides useful basis for the analysis of the interactive aspect of monitoring exchanges, and suggest an analytical framework which takes into account communicative needs of the two parties (i.e. generic purposes of texts making part of the monitoring process and contextual purposes of the authors) and strategic discursive tools available to them for the realization of these needs. Such an approach makes sense since it allows to investigate an important aspect of monitoring left largely unexplored so far. Indeed, monitoring exchanges are potentially highly conflictual in two respects. On the one hand, international evaluation is problematic from the point of view of principles of international relations since it investigates and evaluates actions of a sovereign subject, which, by definition, has discretion of political action on its own territory. On the other hand, from the point of view of communication in general, evaluation, critique and advice – unavoidable elements of monitoring – are face-threatening acts and require tact and caution. This second aspect of international monitoring has received unfairly little attention in scholarly literature.

As I presented in detail elsewhere (Mikalayeva 2012), the main communicative need of reporting states is to provide information on the treaty's implementation and that of the monitoring body – to give an objective evaluation of the implementation and point out

remaining deficiencies ('make critique'). States, consequently, in addition to providing information, have to respond to criticism. The monitoring body, at the same time, cannot bluntly criticize State parties without losing credibility and acceptance – and that would render any monitoring process meaningless, since State cooperation is required for the success. Monitoring body has to compensate for critique, for example, by balancing it with a comparable amount of praise, or in other ways.

Based on the distinction between two dimensions of face – positive and negative – I draw a distinction between *cooperation-oriented* discursive strategies (focusing on the positive face of the reporting State) and *independence-oriented* strategies (focusing on the negative face of the reporting State). In politeness theory, 'positive face' corresponds to the want of having a good image and being liked, and 'negative face' corresponds to the want of protecting one's autonomy. Tables 1a and 1b illustrate intersections between communicative needs of the parties and their orientation in terms of face wants, resulting in second-order strategies:

Discursive strategy	**Cooperation**	**Independence**
Communicative need		
Provide information	Sincerity	Selectivity
React to critique	Acceptance	Contestation

Table 1a. Second-order strategies of reporting States

Discursive strategy	**Cooperation**	**Independence**
Communicative need		
Make critique	Directness	Indirectness
Compensate for critique	Praise	Justification

Table 1b. Second-order strategies of the treaty body

Empirically, this framework makes it possible to establish the general orientation of texts making part of monitoring exchanges (reports, comments, opinions) in terms of the predominant strategy: cooperation or independence. A cooperation-oriented report, for example, will be more self-critical and more positive towards criticism than an independence-oriented report, likely to present only positive information on State policies and law and unwilling to accept critique. A cooperation-oriented opinion, on the other hand, will be more

direct in both critique and praise; it will go 'straight to the point', maximizing efficiency of communication and minimizing effort on accommodating the State's desire of autonomy. The predominant strategy may be identified by coding tactics within second-order strategies and quantitatively analyzing instances of these tactics, by, for example calculating a ratio between cooperative and independence-oriented tactics.

The main drawback of this method is that the second-order strategy of selectivity is almost completely ungraspable. For example, in State's comments on opinions, not only acceptance or rejection of criticism are possible, but also absence of response. State may indeed simply ignore a disturbing passage in the opinion instead of directly rejecting it – outright rejection may in fact be seen by the international organization as a sign of bad will. Importantly for the quality of conclusions based on counting instances of direct response tactics, not only the level of cooperativeness, but also the level of responsiveness of the comments is necessarily overrated if the strategy of selectivity is left out. This paper starts to address this drawback and looks into the patterns of *selectivity*.

3 States' comments: managing face-threatening acts

3.1 Background: State comments within the Framework Convention monitoring

The fastest and most interactive round of exchange between a reporting State and the international organization takes place when States respond to treaty body's opinions. Comments give the State an occasion to react to critique and advice in the treaty body's opinion, update information and (re)position itself in the monitoring process before the next report. Since it is customary that the political organ of the international organization issues a final resolution on the country's compliance only after comments have been provided, they are a unique moment for the state to 'negotiate' its compliance by submitting new information, clarifying its policies and practices and arguing with the monitoring body about the most appropriate way to interpret the treaty and policies.

The treaty chosen for the study is the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities – a legally binding treaty with a regular monitoring procedure. Within the monitoring procedure of the Convention, started in 1999, State reports are due every five years, followed by an opinion by the Advisory Committee. States may then submit comments on the opinion within approximately six months. Each cycle is completed

when the Committee of Ministers (political organ of the Council of Europe) adopts a resolution. Although the exact content and wording of the resolution are usually hotly debated between State parties and the expert and political bodies of the Council of Europe, no real sanctions are threatening non-complying States, except for reputation costs through 'shaming and blaming'.

Under this treaty, I chose two countries for detailed analysis: Finland and Estonia. They are now in the third cycle of monitoring and their monitoring negotiations provide thus enough material for analysis. Twelve documents making part of the monitoring mechanism are analyzed for this paper: three opinions and three comments per country (2001-2011).

Acting in conditions of heavy workload and tight time resources and motivated by the wish to treat reporting States equally, the monitoring body of the Framework Convention – called Advisory Committee – has developed a common outline for its opinions. Thus, in all cycles, opinions are structured in numbered paragraphs and divided into an introduction, a main part with article-by-article comments and a conclusion. From the second cycle on, opinions are more sophisticated in structure, with sections dedicated to positive and negative developments and recommendations under each article of the Convention. Introduction and conclusion to the opinion sum up the findings and stress the most important points to be addressed by the States in order to comply with the Convention. These parts of the opinion do not necessarily attract direct attention of the responding State: all critique and advice that is placed in the introduction and the conclusion is to be found in the body of the opinion, accompanied with more detail and argumentation. At the same time, clustering critique and praise apart makes it possible to easily identify the most pressing aspects to be addressed in the comments.

Comments, on the other hand, are more loosely structured and are usually deprived of a conclusion. They normally provide context for the main body of comments by reminding the dates of the report submission and opinion issuance and declare openness to the results of the evaluation by the Advisory Committee. The bulk of the comments is constituted by responses to article-by-article findings of the Committee. Next section illustrates the range of possible responses.

3.2 Range of responses in comments

It is possible to distinguish between several strategies available to States for responding to criticism as well as advice in opinions. If the response is designed within the cooperative

strategy, that is, focuses on the positive face of the State and highlights its good will and openness in the monitoring process, three ways of response may be distinguished: 1) acceptance of criticism and advice; 2) promise of action, with or without explicit recognition of deficiencies; and 3) provision of information on new, usually positive, developments. These responses are ranged from most direct to most indirect. If, on the other hand, response is designed within the independence strategy, focusing on the negative face of the State and highlighting its desire for autonomy, three other ways of reacting to criticism and advice may be identified: 1) explicit rejection; 2) denial of (direct) responsibility, and 3) renegotiation of the situation, which makes criticism or advice not relevant or not warranted. This time again, responses are ranged from most direct to most indirect. Table 2 summarizes the response strategies.

Discursive strategy	**Cooperation**	**Independence**
Direct	Acceptance	Rejection
Partly direct	Promise of action	Denial of responsibility
Indirect	New information	Renegotiation of the situation

Table 2. Response to criticism/advice

Here are some examples of how these response strategies are used in States' comments. Strategy of acceptance is illustrated by excerpts from the first comments by Finland (Finland 2001:7) and from the second comments by Estonia (Estonia 2005: 4), the emphasis is mine:

(1) The Government *agrees with the view of the Advisory Committee*, according to which the dispute over land rights should be resolved as expeditiously as possible, in a manner that will contribute to the protection of the culture of the Sami without interfering with the rights of the non-Sami population. Considerable efforts, which are constantly being made, are still needed in order to resolve the problems.

(2) The Estonian authorities *are aware* of the extent of the problem and the importance of solving it…

Explicit agreement is relatively rare, but it is common to see in comments promise of action. In most cases it is a reaction to concrete suggestions of the Advisory Committee, but such suggestions may be not mentioned in the response, as in (3) (Finland 2001: 15):

(3) In the course of 2001, the Ministry of Education implements an assessment of special education, and in that connection *special attention will be paid* to the situation referred to by the Advisory Committee.

An even less direct way of reacting to criticism and advice is to provide information on positive developments, thus eliminating grounds for critique, as in (4) (Estonia 2002: 12):

(4) The training of teachers of schools where the language of instruction is other than Estonian and of the language training firms *has been* one of the priorities of the State Integration Programme. Special needs-assessment study with recommendations for further training *has been compiled* for Estonian language teachers in all types of schools. Various projects *have been implemented*…

Such strategy is usually marked by the use of present perfect as the main tense and often refers to the events that took place between the issuance of the report or of the opinion and the issuance of the comments. It thus updates information and in this way addressed criticism without directly mentioning it.

Within the strategy of independence, the direct strategy of rejection means refuting critical comments as unfounded, misplaced or irrelevant. It is even rarer than explicit agreement with critique. While it is uncommon in diplomatic communication to be so direct, the essence of the cooperation strategy is best illustrated by this tactic. In fact, in combination with self-criticism and acceptance of criticism, a reasonable amount of direct rejection may be seen a healthy alternative to lengthy, sophisticated but hollow formulations of disagreement. However, when rejection is the predominant choice, it is indicative of a highly defensive attitude and suggests low success of monitoring in general. The following two examples (Finland 2001: 20 and 7) illustrate this tactic:

(5) In the light of the above observations, the Government does not find the suggestion of the Advisory Committee reasoned.

(6) In the Government's view neither the National Board of Forestry nor any other authority has prevented the Sami from maintaining their own culture.

Sometimes, rejection is 'solidified' with a reference to an authority, which supports the unfounded nature of critique, – providing backing, as in (7) (Estonia 2002: 11):

> (7) [T]he High Commissioner on National Minorities of the OSCE… has publicly stated that the amended text of the Language Act is in conformity with Estonia's international obligations and commitments.

A more delicate way of rejection is to deny direct responsibility (8) (Finland 2001: 4). This tactic is at times accompanied with an explanation that attributes deficiencies to the democratic nature of the state and implicitly links it to the principles of subsidiarity and local autonomy:

> (8) The Government further observes that, despite the high quality of legislation, the practical implementation of the legislative provisions may in some cases take time, for which there usually is a good cause.

Renegotiating the situation is an indirect tactic, which is an even subtler variant of contestation. It proceeds through reframing the situation so that it no longer appears as a problem. The following example is a response by Finland to the AC's criticism of the 'over-enthusiastic' placement of children from some minority groups (namely, Roma) in schools for pupils with learning difficulties (Finland 2006: 19):

> (9) However, the purpose of remedial education is to help and support pupils with learning difficulties so that they have equal possibilities to complete school in accordance with their capacities, at the same time with other pupils of their age. Education must be based on the strengths and individual learning and improvement needs of the pupil, supporting his or her independence and self-esteem. If the pupil has difficulties in normal education, or it is not appropriate in view of the pupil's development, the basic education is provided partly or entirely by means of remedial education. Such pupils are prepared an individual educational plan in cooperation with their custodians and teachers and other experts. As soon as there is no longer need for remedial education, the pupil is transferred back to normal education.

This tactic is an attempt to accommodate the evaluation of the situation by external actors by changing the way the fact is presented (Volkova 2008: 189). It is not the AC's evaluation of the situation, but the definition of the situation as such that is put into question.

In quantitative terms, tactics under the cooperation strategy are more often used by States (at least, Finland and Estonia in the first two cycles) than tactics under the

independence strategy, as shown in Table 3. Independence-oriented tactics are however more often used in comments than in reports. This is probably due to the contextual and generic specificity of comments: this text intervenes between the opinion and the resolution and can be used to minimize the detrimental impact of a critical resolution on the reputation of the State.

	1st Report	1st Comments	2nd Report	2nd Comments
Finland	15.7	1.3	7.3	4.2
Estonia	10	2.9	4	1.3

Table 3. Ratio of cooperation to independence strategy tactics

3.3 Selectivity in comments

As already mentioned, the ratio of cooperation to independence strategy tactics does not fully reflect the content of the interaction since the *degree of responsiveness* is not captured by the research method – coding tactics in monitoring texts. By definition, selectivity gets unnoticed in such a procedure. Therefore, if we want to know how selective are State documents in their response to criticism and advice from the Advisory Committee, another method of document analysis is needed.

In order to establish the level of responsiveness of the comments in the sample, I have identified those paragraphs in the opinions that warranted response, that is, those containing critique and/or recommendations and, in many cases, those containing praise as well. Then, I have checked whether Finland and Estonia provided any response to these paragraphs in the comments. Thus, I was able to calculate a response rate, that is, how many of the critique/advice/praise instances were responded by the States. Results are presented in Table 4, where N is the number paragraphs in the opinion that warrant a response (that is, contain an FTA such as critique, advice or praise), R is the number of the paragraphs actually responded to, and % is the rate of response:

	First cycle			Second cycle			Third cycle		
	N	R	**%**	N	R	**%**	N	R	**%**
Finland	37	25	**68**	81	38	**47**	123	45	**37**
Estonia	48	22	**46**	87	27	**31**	119	59	**50**

Table 4. Response rate in comments by Finland and Estonia through three cycles

Table 4 makes evident an important variance in the degree of responsiveness across States and cycles. Indeed, while first comments by Finland are highly responsive, with 68% of paragraphs containing FTAs responded, second comments by Estonia are characterized by a very low rate of response – only 31%. This variance needs to be judged in relation to the rising number of the paragraphs warranting response. Thus, although Finland answers to an augmenting number of points in each subsequent comments (25, 38, 45), the rate of responsiveness diminishes through 3 cycles (68%, 47%, 37%). For Estonia, the situation is not so straightforward, since on the background of a rising number of points responded to (22, 27, 59), the third cycle even more responsive than the first (46%, 31%, 50%). Another observation is that from the second cycle on, the number of paragraphs containing criticism, advice or praise gets 'standardized', with values for Finland and Estonia converging significantly. In general, this standardization may have a pacifying effect on reporting States since it signals equal treatment – no State gets criticized much more often than other States and, therefore, may find it less defensible to divert from cooperative spirit to defensive or aggressive response.

What concerns possible explanations of selectivity in response, several hypotheses may be formulated. Selectivity in State responses to opinions may be thematic (avoiding sensitive topics or, alternatively, prioritizing sensitive topics), may be explained by structural choices (explicit response given only to a specific type of utterance's segments, for example, conclusion), or be face-oriented (response only to critique, or critique and advice, or critique, advice and praise, etc.).

This short paper can present only first results of document analysis and leaves to future research a more detailed exploration of all the possible explanations of selectivity. Preliminary findings point out two aspects of selectivity in State comments. First of all, no single hypothesis seems to be suitable for the explanation of selectivity in all six comments, or for any one country or for any one monitoring cycle. It does not however mean that no

plausible explanation for selectivity can be found for each comments, but rather that selectivity probably does not make part of genre norms for state comments. In other words, no single rationale for selecting which FTAs to respond to and which to ignore is provided by the genre itself. It is more likely that authors of individual comments make their choices based on more immediate contextual considerations and their own personal preferences.

Second, thematic and structural hypotheses find some support in Finnish and Estonian comments. To start with the thematic hypothesis, it seems at least partly sustained: in second and third comments by both Finland and Estonia, whole sections are omitted in response. Since opinions are structured according to the order of the articles in the Framework Convention and therefore are divided into parts on language use, on education, on participation in socio-political life, etc., omission of a specific section of the opinion in the response means that a whole topic is silenced in the comments.

In relation to the structural hypothesis, one can conclude that the introduction of a more sophisticated structure of the opinions in the second cycle provided hints for some drafters of comments. Thus, Finland's second comments follow a clearly structural approach in responding to FTAs: all paragraphs of the opinion under the rubric 'Recommendations' are addressed (except one), while only one paragraph not in the rubric 'Recommendations' is addressed. Thus, the author of the second Finnish comments chose, and coherently stuck to, a transparent way of selecting the points of the opinion to be addressed. The pattern is however not sustained in the third cycle, where only 41% of 'Recommendations' are addressed. Selectivity in Finland's third-cycle comments is probably best explained with reference to the thematic response strategy.

What concerns Estonia, it appears that its second comments are not structure-motivated: only 8 out of 28 'Recommendations' are addressed in Estonian second comments (22%). Still, 62% of 'Recommendations' are addressed in the third cycle, which is higher than the average rate of response this time, so there may be gradual movement in the direction of structurally-motivated selectivity, especially in the context of the increasing volume of opinions.

4 Summary

This paper focuses on responsiveness of State comments to opinions of the treaty body of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in first

three cycles of monitoring. Its point of departure is the assumption that direct involvement of States in a regular communication with treaty bodies has consequences positively influences compliance with the treaty in question and, thus, contributes to shaping domestic policies and legislation. It is important that this involvement is based on a cooperative relationship between the reporting State and the monitoring body, which does not overstress the State's desire for autonomy and non-intervention. It is possible to study the cooperativeness of the monitoring relationship on the basis of texts making part of the monitoring procedure – reports, opinions, comments.

The paper outlines an analytical framework that allows identifying a predominant motivation behind these texts by looking at whether authors are concerned more with the positive face of the reporting State (that is, its good will, openness and cooperative spirit) or with its negative face (that is, its desire for autonomy and non-intervention). It then addresses the issue of responsiveness by identifying how selective States are in responding to face-threatening acts contained in the treaty body's opinions (critique, advice as well as praise) and attempts to uncover possible explanations of this selectivity on the material of six comments, submitted cy Finland and Estonia in 2001-2011. It appears that response rate varies rather significantly in the texts of the corpus and that thematic as well as structural logics seem most promising in explaining the discursive choices of the States.

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Question-answer interaction as a translation process?

Studying Questionese and Answerese[1]

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"Is it so hard to ask you all learn yahoo!answerese?"

Posted on Yahoo! ANSWERS, 2009

Abstract

This study is a methodological exercise in which we impose a bilingual parallel corpus setting inspired by Translation Studies onto a monolingual corpus of question-answer interactions. We draw a one-to-one analogy between questions/answers and the translation process: the initial utterance of speaker A, the question, is considered the source text, and the response of speaker B, which may or may not include a follow-up, is considered the target text. The aim of this study is to offer a corpus-based methodology for discourse analysis.

1 Introduction

The word "question" appears 2,745 times (310.25 instances per million words) in the spoken dialogues of the British National Corpus (BNC). A typical concordance view is shown in Figure 1: (1) the search-word is marked and centered; (2) some co-text is given on either side of the search-word; (3) the search-word is hyperlinked and upon clicking on it one can retrieve the full context for the dialogue. Since we are interested here in studying *follow-ups* (to be elaborated on below), we may often want to resort to option (3), i.e. look at a fuller context of the utterance in order to further study what generated it. In this study we assume that when, in response to a question asked by speaker A, speaker B uses the word "question", he or she performs a meta-communication act which we identify as a follow-up. In order to defend this assumption, we would have to go through hundreds of examples out of the 2,745

[1] This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant No. 137/06) and by a grant from the Israeli Ministry of Science and Technology.

occurrences that appear in our corpus, and for each such case follow the hyperlink leading to the full dialogue in order to study its function in context. Besides being a time-consuming way of studying this corpus, it will be hard to generalize from such cases, and we therefore prefer to find a way (1) to summarize the data in the target language more efficiently, and (2) to make the fuller context more accessible for observation.

's it why've you change it? No is that a	question	are you saying you'd like to see introduced
Brenda. That's right that's right. Is it a	question	for us [unclear] ? The thing is I I me I've
ıt I don't wanna cut in could you ask the	question	please? Well I'm asking. [unclear] Sorry I'd
ıg. [unclear] Sorry I'd like the the thing is	question	. There is not well alright then my question is
uestion. There is not well alright then my	question	is . Say what you want. I I I. Why
ıal. er Mr Chairman your care to require	question	so here's a question. Is this a public consulta
your care to require question so here's a	question	. Is this a public consultation meeting? The m
y does a view have to be expressed as a	question	? Sorry? Why does a view have to be expre
y does a view have to be expressed as a	question	? Hm hm.. Chair Ian [gap:name] [unclear] . f
ot have to be put forward in a shape of a	question	to be er a useful contribution to the debate a
ight addressed you in the in the form of a	question	that is not necessarily the the only way to co
is that? Because I don't. Sorry that's a	question	[unclear] . [unclear] What I'm trying to do is

Figure 7: Concordance lines for "question", screenshot from BNCweb (Hoffmann et al., 2008)

Follow-ups as a discourse analytical concept was suggested in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), in which they studied interactions between teachers and pupils; they characterize follow-ups as follows:

> Follow-up, the third class of move [after *opening* and *answering*] in teaching exchanges is an interesting category. Its function is to let the pupil know how well he/she has performed. It is very significant that follow-up occurs not only after a pupil answering move, but also after a pupil opening move when the head is an informative. In other words, the teacher often indicates the value of an unsolicited contribution from a pupil, usually in terms of its relevance to the discourse. (pp. 48-49)

An example follows:

Classes of move		Structure of move	Classes of act
Opening	Do you know what we mean by accent?	head	elicitation
Answering	It's the way you talk.	head	Reply
Follow-up	The way we talk. This is a very broad comment.	pre-head head	accept evaluate

A follow-up has the function of accepting, evaluating or commenting on the move taken by speaker A (in the case above, the pupil). In the scenario we are studying there are only two-move exchanges, each of which is isolated from other exchanges. We note that what Sinclair and Coulthard may call *informative* pertains, in our corpus, to speaker B's answer-response. This response may or may not include a follow-up as well. In answering, Speaker B often performs a judgmental act of, e.g. *accepting*, *evaluating* or *commenting*, as we shall see, on the question posed by speaker A.

The methodology developed in Translation Studies for studying parallel texts proves relevant to studying question-answer interactions as well as other discourse scenarios. Using this methodology the researcher can first study one side of the corpus, for example, the answers part. After breaking down the data into smaller categories, she or he can then study the "target language" lines side by side with their "source".

In the sequel we introduce the use of parallel corpora as adapted from Translation Studies (Section 2). In Section 3, we then analyze the corpus under study and the way it has been processed. In Section 4 we provide a short background on Sketch Engine, the concordance tool we have used. Section 5 exemplifies the methodology suggested here, and finally, in Section 6, we recapitulate and suggest some options for future studies.

2 Studying parallel corpora

A parallel corpus refers to a bilingual setting in which there are two texts, Text 1, written originally in language L1, and Text 2, its translation into another language, L2. The texts are normally aligned on the word or sentence level. An alignment on the sentence level means

that every line in L1 is mapped onto another in L2, such that one can look up a line in L1 and simultaneously observe its counterpart in L2, or vice versa.

McEnery and Xiao (2008) list several uses for parallel corpora, and advocate their use for comparative linguistics studies. They show that looking at certain structures in L1 and their rendering into L2 reveals typological differences. Similarly, we harness the parallel setting for studying question-answer interactions. Parallel lines can be viewed as a cause-and-effect phenomenon, where the source text triggers the target text. Strictly speaking, a translation always follows its source text (disregarding pseudo-translations), and an answer is always preceded by a question.

Munday (1988) tests several hypotheses concerning the translation process. He investigates *translation shifts* between Spanish and English, i.e. cases where the translation diverges from formal equivalence to the original, such as changing word order even when formal equivalence is possible – non-obligatory shifts (Toury 1995) – including cases where the same word order is not only possible in the target language but serves as its common, unmarked option. Kenney (1988) examines cases of linguistic innovation, and in particular violation of habitual collocations, and finds that more often than not translators opt for the more habitual form in their translations and refrain from violating collocations in the target language, a process she calls *sanitation*. In Statistical Machine Translation parallel corpora are used to generate phrase tables, weighted lexicons that map word sequences in L1 to their translations in L2; these are then used for generating sentence-level translations.

An illustration of parallel concordance lines is shown in Table 1, taken from the European Parliament Proceedings Corpus, Europarl (Koehn 2005). The source language is German and the target language is English. The search word in the example is the German noun 'Schluss', and all sentences containing 'Schluss' have been retrieved. The respective English lines are aligned with it, so the translation researcher can study them one by one. This form of presentation necessitates the idea of equivalence, where the main question is: What does the German 'Schluss' trigger in English? The word/s are: 'final note' (zum Schluss), 'an end' (Schluss), and 'put an end to' (Schluss machen). The last case, number 4 in Table 1 below, is particularly interesting since it is very hard to pinpoint the exact 'local' equivalent to 'Schluss', it seems that the translation here is on the sentence level as a whole: 'ich komme zum Schluss' triggers 'That is all I have to say'. It is a pragmatic equivalence rather than a lexical one. As mentioned earlier, searches may be conducted on the *target language* as well, so that we can look up the English word 'end' and observe its respective lines in source text,

namely what words, phrases or idioms trigger in German the English word ‘end’ (see Table 2). This is the methodology we are going to apply to question-answer interactions.

	GERMAN	ENGLISH
1	Herr Präsident, zum ***Schluss*** darf ich im Namen der Fraktion dem Ausschussvorsitzenden, Herrn Hatzidakis, und dem Berichterstatter, Herrn Bouwman, für die engagierte und erfolgreiche Verhandlungsführung danken.	Mr President, on a final note, I would like, on behalf of my group, to thank the committee chairman, Mr Hatzidakis, and the rapporteur, Mr Bouwman, for their committed and successful handling of these negotiations.
2	Ich denke, es muss ***Schluss*** sein mit den Auswüchsen der Geheimdiplomatie von Rat und Kommission gegenüber dem Parlament.	I believe we must see an end to the excessively secretive brand of diplomacy employed by the Council and the Commission towards Parliament.
3	Mit dieser Ankündigungspolitik müssen wir ***Schluss*** machen!	We need to put an end to this kind of spin.
4	Ich komme zum ***Schluss***.	That is all I have to say.

Table 1: parallel lines German-English, search word "Schluss"

	GERMAN	ENGLISH
1	Bei allem Bekenntnis zum Wettbewerbsprinzip ist Wettbewerb jedoch kein Ziel an sich.	With all due respect for the principle of competition, competition is not, however, an ***end*** in itself.
2	Wer alles kontrollieren muß, kontrolliert eben am Ende gar nichts.	It is precisely those who feel the need to control everything that ***end*** up controlling nothing at all.
3	Damit müssen wir auch eine nachfrageorientierte Wirtschaftspolitik entschieden stärker berücksichtigen als nur die angebotsorientierte!	To that ***end***, we must also make it our business to take more account of demand-orientated economic policy as opposed to one focusing heavily on supply.
4	Zweitens: Ende 1999 haben unglaubliche Stürme gewütet und Tod und Verderben über weite Landstriche der EU gebracht.	Secondly, at the ***end*** of 1999 unbelievable storms raged bringing death and destruction to vast tracts of the EU.

Table 2: parallel lines German-English, search word 'end' on the target text

3 The Yahoo! Answers corpus[2]

The official description of the Yahoo! Answers Website reads as follows: “Yahoo! Answers is a web site where people post questions and answers, all of which are public to any web user willing to browse or download them.” The corpus is available for linguists from the Yahoo! Webscope Program. It consists of 4,483,032 questions and their answers, almost always more than a single answer per question.

Of the various question categories of the corpus, we chose to focus on questions tagged as "Current Events". This portion of the corpus contains 12,809 questions and their answers, spanning over about one million tokens: some 170,000 tokens for questions vs. 870,000 for answers. The ratio of question vs. answer length counted in words is around 1:5. For each question, we selected only the top-rated answer, thus obtaining a 1-to-1 mapping, and keeping the parallel setting intact. The corpus is characterized by the following: Many non-native speakers participate in the communication; spelling errors and Internet slang, including emoticons; ad hoc communication.

4 Sketch Engine

The processed corpus as described in the previous section was uploaded to a corpus querying tool called Sketch Engine (*SkE*) (Kilgarriff et al. 2004), which includes standard concordance functions such as studying key words in context (KWIC), collocations, generating frequency lists, and drawing word sketches, a one-page summary of words. For each word under review a list of other related words (collocations) are presented, generated by well-defined grammatical relations connecting word 1 to word 2. In other words, collocations that are found to be significantly associated with the search word are organized according to their syntactic relation to the search word. Thus, for example, the word “word” is the object of *utter*, *speak*, *exchange*, *pronounce*, etc. It is modified by *other*, *key*, *spoken*, *written*, etc., and modifies *processor*, *processing*, *recognition*, *boundary*, etc. In addition, SkE provides the function of studying parallel texts, where each of the features available for studying a monolingual corpus can be applied to the source/ target text and the resulting lines are presented side by side with the respective lines in the target/source text.

[2] The corpus is available from Yahoo! Webscope at http://webscope.sandbox.yahoo.com

5 Studying Answerese in a parallel corpus

5.1. The word "question" by askers and answerers

In question-answer interaction, we consider the questions as the initiation phase and the answers as the response, which may or may not include a follow-up. When an answerer uses the form 'question' in his answer, more often than not s/he would perform a meta-communicative act, focusing on something in the question, whether a *suggestion* (1), a *negative evaluation* (2), a *positive evaluation* (3) or a preliminary remark where *the status of the question is addressed* before the actual answer is given (4):

(1) "I think this question would be better asked in the 'Society & Culture Mythology and Folklore' category."
(2) "Reading your question (hard to do given your poor grammar) leads me to believe that you are a moral relativist.…"
(3) "Good question. I never got down to thinking of the logistics...."
(4) "This is too complex a question for us to answer completely…."

As can been seen from Table 3 below, the frequency of "question" per speaker/utterance varies greatly between the question and answer sub-corpora: 764.3 hits per million in the answer sub-corpus vs. 610.8 hits per million in the question sub-corpus (about 1.25 times more frequently in the answers), but when normalized by the number of utterances (answers/questions) the ratio grows considerably: the word "question" appears 6.4 times per 100 answers and 1.03 times per 100 questions (about 6.4 times more frequently in the answer sub-corpus).

	freq per million Words	freq per 100 utterances
answer sub-corpus	764.3	6.64
question sub-corpus	610.8	1.03

Table 3: the word "question" across the sub-corpora

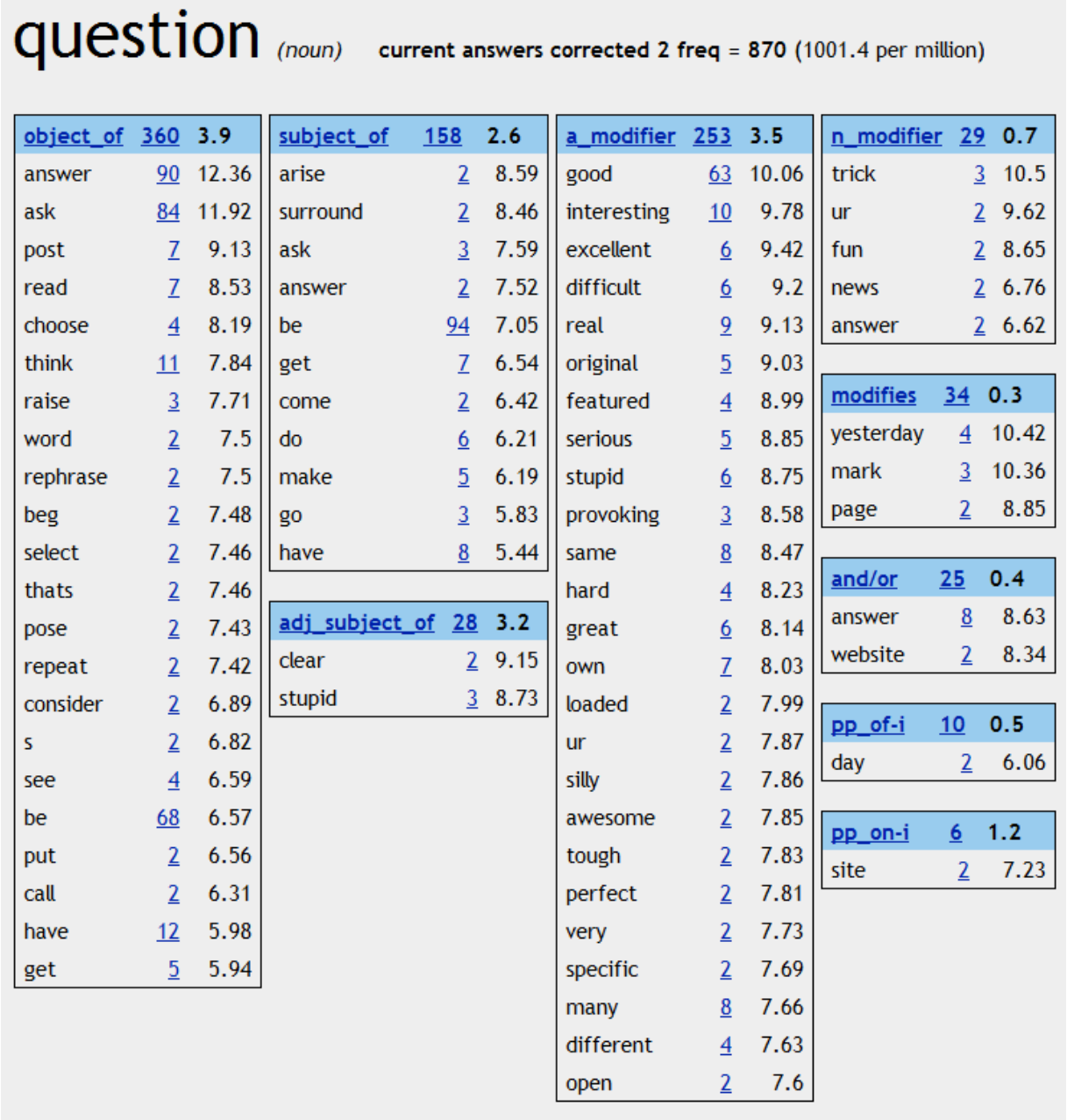
Which frequencies are more relevant to our analysis? Frequencies per million are used when one wishes to learn about the text as a whole; in other words, if we took the whole question

sub-corpus and compared it to the whole answer sub-corpus, and inquired which words typify each (for example, we would obviously expect to have more occurrences of WH-question words in the question sub-corpus), then it would make sense to use frequencies per million. In this sense, the differences between the two sub-corpora are statistically significant, with 1.25 times more occurrences in the answer sub-corpus,[3] but not as dramatic as the difference – 6.4 times more occurrences – on the utterance/speaker level in the answer sub-corpus. The per-sub-corpus frequency answers the following question: How likely is it to come across the word "question" in one million running words in each sub-corpus? The answer is once every 764.3 in the answer sub-corpus vs. 610.8 in the question sub-corpus. The per-utterance frequency relates to the following question: How likely is a speaker (asker/answerer) to use the word "question" in his or her utterance? The answer to this question is far more dramatic – 6.64 for every 100 answers vs. 1.03 for every 100 questions, and we assume that this represents a more reliable depiction of Questionese (the sub-language we postulate here in order to typify questions in on-line question-answer interactions) and Answerese (the same for answers) since we are studying the interaction between askers and answerers. Also note that the alignment is not between the texts as a whole but rather between individual speakers, such that every question (posed by an asker) is mapped onto a single answer (provided by the answerer).

5.2. Using word sketches to explore "question"

Figure 2 below summarizes the sketch of the word "question" (as a noun) in the answer sub-corpus. We note that it stands as the object of various verbs: *answer*, *ask*, *post*, *read*, thus yielding such utterances as "Ultimately more details will have to be provided to ***answer*** your question with any kind of accuracy", "man u ***ask*** good questions", "Think of that, then see how you feel about ***posting*** a stupid question like this one!!!!!!!!! IDIOT!!" and "I see that most people didn't ***read*** your question before answering it.". It can also stand in the subject position, as in "the question naturally ***arises*** here of 'Who was the real thief?'". And in other positions, preceded by an adjectival modifier ("***good*** question, don't think i can answer it.") or by a noun modifier ("Always a fun ***trick*** question, and not quite as silly as some suggest"), etc.

[3] A log-likelihood test indicates that the difference is significant with $p<0.0001$. The examples in this study serve to illustrate the methodology of using parallel corpora to analyze questions and answers, but without going into detail with respect to the relevant statistics e.g., reporting on *dispersion*.



question (noun) current answers corrected 2 freq = 870 (1001.4 per million)

object_of	360	3.9
answer	90	12.36
ask	84	11.92
post	7	9.13
read	7	8.53
choose	4	8.19
think	11	7.84
raise	3	7.71
word	2	7.5
rephrase	2	7.5
beg	2	7.48
select	2	7.46
thats	2	7.46
pose	2	7.43
repeat	2	7.42
consider	2	6.89
s	2	6.82
see	4	6.59
be	68	6.57
put	2	6.56
call	2	6.31
have	12	5.98
get	5	5.94

subject_of	158	2.6
arise	2	8.59
surround	2	8.46
ask	3	7.59
answer	2	7.52
be	94	7.05
get	7	6.54
come	2	6.42
do	6	6.21
make	5	6.19
go	3	5.83
have	8	5.44

adj_subject_of	28	3.2
clear	2	9.15
stupid	3	8.73

a_modifier	253	3.5
good	63	10.06
interesting	10	9.78
excellent	6	9.42
difficult	6	9.2
real	9	9.13
original	5	9.03
featured	4	8.99
serious	5	8.85
stupid	6	8.75
provoking	3	8.58
same	8	8.47
hard	4	8.23
great	6	8.14
own	7	8.03
loaded	2	7.99
ur	2	7.87
silly	2	7.86
awesome	2	7.85
tough	2	7.83
perfect	2	7.81
very	2	7.73
specific	2	7.69
many	8	7.66
different	4	7.63
open	2	7.6

n_modifier	29	0.7
trick	3	10.5
ur	2	9.62
fun	2	8.65
news	2	6.76
answer	2	6.62

modifies	34	0.3
yesterday	4	10.42
mark	3	10.36
page	2	8.85

and/or	25	0.4
answer	8	8.63
website	2	8.34

pp_of-i	10	0.5
day	2	6.06

pp_on-i	6	1.2
site	2	7.23

Figure 8: a word sketch for the word "question"

The sketch of the word "question" provides us with an overview of its collocations in different syntactic positions. However, remember that this is still a monolingual study, i.e. we study only the "target language", Answerese, without yet looking at the source language, Questionese, and in particular at how the two interact. In order to do that, we have to zoom in on particular examples in a parallel setting. We exemplify this for three different collocations in different syntactic positions: "the **real** question"; "Yesterday" and "raise"/"arise".

5.2.1. The real question

As an adjectival modifier we find nine occurrences of "***real*** question", mostly when the answerer wishes to reforumulate and expand the asker's question. For example:

Question: I have a feeling that after the Untied States has pulled out of Iraq, a few years down the line another?

Answer: Quite possibly. The ***real*** question is will the Iraqis have acquired the political and social skills to deal with the next Saddam. Saddam came to power in part due to tribalism. Will Iraq's nationalism ever trump tribalism and sectarian bickering? Not likely in the currently living generation.

Note that many of the questions in this small sample touch on politically loaded or controversial isssues, and that modifying the word "question" with "real" is one of the means by which the answerer can refer to what he or she considers to be the most important aspect of the question (sometimes not specified at all by the asker). It is a follow-up in which the original question is *re-evaluated* and *reoriented*. Here are a few examples for the questions which generated a follow-up of this kind. Since the answers are fairly long, we cite only short fragments, where the phrase– "real question" – is marked:

	QUESTIONS	ANSWERS
1	Is Bird Flu going to be everywhere in a year?	When will the virus mutate to a human to human form? That is the ***real*** scary question.
2	Should Antarctica be mined for its resources? Why or why not?	The ***real*** question is when does Antarctica become a self-sustaining, self-governing nation?
3	BUSH in IRAQ! Carpe Diem!?	The ***real*** question is who gets to decide.
4	Export of Live Beef Calf's to Europe is said to be against the wishes of half the nation. I dont care, do you?	I am not aware of the Vegetarian slant on this. However, the ***real*** question is that of transport while alive over long distances.

5.2.2. Yesterday

Another follow-up word is "yesterday", which modifies the noun "question", setting it in a temporal setting. All four cases we observe show that "yesterday" is a meta-communicative marker. In all cases, the answers are much shorter: the average answer in the corpus is 67

words long, between 2.5 and 5.6 times shorter. In all cases the asker and answerer are already acquainted through Yahoo! Q & A community. Here are two examples of full interactions:

	QUESTIONS	ANSWERS
1	what happened to the french maid??	Don't you remember my cannibal question ***yesterday***, yum yum. yes she was mighty tasty, kinda like lollipops.
3	Unknown/Hidden Van Gogh painting discovery by the VGM in Amsterdam. I have more info, ask me?	I'm sorry, I think I answered this question ***yesterday***, I hope you don't file an abuse report against me, if it seems as if I am pointgaming.

5.2.3. The case of "raise" and "arise"

We turn now to two similar verbs, *raise* and *arise*, the first being the object of "question" and the second being the subject thereof. Most of the answers are fairly long and for the sake of brevity we provide only those parts of the answers that contain the collocations discussed here. Out of this non-representative sample, all five questions are directed at (question 1) or against (questions 2-5) minorities (the poor, the elderly, Muslims, Mexicans and the economic left). In all cases *raise* and a*rise* are markers of (strong) agreement or disagreement:

	QUESTIONS	ANSWERS
1	do you think that poverty will ever come to an end?	The truth is, you are amazing... just by ***raising*** the ***question*** you have opened the door to a dialogue
2	Russell Weller - Did he get his sentence yet? If so, what did he get?	The deaths of 10 people in an accident involving driver Russell Weller, 86, ***raises*** the ***question***: How old is too old to drive?
3	Is it right for Muslims in the West to demand sensitivity while Islamic Terrorists denounce Western culture?	You ***raised*** a very good ***question***.
4	Mexicans in California? Who would have thought. Hmn?	the ***question*** naturally ***arises*** here of "Who was the real thief?"
5	Has the Left derailed all the	Why does the ***question arise*** at all?

	economic reform plans of the United Progressive Alliance?	

6 Discussion

The analogy between the translation process and question-answer interaction offers discourse analysts a tool, a methodology for studying questions and answers in a parallel setting. We applied the following procedure: (1) organize the data in parallel aligned segments of questions and answers; (2) identify a unit for analysis, in our case the noun "question"; (3) analyze this unit using the word sketches on the target language (the answers sub-corpus); (4) zoom in on certain collocations and study them against the source text, (the questions sub-corpus).

Our focal search-word was "question", which we identified as a follow-up. The noun "question" functions as such in question-answer interactions when used by the answerer, but its function as a follow-up is highly dependent on this particular communication setting. Through studying the collocations of "question" in particular syntactic positions we show how it is part of the repertoire used by the answerer to evaluate, agree or disagree, ignore or reformulate.

As noted above, The data in the Yahoo! Corpus is often more complex than just one-to-one question-answer pairs. How can such data be represented within a parallel, pseudo-bilingual setting? In other words, how could such data be aligned?

Consider a case of three answers to a single question. One way of presenting such data in a parallel way would be to duplicate the question each time anew, like this:

Question1 Answer1
Question1 Answer2
Question1 Answer3

Then, upon searching for "question", for example, in the target language (the answers), all the relevant lines of the target language would appear and could be studied line by line vis-à-vis the question that brought them about, which, in this case, could be mapped as one-to-many, i.e., a single question with several answers. Another strategy would be to concatenate all answers to form one large answer item.

A different question altogether is whether a parallel model could capture more complex relations, e.g., when Answer3 is not only a response to Question1 but also to Answer1. Such scenarios are common, for example, in readers' comments to an on-line newspaper article, where the readers posting the comments interact among themselves. These and other hurdles will be addressed in a future study.

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Evidential positioning in follow-ups in news interviews

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Abstract

Evidentials are a typical resource for action formation in argumentative interaction. On the basis of English political interviews, we examine the use of *so*-prefaced constructions as a practice for evidential positioning from an interactional-linguistic perspective: Presenting what follows as inference-based on a local level but also in terms of more global conclusions, such *so*-prefaced constructions serve for interviewees to construct their claims as valid and thus to maintain evidential authority over their line of argument. As regards the interviewers, they may use *so*-prefaced constructions in follow-ups to challenge the interviewee's argument. A deviant case where the inference-based claim projected by *so* is withheld shows the intricate working of *so*-constructions for the construction of alignment and disalignment.

1 Introduction

Follow-ups in political interviews are moves where participants may take a stance and position themselves towards prior talk. In this context, presenting one's claim as based on inferences drawn from previous talk seems to be a relevant resource for action formation. Taking an interactional linguistic perspective (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996, Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2000), the present paper will focus on English *so*-prefaced constructions in follow-up moves, which serve to construct claims made by the interviewer (IR) and interviewee (IE) as inference-based.

A construction of this kind is exemplified in the following example, where the IE uses *so* in order to frame his position (*so (.) we have to (.) go after them*, lines 10-11) as an inference from the facts presented in his previous talk.

Ex. 1 (Obama on O'Reilly Factor, 0:38-0:58 min)[1]

```
1  IR:      who is the enemy.
2  IE:      al qaeda,
3           (-)
4           the taliban-
5           (-) a whole host of networks.
6           uh that are bent on uh attacking america;
7           who have a distorted ideology,
8           uh who have perverted uh the faith of islam,
9           and (.)
10          so (.)
11          we have to (.) go after them.
```

The present paper is structured as follows: First, semantic and discourse-functional aspects of *so*-prefaced constructions will be discussed (2). It will be argued that the concepts of positioning (3) and evidentiality (4) are specifically relevant to the analysis of *so*-prefaced constructions in political interviews. In what follows, some of the results of a study on *so*-prefaced constructions in English political interviews will be presented (5). Finally, the paper ends with some conclusions (6).

2 English *so* – meanings and uses

Standard grammars of English agree that *so* may convey resultative and/or inferential meaning in discourse (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999). According to Biber et al. (1999), "[l]inking adverbials in the **result/inference** category [e.g. therefore, consequently, thus, as a result, hence, in consequence] show that the second unit of discourse states the result or consequence – either logical or practical – of the preceding discourse." (ibid: 877, emphasis in the original)[2] Furthermore, *so* is the "[m]ost common linking [adverbial] in conversation" (BrE and AmE) (ibid: 887, Table 10.17). Here it "[plays an] important [role] in the development of conversational discourse […], making clear how one event follows from another" (ibid: 886).[3]

[1] The punctuation marks at the end of a segment stand for final pitch movements: high rise: ? mid-rise: , level pitch: - mid-fall: , low fall: . Missing punctuation marks indicate incomplete segments. Pauses are marked as follows: (.) micro-pause, (-), (--), (---) short, middle or long pauses. Square brackets [mark overlap. Parentheses ( ) indicate unintelligible speech. Lines of special analytic interest are represented in bold. (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Barth-Weingarten 2011)

[2] Cf. Buysse (2010) for a comprehensive literature review on *so*.

[3] For reasons of space, the terminological confusion as regards the functional meaning of *so* (indicating a result/consequence/inference/conclusion/etc.), which becomes visible here, cannot be discussed in detail in the present paper. Following Buysse (2010), the *so*s examined seem to indicate a conclusive relation between the prior talk and the talk prefaced by *so*. He states:

This high frequency of such kinds of *so* in conversation may account for a notable interest in *so* from a conversation analytic perspective. The functions found in conversation fall into three types: First, *so* may serve to "[preface] other-attentive topics initiations" (Bolden 2006: 661) in both everyday and institutional interaction (cf. also Bolden 2008, 2009). Secondly, *so* may "mark an achievement achieved" on the basis of prior (non-verbal) actions (Koschmann and Zemel 2011: 39). Thirdly and most interestingly, uses of *so* have been observed in *follow-up* turns in interviews and everyday interaction: For example, Leudar and Antaki (1988), drawing on Mead's (1973) notion of completion, treat a follow-up turn shaped as a *so*-prefaced construction as an example of "cognitive completion" (Leudar and Antaki 1988: 149). The *so*-prefaced construction thus serves to make a claim as to what the implications of the prior speaker's move are.

In a similar vein, Raymond (2004) and Schegloff (2009) find that *so*-prefaced constructions may project what follows as the upshot of the prior talk in everyday conversation: "'so' prefaced upshots typically imply that what had been conveyed inexplicitly, or en passant, has required resuscitation through its explicit articulation *as the import of the speaker's (prior) talk.*" (Raymond 2004: 188, emphasis in the original). However, "[w]hile such uses of a 'so'-prefaced upshots may be familiar, speakers can also produce a 'so' *but not the upshot it projects* to manage a related set of contingencies." (ibid: 189, emphasis in the original). In this sense, such so-called "stand-alone [*so*s project] both an upshot and that it will not be produced." (ibid: 210-211) The observation that speakers may exploit stand-alone *so*s for particular conversational aims is of special interest for the present study: In contrast to Raymond's (2004) study of everyday interaction, the present investigation of *so*-constructions in political interviews only revealed very few comparable instances of stand-alone *so* which would leave the formulation of the upshot of the prior talk to the interlocutor (see 5.4). It will be argued that this is due to the specific constraints of "the genre of a political interview [which] is defined by the IR's and IE's negotiation of validity claims." (Fetzer 2006: 199) This means that the IE "has the obligation to discuss public discourse and thus postulate further claims" (ibid: 199). In this way, *so*-prefaced constructions provide a powerful tool for IEs (but also for IRs, as will be shown) to construct their view of what the upshot of this prior

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> a '**resultative**' relation holds between discourse units that denote states of affairs in the world described in the discourse, the first of which causes the second;
> a '**conclusive**' relation holds between discourse units if the first provides the grounds that the speaker uses as a basis for a claim in the second. (ibid: 155, emphasis in the original)

While there a clear-cut cases in his data, these two functions may overlap (ibid: 156). Concerning the political interviews analysed in the present paper, it is argued that the semantic fuzziness of *so* is strategically exploited by both the IR and the IE in their construction of claims.

talk is and in this way claim and maintain evidential authority. As will be seen, it may, however, be subject to negotiation of what this upshot may be. For this reason, emerging *so*-prefaced constructions of this kind may be vulnerable to competitive incomings on the part of the IR.

3 Evidentiality

The discussion of previous work on English *so* in interaction has shown that the use of *so* indicates that what follows is based on the speaker's inferences and constitutes the upshot of the prior topical talk. In other words, this prior talk is treated as a "source of information" and common ground from which things are inferred. In typological research, the linguistic marking of inferential processes through which information was obtained has been linked to the grammatical category of evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004: 3). Sources of information may comprise sensory (visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile) experience or inference and hearsay. In contrast to languages where "marking how one knows something is a must" (ibid: 6), evidential expressions in English are optional and commonly expressed through lexical means (which may, however, have entered the process of grammaticalisation). In our view, the study on evidentiality in English must therefore take a functional approach and ask: In which contexts do speakers indicate their source of information and why? Consequently, we will follow Portner (2009), who defines evidentiality "in functional terms as the speaker's assessment of her grounds for saying what she does, and an evidential as a grammatical form which expresses evidentiality" (Portner 2009: 263).[4] In this sense the *so*-prefaced constructions examined constitute instances of an evidential practice through which the speaker constructs – to borrow Portner's words – her grounds for saying what she does as inference-based. Evidential constructions are furthermore typical of argumentative discourse types (Fetzer 2011, Reber 2012). They may substantiate, authenticate and lend authority to speaker's stance (Couper-Kuhlen 2007, Fox 2001). In this way, evidential constructions are closely connected to speaker's stance-taking and positioning in interaction.

[4] In a similar approach, Hara (2008) suggests that evidential marking may express an attitude towards what the speaker says. Also, Bednarek (2006: 637) treats evidentiality ("marking evidence") as a subcategory of epistemological positioning, which she defines as "the expression of assessments concerning knowledge" (ibid: 635).

4 Positioning

In the present paper, the notion of positioning involves the content side of the interaction, that is, by taking a certain viewpoint towards the topic of the conversation, speakers position themselves towards that topic and thus align/disalign with their co-participants, i.e. side with their interlocutors/audience or not. This view is closely informed by DuBois's (2007) stance theory and Haddington's (2004) related work on news interviews.

Evidential constructions such as the *so*-prefaced constructions thus may be used as a resource to position oneself towards the topic of discussion and thus as a resource for alignment or disalignment. In this sense producing inference-based claims is a resource for evidential positioning in political interviews. To give a working definition, evidential positioning involves the processes through which speakers position themselves towards the object of debate by making inference-based claims, and in this way align/disalign with their co-participants.

5 *So*-prefaced constructions as a practice for evidential positioning in political interviews

So-prefaced constructions constitute a highly frequent evidential resource in news interviews in that they frame claims and questions built on the interpretation of prior talk as inference-based. A comparison with the other linking adverbials with inferential/resultative meaning as documented by Biber et al. (1999) showed that *so* is (almost) the only linking adverbial of this kind in the interviews examined (cf. Table 1; the linking adverbials marked in grey are combinations/adverbials not mentioned by Biber et al. (1999) but found in the interview data).

The present study is based on ca. 1:12hrs of video recordings of English political TV interviews (cf. Table 2), which contained 47 instances of the linking adverbial *so*. Excluded from the study are cases where the adverbial was used in combination with *therefore* (*so therefore*, 2 instances). With respect to the small corpus used for the present study, it was observed that *so* is more frequently used by IEs than the IR. (cf. Figure 1) This may be explained by the IE's obligation to present his claims as valid and his communicative goal to claim and maintain evidential authority over what is postulated.[5]

[5] All participants in the interviews examined were male.

In the following sections, it will be shown that *so*-prefaced constructions are a shared practice for inference-based argumentative moves (5.1). They may be deployed both by the IE and the IR to frame their position towards the IE's prior talk as based on inferences (5.2, 5.3). In specific contexts, these inferences projected by *so* may, however, be left unstated (5.4).

5.1 So-prefaced constructions: a shared practice for inference-based moves

It was found that *so*-prefaced constructions are a practice for inference-based moves shared by both the IR and the IE. They allow both parties to construct their conclusions of the prior talk and in this sense constitute a practice tightly connected to one of the functions of follow-up moves, that is, to a position towards prior talk. Furthermore, they allow the speaker to claim and maintain evidential authority over the ongoing line of argument. Consider Example 3:

Ex. 3 (Andrew Marr/David Cameron090111; 19:37-20:35min)

```
1  IR:     so what do you say to those in your own party;
2          who talk about purple plotters.
3          and and you know (.)centre (.) centrist conservatives and
           liberal democrats;
4          coming together to create a kind of new elite;
5          ignoring; (.)
6          the right wing of the conservative party,
7          and the left wing of the liberal democrats.
8  IE:     what i say to to everyone is;
9          try and judge the (.) the government on the
10         results and on the policies and on what we're doing;
11         and i think to (.) to to conservatives who want to know you
           know what's this government doing in terms of the conservative
           manifesto,
12         i would say you know we are dealing with the deficit;
13         we are introducing uh academy schools,
14         and free schools,
15         we're reforming uh the nhs,
16         we're making some radical changes to welfare,
17         to make it affordable and to get people uh into work,
18         you know we are next week introducing legislation so that any
           future government (.) that tries to pass power from
           westminster to brussels (.) has to hold a referendum;
19         we are having a cap on immigration;
20         so i mean i think this go[vernment is delivering for the
21 IR:                              [so those are things that those in the
           right of the conservative party might be (.) pleased about;
```

In response to the IR's question (which constitutes a follow-up itself, lines 1-7), the IE lists a number of activities to refute the claim that the Right Wing of the Conservative Party is ignored, as suggested in the IR's question.[6] The *so*-prefaced construction in line 20 projects a

[6] The *so*-construction in lines 1-7 will not be analysed in this paper.

	inferential/resultative linking adverbials								
interview	***so***	***so therefore***	***therefore***	***consequently***	***thus***	***as a result***	***Hence***	***as a consequence***	***in consequence***
Marr – Cameron	IR: 5 IE: 17	IE: 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Frei – Bush	IR: 1 IE: 8	0	IE: 1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Williams – Obama	IR: 1 IE: 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
O'Reilly – Obama	IR: 5 IE: 3	IR: 1	0	0	0	0	0	IE: 1	0

Table 1: Frequency of *so* in comparison with other linking adverbials with inferential/resultative meaning.

IR	**IE**	**length of recording**	**source and date**
Andrew Marr	David Cameron	26:42 min	The Andrew Marr Show, BBC, 09 January 2011
Matt Frei	George W. Bush	15:51 min	BBC World News America, BBC World, 14 February 2008
Brian Williams	Barack Obama	22:36 min	Nightly News, NBC, 29 August 2010
Bill O'Reilly	Barack Obama	07:42 min	The O'Reilly Factor, Fox News, 04 September 2008

Table 2: Overview of interview corpus

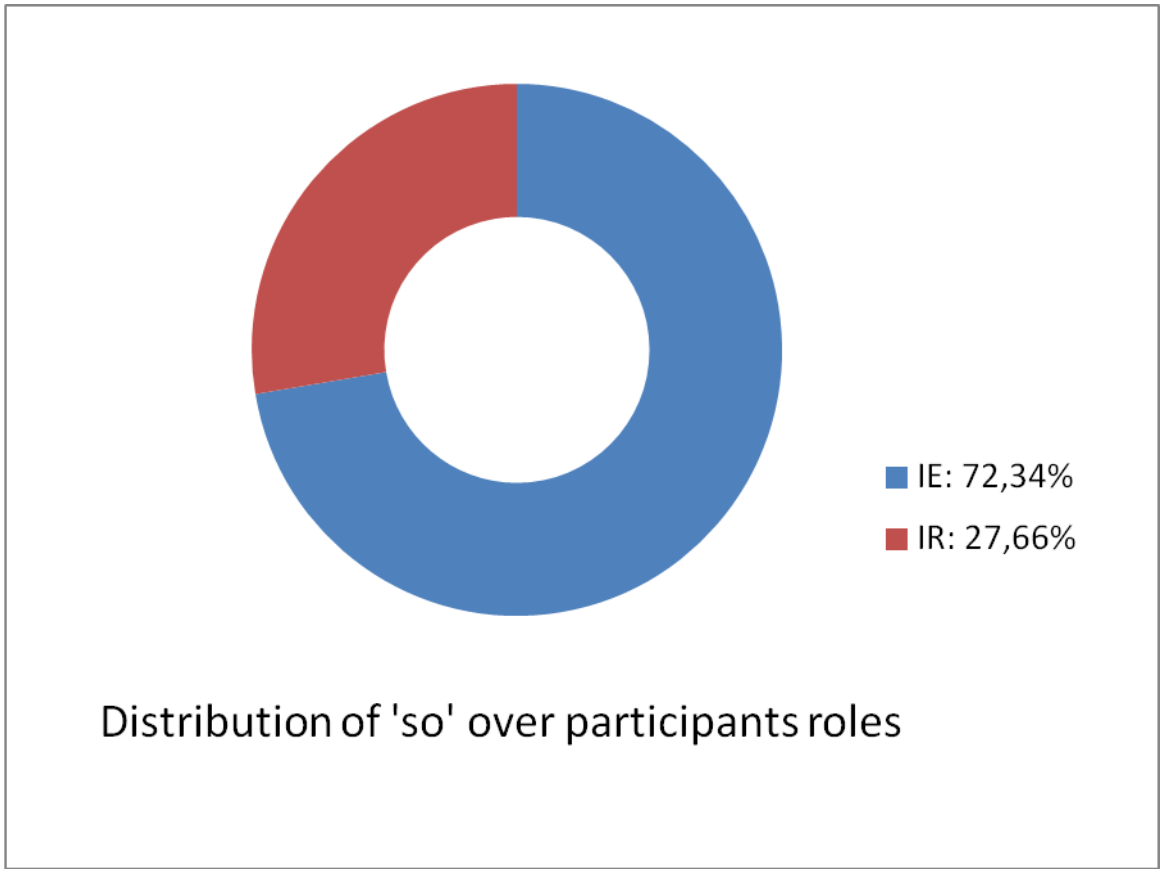

Figure 1: Distribution of instances of *so* over participants roles (IE and IR). n=45 instances of *so*

potential turn ending: The semantics of the linking adverbial as well as the function of the subsequent discourse marker *i mean* (Imo 2005: 20) project a conclusion of the speaker's prior talk. However, this conclusion is at the same time delayed by the production of *i mean* and *i think*. In return, the IR comes in in overlap, producing a (somewhat ironic) conclusion of the IE's response himself. In this way, the IR treats the IE's emerging *so*-prefaced construction as a place where a conclusion of the IE's previous talk is potentially forthcoming. Furthermore, the example shows that the completion of such *so*-prefaced constructions is crucial for the IE to maintain the authority over his argument. In this way *so*-prefaced constructions can be treated as a resource to claim and maintain evidential authority over one's line of argument.

5.2 So-prefaced constructions as an IE's practice

The following analysis will illustrate *so*-prefaced constructions as an IE's practice in more detail. Example 4 is a particularly good example of this. On the one hand, it shows that such *so*-prefaced constructions may function to present a claim as based on inferences to be drawn from the IE's previous topical talk; on the other, *so*-constructions may relate to larger action sequences and draw on prior conclusions.

Ex (4) Obama on O'Reilly Factor (0:37-1:46min)

1	IR:	okay.
2		let's start with national security-
3		do you believe we're in the middle of a war on terror.
4	IE:	absolutely;
5	IR:	who is the enemy.
6	IE:	al qaeda,
7		(-)
8		the taliban-
9		(-) a whole host of networks.
10		uh that are bent on uh attacking america;
11		who have a distorted ideology,
12		uh who have perverted uh the faith of islam,
13		and (.)
14		**so (.)**
15		**we have to (.) go after them.**
16	IR:	is iran part of that component;
17	IE:	iran is a major threat,
18		now i don't think that there is a (.) uh the same uh they are not part of the same network;
19		(you know) you got shi'a and you got sunni;
20		we gotta have uh the ability to distinguish between these groups;
21		because for example,
22		the war uh the war in iraq is a good example;
23		where i believe the administration lumped together,

```
24          saddam hussein a terrible guy,
25          with al qaeda,
26          which had nothing to do with sad[dam hussein.
27 IR:                                      [all right;
28          we'll get to that [in a minute,
29 IE:                        [and as a consequence,
30          as a consequence we ended up;
31          i think;
32          misdirecting our resources-
33          so uh they're all part of various terrorist networks
            that we have to shut down,
34          and we have to destroy;
35          but they may not all be part and parcel of the same ideology.
```

Local inference-based claim: In lines 14-15, the IE uses *so* in order to mark his argumentative position (*so (.) we have to (.) go after them*) as an inference-based claim from the facts presented in his previous talk. Furthermore, he not only answers the IR's question but, using the *so*-prefaced construction, he adds a new item to the agenda.

General conclusion: In lines 33-34, the IE again marks his positioning towards a scenario he previously created in his talk as inference-based. However, this time it does not frame a new claim but recycles a claim made earlier (lines 6-15) in a concluding manner.

5.3 So-prefaced constructions as an IR's practice

Used as a practice to refer to the IE's prior talk, the use of *so* may constitute IR's resource to frame a follow-up move. Key features of this technique are: Draw inferences from the IE's talk – take these inferences as a basis for the next move (next question/argumentative statement/ etc.) –preface this next move with *so* in order to mark it as inference-based.

Example 5 illustrates two instances of such *so*-prefaced constructions which, however, initiate two different responses (aligning-disaligning) on the IE's part.

Ex (5): Obama on O'Reilly Factor (5:57-7:33min)

```
1  IR:      you're not going to invade pakistan senator if you're
            president,
2           you're not going to send ground troops in there,
3           you know it;
4  IE:      here here here here's the problem;
5           (-)
6           john mccain,
7           loves to say;
8           (.)
9           i would follow him to the (.) to the gates of hell.
10 IR:      well he's not going to invade either.
11 IE:      well and and and the point is,
12          what we could have done,
13          is [( )
```

14 IR: [not could,
15 let's stay now;
16 IE: what what what we can do,
17 IR: yeah.
18 IE: is stay focused on afghanistan;
19 IR: yeah;
20 IE and put more pressure on the pakistanis.
21 IR: like what?
22 IE: well for example,
23 we are providing them military aid,
24 without (-) having enough strings attached;
25 so they're using the military aid,
26 that we use;
27 IR: for nothing;
28 IE: to pakistan,
29 they're they're preparing for war against india;
30 (-)
31 IR: **so [you're going to pull out (and let the islamic**
32 IE: [( )
33 IR: **fundamentalists) take them over?**
34 IE: no no no no;
35 what we say is,
36 look;
37 we're going to provide them with additional uh military support-
38 targeted at terrorists,
39 and;
40 we're going help build their democracy;
41 and provide (.) [the kinds of funding ( )
42 IR: [the things that we're doing now;
43 [come on;
44 IE: [( )
45 IR: negroponte is over there and he's doing that now.
46 IE: [( )
47 we hadn't
48 that's not what we've been doing,
49 we've wasted ten billion dollars;
50 with musharraf;
51 without holding him accountable;
52 for knocking out those [safe havens.
53 IR: [all right.
54 **so you are going to again more diplomacy,**
55 **and we need it,**
56 **absolutely,**
57 **try to convince the pakistani government to take a more aggressive approach and [saying if you don't we're going to**
58 IE: [and what i will do
59 IR: **pull the funding.**
60 IE: and what i will do is;
61 if we have (.) bin laden in our sites,
62 IR: yeah;
63 IE: we target him,
64 and we knock him out.

The IR's question of interest (lines 31-33) is embedded in a global question-answer sequence typical for news interviews which starts with a topic shift of the IR, dealing with the global question of how the IE is going to handle the situation in Afghanistan (not shown in the transcript). The IE argues that the US *are providing them military aid, without (-) having*

enough strings attached; (lines 23-24). He continues his turn with an inference-based construction, which expresses the consequence of the current US policy (lines 25-29). Similar to its use in Example 4, lines 14-15, it presents a claim as based on mere facts.

In response, the IR produces a question, which is again done in a *so*-prefaced construction (lines 31-33). The use of *so* frames his question as an inference based on the IE's prior claim. The IE responds with a headshake, followed by a repeated production of the negation particle *no*. This strong display of disagreement shows that the IR's question, constructed as an inference, is treated as highly provocative. The proposal it makes potentially constructs the IE as somebody shying away from military conflicts. Moreover, it gains its communicative power from the fact that it is presented as something that can be drawn from the IE's own words. Furthermore, its syntactic form is conducive of a positive response, that is, a confirmation of the IR's proposal.

Line 54 contains a second case of an IR's *so*, placed subsequent to a so-called 'change-of-activity token' *all right*. According to Gardner (2001), tokens of this kind "mark a transition to a new activity or a new topic in the talk" (ibid: 2). This is also the case here: By using the *so*-prefaced construction, the IR shows agreement/confirms the IE's previous claim which suggests a pre-closing of the topical talk on Afghanistan. This move is anticipated by the change-of-activity token. Due to its inferential marking the IR's move can further be treated as doing a summary of the IE's political aims with respect to Afghanistan/Pakistan, directed at the TV audience. Contrary to the *so*-prefaced construction in lines 31-33, the IR's turn does not provoke disagreement on the IE's part. Instead, the IE adds to the contents of the summary in what follows (lines 60-64). This shows that the IR's *so*-prefaced constructions do not always initiate disaligning moves on the IE's part.

5.4 Stand-alone so: *A deviant case*

We have seen above that *so*-constructions are a powerful resource for the IE to claim and maintain evidential authority over his line of argument. They are almost always brought to completion but may be contested by the IE in competitive incomings.

Example 6 shows one rare instance of *so* which projects an inference-based claim which is *not* forthcoming. Instead, the IE's turn-final *so* elicits an uptake by the IR.

Ex. (6): Williams-Obama (0-0:38min)

```
1  IR:      mr. president,
2           you're (.) an american born christian.
```

```
3  IE:      m-hm,
4  IR:      and yet increasing and now significant numbers of americans in
            polls;
5           upwards of a fifth of respondents; (-)
6           are claiming you are neither.
7           a fifth of the people just about; (-)
8           uh believe you're a muslim.
9           (--)
10 IE:      keep in mind [those two things;
11 IR:                   [this
12 IE:      uh american born and muslim are not the same;
13          so;
14 IR:      but [but
15 IE:          [but i understand your point.
16 IR:      either or the latter,
17 IE:      right;
18 IR:      and the most recent number is the latter;
19          this has to be (.) troubling to you;
20          this is of course all new territory (.) for an american (.)
            president.
```

The analysis can be summarised as follows: In lines 1-8, the IR challenges the IE, in presenting some poll results about the IE's citizenship and religious affiliation. In response, the IE does not refute the implications of the IR's move; instead he challenges the validity of the polls presented, ending his turn with a turn-final *so* (lines 10-13). Similar to an example in Raymond (2004), "[t]he "so" projects an upshot that is left for [the recipient] to articulate or, at the very least, acknowledge." (ibid: 196).[7] In return, the IR takes the floor, his turn-initial *but* projecting another challenge (line 14), which is, however, not brought to completion. In overlap, the IE completes the projected construction himself, reframing it as a concessive move (line 15). So why does the IE not produce the upshot projected by *so*? In our view, an explanation for this lies in the function of *so*-constructions as a resource for evidential positioning: By challenging the validity of the polls, the IE positions himself towards the polls, displaying disalignment not only with the IR who presented the polls but also with the public audience whose opinion is potentially expressed there.[8] By not making this kind of upshot explicit, the disalignment with the public audience, which is potentially undesirable for a politician, is mitigated. In sum, the example shows that in certain settings, the upshot projected by *so* max be methodically left unstated and thus underspecified, which leads to implicit "validity claims" (Fetzer 2006: 199).

[7] For reasons of space, the visual-spatial contextualisation of this instance of *so* cannot be discussed here. Cf. Walker (2012) for an analysis of vocal and visual aspects of turn-final *but*.
[8] Similarly, the IE's completion of the *so*-construction may compromise his own argument.

6 Conclusions

It was shown that in follow-ups, *so*-prefaced constructions are both an IE's and IR's resource for framing a positioning move as based on inferences from the IE's previous talk, however, with different functions. For the IE, such a move is a resource to claim/maintain evidential authority over his line of argument. The IE may both introduce local inferences and more global conclusions, using *so*. As was illustrated, such moves can, however, also be strategically withheld. The IR's *so*-prefaced constructions can serve to perform provocative moves, initiating disalignment on the part of the IE, but they can also lead to aligning responses on the part of the IE. In this way, *so*-prefaced constructions can be treated as a practice for positioning, alignment/disalignment, and the management of evidential authority over the claims made.

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Framing in talk shows and its visualisation

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Abstract

The Dutch talk show *Pauw & Witteman* confronts politicians regularly with TV news fragments to provoke a discussion, which is a macro follow-up constellation. Consequently, the discussion follows the *news framing*, in that it let news topics determine the discourse. Thus, this re-use of *news framing* steers the selection of topics that are discussable at all. During the discussions, however, other video clips are screened on several studio screens that surround the guests, the hosts and the studio public: they support, contradict, confirm or soften the developing discussion. We consider this screening on the go the *visual framing* of the developing verbal discourse. It is a micro follow-up constellation. It triggers the verbal representations (formulations, coherence markers, deictic expressions, verbal concepts, also omissions etc.) used in the conversation.

1 Introduction: the characteristics of the talk show "Pauw & Witteman"

The Dutch public broadcast late-night talk show "Pauw & Witteman" (*P&W*) challenges guests (including many politicians, Huls and Varwijk 2011) with recent TV news reports, Internet screen shots, "tweets" etc. The walls of the studio consist entirely of huge screens to which this footage alternately is projected (for a general impression, see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Impressions from the studio in October 2010: studio walls are screens with the logo, photographs, and later films, cartoons, tweets etc. (Pauw & Witteman 2010).

This arrangement leads to an interview-like start of verbal exchanges between the hosts or one of them and a guest or more of them. The guests are expected to enter a conversation by reacting to the clips. Responses to the clip materials are expected and explicitly welcomed.

The goal of the film inserts, in general, is to provoke a reaction and to frame them by what the inserts represent verbally and visually. This is a (temporal) *follow-up* constellation, since no conversation starts without the transmission of a video clip (mostly *news discourse*). Halfway of the one hour show (five nights per week, from Monday till Friday night) the so-called "zap service" presents humorous filmic fragments of the day, without any relationship with the actual topics. The "zap service" structures the broadcast in finishing a sequence and preparing a new one. Mostly four issues or topics are elaborated on: two before the "zap service" and two after.

The four to six guests do not react regularly on other guests' contributions, although the cameras often focus on their responding faces and bodies in medium (close-up) shots. When a guest is involved in the same topic the cameras change continually from the present speaker to the second one. Sometimes debating guests are presented in split-screen technique, occasionally alternated by other visualisations shown during their verbal actions.

2 Follow-ups and visual framing: macro and micro

What one sees in a *P&W* talk show is not talk. We cannot see talking heads alone, we see many other things, and when we hear a person talking then this person is just not shown by the camera, since the responding person is shown. We see also video clips that trigger the verbal exchanges and screen projections during the exchanges. This arrangement contributes to the dynamic character of the talk show. In general, two factors prevail. The first one is the fact that five cameras are ceaselessly edited in short shots (a normal shot's length is ca. six to ten seconds). The second one is the fact that the nearly constantly changing screens on the studio walls (that TV viewers see as context of every shot or as home screen filling video fragment) realise a TV format that clearly is determined by visualisations.

Therefore, we assume that the talk show's characteristic is its visual quality. Also the refinement with which the visualisations are made and projected, chiefly in accordance with the expected verbal exchanges, contributes to this characteristic. The show format applies *visual frames* to stimulate verbal discourse: films are used to trigger verbal exchanges and during the exchanges, too, to focus on sub-topics; additionally, these 'on-their-way' visualisations support the viewers (studio public and TV viewers) in their understanding of the multimodal dynamic.

The visualisations projected to the screens function as a filter of potential verbal contributions. They frame the topic and the wordings, in particular when news reports with voice-over commentary predetermine the semantic domains, or when reactions to news reports result in "tweets" that can be shown. However, we need more insight in the nature of the film inserts and their capacity as a framing device to trigger verbal discourse. This is an open question, since we cannot restrict the examination to the words in the video clips. In general, the talk show realises a *follow-up constellation* between earlier TV transmissions (mainly news reports) and their *elaboration*, to put it neutrally, during the verbal exchanges. The constellation bears a predominant *temporal* quality: something must have been the issue of a public representation in the mass media (a news show, an Internet web site, an article in the press). We consider this a *macro* perspective.

When the follow-up comes into existence then the verbal discourse is framed in a double way: by what is said in the beginning of the talk (question or request) as well as by the visualisations that are screened before the talk begins and also during the talk. The framing focuses the potential verbal meanings and urges the participants to 'place' their reactions within the frame. We consider this a *micro* perspective. Thus, *P&W* combines macro with micro perspectives: (temporal) follow-ups with visual frames that trigger (and influence) the verbal exchanges. Figure 2 presents a summary.

Fig. 2: ***News framing as*** **macro follow-ups and** ***visual framing*** **as micro follow-ups**

3 Interviews (?) in a talk show and audience design

Media talk is a growing field in discourse analysis and socio-pragmatics (see Scanell 2009 for an overview). However, what TV viewers *see* when they are listening to the talk mostly is *not* considered in the investigations. One exception is Montgomery (2007) who links the visual track to the verbal track in news reports. Also social scientists who investigate TV and other forms of media communication only touch slightly on the visual representations (see Matthes 2009 who in his overview states the lack of investigations of visual forms). However, we are aware of the fact that the cameras show the talking people's behaviour, including their body language and non-verbal communication. Consequently, from the point of view of TV viewers it is questionable to neglect the visual impressions they are bombarded with. Therefore, in this contribution we make a start to overcome this negligence of the multimodality of TV communication and try to include the visual communication explicitly. Accordingly, we regard the talk show 'talk' in *P&W* as verbal-visual discourse (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Talk show of 9 January 2012 with hosts (at the left) and guests (at the right) surrounded by the studio public and with still photographs on the walls.

When the hosts' questions are preceded by filmic fragments the first moves react to the clip. This functions as a 'translation' from the video clip to a verbal discourse. Undoubtedly, we sometimes find beginnings that resemble interviews (Huls and Varwijk 2011), but a closer look reveals that the interview setting is abandoned quickly. Normally one host starts a sequence, by saying "Let's first have a look at the film" or "Shall we first watch the video?" Then, after the first moves, when other visualisations are screened, the discussion may be triggered by these new or repetitive visualisations. Thus, it might be inadequate to concentrate on interviews as a general principle. We take a different position and approach *P&W* from the point of view of multimodal communication which, in fact, is one of the chief characteristics

of TV shows (Graber 1989, Royce 2007, Liu and O'Halloran 2009, Holly 2012). But it needs scrutiny to establish the essential pattern(s).

Another inevitable point of view is that of the TV viewers. It is for *them* that the discourse is realised and it is for *their* information processing that the arrangement of multimodal elements is built. In general, a talk show has a double audience: the studio public that may response directly to the running discourse and to the projected video clips, and the TV viewers who overhear the conversations including the potential reactions of the studio public and "oversee" their non-verbal behaviour and the studio public's visible reactions. At sequence-beginning moments, the TV viewers process the information from video fragments that fill their home screens completely.

We assume that the specific position of TV viewers equals the one of documentary film viewers (Bruzzi 2006, Nichols 2010, Nijdam 2010, Sauer 2009, 2012a, 2012b). Therefore, their viewing role (*footing*) may be clarified by placing them in the "participation framework" (Goffman 1979, Clark 1996, Bubel 2008). This entails that the TV viewers' position depends on the *audience design* (Bell 1984, 2001). Hence, the TV viewers may be considered "overhearers" (Clark 1996, Montgomery 2007, Bubel 2008) of the conversations inside the studio (like the studio public that "overhears" the discussions too), as well as "overseers" (Sauer 2009, 2011) who "oversee" (Montgomery 2007: 146, and Nichols 2010: 69: "overlook") the peculiarities of the verbal exchange including the accompanying visualisations.

Therefore, the broadcast is designed as to encourage the viewers' expectation that their understanding will be supported and that "the interplay of the visual with the verbal" (Montgomery 2007: 94) will be appropriate. One of the means to make the information processing appropriate is that the TV viewers can see what hosts and guests are seeing too, which is, in fact, a visible interruption of the talk (Figure 4).

Figure 4: 9 January 2012: hosts and guests look at the screening of a news report while behind them a photograph represents the visual framing, here: the topic of the Queen's scarf.

Like in the transmission of theatrical performances, a conversation is going on in the inner circle, thus between hosts and guests. The conversation itself then fulfils the requirements of *audience design*:

> Utterances are designed with overhearers in mind, on the basis of an estimate of the spectators' world knowledge and on the knowledge the participants have gleaned from interactions that the spectators have observed. This process is the screen-to-face equivalent of [...] "recipient design" in face-to-face conversation (Bubel 2008: 66).

The inner circle spectators (the inner overhearers) may response to the speakers' utterances, by means of applause, hissing, laughing, other ways of (dis)approval etc. The TV viewers as outer spectators, however, necessarily must be provided with formulations that exceed the current inner circle knowledge (which dilates the inner speakers' *common ground*, Clark 1996). Therefore, the hosts must control the *audience design*, by requiring more adequate formulations: they ask disentangling questions, formulate specific requirements, or, concerning the accompanying visualisations, provide captures, descriptions or present more contextual information. Accordingly, the interview setting is insufficient to explain the realisation of the audio-visual discourse in this kind of talk show.

3 Methodological considerations

Follow-ups. If we study how follow-up constellations are realised across discourse domains, the screening of a news report in the beginning of a discussion establishes the discourse topic which is taken up in the talk. "Follow-ups are conceptualized as communicative acts (or dialogue acts), in and through which a prior communicative act is accepted, challenged, or otherwise negotiated" (Fetzer and Weizmann 2012). Since video clips are always prior to the talk show, the *temporal* relationship between the screening and its acceptance, challenge or rejection might be clear. But of course, it is the way the discourse is realised and the way other visualisations intervene in the running talk that matters. A video clip is at least a *quote* from the news discourse to which the other participants react verbally, but maybe it is more than that: the trigger of a comment, of an ironic statement, of an elaboration of an earlier point of view, etc. Follow-ups then are two communicative acts that are linked to evaluative positions, like in educational settings (Cullen 2002). In the talk show *P&W* they are always the start of a conversation and this start allows for a *framed* continuation.

Framing and *news framing.* We adopt work on *news framing* (in particular, de Vreese 2003) since news reports are one of the main sources of video clips in *P&W* and since events that have taken place in the talk show might find their way to news gathering journalists and thus may become news of their own. Predominant is the *temporal* relationship between the screening of a film fragment and the developing discourse.

Visual framing. Recently, also visual framing is a growing item in framing research. However, the possible influence by the pictures on the discourse is neither considered nor seen as potentially problematic (Coleman 2010). Because it depends on what one sees as the "same" content we have to take into account either textual-visual relations or visual-textual relations. It is the linking of visual elements to textual ones and vice versa that counts (van Leeuwen 2005, Bednarek and Caple 2012).

Consequently, *visual framing* needs a holistic approach and cannot be restricted to shots of broadcasters or politicians and their body language, e.g. in news reports. What the cameras show and what the editors put into the frame is the *filtered* information TV viewers have to deal with. The choices that are caused by the framing (this being the most basic theory of framing) concern in TV news four modes: language, pictures, sounds and music. The interaction of multimodal elements cannot be understood as an addition of one mode to the other modes (mostly of picture to texts), on the contrary, it is their "intersemiotic complementarity" (Royce 2007), "intersemiotic texture" (Liu and O'Halloran 2009), or combination of "intersemiotic and intrasemiotic relations" (Bednarek and Caple 2012) that inspires examinations of the re-use of visual news frames in the talk show.

Visual-verbal relationships. An excited person shown by a camera and captured arguing by microphones is a weak form of verbal-visual linking (*sensu* van Leeuwen 2005 who sees this as "similarity"), since it depends on the editing how shots correspondent with verbal utterances or not. This is in fact a specific problem of the more general relationships between verbal and visual track in filmic discourse. Because a shot of a speaker cannot represent the total content of his words it has always a *partial* meaning (Sauer 2007). Only some components may be represented in pictures, other components not. As is already known from limitations of text-picture relationships in photojournalism (Stegu 2000, Sauer 2010), these components are "action components" (Meinhof 1994): *actors* (causes of actions/events, originators), *activities/events* themselves, *affected/effect/outcome* of the actions/events. Text and picture are treated as if they relate to these components independently, as it were, although the meaning-inferring TV viewers experience holistic messages (Graber 1989).

Meinhof (1994: 216-217) proposes three forms of verbal-visual interrelations:

> *Overlap*: film footage and text share the same action component, e.g., film and text both refer to the same entity, such as a political leader or a flood, a police investigation, famine victims, etc.
> *Displacement*: film footage and text represent different action components of the same event, e.g., we see the effect of a disaster in pictures, with its cause reported in words, or the location of a strike, with its originators in the verbal report.
> *Dichotomy*: film footage and text represent action components of different events, e.g., we hear a text report on the crisis in Greece, whereas the pictures show the Acropolis in sunset.

Montgomery (2007) elaborates on Meinhof's categories, by focussing on "principles of intelligibility in TV news reports" and favouring a "closure between what we can see and what we can hear represented in televisual news discourse" by means of *co-reference*. The "principles" read as follows:

> Rule 1: For any referring expression in the verbal track, search for a relevant referent in the image track.
> Rule 2: Treat any element depicted in a shot in the visual track as a potential referent for a referring expression in the verbal track (Montgomery 2007: 98).

In general, these rules take into account that no complete representation of the same content in the visual and verbal track is possible, thus only partial representations – which is philosophically grasped in the assumption that language means under-determine communication, whereas pictures over-determine communication.

Therefore, we first start to find verbal co-references (that we underline in the protocols). Then we try to establish the interrelations: by assuming that a certain picture element has a referring expression in the text. If we do so shot for shot, we may find many "editing points" (van Leeuwen 2005: 184) – as well as many textual and visual elements which are not linked.

Second, we try to track down the verbal-visual linking of the "editing points", the underlined verbal elements. Thus, we concentrate on the linked elements. Our main business here is to assess the relationships, whether they are overlap, displacement, dichotomy or other.

We need this multimodal widening since the constellation of verbal-visual *overlap* is predominant in publications about text-image relations. In the first instance, however, it concerns talking people shown in a shot, the so-called "talking head" style, e.g. heads of state in a televised address (Bednarek and Caple 2012, Sauer 2007). But the *action component* we find in such shots is that of 'talking' (cf. Jacobson's *phatic* function). Thus, TV viewers'

meaning making depends on the words in total. In TV news reports that normally present pictures and voice-over commentary (Nijdam 2010) the meaning making depends on both the words *and* the pictures. Therefore, *overlap* could only be an exceptional case but more usual are *displacement* or *dichotomy*. In his investigation of camera editing in talk shows, Holly (2012) dismisses to the category of "talking heads" and proposes that of "Profilierung der Sprecher(selbst)darstellung" (*speaker contouring modification*): a camera shot depicts the speaker's body language and his general appearance and the speaker's performance influences what one experiences as the meaning of the shot: anger, enthusiasm, commitment etc. Moreover, picture elements of the *visual frames* used during the conversation in a later sequence in the talk show may re-trigger the verbalisations, by re-focussing a topic or establishing a new focus – even if sometimes the speakers omit reactions to the screen representations that are arranged by the editors in advance.

4 Research question

We focus on the realisation of the framings and their visualisations in the talk show *P&W*. Since mostly news reports are used this *news framing* is the main source of the follow-up constellation: first news film fragments, then discussions. TV viewers who follow the news have already certain knowledge of news issues and may expand the news framing in general. In the talk show, they find visual and verbal indications of the news topics elaborated on in the discussions: video clips determine the topics. Moreover, the ways hosts and guests pick up what the news framing offers are accompanied by *visual framings* projected to the studio screens. We expect verbal actions triggered by these visualisations. During the running conversations, we also expect occasions on which the visualisations 'replace' verbal elements and realise accentuations, confirmations, visible details that cannot easily be formulated or verbalised, etc. However, we do not yet consider the modes of sound and music.

A complication is that the talk show has an inner circle, hosts and guests which are overheard and "overseen" by the studio public, and an outer circle that is formed by TV viewers responding to their home screen representations. It is from the TV viewers' perspective that we approach the follow-up constellations and their verbal-visual framings.

5 Provisional findings

Our main example in this paper is the discussion of the fact that the Dutch head of state, Queen Beatrix, went on a state visit to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and, always during visits to a mosque, was wearing a scarf draped around her hat (talk show on January 9, 2012). The discussion was *visually framed* by several photographs of her wearing a scarf – which was an appropriate (visual) motive for continuations of verbal exchanges in the talk show. On this day, the publication of the photograph in the news caused a discussion between a MP of the *PVV* (literally 'Freedom Party', but in fact anti-Islam and populist right wing), a MP of the *PvdA* (Dutch Labour Party) and the editor in chief of the newspaper *De Volkskrant*. In the first discussion of the issue, the discourse went from the visual (the scarf) to the verbal ("respectful behaviour in Islamic cultures" vs. "symbol of women repression"). The *news framing* was realised by a video clip from yesterday's evening news, the *visual framing* by stills from this clip, other photographs of different headgear the Queen was wearing and a "tweet" by the *PVV* leader Geert Wilders.

The analysis of talk show discourse that are framed by film fragments and visual framings needs examinations of visual-verbal interrelations dependent on the state of affairs during the current conversations. We deal at least with five problems:

(1) verbal text that is related to the news framing and the hosts' questions,
(2) shots of speaking and reacting people (guests and hosts) edited by several cameras, which may include *speaker contouring modifications*,
(3) shots of guests and hosts on the one hand, and studio public shots on the other hand, depicting the studio public's reactions to both the verbal and the visual discourse,
(4) shots that capture news framings in the speakers' visible background (the screen walls) so that beside the speaker also the screen representation can be perceived,
(5) shots of the video clips that fill the home screen completely, whereas talk can be heard meanwhile (but mostly the original source's voice-over commentary).

Our example is used to demonstrate how framing and verbal-visual linking work. Framing is analysed by comparing the news topic (in the video clip) with the discussion topic triggered by the questions. *Co-references* between the verbal track and the visuals concern mostly the relevant topics. Visual framing is analysed by examining the triggering elements in the

visualisations as well as the potential 'replacement' of verbal means by pointing, looking or otherwise dealing with the pictures.

In Figure 5 (below), nearly all instances of visualisations are documented that serve for framing the verbal discourse in this beginning sequence of the talk show. In all pictures selected, we see problem (4) at work: an obtrusive-unobtrusive presence of the news framing that urges the speakers time and again to pay attention. Problem (1) is the general picture. In the beginning of the show, in (a), TV viewers see hosts and guests and on their background a photograph of Queen Beatrix; host Pouw is saying: *Today, it's Monday, Monday nine January, the day uh Queen Beatrix's scarf by many newspapers is considered a major item …* (underlined is the co-reference – what one sees when one listens to P). The projection of the photograph focuses the viewers' attention instantly verbally and visually on the main item.

Problem (3), the representation of the inner circle surrounded by the studio public as outer circle, is realised: in (e) and (i) we see the surrounding public that responses to the conversation by attentively looking, but is permanently visually co-framed by still photographs or other visualisations.

Figure 5: Visual framing from the point of view of the TV viewers (during the first 5 minutes)

The pictures (a, b, c, d) represent problem (4), in particular: they give evidence to the fact that the discourse is related to and elaborates on the scarf (a), the headgear (c, d) and the discussion in the Dutch public opinion ("tweet" in b). There is a conflict, of course, which determines the first sequence in the talk show. One group (*PVV*, anti-Islam party, represented by the MP Hero Brinkman) pleas for not visiting a mosque in the guest country, in accordance

with his leader's "tweet" (b), since this implies covering the women's bodies with abbayas and scarves and thus accepting the repressive regime. The other group (represented by the Dutch Labour Party MP Ahmed Marcouch and the editor in chief of the newspaper *de Volkskrant* Philippe Remarque) takes on the position that the scarf in a mosque is a symbol of respect and that the equation of scarf and repression is not correct, in (d, g, h).

From our point of view, however, it is more interesting that the visual framing nearly equals the 'description' of photographs. In (c) and (d) several hats of Queen Beatrix are shown, with one shot from the UAE where she had draped a scarf-like shawl around her hat (a), thus demonstratively not 'wearing' a scarf (like the other women in her entourage, see the news shot (f)). But this compromise seemingly was not worthy of being discussed in the show. Even the prepared headgear photographs vanish after a short while from the walls. Nonetheless, it was visibly documented on the screens – therefore, it could be seen by the TV viewers (4, 5) – and verbally criticised by the *PVV* MP as submissive behaviour (1). Accordingly, we see the use of the hat photographs as a visual sub-framing – and de use of the "tweet" as a verbal (textual) framing.

Problem (5) is realised in the beginning of this sequence: the screening of a news report (see also Figure 4, above). In (f) however, a still from this report is used as home screen filling moment, whereas the conversation is going on. The framing is a bit obsessive here, as if the TV viewers did not enough realise that the discussion is about the visit of a mosque.

In pictures (b) and (g), a normal dealing with (3) is realised, with the addition of name and affiliation in script which is typical for the beginning of a sub-sequence. In picture (h), however, because the camera focuses explicitly on two guests talking with each other and puts all other context away, the TV viewers observe directly the conflicting situation that modifies, together with the captured gazes, the speakers' appearances – which is problem (2). The conflict comes to the fore explicitly, when the MP says (co-references are underlined): *And here I see a Muslim scarf draped around the crown [earlier he equalled the Queen's hat with her crown, CS] of our Queen. And this symbol/ there are millions/ I think/ I think the Dutch people agree with me that that this symbol never should have been used ...* The (medium) close-up shot excludes other visible elements and concentrates in full on facial expressions and body language which thus functions as a "contouring" effect (2). Its "contour" is that the MP is shown as angry and not fully rational at this moment.

In general, there is a weak – and not a strong – relationship between the words uttered and the shots, in particular when the studio screens show corresponding visualisations. And

when the speakers perform a conflict, their “contouring” representations by cameras support the TV viewers in their information processing, even if the precise information is presented verbally. With the exception of a topic that is suitable for a picture, as is the case concerning the Queen’s hat draped with a scarf, the majority of information is verbal, but focus, accentuation, sometimes ‘softening’ and always attention is framed visually. Due to shortage of place and time, other elaborations of the analyses cannot be shown.

6 Provisional conclusions

Our research shows that non-filmic items are not selected by the editors. They seem to be no longer interesting for a talk show. Hence, without a follow-up setting of a *news framing* preceding the verbal discourse no TV talk takes place. However, the format of the talk show allows for numerous variations that are not yet investigated here.

The contribution regards the follow-up constellation as a general pattern of televised socio-political discourse; also the creation of new news events might be considered. More specifically, if we focus on the linking of filmic fragments with verbal discussions then we may expect that the video clips are explained, contested or otherwise verbally continued. (Only the subject of the scarf-draped Queen’s hat was a visual explanation here.) From the perspective of framing theory, this concerns first the visual representation of a problem and then the verbal representation of a potential solution in the form of an entertaining discussion between inspiring guests and hosts in a talk show (*infotainment*). Therefore, it is not news framing as such in the talk show; it is its re-use and its visualisation that matter. The micro follow-up constellation needs more scrutiny, since it carries a wide range of variations.

Therefore, the social construction of reality in the talk show *P&W* is its strict dedication to visual reality. You get what you see, what you do not see you will not get. Only if a link with a visualisation might be established, the talk show may consume the issue. Its macro follow-up constellation, however, looks simple. There must be an occasion for the hosts to say “Let’s first see the video” or “Before we continue, let’s have a look”.

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Follow-ups and interpreter-mediated discourse

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Abstract

This paper is part of ongoing research into the role of translation and interpreting in political discourse. It illustrates what effects interpreter-mediated discourse can have on role construction and on the positioning of politicians. The data come from international press conferences and interviews. It is argued that multiple and multilingual data reveal the complexity of follow-ups in interpreter-mediated encounters. The paper also illustrates how further recontextualisation processes which occur in the transfer of press conferences to news reports result in additional shifts in the positioning of politicians.

1 Introduction

In analysing dialogic interaction, follow-ups have often been described as the third part of the exchange, as initially proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). That is, a speaker A, who had initiated an exchange, reacts to the response of speaker B, thus positioning him- or herself towards prior talk. In her analysis of media interviews, Weizman (2008) has shown that follow-up moves also contribute to the positioning of the participants. In the dialogic interaction of an interview, a "complex system of interactional and social roles and identities is established through negotiations" (Weizman 2008: 3).

Political interviews, however, may also be mediated by an interpreter, which makes the interview a triadic exchange (Mason 2001). In structural terms, the answer given by the interviewee also constitutes the third part of the exchange (interviewer – interpreter – interviewee). In a wide sense, the interpreter's rendering of the question initiated by the interviewer, can also be described as a reactive move, with the interviewee, strictly speaking, responding to the interpreter's words. The active role of the interpreter as the third partner in an interview will also have to be taken into account for analysing speaker positioning and role construction. The whole interaction thus becomes much more complex and leads to the following research questions:

1. What are consequences of interpreter-mediated encounters for our understanding of follow-ups (who follows up on whom and what)?

2. What are the consequences of interpreter-mediated encounters for the construction of interactional and social roles and identities and for positioning of participants (who positions whom and how)?
3. What happens in further recontextualisation processes (from the discursive event to reporting in mass media) in respect of identity construction?

In this paper, I will illustrate the effects interpreter-mediated discourse can have on the positioning of politicians. The data come from interviews with politicians and from international press conferences. The concept of follow-ups will be used in a wider sense, combining structural aspects and thematic relations of the exchange. That is, I will look at how specific topics are developed through complex interchanges. I will also use the concept of follow-ups for relationships between interviews and/or press conferences and subsequent news reports about these discursive events. It will be briefly illustrated how such recontextualisation processes result in additional shifts in the positioning and thus the construction of politicians.

The data set for the analysis of such interpreter-mediated encounters between politicians and journalists include multilingual written transcripts and video recordings. This paper will illustrate how the use of such multiple data can reveal otherwise hidden interaction strategies.

2 Positioning the other's social and interactional roles

Weizman (2008: 16) states that "positioning involves assignment, shaping and negiotiations of reciprocal relations between all parties involved in the interaction." In the interaction, participants can be positioned in respect of their social roles (i.e. their roles outside the interaction itself) and their interactional roles (i.e. roles and obligations in the specific interaction). In the extract below, both types of roles are modified in an interpreter-mediated press conference.

The example is taken from a joint press conference between the French President Nicolas Sarkozy and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, held on 6 February 2012 in Paris. Reading the extract on the website of the German government (1a), we may wonder why the French President starts answering a question addressed to him with commenting on Merkel's opinion. Moreover, by stating that Merkel shares his own opinion ('… ist Frau Merkel genau wie ich der Ansicht…'), he also positions her in a somewhat subordinate social role. By

starting her turn after Sarkozy's long answer with confirming her agreement to Sarkozy's words, Merkel also positions herself in relation to her French counterpart, cf. (emphasis in all examples mine):

> (1a) Frage: Herr Präsident, Sie haben es schon angesprochen: Die Griechenland-Krise spitzt sich wieder bedrohlich zu. Sie haben gesagt, dass […] Wie stellen Sie sich die weiteren Tage vor, wenn Griechenland sich weiter Zeit auserbittet?
> P Sarkozy: Zunächst einmal ist Frau Merkel genau wie ich der Ansicht, dass man sich noch nie so nahe war, was eine Einigung anbelangt, was die Privatgläubiger als auch die öffentlichen Gläubiger anbelangt. Niemals waren wir einer Einigung so nahe. Aber die Bundeskanzlerin hat recht, wenn sie sagt: Wir müssen zum Abschluss kommen. […]
> BK'in Merkel: Ich stimme dem vollkommen zu. Ich will noch einmal sagen: […]
> (http://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2012/02/2012-02-06-merkel-sarkozy.html?nn=74446)

Merkel's discursive move can be interpreted as a follow-up in terms of content (she is taking up the topic). Her 'dem' and 'Ich will noch einmal sagen' are discourse markers which establish coherence to Sarkozy's prior statements. When we compare this German transcript to the French one published on the website of the French government (1b), a somewhat different picture emerges. We notice that the journalist initially addressed both Sarkozy and Merkel, referring to something both of them had said ('comme vous le disiez') before addressing Sarkozy individually and asking him specific questions. The video accessible from the French website shows that there was a moment of uncertainty as to who should start answering, with Merkel explicitly problematising addressee identification, cf.:

> (1b) **QUESTION --** Monsieur le Président, Madame la Chancelière, comme vous le disiez, la crise grecque menace à nouveau. Monsieur le Président de la République, vous avez dit que […] comment imaginez-vous la période à venir si la Grèce essaye encore de gagner du temps?
> **MME ANGELA MERKEL** -- Je crois que la question était adressée au président de la République... Ah, c'était à nous deux ? Ah bon, d'accord. Alors que le Président commence.
> **LE PRESIDENT** -- Bon, d'abord, Madame MERKEL comme moi, nous pensons que les éléments de l'accord n'ont jamais été aussi proches. Jamais. Que ce soit pour les créanciers privés que pour les créanciers publics. Jamais nous n'avons été aussi proches d'un accord. Mais la Chancelière a raison, il faut conclure. […]
> **MME ANGELA MERKEL** -- Je me rallie totalement à ces propos. Je le répète, […]
> (http://www.elysee.fr/president/les-actualites/conferences-de-presse/2012/conference-de-presse-conjointe-de-nicolas-sarkozy.12958.html)

What becomes obvious in the French transcript is a complex negotiation of interactional roles. Since Merkel passes on the speaking right to Sarkozy ('Alors que le Président commence'), Sarkozy's reference to shared opinion ('Bon, d'abord, Madame Merkel comme moi …') can be characterised as a discursive marker ensuring coherence to the beginning of the question

and also as reinforcement. The negotiation of interactional roles, however, goes hand in hand with a positioning of social roles. Merkel passing on the speaking right to Sarkozy, and Sarkozy stressing commonality in opinion could also be seen as Merkel positioning Sarkozy in a subordinate role which Sarkozy does not challenge (note also the 'nous pensons').

A comparison of transcripts can thus lead to different interpretations of the exchange. When we watch the video on the French website we cannot hear Merkel's own voice, only the simultaneous interpreting into French. Equally, we cannot hear the voice of the interpreter who interpreted the French utterances simultaneously into German for Merkel. That is, a comparison of the spoken and the written texts can only be done for the French parts. It is not possible to state with absolute certainty whether the German version of Sarkozy's words is the result of subsequent translation or a transcript of the interpreter's words. The French and German versions of Sarkozy's turn reveal differences in syntactic structure and emphasis (e.g. the three occurrences of 'jamais').

The German transcript is not a complete transcript of the press conference and has undergone some editing. The nature of such editing processes is different for various countries. The transcripts of press conferences made available on the website of the US government are normally complete transcripts and also record laughter. The edited transcripts on the website of the German government, however, reflect deletions and grammatical and stylistic enhancements. Such transformations in the recontextualisation from the spoken text at the actual discursive event to the written text made available on a website are evidence of different institutional practices which, in turn, are determined by institutional and ideological values. Whereas for the US administration, orality and spontaneity seem to be highly valued, the German government officials give more attention to the political message and less to the style of delivery (for more examples see Schäffner 2009, 2012).

This example showed more or less subtle differences between the original words of a politician and the interpreter's (or translator's) rendering, and also additional transformations which happen in subsequent recontextualisation processes in making transcripts available on websites. The next section will illustrate how the very practice of interpreting can function in positioning and identity construction of politicians.

3. (De)Constructing a politician

The example is a press conference which US President Obama held on 19 January 2011 in Washington with President Hu of the People's Republic of China. At this event, the interpreting provision is much more complex, and becomes obvious only when watching the video. Simultaneous interpreting was provided for the initital statements by the two politicians. Then the question-answer sessions starts, and the transcript on the White House website (available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/19/press-conference-president-obama-and-president-hu-peoples-republic-china) presents the following first question, which was asked by Ben Feller of Associated Press.

> (2a) Q Thank you very much.I'd like to address both leaders, if I may. President Obama, […] I'd like to follow up specifically on your comments about human rights. Can you explain to the American people how the United States can be so allied with a country that is known for treating its people so poorly, for using censorship and force to repress its people? Do you have any confidence that as a result of this visit that will change? […].
> And, President Hu, I'd like to give you a chance to respond to this issue of human rights. How do you justify China's record, and do you think that's any of the business of the American people?

The journalist explicitly mentions 'follow up' in his turn, and specifies the topic to which it is related (human rights). However, it is not only a case of a content-based follow-up, but the follow-up can also be seen as force-based and implicature-based (see Fetzer 2012), in particular in the questions addressed to President Hu. The journalist challenges Hu ('How do you justify China's record …'), with 'record' implying all the negative aspects listed before ('treating its people so poorly', 'censorship', 'repress its people'). The transcript then continues as follows:

> (2b) PRESIDENT OBAMA: First of all, […] Let me address the other issue, and a very serious issue […] But that doesn't prevent us from cooperating in these other critical areas. (311 words in total)
> I apologize. I thought we had simultaneous translation there. So I would have broken up the answer into smaller bites.
>
> Q (Speaking in Chinese.)
>
> PRESIDENT OBAMA: I'm sorry, I'm getting it in Chinese.
>
> Q I'm from China Central Television. […] So, President Hu Jintao, I would like to ask you the question, […] So I would like to ask President Obama […]

> PRESIDENT HU: (As translated.) I would like to take this question from the lady journalist. I think that the exchanges between our two peoples represent the basis and the driving force behind the growth of our relationship […] (389 words in total)

The transcript on its own seems somewhat incoherent: why would Obama finish a statement with an apology? Why is there a reference to Chinese? Why would Hu start his turn with accepting a question which had already been asked? When we watch the video, the sequence of the communicative acts appears somewhat different. Obama gives a relatively long answer to a first question asked by the American journalist which ends with '[…] these other critical areas.' At this stage, we hear somebody speaking in Chinese, and a few seconds later we hear a voice-over from another speaker informing us in English that 'The question in translated'. At the end of the interpreter's utterances in Chinese, there is a short pause, and it is here that Obama says 'I apologize. […]', acknowledging problems with the interpreting provision. Obviously the simultaneous interpreting had stopped after the statements, which also explains Obama's next comment 'I'm getting it in Chinese'. The video shows him putting on the headphones again, but the question by the Chinese journalist was only subsequently interpreted into English in the consecutive mode. The sentence 'I would like to take this question from the lady journalist' by President Hu was also uttered before she actually asked the question.

The whole press conference then continues with consecutive interpreting, both for the politicians' answers and the journalists' questions, which makes the whole event rather long. The next question asked by the journalist Hans Nichols from Bloomberg, can again be analysed as a follow-up, both content-based and force-based. It refers back to the first question in terms of the topic (human rights), and challenges Hu in an even more forceful way by accusing him of having avoided answering the question when it was first asked, cf.:

> (2c) Q Thank you, Mr. President, President Hu. President Obama, with your respect and permission, <u>because of the translation questions</u>, could I direct one first to President Hu?
> PRESIDENT OBAMA: Of course.
> Q Thank you.
> President Hu, first off, <u>my colleague asked you a question</u> about human rights, which you did not answer. I was wondering if we could get an answer to that question. […]
> PRESIDENT HU: (As translated.) First, I would like to clarify, <u>because of the technical translation and interpretation problem</u>, I did not hear the question about the human rights. What I know was that he was asking a question directed at President Obama. As you raise this question, and I heard the question properly, certainly I'm in a position to answer that question. […]

In structural terms, the follow-up does not take the third position since another question had been asked before, and it is also not the same speaker who produces a follow-up but another one. In this case, the journalist produces a follow-up not in order to challenge or to evaluate a response by a politician, but in order to elicit a response which had been expected in this specific discursive event but had not been given. We can say that the traditional exchange structure Initiation - Response - Follow-up is rearranged to Initiation (the initial question by Ben Feller, which in itself is phrased as a follow-up to a topic addressed in the prior statements) – Follow-up (by Hans Nichols) – Response (the answer by President Hu). Moreover, Hu's response is preceded by speech acts of justification. We need to bear in mind, however, that Nichols' follow-up was interpreted consecutively into Chinese, that Hu's response was in Chinese, and what we read in the transcript in English are the interpreter's words.

We can also see in extract (2c) that interpreting itself becomes the topic of the exchange, and it is used as a reason by Hu to reject the accusatory challenge of the journalist's follow-up. We can say that the positioning of President Hu is largely determined by the follow-up question by Nichols, which can also be characterised as a face-threatening act, and confirms the observation by Clayman and Heritage (2002) that journalists have become less deferential and more aggressive in questioning politicians. In his interactional role, he is positioned as unresponsive and un-cooperative, and in his social role he is positioned as a less credible politician. This positioning of President Hu as unresponsive and lacking in credibility was enhanced further by the mass media. Journalists add evaluative comments concerning Hu's interactional strategies and thus his behaviour, including non-verbal behaviour ('laughed', 'held a palm up and smiled'). The following examples from a blog (3) and an article in *The Washington Post* (4) are illustrating this.

> (3) […] Asked by a US reporter about human rights, Obama gave a lengthy reply but Hu embarrassingly refused to answer.
> Later at the press conference, another US reporter asked Hu why he had not answered the human rights question. Hu laughed and blamed a problem in translation, saying he had not realised the question was aimed at him, but he would now answer it.
> (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/richard-adams-blog/2011/jan/19/hu-jintao-china-barack-obama-live)
> (4) […] the Associated Press's Ben Feller rose and asked a gutsy, forceful question. […] Obama answered. The translator translated. All eyes turned to Hu - who said nothing. Instead, he looked to a woman from China Central Television […]
> But the next questioner, Bloomberg's Hans Nichols, gave Hu a lesson in press freedoms. "First off, my colleague asked you a question about human rights which you did not answer," the lanky newsman advised the Chinese strongman. "I was wondering if we could get an answer to that question."

> […] During the translation of Nichols's question, Hu held a palm up and smiled, as if he couldn't see what all the fuss was about. "Because of the technical translation and interpretation problem, I did not hear the question about the human rights," he explained - falsely, as it turns out.
> (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/19/AR2011011905552.html)

Again, the direct quotes by President Hu incorporated in English in these reports are actually the voice of the interpreter. In any case, by including extracts from press conferences as direct quotes and further elaborating on topics, these mass media reports too function as follow-ups in the wider sense. They can be characterised as discursive events (communicative acts) which accept, or reject, or challenge (parts of) prior discursive events. In this way, recontextualisation of a prior event in a new setting can reinforce existing ideological opinions and values (see also Hodges 2008 on the politics of recontextualisation).

The final example of interpreter-mediated interaction will illustrate another aspect of follow-ups as related to institutional practices and values.

4 Institutional power

The example is a TV interview which the well known CNN journalist Larry King conducted with the then Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, and aired on 1 Dec 2010. The interview was conducted via satellite, with King situated in the CNN studio in Washington and Putin in a room in Moscow, in front of a TV set. Putin was answering King's questions in Russian, and simultaneous interpreting into English was provided, with the interpreter speaking with a heavy Russian accent and not very fluently. The video was available via YouTube, but it cannot be accessed anymore. However, the interview can also be accessed from the Russian prime minister's website **(**http://premier.gov.ru), where we find transcripts in both Russian and English (the English one on http://premier.gov.ru/eng/events/news/13147/), and a video in Russian, that is, we hear Putin's words in Russian and Russian interpreting of King's questions. The website of the Voice of Russia (http://english.ruvr.ru/2010/12/02/36107249.html) provides a transcript of the interview in English, with the addition 'as provided by the Russian prime minister's website'. From this website, it is possible to watch a news report in which a journalist based in the studio in Moscow is talking in English with another reporter based in Washington, and extracts from the interview are incorporated. Here again, simultaneous interpreting of Putin's words into

English is provided. However, this time another interpreter is used, who is also speaking with a Russian accent, but much more fluently. This gives the impression that this recording was redone at a later stage.

When we compare the transcripts of the interview on the CNN website (which is preceded by the sentence 'This is a rush transcript. This copy may not be in its final form and may be updated.' http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1012/01/lkl.01.html) to those on the Russian websites mentioned above, we also note differences. Moreover, when we listen to the re-recorded interpreting from the Voice of Russia website and at the same time read the transcript provided there, we also notice discrepancies between the written and the spoken word. All these differences point to institutional practices, and they are particularly striking in respect of follow-ups and interaction management. The transcript on the CNN website is a recond of the complete interaction, and thus also includes the following:

> (5a) KING: We will be right back with the prime minister of Russia, Vladimir Putin. We'll ask about the situation on the Korean Peninsula right after this.
> (COMMERCIAL BREAK)
> KING: We're back with Vladimir Putin, the Prime Minister of Russia […] What, Mr. Prime minister, is your assessment of the Korean Peninsula? […]

King's turn after the commercial break can be treated as a content-based follow-up in that it returns to the theme announced in his prior turn. Later on in the interview, we encounter a similar situation, cf.:

> (5b) KING: Will you -- will -- will you go to Zurich to make a personal appeal?
> PUTIN Well, I've been reflecting on that. […] I've been enjoying –
> KING: All right, we'll be right back...
> PUTIN -- the sport through all my life. I love soccer.
> KING: All right, let me get a break on time. We'll be right back with more of the prime minister following this.
> (COMMERCIAL BREAK)
> KING: Something, Mr. Prime Minister, I don't think you've ever been asked. We have quite a dispute about it in America. What is the Russian policy toward gays and lesbians in your military?
> PUTIN Well, I'd like to finalize my statement regarding whether I go to Zurich or not.
> KING: OK.
> PUTIN I think it would be better for me not to be there prior to these elections -- […]
> KING: I've got –
> PUTIN -- so that it would not appear as an element of pressurizing their decision on my part.
> KING: I gathered that.
> PUTIN Now, as regards to the attitude toward gays and lesbians, […]

In this case, however, the follow-up is not initiated by King as in extract (5a) and the topic had not been introduced in the turn before the commercial break. In fact, King immediately introduces a totally different topic after the break. Putin, however, returns to the prior topic, using a metacommunicative comment ('I'd like to finalize my statement …') to signal explicitly both the thematic coherence and his speaking right. We can thus speak of a follow-up which is both content-based and force-based. Putin felt he had been denied his interactional role as an interviewee by being cut short, and indeed, interrupting a politician in the middle of his answer can be seen as as face threatening. In terms of the social role, we can say that by reclaiming his right to speak, Putin asserted his superior position, which was accepted by King ('OK'). However, both speakers' power is subordinate to the power of the media institution. Ensuring the commercial break is shown as previously agreed is more important than finishing a topic. Participant positioning is thus also largely determined by wider institutional practices and values. On Putin's official website, extract (5b) is presented as follows in the English version (the Russian one is identical in structure and content):

> (6) **Larry King**: Will you go to Zurich to make a personal appeal?
> **Vladimir Putin**: You know, that's something I thought about, of course. But I think that now, when FIFA members are coming under such pointed attacks and attempts to disgrace them, they need the space to make an objective decision without any external pressure.
> As you know, I've been keen on sport all my life, and I love football but I don't think I should appear there before the vote lest my presence be regarded as an attempt to exert some kind of pressure on the decision-making process.
> **Larry King**: Something, Mr Prime Minister, I don't think you've ever been asked. […] What is the Russian policy towards gays and lesbians in your military?
> **Vladimir Putin**: I've tried to answer similar questions before. […]

As we can see, Putin's answer is presented as one long and coherent one, there is no reference to commercial breaks. In short: the follow-up has been deleted. The same editing processes were made to the video recording, which is one long smooth question-answer interaction. These editing processes too reflect the power of the institution, but in contrast to the economic and commercial values which are relevant to the media institution CNN, the values for the political institution of the Russian government are of an ideological nature.

5 Conclusion

Political arguments cross linguistic, cultural, socio-political, and ideological boundaries as a result of translation and/or interpreting. In interpreter-mediated interaction, responses to

questions are strictly speaking responses to the question as rendered by the interpreter, and in the same way, the response too is transmitted back by the interpreter. The interaction at an interpreter-mediated discursive event such as a political interview or a press conference is thus much more complex than at a similar monolingual event where we have a direct exchange between politician(s) and journalist(s).

Interpreters (and by extension translators) are active agents who play a significant role in shaping the interaction. They are legitimate participants in the discursive event, and their performance and the output of their performance cannot be ignored or underestimated. As I have tried to illustrate, using a variety of sources (such as transcripts in various languages, video recordings) can enrich the analysis and (may) lead to different interpretations.

Follow-ups at press conferences can occur at later stages in the question-answer session and can also be follow-ups to prior questions. This is due to the nature of international press conferences where the number of questions which can be asked is limited and where journalists are normally only granted speaking rights once. Recontextualisation processes in the mass media can also be described as follow-ups in a macro-perspective. Here too, information gets selected and undergoes further transformations.

In sum: Follow-ups are more complex in interpreter/translator-mediated discourse and it may well be that a follow-up in a narrower sense (i.e. as the third part in a sequence initiation – response – follow-up) is motivated by the interpreter's rendition. Such a case has not yet been encountered, and a more systematic analysis would need to be conducted before any conclusive statement can be made.

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Metacommunicative follow-ups in British, German and Russian political webchats and blogs

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Abstract

The study explores discursive functions of follow-ups containing metacommunicative utterances derived from political live chats and politicians' blogs. In live webchats, such follow-ups are usually embedded in pre- or post-sequences to questions asked by members of an online community (e.g. "I am speechless at that reply") and to answers given by one or more politicians invited by webchat organisers to address the community. In politicians' blogs, metacommunicative follow-ups can be embedded in comments left by guests or by politicians themselves.

The contribution seeks to identify some typical patterns of online dialogue/polylogue organisation by identifying discursive functions that metacommunicative follow-ups perform in politicians', moderators' and audiences' online communicative behaviour. Additionally, some cross-cultural similarities and differences are analysed in British, German and Russian data sets.

1 Introduction

One indispensable feature of any dialogic interaction is its fragmented nature, with discursive inputs from two or more communicators usually presented in chunks performing various discursive functions and having different value for the ongoing process of meaning production. When the interlocutors feel the need to elaborate on, clarify or challenge a preceding discursive input, follow-ups arise, providing communicators with valuable feedback on how their previous contribution is viewed by the addressee.

Apparently many interactions in various types of discourse require more than one initiation and response from the addresser and the addressee, with follow-ups being a vital form of conversational uptake. It would appear, however, that in online political discussion the availability of follow-ups is a *sine qua non* factor for successful impression management on the part of political agents.

In effect, users frequently express discontent and ignore online resources if their responses – to a politician's blog entry, for instance – do not receive conversational uptake

from the host. Compare the following call for more interactivity in politicians' blogs posted by a commentator in the blog of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, as a response to the host's question whether politicians need blogs:

(1) […] Takže rekomenduju Vam objazat' Vašix regional'nyx predsedatelej vesti svoi blogi i otvečat' na KAŽDYJ kommentarij. Tak kak nekotorye vedut blog, kak novostnuju lentu. Mol, sdelano to-to, skazali to-to. Èto presno, skučno i otražaet naplevatel'skoe otnošenie k obščeniju s narodom. Oni dolžny sporit', dokazyvat', ubeždat'…
(blogs.mail.ru/mail/zhirinovskyvv; Oct. 27, 2010)

([…] Also, I recommend that you urge your regional party leaders to have blogs and respond to EVERY blog comment. Because some people keep blogs as if they were news feeds. They say they did this or said that. This is insipid, boring and demonstrates a couldn't-care-less attitude towards communicating with the public. They should argue, prove, persuade…)

This study pursues an integrated approach to follow-up moves based on Exchange Theory and a linguistic pragmatic approach to political discourse. The former provides some guiding principles as to the selection of material, whereas the latter helps uncover some interesting features of the speech act of questioning – one of the central communicative acts in political live webchats.

Based on the discourse analytic approach pioneered by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and developed in subsequent adaptations (see, for example, Stubbs 1983, McCarthy 1991, Coulthard and Brazil 1992, Francis and Hunston 1992, Döpke 1992, Cullen 2002), a follow-up is defined as an interactional move following a response to an opening move differing from a response in its predictability as a socially desirable but optional form of conversational input.

In addition to conceptualising follow-ups as the third move in the three-part initiation-response-follow-up sequences, the present analysis also subsumes under follow-ups supplementary questions asked by some interactants in online discussions (see Example 2). Such follow-ups seem to emulate parliamentary question-answer sessions, in which participants who obtain answers to their initial question are often allowed to ask another question.

(2) onebatmother: question 1
EdBalls: answer 1
onebatmother: Ed B: thanks for your answer, and sorry to push, but are you saying that you wouldn't make any cuts at all which would put jobs at risk? […]

EdBalls: answer 2.
(Labour leadership contenders webchat, 6 September 2010)

One problem such exchanges often face in live webchats is that they often remain incomplete. This probably happens because politicians are instructed to address as many initial questions as possible, so they frequently ignore follow-ups. Another reason is that in webchats with many participants (e.g. 3-4 dozens), follow-up questions may easily get lost in the influx of other users' comments.

The present study explores discursive functions and cross-cultural peculiarities of follow-ups containing metacommunicative utterances derived from political live chats and politicians' blogs. In live webchats, such follow-ups are usually embedded in pre- or post-sequences to questions asked by members of an online community and to answers given by one or more politicians invited by webchat organisers to address the community. Their main function seems to be to ensure that the users obtain high-quality answers from the politicians; therefore, follow-ups in live webchats are often critical of the politician's previous answers, as Example (3) demonstrates:

(3) User: You're typing succinctly on MN today but sometimes your answers are very hard to decipher if I'm honest. Do you find it difficult to give a straight answer?
Politician: Thanks for your question. I'll help you with a clear answer - no!
(Labour leadership contenders webchat, Sept. 6, 2010)

In addition to question-answer sequences that appear in politician-to-user and user-to-politician communication, follow-ups in live webchats are often found in user-to-user(s) interaction, expressing support and criticism of users/politicians and in moderator-to-user(s) interaction, disciplining the users and harmonising the communication flow.

In politicians' blogs, metacommunicative follow-ups can be embedded in blog entries written by the politicians or in comments left by the users or by politicians themselves. Similar to webchats, three main types of interaction are possible: politician-to-user(s), user(s)-to-politician and user-to-user(s).

It should be noted that conversational structures containing follow-up moves are more varied in blogs, the interactional task of obtaining a high-quality answer from the politician being just one item on the users' communicative agenda. In effect, in blogs, users often seem to be at least equally interested in advancing their opinions and arguing with other discussants (which frequently produces lengthy chains of user-to-user follow-ups) as they are interested in scrutinising the host's political ideas. In other words, in blog discussions, question-answer

sequences present only one type of communicative acts triggering follow-up moves. There are also other types of opinion and knowledge sharing sequences, and debating sequences. Evaluative follow-ups are therefore more diverse in blogs than in webchats.

To illustrate, in Example (4), two guests join efforts in criticising a choice of words in the politician's blog entry which recounted the details of a Tory deputy leader's admittance to the Labour Party. In the process, the idea is conveyed that the author exaggerated the importance of the incident by calling a deputy leader of a small council a "top Tory".

(4) Invictus_88: "Top Tory"? I'm sure Mr Cameron was kept awake all night, tormented by this devastating blow to the party.
A J Scott: Let's get a grip on language, shall we? "Top" as in deputy leader of a small council? What would that make the next leader of the Labour Party? Superdupertoppest?
(T.Watson, MP, Sept. 4, 2010)

But are the criteria for distinguishing follow-ups from responses suggested by Exchange Theory applicable to the above data?

It would appear that the concept of optionality has a limited application in blogs, since both responses and follow-ups are frequently treated as optional components by both users and political agents. To address the issue, the move's position was taken into account: blog comments containing responses to the initiating move by the politician were excluded from analysis unless they were followed by a subsequent metacommunicative move possessing features of a follow-up. From this perspective, blog entries in the politicians' blogs were treated as opening moves in this study, comments left by users were coded as responses, and the conversational input referring to one or more responses was considered to be a follow-up.

Yet another aspect to take into account when defining the follow-up move in online political discussion is related to its intertextual and interdiscursive dimension. Indeed, political follow-ups often refer to initiations and responses occurring elsewhere, for instance, in parliamentary debates or political interviews, during party conferences, political rallies or talk-shows. To account for such interdiscursive conversational input, the original definition of follow-ups would need to be modified accordingly.

In sum, follow-ups are tentatively defined in the study as interactional moves through which a prior communicative act, exchange or transaction is acknowledged, accepted, challenged, or otherwise elaborated on. They follow responding or follow-up moves by the same/different participant(s) and may refer to communicative acts that happened elsewhere in offline and online genres of political and media discourse.

2 Data and research questions

The study is based on metacommunicative follow-ups obtained from 10 British chat organized by Mumsnet, Netmums, Businesszone, Farmers Weekly, 10 Russian chats held by the Novosibirsk press club, Zhivoj Angarsk, Russkij Obozrevatel and by LifeJournal user bb-mos and 20 German webchats (tagesschau-Chat, politik-digital, tacheles.02-Chat, dol2day).

My blog data comes from postings in 10 British, 10 German and 10 Russian blogs maintained by members of parliaments (MPs) and public servants in 2007-2012.

Fifty fragments of online political discussion containing at least one meta-discursive follow-up are analysed in each of the three blog data sets. In this study, chains of follow-ups, that is, combinations of two or more follow-ups and responses from one or more users constituting one exchange, allow examining some typical patterns of online dialogue/polylogue organisation. For metacommunicative follow-ups, some of the most common patters seem to be: gratitude or apology for previous communicative acts, criticism of previous contributions, and endorsement of preceding discursive inputs.

3 Types of follow-ups in webchats and blogs

Based on the number of communicative acts commented on, two types of follow-ups occur in my data: (1) single follow-ups referring to a preceding communicative act ("That's quite a facile reply if you don't mind me saying"), (2) multiple follow-ups that comment on several exchanges or the whole transaction ("Many of your answers are the standard politician evasion…").

Moreover, based on their area of application, follow-ups may be (i) intradiscursive referring to the same genre of political online discourse (webchat or blog discussion) and (ii) interdiscursive, relating to someone's communicative behaviour in a different genre of political or other discursive sphere. To illustrate the latter, a commentator might visit a blog to complain about the politician's communicative behaviour in a talk-show or to expose the host's party colleague who had ignored letters from constituents.

It should be noted that multiple interdiscursive follow-ups in the data belong to the most face-threatening type, with some users collecting multipoint 'dossiers' on politicians exposing them for various communication errors. Also, such follow-ups frequently receive

conversational uptake from other discussants, leading to a joint development of a long list of critical remarks produced online.

4 Discursive functions of follow-ups in online webchats with politicians

In webchats, politicians' primary interactional needs are to address as many questions as possible and to identify with the audience. Being confronted by multiple users pressing for answers, webchat guests usually have fewer possibilities than audiences to perform follow-ups. In this connection it can be hypothesised that cases when politicians do perform follow-ups highlight communicative situations in which important work-related attitudes are made explicit by political agents.

My Russian webchat data features 12 excerpts containing one or more follow-ups performed by politicians. In British and German data, there are 16 and 13 excerpts respectively. These follow-ups serve a number of important functions listed in the table (see Table 1) and briefly analysed below.

sample, N function of follow-up	British	German	Russian
1. Criticism of question, questioner or audience	5	2	10
2. Denial of criticism	2	1	1
3. Apology, justification and explanation	4	2	0
4. Doing politics	1	2	0
5. Endorsement of questioner / audience	3	1	1
6. Acknowledgement, partial agreement with criticism	2	0	0
7. Improvement of response	0	3	0
8. Ambiguous	1	2	1

Table 1. Politicians' follow-ups in the three sets of webchat data

'Criticism of questioner/audience', found in all the three sets of webchat data, refers to metacommunicative utterances that convey disapproval of the addressee or his/her utterance expressed with a different degree of explicitness. They can occur as a response to criticism

incorporated in the question or as a response to preceding interactions in general and are designed to stop unwanted communicative behaviour or bring about changes in questioner's/audience's communicative behaviour (*Druz'ja, ya prizyvaju byt' korrektnymi* – 'Friends, I call [you] to be tactful' as a reaction to an offensive remark about another local politician) or to provide the addressee with negative feedback.

'Denial of criticism' covers cases when the politician denies the validity of questioner's critical remarks by way of negating the criticism (user: *Ausgewichen!* – 'Evaded [the question]!', politician: *nicht ausgewichen* – 'I haven't evaded [the question]). These are often "obligatory" follow-ups the politician tends to supply to re-establish his/her credibility or coherence regardless of how busy he/she is answering multiple questions from several users. Such negations may also be extended with the politician's version of the communicative situation supplied to defend his/her coherence or credibility.

The third category – 'apology, justification and explanation' – deals with cases of impression management on the part of the politician. By explicating reasons behind particular communicative acts politicians try to ward off negative impressions audiences might develop on the basis of misconception or lack of information about politicians' true goals and motives. Such metacommunicative follow-ups may occur independently or in combination with criticism of questioner or denial of criticism, as the following response to criticism for slow typing demonstrates: "Older people type slower than younger people.....please don't indulge in age discrimination! And i'm thinking about my replies which takes time. So give me a break sister!" (Mumsnet live webchat with H.Harman, 25.11.2008).

'Doing politics' is a category of follow-ups that refers to discursive manifestations of politicians' ingroup commitment, that is, communicative acts designed to promote one's own coalition and disparage the opponents (Bull, Fetzer and Johansson 2008). Compare the case of defending a party colleague (and a contestant for party leadership) against a reproach for not posting anything for a long time: "Andy is sitting next to me. I can confirm he is fine and typing away madly" (Mumsnet Labour leadership contenders webchat, 6.09.2010).

'Endorsement of questioner/audience' with the help of metacommunicative follow-ups is achieved primarily through expressions of gratitude for constructive comments and agreement with opinions expressed by supporters. Interestingly, such comments' functions often go beyond phatic reaffirmation of positive attitude to the addressee. In effect, expressions of gratitude and agreement seem to be employed by politicians sparingly as a tool to highlight / encourage a high level of interactional achievement on the part of the user. For example, politicians praise members of online communities for suggesting useful policies, for

providing a detailed analysis of a situation under discussion, and for answering governmental questionnaires.

In blogs, this category also covers cases of welcoming new commentators (e.g. "Well thank you for your kind words and welcome to the blog. I hope you stick around!", S.Tierney, 29.09.2011).

'Acknowledgement, partial agreement with criticism' was found in the British data. In one instance the politician owns up to the fact that an advisor is typing his comments during the chat session, in the other the politician reacts to an accusation of misrepresenting statistics with a concession ("Maybe I overstated 1 percent").

'Improvement of response' is a follow-up employed to enhance the politician's previous response by providing a serious answer. In my blog data, several other types of improvements of previous comments were found: self-corrections, summaries of longer posts provided previously, additions of details or further criticism.

'Ambiguous' covers cases that can be interpreted in several ways. To illustrate, statements like *Soweit ich das sehe, habe ich mich klar ausgedrückt* – 'As far as I can tell, I have expressed myself clearly' can be interpreted both as criticism of the questioner for making the politician reiterate the same point and as an attempt to justify the politician's refusal to answer the question again.

As we can see, different functions of follow-ups are relevant for different sets of webchat data. Politicians employ metacommunicative follow-up to criticise or praise the addressee / audience and to deny criticism in all the three communicative cultures studied. Besides, some other culture/language-specific functions seem to play a role in politicians' online interactions. In particular, follow-ups are employed to partially accept criticism in the British data. In the German data set, metacommunicative follow-ups improve the politician's previous contribution.

Moving on to audience's follow-ups, at least some members see live webchats with politicians as an opportunity to engage with politics by raising important issues ("KateMiddIeton: <sigh> Our welfare state is at risk. Sensible questions people please. This is the leader of the opposition. Let's encourage him to oppose by asking the important stuff", Mumsnet with E.Miliband, Labour Leader and Leader of the Opposition, 01.12.2011).

Similarly, members regard debunking politicians' wrong beliefs as an important discursive task ("Yvette i feel compelled to tell you that your statement just there on Job Centre Plus is just not most people experience", Mumsnet with Y.Cooper, secretary of state for work and pensions, 27.04.2010).

One way of holding politicians to account in the data is to evaluate politicians' performance by either approving of their discursive input or by signaling discontent with politicians' communicative behaviour ("I'm so angry! This man's flip answers didn't come close to addressing my concerns", Mumsnet with E.Vaizey, Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries, 31.01.2011).

Negative evaluations in webchats are many and varied. Politicians are exposed for various communication flaws (e.g. evasion, picking up convenient questions, trotting out facile answers) and are pressurised for more detailed/honest/serious answers and comments. These communication flaws can refer to mistakes made by the politician in the preceding stretch of current online discussion as well as to those made in other genres of offline and online political discourse (interviews, parliamentary debates, Twitter conversations).

Positive evaluations are less frequent in the webchat data. Praise is sometimes incorporated in questions or is expressed during the post-interaction stage after the guest has left the online community.

Cross-cultural comparison reveals a power asymmetry in requests and demands for a better communicative behaviour found in the Russian and British webchats. In my Russian data, it is often the politician who demands a change of verbal behaviour on the part of the webchat participant(s), while in the British data the positions are reversed: webchat participants constantly challenge the guest and urge him/her to do better.

Apart from supplying metacommunicative follow-ups exposing politicians for previous communication glitches and urging them to perform better, members of the audience can resort to another way of showing displeasure with politicians' discursive input by way of offering halfhearted gratitude ("Thanks for kind of addressing the question"; "Thank you for at least trying to answer") and mitigated praise ("I like that answer, Ed, it seemed genuinely honest, albeit just the tip of the iceberg. Wish you'd take that kind of verve to the Lib Dems and show them that you believe you could do better with them...", Mumsnet with E.Miliband, 01.12.2011).

In addition to holding politicians accountable, metacommunicative follow-ups are employed by webchat members to discipline each other. The self-monitoring function of follow-up moves is realised when webchat rules are breached and the online discussion is disrupted or when the politician's time is spent unproductively ("Can you not ask a more intelligent question than that?"). Besides, such follow-ups allow audiences to engage in impression management. Since many community members are concerned about their image as serious discussants to be reckoned with, instances of communicative behaviour that

threaten that image are exposed and put an end to. Compare the two comments from a Mumsnet webchat with Ed Miliband, Labour Leader and Leader of the Opposition in (5), in which two webchat participants express concerns about their image:

(5) notsomumsie: FFS Asking (and answering) about bloody biscuits perpetuates the myth of stupid women. Get a grip. […]
lubeybaublely: Argh @ biscuit talk when I'm still awaiting many of the first page questions to be answered (including mine)
Do you know how many men on twitter think all we do is ask questions about biscuits? Ignoring all the decent, relevant questions we have asked. Doing nothing for ourselves here <rant over>
(Mumsnet, 01.12.2011)

In addition, the members' concerns with impression management become obvious through a number of post-interaction weaving comments in which the users' discursive gains are summarised. In such post-interactional follow-ups, numbers of questions answered by the guest are calculated, winners declared and possible reasons of being ignored by the politician are discussed.

As for moderator's follow-up moves, they are employed in live webchats to manage conversational flows, harmonise communication and make sure that rules are observed by all the participants. One specific task moderators of busy webchats have to handle on a regular basis is to curb users' frustration about not getting answers to their questions. Successful moderation in this case means preventing members from posting the same question many times and defending politicians from users' aggressive comments.

5 Functions of metacommunicative follow-ups in blogs

For the analysis of follow-ups and responses occurring in blogs, the same categories were applied as for webchats with several modifications. Firstly, due to the absence of moderators in the majority of blogs, moderator's functions are shared between the politician and his/her commentators, thus 'disciplining users' is added to the 'criticism of commentator(s)' category to cover comments such as this: *Za sledujuščij post v takom stile budet ban* – 'The next post in such a style will lead to a ban'.

It should be noted, however, that several blogs in the data do have moderator follow-up moves that usually explain reasons for deleting the commentators' postings and express

gratitude for constructive suggestions (*Danke für den Hinweis. Wir haben das Zitat korrigiert* – 'Thank you for the hint. We have corrected the citation', D.G. Wöhrl's blog, 27.02.2012).

Secondly, a few cases of complete agreement with criticism were found in the blog data, hence the category 'Acceptance of criticism' was added. It usually covers politicians' readiness to correct small glitches, such as broken/absent links or typos/mistakes in the blog entries (commentator: "[…] that's not what you meant to write" – politician: "Oops! Thanks - now corrected", M.Raid's blog, 19.04.2010).

Thirdly, 'Criticism of third parties' refers to cases when journalists, scientists, members of the public are negatively evaluated by politicians or audiences in their comments (see Table 2).

sample, N function of follow-up	British	German	Russian
1. Criticism of commentator Disciplining user(s)	24 3	10 1	10 1
2. Endorsement of commentator (agreement, support, gratitude)	6	7	9
3. Denial of criticism	10	7	6
4. Apology, justification and explanation	8	14	3
5. Acknowledgement, partial agreement with criticism	6	3	0
6. Acceptance of criticism	1	2	1
7. Doing politics	3	4	1
8. Improvement of previous comment	2	2	0
9. Criticism of third parties	2	4	1
10. Ambiguous	3	2	1

Table 2. Politicians' follow-ups in the three sets of blog data

As for audience's follow-ups, in contrast to webchats they are more varied and perform an even broader range of functions than politicians' follow-ups in blogs, since criticism and endorsement in blogs may be directed not only at the politician, but also at the other commentators (see Table 3).

sample, N function of follow-up	British	German	Russian
1. Criticism of politician	39	38	31
2. Endorsement of politician	9	18	13
3. Doing politics	13	12	0
4. Criticism of commentator(s) Disciplining users	7 1	10 3	46 6
5. Endorsement of commentator(s)	9	5	14
6. Denial of criticism	3	1	9
7. Apology, justification and explanation	9	5	17
8. Acknowledgement, partial agreement with criticism	1	2	3
9. Acceptance of criticism	0	0	1
10. Improvement of previous comment	10	0	6
11. Criticism of third parties	2	3	7
12. Ambiguous	2	5	2

Table 3. Audience's follow-ups in the three sets of blog data

As we can see, the majority of follow-ups contain criticism issued by blog hosts or blog guests and directed at the politician or other commentators, with Russian users being significantly more active than German or British discussants in producing critical remarks exposing each other for various communication flaws.

When blog commentators join forces in exposing the politician, long and particularly face-threatening chains of follow-ups sometimes arise. In such chains, the same metacommunicative utterance can simultaneously express solidarity with a previous commentator and criticism of the politician/coalition. In contrast to webchats, where follow-ups are only allowed if appropriate, in blogs users may post as many comments as they wish unless the politician decides to intervene.

To illustrate, in one blog post, the politician recounted her experience of addressing the nation during a riot, to which four skeptical visitors provided their ironic comments designed to belittle the author and undermine her credibility and coherence, as Example (6) shows:

(6) Stroud Green Voter: As always you did brilliantly – the riots spread to just about every major city in England.

> Helen: Lynne "Churchill" Featherstone. Thank-you Stroud Green Voter – you've reminded me what fun Lynne's blog can be.
> Frank: Lynne, God, why don't you just give up surely Serco or Crapita would give you a job? Oh, don't tell me you're in it for the voters because that's not true, you're a complete crook along with your LibDem minister mates! Well done.
> Harriet Harms Man: "As always you did brilliantly – the riots spread to just about every major city in England."
> Genius! (L.Featherstone, January 2012)

6 Conclusion: Genre and cross-cultural peculiarities of follow-ups in online political discussions

While comparing the two genres of online political discussion a number of similarities and differences emerge.

First, question-answer sequences play an important role in the two genres. Politicians and their audiences attempt to shape political interaction by inserting evaluative follow-up moves in such sequences or by providing evaluative follow-up moves after the question has been answered. However, in blog discussions, question-answer sequences present only one type of communicative acts triggering follow-up moves, with other types of opinion and knowledge sharing sequences and debating sequences playing a major role. Consequently, follow-ups occurring in politicians' blogs possess a broader range of functions. Similar to the follow-ups found in webchats, discussants in blogs can use follow-ups to complain about and negatively evaluate other's communicative behaviour, but also to express support, reject or partially acknowledge criticisms, discipline other discussants, improve their own previous contribution in a number of important ways.

Besides, non-evaluative follow-ups play a role in blog discussions. Both politicians and their audiences occasionally resort to metacommunicative justification, explanation and reasoning to defend their views, redress misunderstanding and otherwise ensure impression management.

Second, different follow-up moves have different chances of being addressed by the respondent. Asking follow-up questions in webchats often results in incomplete exchanges, because the politician is struggling with the influx of questions and comments from multiple participants and may overlook or ignore follow-up questions to address as many initial questions as possible. Conversely, receiving answers to follow-up questions is significantly

easier in asynchronous blog discussions with more focused audiences and fewer comments to handle.

Third, follow-ups occurring in blogs lend themselves to some tentative conclusions about several necessary follow-up moves politicians always supply as an integral part of their communicative agenda. These are follow-ups defending the politician's credibility, providing gratitude for support and constructive proposals, ensuring a warm reception to novices to the blog and to the party and follow-ups designed to retain skeptical voters or win back former supporters.

Fourth, more manifestations of the arrogance of power were found in the Russian webchat data than in the German data (7 instances vs. 1): politicians sometimes dictated other discussants how to behave verbally (although they were also being dictated to, as is more frequent in the British and German data)…

In sum, follow-up moves are indispensable for high-quality online political discussions as an efficient way of conversational uptake.

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Negotiating irony through follow-ups: readers' comments on op-eds in the daily press

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Abstract

This presentation aims to examine how political irony is interpreted and evaluated through the study of readers' perceptions manifest in their comments on ironic op-eds in the daily press. The study presupposes an interactional view of irony, and perceives the readers' follow-ups and perceives readers' follow-ups both as a methodological tool, used to unveil readers' perception of irony, as well as a research topic, shedding light on the ways irony is judged and taken up.

Drawing on a pragmatic discourse analysis, irony is identified in the op-eds and in the readers' follow-ups based on pragmatic cues. A distinction is postulated between various types of follow-ups. The analysis focuses on their forms and functions, and shows how they are used to challenge or support the stance put forward in the op-ed.

1 Introduction

This paper examines how political irony in the daily press is interpreted and evaluated, as well as whether it is pursued by its readers. For this purpose, I will analyse readers' comments on ironic op-eds in the daily press. The study presupposes an interactional view of irony, and perceives the readers' follow-ups both as a methodological tool, used to unveil readers' perception of irony, as well as a research topic, shedding light on the ways irony is judged and taken up.

Follow-ups are conceived here as components of discursive negotiations, necessarily initiated by previous text and related to the initiation in a number of ways (Fetzer 2000, this volume), varying in degree of tightness. Similarly to most of the views expressed in this workshop, it expands on a narrower definition, which views a follow-up as a third-position element located in the triad initiation-response-follow up (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, and see also Atifi and Marcoccia, this volume). In this view, the definition of a follow-up is not confined to a specific position or a particular type of inter-discursive relations. Specifically, readers' first-order comments are located at second position *vis-à-vis* their op-ed. Readers' second-order comments, which respond to prior reader's comments, are located at first-

position vis-à-vis previous comments, and at second-position vis-à-vis the op-ed which initiates them. Often referred to in Hebrew as "talk-backs", readers' comments are viewed as self-proclaimed follow-ups.

The analysis focuses on the forms and functions of these follow-ups, and shows how they are used to challenge or support the stance put forward in the op-ed on which they comment.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Assigning ironic meanings

Drawing on a pragmatic discourse analysis, I consider an utterance as ironic if it presents at least one cue for irony (Weizman 2008, 2011). The analysis presupposes that the interpretation of irony is a case of indirectness, i.e. that the speaker's meaning it conveys diverges from its utterance meaning. Extra-textual and meta-textual context expoloited by the interpreter as an indication that such a mismatch exists is labeled *cue* (Weizman and Dascal 1991).

From this perspective, the various theories which account for the interpretation of irony provide us with insights into the nature of the *cues* which *trigger* an ironic interpretation. In this presentation, I identify excerpts of op-eds as well as readers' comments as ironic if they manifest any of the cues presented below or a combination thereof:

2.1.1 Blatant floutings of Gricean maxims

For Grice (1975, 1978), an ironic interpretation is necessarily triggered by a blatant flouting of the maxim of quality. In his view, irony is interpreted if the following conditions hold: (a) Speaker S utters an assertion A which is not true, and thus flouts the quality maxim. (b) Hearer H has no reason to believe that S does not observe the cooperative principle (CP). (c) S believes that H believes she observes the CP. (d) S believes H will detect the flouting and will assign S the intention that the flouting be detected. Under these circumstances, the assertion will be interpreted as intentionally conveying irony. These conditions hold, for example, when interpreting “He is a fine student” as “He is a low achiever”.

Other scholars (e.g Leech 1983, pp. 80, 142, Colston 2000, Attardo 2000) argue that the blatant flouting of any other maxim may also trigger the interpretation of irony. I fully

accept this account. However, for a blatant flouting to be employed as a cue for irony, it should also convey criticism addressed at a target (Weizman 2001, 2008).

2.1.2 Violations of sincerity conditions

A different type of pragmatic violation is considered as a necessary requirement for ironic interpretation by Haverkate (1990). For him, a necessary condition for ironic interpretation is the violation of the sincerity condition underlying the felicitous performance of a speech act. This requirement explains the irony conveyed by speech acts that have no truth value, such as the ironic directive “Very well, keep doing yourself harm” (Haverkate 1990, p. 94), when the speaker does not really want the act of "doing harm" be carried out, or of the ironic apology "I really apologize for helping you when you needed someone", when the speaker does not really undertake a blame.

2.1.3 Irony as echoic mention

For Sperber and Wilson, a necessary condition for irony comprehension is the recognition that the speaker implicitly mentions a true or imagined proposition or thought, or an interpretation thereof, while dissociating herself from it (e.g Sperber and Wilson 1981; Sperber 1984; Wilson and Sperber 1992; Wilson 2006). By so doing, the speaker expresses a belief about her utterance. The assignment of ironic meaning thus involves the hearer’s recognition that the proposition has been mentioned rather than used, and that the speaker expresses a derogatory attitude towards it. Under these conditions, in ironic utterances the literal meaning is not substituted for by an indirect meaning, and irony does not involve a violation of truthfulness.

Whereas each of the theorists mentioned above aims to propose the "ideal" theory, I argued in my previous work that by seeing irony as a particular case of indirectness, an integrated model should allow for a variety of cues. "The selection of relevant cues at a given moment depends on the contextual and co-textual features the discourse-situation. Hence, from the researcher's viewpoint, to identify a single cue would be to ignore the heuristic nature of the interpretation process. It is therefore important to identify the various possibilities and the conditions for their activation, making no attempt to determine the exclusivity of one cue over the other" (Weizman 2008: 79).

2.2 The identification and reception of irony

Irony has mostly been studied in artificial contexts. While the above mentioned theories as well as many others are based on invented examples, studies of its reception have mostly been based on controlled experiments (e.g. Gibbs 1984, 1986; Dews et al. 1995; Kumon-Nakamura et al. 1995; Colston 1997, 2000a, 2000b). In recent years, a tendency is observed to study naturally occurring irony, both in the written and the spoken modes (Clift 1999, Kothoff 2003, Eisterhold et al 2006, Partington 2007, Weizman 2001, 2008, 2011, Hirsch and Blum Kulka in preparation), and less so – to examine responses to it (Kothoff 2003, Eisterhold et al 2006, Weizman 2008, Hirsch and Blum Kulka in preparation). Two studies are specifically relevant to our discussion. Kothoff's (2003) study of irony in dinner talk and in TV debates reveals reactions of various types - responses to the literal or to the implicated level, mixed responses, ambiguous ones and laughter. The data confirm that the two activity types differ in preferred responses: dinner-table conversations among friends mostly manifest responses to the literally said (the dictum) and a humorous discourse type of joint teasing. TV debates, on the other hand, mostly trigger responses to the implicatum which recontextualize the serious debate. Eisterhold et al (2006) examine the use of irony in a multi-genre corpus of spontaneous spoken discourse. Focusing on responses to an initial ironical turn, they found that irony was responded to mostly (43.78%) by laughter and smiles, which they see as non-committal responses, showing recognition of the inappropriateness of the speaker's utterance without any indication as to whether the ironical meaning was understood. The second most frequent reaction (28.10%) in the data was a serious (non ironic) verbal response that addressed either the dictum or the implicatum. Ironic responses to ironic turns (mode adoption) account only for 6.58% of the data. Very few ironic utterances were responded to by non-verbal reactions (4.3%), topic changes (3.04%) and meta-comments, mostly requests for clarification (0.79&, n=3). The data are shown to be sensitive to a number of sociological variables such as age, status etc. They conclude that speakers tend to limit the extent of the violations of the cooperative principle. Unlike the present study, none of the two quoted studies reports on meta-comments which indicate explicit recognition of the ironic keying and contains a value judgment.

In the spirit of the studies reported above, this paper examines irony in naturally-occurring data. Unlike them, however, it focuses on irony and comments in the written mode. Consequently, the coding scheme does not allow for non-verbal responses. Another difference is that unlike the previously mentioned studies, my data supports the need for the category

'meta-comments of the ironic or otherwise non-serious keying (for the notion of *keying,* see Hymes 1972, Goffman 1974). I find meta-comments to be especially informative, because they introduce into the discussion the readers' explicit judgments of irony and its effects.

3 Follow-ups to ironic op-eds: a coding scheme

In line with the above, readers' comments are analysed based on the following coding scheme:

A. Meta-comments on the ironic keying of the op-eds, accompanied by a value judgment:

A1. Literal meta-comments: irony **is identified**, ironic keying **is not pursued**, it is not clear whether ironic meaning was captured.

A2. Ironic meta-comments: irony is **understood**, ironic keying is **pursued**, it is not evident that ironic meaning was captured.

B. Meta-comments on the keying of the op-eds, no specific comment on ironic keying, accompanied by a value judgment:

B1. Literal meta-comments: ironic keying **is not pursued**, it is not evident that ironic meaning was captured.

B2. Ironic meta-comments: ironic keying **is pursued**, it is not evident that ironic meaning was captured.

Ironic comments

C1. Ironic comments on the implicatum: ironic keying is **pursued,** ironic meaning **was captured.**

C2. Ironic comments on the dictum: ironic keying is **pursued,** it is not evident that ironic meaning was captured.

D. Literal comments

D1. Literal comments on the implicatum: ironic keying is **not pursued**, ironic meaning **was captured**.

D2. Literal comments on the dictum: ironic keying is **not pursued**, ironic meaning was possibly **missed**.

4 The structure of the presentation

The discussion illustrates the various types of follow-ups, focusing on meta-comments and ironic comments, and excluding the two last categories of literal comments.

First, an ironic paragraph will be quoted, contextual information will be provided, and cues for irony will be briefly delineated. Then, readers' comments will be analysed in terms of the coding scheme postulated above. In the conclusion, the implications of the analysis will be discussed.

The op-eds discussed here were published in the English internet version of the Israeli daily Ha'aretz.

For each of the ironic articles, all readers' comments pertaining to the ironic paragraphs in the op-ed have been analysed. Additional readers' comments featuring on the same date pertain to other parts of the article, or to related topics, and are irrelevant for the present discussion.

5 Analysis

5.1 Tsipi Livni goes to the grocery store (Yosi Sarid, Ha'aretz 23.03.12)

5.1.1 Background

Primaries are being held in the Israel biggest opposition party Kadima. The writer, Yossi Sarid, is former chair of the left-wing party Meretz, former MP, former Minister, currently mostly publicist.

In this article, Sarid mainly criticizes a few former party leaders as well as the political scene in general, while at the same time empathically analysing the political future of Kadima leader Ms. Tsipi Livni.

5.1.2 Ironic extract[1]

There's no second chance for those who miss opportunities. Not in Israel.

> Menachem Begin, for example, **didn't fall many times before he arose as king of the phoenixes**. And Shimon Peres, the public's darling, **was never known as a serial loser**. And Ariel Sharon **did not shake off the ashes of the first Lebanon War, was not**

[1] Bold letters highlight phrases for discussion. Background information and transcribed Hebrew words are in square brackets.

> **ejected from the defense minister's seat in order to seize the loftier seat**. And Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has never known the taste of failure, **not when he was thrown down the stairs like a dead horse being led to a donkey's burial**. And Defense Minister Ehud Barak, who goes from one success to another, is not remembered as the prime minister who was the greatest failure in Israel's history. They all made peace and war with a similar degree of success. And they were all borne on the wind – they were blown out of sight - **and where are they today?**

5.1.3 *Cues for irony*

Ironic interpretation may draw here on the following cues:

Blatant floutings of the quality maxim: The assertion "There's no second chance for those who miss opportunities. Not in Israel" is ostentatiously untruthful, since the five political leaders mentioned in the op-ed regained power once and again. Similarly, the assertion "Menachem Begin didn't fall many times before he arose as king of the phoenixes" is ostentatiously untruthful, since Begin is known to have constantly failed as opposition leader for 30 years, before being elected as PM.

Echoic mention: The assertion "And Shimon Peres, the public's darling, was never known as a serial loser" echoes a political assembly where Peres, at the time party leader, asked triumphantly: "People say that I am a loser. Am I a loser?", and was replied to by the audience: "Yes!".

Violation of sincerity condition: The question "and where are they today?", which implies that the politicians in question are absent from the public scene, is an insincere question, since Netanyahu is PM, and Peres is president.

5.1.4 Readers' follow-ups

Two readers' comments out of 25 are of interest to the present analysis.

The first one is a literal meta-comment on ironic keying (category A1), which shows that irony was identified, and is severely criticized. Ironic keying is not pursued:

> (1) This time, I am very sorry to say, **the article is too ironic**. **So ironic, that it misses the point. It would have been better to write directly**, describe non-ironically the failing leaders who rose up once and again, despite their huge failures. **Sorrow and frustration might have led this time to such a bitter writing.**

The second comment combines two categories. In its largest part, it is a literal meta-comment on the keying ("sophistcated") (category B1). There is no explicit reference to irony, ironic keying is not pursued, and there is no way to know whether the ironic meaning has been

captured. The keying (sophistication) is severely criticised. The last phrase ("so that the ignorant among us will understand") is most plausibly ironic (category B2). Hence, ironic keying is pursued:

(2) Yosi sarid is getting **more and more sophisticated** each day. Is Tsipi Livni ok or not? Which grocery did she go to? **What is this language which does not express any central idea**? **Learn Sir to be more simple**. **Say clearly what you have to say so that the ignorants among us will understand.**

5.2 A Damsel in distress[alma bimtsuka. (Tal Niv, Haaretz, 7.3.2012)

5.2.1 *Background*

Israel P.M's wife Sara Netanyahu filed a a lawsuit against her former housekeeper, Lillian Peretz, who has her own suit pending against Mrs. Netanyahu. In this article, the journalist accuses Mrs. Netanyahu for her capricious conduct, Mr. Netanyahu for accepting it.

5.2.2 The ironic extract

the title: **A Damsel in distress[alma bimtsuka]**.

5.2.3 Cues for irony

Ironic interpretation relies here on the following cues:

A blatant Flouting of the maxim of manner. The Hebrew equivalent of "Damsel" [*alma*] is marked as literary, and the journalist can expect the readers to identify this ostentatious register shift and to perceive it as intentional.

Echoic mention of presumed thoughts of Mrs. Netanyahu, possibly also of P.M. Netanyahu, who supports the reasoning underlying her legal suit. These thoughts represent a distorted way of thinking.

5.2.4 Readers' follow-ups

Of the 74 readers' comments, eight refer to the ironic meaning. As in the previous case, one of the readers makes a literal comment on the indirect keying (category B1), qualifying it as "sophisticated". His explanation of the journalist's intentions shows that the implicatum is understood:

(3) The **sophisticated** message of Tal Niv, **for those who haven't got it**, is that Sara Netanyahu needs treatment. Indeed she does.

In addition, three readers make ironic comments on the implicatum (category C1), which show that irony is understood, and ironic keying is pursued. All three comments echo the title:

(4) What is your column worth, **my damsel**? **[almati]**
(5) The only trouble is that the Prime Minsiter is captive at **'this damsel's'** home.
(6) A country **in distress**.

Other readers make ironic comments (e.g. 7-8 below) on the entire op-ed rather than on the title:

(7) The writer is **"naïve".**

Cue: a blatant flouting of the maxim of quality (assuming the commentator does not believe the journalist is naïve), coupled with the use of quotation marks (Weizman, 2011).

(8) Her poor husband is also attacked all over. **Ill-fated** couple. [zug muke goral]

Cues: a blatant flouting of the maxim of quality (assuming the commentator does not pity Mrs. And Mr. Netanyahu), and an echoic mention of the presumed self-pity and self righteousness attributed by the journalist to Mrs. Netnayahu and possibly to her husband.

These comments may be categorized as B1 (ironic comments on the implicatum) and as B2 (ironic comments on the dictum), since the article combines literal and ironic criticism. Again, the comments indicate that the ironic meaning was understood and is being pursued.

Comment (9) is especially interesting given its ambiguous target:

(9) Good heart overflows like water.[nigar kamayim]

The ironic criticism might be understood here as addressed at Mrs. Netanyahu if the comment is read as an echoic mention of **her** presumed unjustified positive self-esteem. Alternately, it might be understood as addressing the journalist, if read as an echoic mention of **his** presumed positive self-esteem, being unaware of his cruel judgment of Mrs. Netanyahu.

5.3 Ehud is moving (Uri Misgav, Ha'aretz 23.3.2012)

5.3.1 Background

Minister of Defence Ehud Barak sells his NIS 26.6 million worth apartment to a smaller, NIS 8-million one.

The content of the article is explicated in the subtitle: "Minister of Defence Ehud Barak did things that in other areas would be deemed criminal: theft, fraud, deceit and breach of trust. In politics, they are admirably summed up as cynicism and opportunism. This is represented by the huge gap between his perception of his reality and that of the public's".

5.3.2 The ironic extract

There is a lack of awareness that is almost pathetic; a blindness to appearances, irony and symbolism. **The solution he found to the "sense of alienation and remoteness among large sections of the public"** is to sell the Akirov Towers apartment for NIS 26.6 million (earning, within nine years, a profit of NIS 14 million and without having to pay betterment tax) and moving to **"a smaller and less costly" apartment in Assouta Towers, which was purchased for NIS 8 million [=what Barak considers relatively small and costly, but is beyond the reach of the alienated public.]**. Here is the tragedy of a man trying to minimize alienation and remoteness while, in effect, only increasing them.

5.3.3 Cues for irony

Echoic mention: The description '"sense of alienation and remoteness among large sections of the public"' [double quotes in the source text] echoically mentions what Barak calls "alienation", but could be heard as a euphemism for sheer disdain. In addition, the description **'"a smaller and less costly" apartment in Assouta Tower'** [double quotes in the source text] echoically mentions what Barak considers relatively small and less costly, but is beyond the reach of the alienated public.

5.3.4 Readers' follow-ups

Among the rich array of 116 readers commenting on this op-ed, three ironically comment on the implicatum (category C1) of the description '"a smaller and less costly" apartment'. In (10) below, the assertion echoes Barak's distorted standards and blatantly flouts the maxim of truth:

(10) Barak **descended to the people**, **200 m^2 of modesty** which cost only 8 million and a **tiny profit** of 14 millions.

Example (11) provides the interpreter with two instances of echoic mention:

(11) Barak: No one love our country as much as I do, no one is as responsible as I am. And that's the main thing. And you? What did you do for country? [sic., literal translation of an error in Hebrew]

The opening assertion ("no one…thing") echoes Barak's presumed fake reasoning. The question echoes a widely ridiculed question ("What did you do for country?"), pronounced by a former political figure known for his opportunism and his bad Hebrew. The analogy between him and Barak is particularly offensive for the latter.

6 Conclusion

The analysis of follow-ups to ironic op-eds along the lines proposed here has been found to be an intriguing way to gain important insights into the nature of irony, its interpretation, its evaluation and the interactional paths it opens. The size of the data does not allow yet for conclusions. Still, the analysis suggests that the following should be further looked into:

(a) Meta-comments show that readers tend to be aware of **shifts in keying** within the text.

(b) Meta comments show that the use of irony is evaluated as **undesirable and inefficient**. This might support previous findings which indicate that in the Israeli culture, off-record indirectness is evaluated as less polite then conventional directness (in the context of requests see Blum-Kulka, 1987; Blum-Kulka and House, 1989), possibly because complex interpretation process is associated with threat to negative face (Blum-Kulka 1987), or because preference for directness and its association with sincerity and solidarity have (Katriel 1986).

(c) At the same time, ironic op-eds trigger a large variety of ironic responses. This finding is of interest not only to the study of ironic follow-ups, but also to the study of follow-ups in general. It might be interesting to see under what circumstances reciprocal pairs, such as 'speaker's irony-hearer's irony', are called for. The possibility that this **reciprocity** may be accounted for in terms of an intellectual game might be partly supported by the identification of irony as "sophistication" in readers' meta-comments. It may also be

connected to previous findings indicating that reciprocity in challenge strategies is characteristic of political media talk (TV interviews) in Israeli culture. Would ironic reciprocity in readers' comments be also called for in Czech, for example, where a tendency for reciprocal challenge has be noted too (Cmejrkova 2003)?

(d) A cross-cultural study of follow-ups to irony in various genres will provide insights into the culture specificity of irony reception and evaluation, and of the nature of ironic follow-ups.

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