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REVIEWS

THE LAW REVIEW PAPER BETWEEN THE KINGDOM OF THE LAW AND THE REALMS OF ACADEMIA: A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Najla Fki

Abstract

Legal discourse has long been classified among those genres that defy generic changes the most (Gocić 2012). Recently, however, hybrid legal genres have been challenging this generic stability by imposing their own norms to coin a novel kind of 'legal culture' (Goźdź-Roszkowski 2011: 11). The law review article is a case in point for it combines both legal and academic standards of writing which make it "far richer in intertextuality and interdiscursivity" (Bhatia 2006: 6) than the traditional set of legal genres. This generic subversion can be traced in the lexico-grammatical choices made by the authors to turn their papers into influential legal sources rather than mere descriptions of the law. In this context, this study aspires to scrutinize the use of adverbial clauses as one specific lexico-grammatical choice in a corpus of 44 accredited law review papers with the aim of showing how this hybrid genre strives to evolve beyond the stagnation of what is termed 'language of the law'. Specifically, a Systemic Functional Linguistics analysis of the semantic, structural and thematic uses of these structures is conducted to demonstrate how the hybridity of contexts in a single genre can make for unprecedented generic breaches. The quantitative and qualitative analyses revealed an uneven distribution of adverbial patterns in favor of non-finite purpose and finite condition, concession and reason clauses. Additionally, the positional distribution of these patterns is manipulated whenever the need arises to hedge claims as a form of allegiance to the communal demands of the law and academia. These choices are found to comply with the authors' needs to balance both legal and academic rituals of writing while observing at the same time their personal needs to be highly acclaimed as legal scholars and to "publish or perish" (Christensen & Oseid 2008: 1).

Keywords

legal genres, generic stability, law review article, adverbial clauses, lexico-grammatical choices

1 Introduction

This study focuses on the recently growing generic instability in legal genres. It explores, in particular, the law review paper as an instance of alteration of the traditionally long-established legal norms. The bulk of studies on legal discourse have centered on the linguistic features that set legal genres apart as unique texts.

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Yet, a growing body of research is calling for a more focused view where genre is taken as a window on "the ways academic, professional and institutional contexts of legal discourse are accounted for by community and discipline-specific practices … influenced by cultural and other features" (Tessuto 2012: 2). Such a shift has been deemed necessary to keep up with the transformations brought by constantly evolving legal genres which are described as inter-textual and hybrid. To approach these genres, Tessuto (2012) argues that one needs to consider the variable that "the law sets in an increasingly globalized world" (ibid.: 3), which makes for dynamic rather than static legal genres.

One very striking instance of dynamism in legal discourse is manifested in academic law, especially the genre of law reviews. The latter displays colonization practices imported from the domain of academia. In other words, the inter-discursivity of law reviews commands the writers to conform "their research project … to a collaborative rather than obsequious, fawning knowledge engagement" (Tessuto 2012: 7) if they wish to publish their papers. "Interdisciplinary writers" are therefore left with the hard mission of reconstruing and reshaping the practices and values from both academic and legal settings in a way that complies with the "local purposes of [their] own culture framework" (Tessuto 2012: 3). Accordingly, this paper zooms in on this overlap of academic and professional domains to construe knowledge about the law in the context of a hybrid culture. For this purpose, the law review article – a genre so long neglected in academic and legal studies – is examined for its standardization and variation in relation to the existing legal tradition. The features of stability or variability are traced in the use of adverbial clauses as one type of lexico-grammatical choice made by legal drafters to accommodate themselves in the academic and professional domains of knowledge.

2 The law review paper

This section provides an overview of the genre of law review from multiple perspectives. It deals first with the different participants involved in its construction, its communicative purpose, and its rhetorical structure. Then, the different features that define law reviews as hybrid genres are outlined.

2.1 Nature and structure

Law Review papers are scholarly articles published in Law Reviews which are also called Law Journals, hence the exchangeable labels 'academic legal articles' and 'law review papers' (Volokh 2010: 230). It should be noted, at this point, that law review articles are often used as an umbrella term to refer to other types of academic legal writing (Lebovits 2006). Examples of these include case

notes, review essays, comments and discussions (Delgado 1986). This study, however, focuses exclusively on what Delgado (ibid.: 446) describes as the 'typical' article type which combines "both adversarial and objective elements" (Tepper 2008: 107) to analyze doctrines or laws that need to be revisited. This dual function further accentuates the hybridity of law review articles, which in turn warrants their selection as target genres for analysis in this study.

Apart from their hybridity, what is peculiar about law review papers is that their process of production and publication is different from "the standards of the academy" in other disciplines as noted by Volokh (2010: 230). First, law reviews accept submissions mostly from law professors, judges and other legal professionals who are considered "leading authorities" (Tepper 2008: 30). Law students, on the other hand, are invited to submit Case Notes and Comments rather than Articles as part of their credentials to become editors in law journals. Indeed, the second peculiarity of law reviews stems from their exceptional editing process which is done by law school students. The latter not only "proofread, revise, and cite-check … but also select which articles are published" (Volokh 2010: 230). This empowerment of students as editors and ultimately "gatekeepers" of legal scholarship is often described as "a distinctive feature of the legal academy" (Christensen & Oseid 2008: 1).

One more relevant particularity in law reviews is the way they are constructed which differs from standardized academic articles in other domains of knowledge (Breeze 2009). As a matter of fact, unlike the fixed IMRD structure typical of Research Articles (Swales 2004), legal academic papers are characterized by a "varying rhetorical organization" (Tessuto 2012: 12). The construal and drafting of an academic legal paper is, therefore, heavily dependent on the topic discussed and the way the writer sets out to build arguments to analyze the debated issue. Rather, more focus is put on the writing style, language and communicative purpose of the papers, which should be in conformity with the legal and academic norms as clarified in the following section.

2.2 Generic features of hybridity

Being produced in two different institutional settings – the law and academia – law review texts carry the imprints of distinct discourse communities whose members hold different cultural values (Breeze 2011). Thus, while drafting their papers, the writers need to respond to those community-specific commands which mirror "different conceptualizations of the world" (Orts Llopis 2009: 2). Indeed, to be appreciated and highly valued by each community, the articles produced should be influential both legally and academically. For this, "the discourses of university lawyers" are expected "to be woven between

the abstruse, archaic, technical language of the law, on the one hand, and the performances of adversarial or inquisitorial justice and positivist inquiry on the other" (Breeze 2009: 24). In other words, contradictory features of objectivity, rigor, authority, persuasiveness and argumentation need to blend smoothly to produce legal academic documents that are at the same time simple and complex, personal and impersonal and informative and argumentative. These features are explained more in the next section.

2.2.1 Archaism vs. simplicity

In most of the literature about academic legal writing (cf. Tepper 2008, Volokh 2010, Osbeck 2012, Kimble 2013), law texts drafted by academics are described as clear, precise and simple. Ironically, however, this entails the use of archaic language – termed 'legalese' – to capture the "appropriate legal scope of application of a statement or rule" (Candlin et al. 2002: 304). It should be noted in this regard that calls to reform 'legalese' and make it "more accessible to lay people" (Gadbin-George 2010: 41) have been voiced within the Plain Language Movement over the past 50 years. Proponents of Plain English suggested alternative techniques to maintain the clarity of the message such as the logical presentation of information in discourse (Lebovits 2006: 51). This technique seems to be very useful in legal texts with "didactic purposes" such as law reviews, which have shown more zealousness to respond to change compared to other legal genres (Williams 2011: 149).

Yet, notwithstanding the effectiveness of Plain English, legal academic texts must not be over-simplified in order not to undermine the authority and comprehensiveness of the law. As Bradford (1994) argues, loading the law review paper with "complex, jargon-filled prose shows the editor that you are a thoughtful, well-informed expert" (ibid.: 19). Opting out of legalese might lower the quality of the paper in terms of legal content since the editors are likely to question the writers' mastery of the basics of legal analysis.

2.2.2 Personality vs. impersonality

Aside from carrying hybrid stylistic and linguistic features, law review papers amalgamate dual functional and communicative purposes. In fact, originally and historically, law reviews came into existence primarily to serve only "educational purposes as they inform about issues of import as well as provide an efficient means of communication and a forum for discussion on those issues" (Vass 2004: 130). On the cline of legal genres, academic legal articles are often classified under 'descriptive', 'expository' and 'pedagogic' documents which occupy a mid-position between purely prescriptive genres (legislation)

and purely persuasive ones (briefs) (cf. Tiersma 1999, Bhatia 2006, Lisina 2013). This position allows them to be rich inter-textually as they draw on features from genres at both extremes of the cline. Their communicative purpose, thus, transcends informativity to reach argumentativeness.

Indeed, it has been attested through the years that law review papers gained considerable authority among the judiciary by forming a powerful 'scholarly tradition' which is viewed as "an effective instrument in curbing a willful jurist's attempt to impose personal views on the jurisprudence" (Ripple 2000: 433). It is, thus, thanks to their ability to persuade by criticizing the current state of affairs that law reviews climbed the ladder quickly from purely pedagogical tools relevant only in academic and educational contexts to prestigious legal sources cited willingly by jurists (Greenwood 2008).

All in all, for a law review paper to be craftily drafted and legally effective, it has to incorporate adversarial elements in addition to the objective and informative ones (Tepper 2008). The dual functionality of law reviews dictates that their authors "show the pros and cons of a law [and] suggest solutions to debated problems" while at the same time aiming "to learn, to teach, and to enrich their résumé" (Lebovits 2006: 64). In this vein, Vass (2004) warns of the "imminently predictive" scope of law review articles because they mostly engage in evaluating court decisions and predicting "their likely impact on future court cases, on public policy, and on society in general" (ibid.: 130). Such augury clashes severely with the determinacy and rigorousness of the law, and so it might discourage legal professionals from taking the paper as a reliable source of keeping abreast of new developments in legal theory.

What many authors do to avoid such skepticism and thwart any negative reactions is trying to balance the different yet complementary purposes of description and argumentation by depersonalizing their lexico-grammatical choices (Vass 2004: 138). In this study, it will be shown how both personalization and depersonalization are maintained through the use of adverbial clauses.

3 Lexico-grammatical features: Adverbial clauses

In most legal genres, though legal language is basically argumentative, "the linguistic means chosen might differ from what is usually understood as persuasive communication" and "persuasive elements should be blended with prescriptive expressions" (Salmi-Tolonen 2005: 60). In other words, the authors' linguistic choices should indicate the argumentativeness of the legal text while maintaining its authorial prescriptive nature. Accordingly, rather than focusing exclusively on typical interpersonal markers of persuasion in legal texts such as hedges and boosters (Hyland 2004), personal pronouns (Aull & Lancaster 2014)

and attitude markers (Hyland 2008), the present study attempts to investigate how the dialogical features of persuasion and informativity in law reviews can be embedded in lexico-grammatical tools which can function dually as personal and impersonal, hence the choice of adverbial clauses.

Indeed, as Haegeman (2004: 61) argues, "though they may share some properties", adverbial clauses can be realized in distinct types which bear different functions, making them functionally rich. Semantically speaking, adverbial clauses offer eight different meanings to express the various relations of time, place, manner, reason, purpose, result, condition and concession (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Each semantic relation can be further realized by finite or non-finite adverbial forms, thus widening the set of options available to the writers depending on the degree of explicitness they would like to vest into their messages (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Aside from this interconnectedness in terms of grammatical and semantic choices, there is a dialogic link between these two angles and the textual options provided by adverbial clauses. Thanks to their ability to move freely between thematic (initial) and rhematic (medial and final) positions within the sentence, adverbial clauses help construe different sequences in discourse, which serves the cohesive nature of academic and argumentative genres (Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2003).

In this study, it will be shown how these different meanings, forms and positions that adverbial clauses can carry are invested to express the two-fold generic communicative needs of law review papers. In order to be able to understand the authors' choices in relation to these three dimensions, a sample of texts in which these choices are made is analyzed.

4 Corpus and analytic tools

This study follows a corpus-based methodology in order to check how much the creators of law review papers deviate from or comply with the rituals of legal writing. For this purpose, a total of 44 law review articles published in 2012 and totaling 502,260 words were sampled. To avoid mixing up different types of law review writings (see Section 2), only publications which feature under the heading "Articles" in the corpus journals were selected. The average length of the sampled texts is 11,155 words, ranging from 3,711 to 25,200 words per text. This remarkable difference in terms of number of words is due to the different journal policies and submission requirements of minimum and maximum word length.

Variation in terms of content, topics dealt with and journals chosen was also observed while sampling the corpus of papers so that validity and generalization could be ensured at a later stage. For the sake of representativeness, therefore, this study analyzes articles which revolve around distinct legal issues within

international law such as Human Rights, Immigration, Environmental Law, Terrorism and Nuclear Weapons. To extract these articles, eight different International Law Journals and Reviews are browsed which are *the American University International Law Review, Berkeley Journal of International Law, Eurory International Law Review, the European Journal of International Law, the Journal of International Law and Policy, Melbourne Journal of International Law, Pace International Law Review and Harvard International Law Review*. All of these journals are student-run, as in the tradition of law reviews described in 2.1 above, and they undergo the peer-reviewing process. These credentials are likely to ensure that the sampled articles have the same weight and importance.

Two phases of analysis were conducted to handle the data. The first one consists of the quantification of the different instances of adverbial clauses employed in the sampled papers. Automatic rather than manual quantitative tools were used to analyze the texts. Specifically, the UAM CorpusTool software (O'Donnell 2008) was used to extract and classify adverbial constructions into the three different realizations they can take. To do this, a scheme (see Figure 1) encompassing the different options of adverbial patterns was developed by the researcher relying on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) classification.

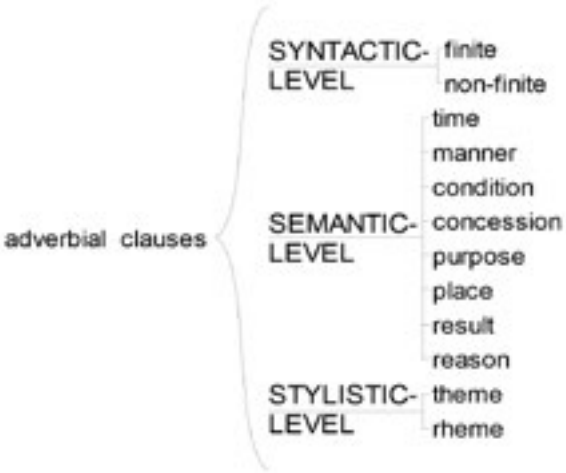

Figure 1: Annotation scheme of adverbial clauses (based on Halliday & Matthiessen 2014)

In the second phase, a qualitative analysis of the most frequent realizations of adverbial clauses was carried out to check if these frequencies are the imprints of legal or academic camps of knowledge.

5 Analysis and results

This section deals at first with the overall frequency of adverbial clauses in the analyzed papers. It then turns to the analysis of the syntactic, semantic and thematic distributions of the different adverbial patterns found in the corpus.

5.1 Frequency of adverbial clauses in law reviews

After the annotation process, the results related to the overall frequency of adverbial clauses in the totality of the analyzed law review papers are displayed in Table 1 together with comparable figures from the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE) Corpus (Biber et al. 2002).

Adverbial Clauses	Law Review Articles	LGSWE Corpus
Number of clauses	4,795	5,000
Number of words	53,550	67,000
Percentage in relation to number of words	11%	12%

Table 1: Frequency of adverbial clauses in law reviews and LGSWE corpus

In order to judge whether the frequency counts of adverbial clauses are significant in the corpus under analysis, the percentages in Table 1 are compared with previous research from the LGSWE large-scale corpus by Biber et al. (2002). Apart from revealing that the use of adverbial clauses has a global probability as it is frequent in most written registers, Biber et al. (2002: 357) conclude that these structures "are actually slightly more common … in academic prose". The academic genre under analysis is no exception as Table 1 reveals hardly any discrepancy in the occurrence of clausal adverbials in comparison to other academic genres.

Indeed, statistically speaking, the percentage of adverbial clauses identified in the analyzed sample of law reviews (11%) is almost identical to the one found in the LGSWE corpus (12%), signaling that the academic camp plays a significant role in triggering the lexico-grammatical choices in law review papers. However, it is equally proven (cf. Febrero 2003, Lehto 2012, Maci 2012) that these choices also abound in other legal genres, which renders adverbial clauses valuable to both academic and professional institutions. To understand the frequency of these structures in law reviews, a deeper layer of analysis of their different distributions is carried out in the second step of inquiry.

5.2 Distribution of adverbial patterns in law reviews

The combination of form and meaning yields 16 different patterns of adverbial clauses. The analysis reveals that they are unevenly distributed in the corpus as shown in Figure 2.

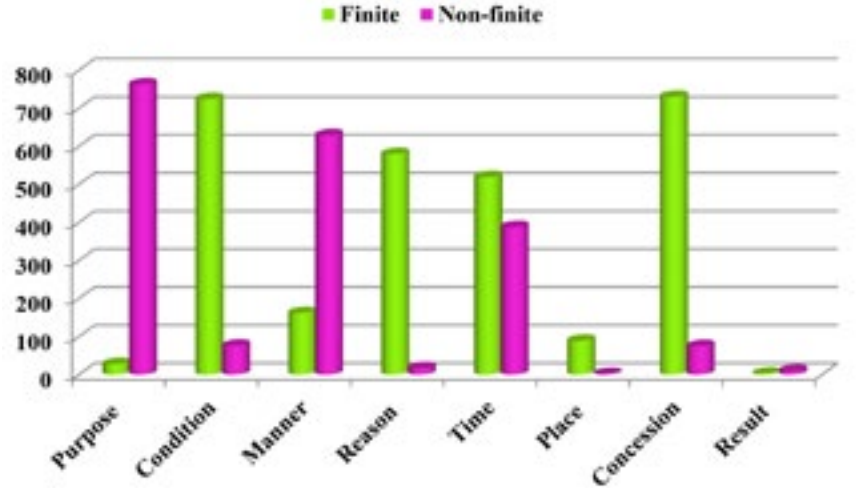

Figure 2: Structural/semantic distribution of adverbial clauses

The drafters of law review papers, as Figure 2 clarifies, seem to prefer encoding circumstantial material in particular structural and semantic types. Specifically, three main categories of clausal adverbial patterns can be identified based on the reported occurrences. The first category comprises non-finite purpose clauses which occupy the first position in terms of frequency (15.91%) together with finite concession (15.22%) and condition (15.09%) clauses which rank second and third respectively. As for the second category, it includes patterns which show medial frequencies such as non-finite manner (13%) and finite reason (12%) and time (10%) clauses. The least frequent realizations of adverbial clauses – result and place – form the third category with very low scores that do not surpass two per cent.

When compared to previous research on legal genres, these results display both divergences and convergences. For example, "the expression of a conditional relationship plays an important role in legal language" (Visconti 2000: 1) and so its abundance in the analyzed corpus is expected. On the other hand, other relations such as reason are reported to be scarce in legal professional texts which hold a

"certain prestige in society, so that the reasons for enacting laws do not have to be explained" (Lehto 2012: 14). When expressing causality is needed, Claridge and Walker (2018: 36) note that the legal language resorts to "condition-consequence rather than reason-consequence relationships". One more striking finding in this study relates to the commonness of concession clauses which almost tie with purpose clauses at the top of the ranking. Concession clauses have been reported to be rare in legal discourse (Wiredu 2016), the exceptions being judicial texts where argumentation is needed to close a case (cf. Szczyrbak 2009, Balgos 2017). This suggests that the interpersonal dimension in academic legal articles is what triggers their dominance in the analyzed legal genre.

Those preliminary findings seem to be in congruence with the hypothesis that both legal and academic values hold competing positions in the expression of thought within law review papers. To find more bases for this claim, each of the frequently used adverbial patterns is further analyzed qualitatively, taking the third textual dimension into account.

5.2.1 Non-finite purpose clauses

For an accurate understanding of the way non-finite purpose clauses function in law review papers, their positional distribution is counted and displayed in Figure 3.

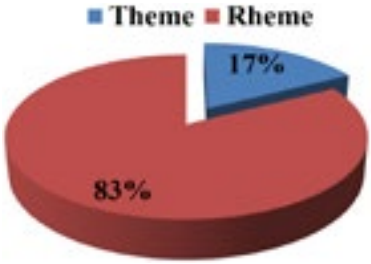

Figure 3: Positional distribution of non-finite purpose clauses

According to Figure 3, law review papers are abound with rhematic non-finite purposes, which testifies to their functional potential in building discourse in this legal text type. A closer look at their different uses in the analyzed corpus reveals that they function mostly to report the law as precisely and clearly as possible like in Examples (1) and (2):

(1) *State Parties would "take firm and stern measures* ***to combat transnational crime such as drug trafficking and trafficking of women and children, as well as other transnational crime.****"*

(2) *Article 24(2)(f) urges states parties to take appropriate measures* ***to "develop preventative health care, guidance for parents and family planning education and services.****"*

In the aforementioned examples, the non-finite purpose clauses follow the main clauses to provide additional details about the actions that the "states parties" need to undertake. Such discursive function resonates with Thompson's (1985) description of final purpose clauses as playing the "local role of stating the purpose for which the action named in the immediately preceding clause is performed" (ibid.: 55). Indeed, such uses occur mainly in rhematic position so that they can explain and clarify 'why' the preceding rule or action is supposed to be observed or undertaken. It is noteworthy, however, that most of the instances of rhematic purpose clauses detected in the corpus come in quotations, suggesting that the authors might be trying to remain faithful to the exact wording found in the official legal documents the paper revolves around. In other words, the pressure of dealing with binding legal matters renders the process of law transmission too delicate to the point of copying other legal texts' style, hence the inter-discursivity of law reviews.

The use of non-finite purpose clauses then seems to be an instance of compliance with the determinate, precise, authoritative and rigorous nature of the law which cannot be bypassed by the authors. At the same time, the final positioning of purpose clauses is a discourse-pragmatic strategy which also serves argumentative ends. In fact, even in cases when there is no direct citation from prescriptive texts, law review authors use their own wording to communicate the legal dictates but still keep the same adverbial structure which is backed by evidence from the exact article where it originally occurs as in Example (3).

(3) *Article 9(1) incorporates limits set forth in the 1996 Protocol to the Convention on the Limitation of Liability for Maritime Claims* ***in order to harmonize the Stockholm Annex with existing liability regimes****.*

Such prudence and minuteness in informing about the law is not only the product of adhering to the norms of legal writing but can also be a reflection of the knowledge-making process typical of academic interactions. The latter are based on a dual negotiation of meaning where "readers bring certain expectations of exactitude to a text and writers attempt to meet these" (Hyland 2004: 92). To explain more, for their legal statements to be accepted as true by the academic

community, the authors of law reviews attempt to "respond to [their] potential negatability" (ibid.: 13) through the rhetorical choice of final non-finite purpose clauses. This way, they are likely to communicate the legal content as factual information based on attested binding sources rather than on overstatements or mere claims which might be clouded by their own judgment.

It seems, following the investigation of postponed adverbial purpose clauses, that the high frequency of these constructions in law reviews is motivated by their double-functional status as carriers of legal as well as academic communicative purposes. Yet, used in this fashion, this adverbial pattern does not allow the authors to directly engage with the audience nor advance any claims, which is the second major communicative goal that academic papers need to accomplish. For the dual perspective in academic interactions to be observed, then, this informative and objective view needs to be filled out with an "interpersonal dimension" which is realized through the use of finite concession clauses (Hyland 2004: 15).

5.2.2 Finite concession clauses

The sampled corpus of academic legal articles is larded with finite concession clauses. These are also unevenly distributed stylistically just like their purpose counterparts as shown in Figure 4.

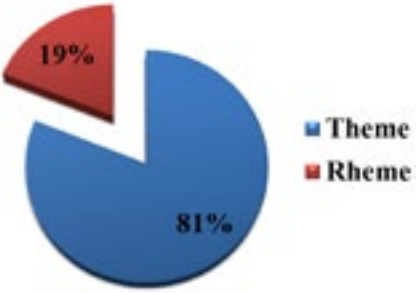

Figure 4: Positional distribution of finite concession clauses

Unlike the relation of purpose, the meaning of concession is exploited to the full when it is realized in the initial rather than the final position. Typically described as "a rhetorical figure in argumentation … conceding the adversary's point in order to strengthen one's position" (Szczyrbak 2009: 128), the concession clause represents a perfect fit to argumentative texts like law reviews. However, unlike previous studies where concession clauses are found to be either more common in final position (Biber et al. 1999) or only slightly

more frequent in initial position (Sellami-Baklouti 2014), these structures are remarkably more abundant (more than 80%) in the initial slot in the investigated legal genre. Deviating from the default choice in terms of textual organization might be regarded as an additional pragmatic strategy that further widens the options of argumentation in law review papers. Indeed, most of the thematized clauses "serve to set-up a local context in the discourse" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 551) in light of which the main clause can be interpreted as illustrated by these excerpts:

(4) *As a result,* ***while Articles 34 and 48 of the ITU can help to develop felony statutes to deal with state-sponsored IW perpetrators****, they offer limited guidance in crafting a comprehensive legal framework to deal with state-sponsored cyber attacks.*

(5) ***Although the states' obligations under the ILO Convention 169 are potentially farreaching****, scholars have questioned the effectiveness of the Convention because only a small number of states have ratified it.*

These uses and the like in the corpus represent a cunning assessment of existing material. It is noticeable that all of the illustrative concessions relate to attested binding legal documents that the authors are attempting to criticize or denounce. Yet, viewing how these legal texts are highly regarded as powerful sources in the advancement of legal dictates, the academic authors seem to show enough cleverness to refrain from jumping to direct overruling while assessing their content. Rather, they acknowledge at first the worth and advantageous side of these international texts so that the alternatives they will propose later in their paper come as subsidiary propositions to fill a gap rather than definitive substitutions to defective laws.

Likewise, the fronted agnates of concession clauses are equally efficient when the authors are criticizing other colleagues' or researchers' claims. Contrary to the aforementioned uses, however, the clauses in Examples (6) and (7) help switch the writers' standpoint towards the beginning of the discourse. By so doing, the authors attempt to reorient the discourse towards specific information that they wish to foreground (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 551).

(6) ***Although … a child's circumstances depend on the circumstance of its procreation****, subject matter experts … do not seem to have considered whether a state party might partially fulfill its obligations.*

(7) ***While the identity and interests of nonstate actors as independent of the state are central****, the theory nonetheless focuses on getting states … to act in a certain way.*

Less coyness, humility and wariness in evaluation is detected in these extracts, pointing to the difference between the assessed entities. In fact, the writers here are dealing with previous literature on the currently discussed issue in the paper. This literature is presented by peer experts in the field whose advanced claims can be subjected to "this kind of feedback and … the possibility of permissible alternative readings" (Hyland 2004: 93) according to the rules of the academic community. Using concession clauses in this fashion can allow the authors to benefit from their original function of emphasizing "information which supports the position of a speaker/writer on the topic at hand and, simultaneously [extenuating] the importance of conflicting information which may not support his/her position" (Wiechmann & Kerz 2013: 3).

5.2.3 Finite condition clauses

While not far from non-finite purpose and finite concession clauses in terms of frequency, finite condition clauses show a different theme-rheme sequence from them.

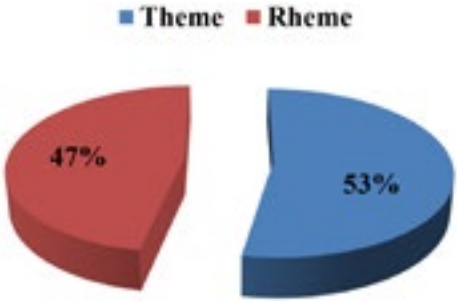

Figure 5: Positional distribution of finite condition clauses

Rather than opting for a specific textual ordering, condition clauses show more balance between thematic and rhematic conditional uses of adverbial clauses. Indeed, whereas the theme position is more favored for it is universally accepted to be the unmarked option (cf. Ford & Thompson 1986, Lavid 1998, Lee 2001), the rheme position occupies a decent percentage that is lower only by a six per cent margin. The reason why the distribution is almost equal can be attributed to the efficiency of clausal conditionals in realizing both legal and academic communicative ends once their positioning changes.

Starting with the rhematic conditions, their analysis reveals that they sustain the clarificatory function conveyed by non-finite purpose clauses by virtue

of introducing "a limitation ('restriction') on the general validity of the main clause" (Visconti 2000: 2).

(8) *According to the Restatement (Third) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States, an international agreement entered into by the United States will not be selfexecuting: (a)* ***if the agreement manifests an intention that it shall not become effective****; (b)* ***if the Senate in giving consent to a treaty … requires implementation legislation;*** *(c)* ***if implementation legislation is constitutionally required****.*

The enumeration of the conditions in Example (8) is meant to explain and outline in detail the circumstances under which the legal rule stated in the main clause is valid. In other words, the process of reporting in law review papers is accompanied with an emulative stylistic technique that mimics the way laws are stipulated in legislative texts so that the authors can safely evaluate or criticize what has been reported faithfully.

Contrary to those uses are the thematic ones which rather "re-orient the development" towards a new "point of departure for the dominant clause" (Halliday & Mattiessen 2014: 551), thus making room to accommodate the authors' stance about the law after transmitting it successfully.

(9) *The two-step approach directs courts to address domestic treaty implementation issues by abandoning ...* ***If one views self-execution doctrine through the lens of the two-step approach****, then a broad range of constitutional treaty issues comes into sharper focus.*

The authors in Example (9) seem to be leading the readers gradually to a logical conclusion which justifies their adoption of a particular approach in their analysis of the issue. The condition clause comes as old information that is built on previous discourse to prepare the readers to receive the new information which holds the writers' judgment. The latter is argumentatively well-backed by accumulated evidence from shared background knowledge with the receivers and so it is presented as a "smooth transition of information flow" (Lee 2001: 484) and a "starting point" of reference (Downing 2015: 218). Fronting condition clauses, thus, represents the authors' ticket towards framing "their statements in ways that establish rapport with their audience and establish a degree of deference to the understandings of the community" (Hyland 2004: 93).

5.2.4 Non-finite manner clauses

The statistics pane in the UAM CorpusTool shows that there is a disproportion in the thematic ordering of non-finite manner clauses in favor of the rhematic spot.

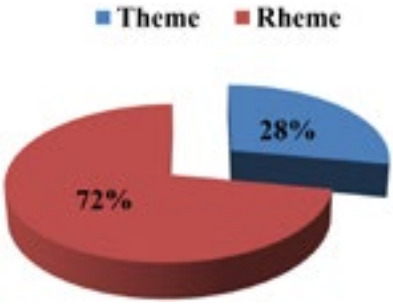

Figure 6: Positional distribution of non-finite manner clauses

Most of the postponed uses of manner clauses point to their argumentative role either in justifying the authors' claims (10) or in assessing other legal material (11):

(10) *... a compromise position may be found* ***by examining the Common Heritage of Mankind ("CHM") principle****.*

(11) *... the regime breaches those same aspects ..., principally* ***by failing to provide for an effective mechanism of review****.*

When rhematized, the non-finite manner clause in Example (10) helps the writers justify their choices in terms of discourse development. It is a way of engaging with the readers to argue for the meritoriousness of their approach in dealing with the discussed issue. Indeed, by explaining why a specific section should be included in the paper, the authors seem to show respect to the discourse community as their arguments are developed following a logical progression of thought and a pre-determined plan rather than a whimsical attitude. This reader-oriented concern is further displayed in Example (11) where the manner clause is used as a justificatory tool too. As previously noted in Section 2.2.2, law review papers are typically premonitory and so they should circumvent negative response to their prognosticative statements. To do so, the authors situate their evaluation at the beginning of discourse and they follow it with the manner clause which backs it with reasonable justifications.

5.2.5 Finite reason clauses

Not only do clausal finite reasons share the same distribution as manner relations but they also work as justificatory tools like them. As advocated by Halliday and Mattiessen (2014: 675), a causal dependent clause is not "accessible to negotiation; it has to be accepted without argument".

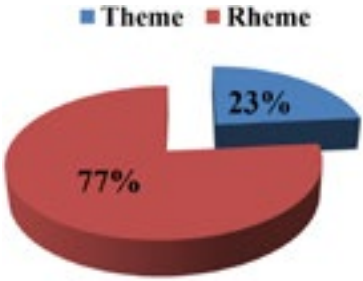

Figure 7: Positional distribution of finite reason clauses

Most of the detected reason clauses in the corpus take the final placement because they are used to substantiate the authors' stance in the matrix clauses.

(12) *All these conclusions are erroneous, anachronistic, and misleading. They are erroneous* ***because they selectively draw on a very limited number of quotes from the case at hand****. They are anachronistic* ***because they rely on a case pre-dating the entrance into force of the Convention Against Torture*** *… The conclusions are misleading because they rest upon a non-applicable definition of international law.*

(13) *This is significant* ***because under customary international law…, universal jurisdiction is permissive, rather than mandatory****.*

Whether demolishing other peers' theories and conclusions Example (12) or boosting their own Example (13), law review drafters seem to be aware that "claim-making is a risky practice because it often contradicts existing literature or challenges the assumptions underlying the research of one's readers" (Hyland 2004: 93). For this reason, they carefully indulge in a direct "prudent rhetorical move" by accumulating reasons to convince the readers that their "statement is based on plausible reasoning rather than certain knowledge" (Hyland 2004: 92). It can be concluded then that the frequency and use of finite reason clauses in academic legal articles are motivated by purely academic purposes rather than legal ones.

5.2.6 Finite time clauses

Just like finite reasons, clausal temporal relations occupy mostly the rheme position as shown in Figure 8. Yet, unlike them, they do not exclusively function as argumentative instruments but rather help sketch an accurate vision of the law in relation to history.

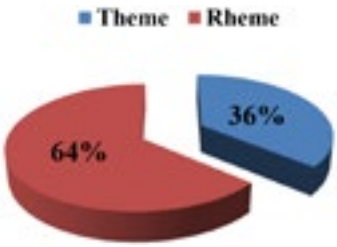

Figure 8: Positional distribution of finite time clauses

The first notable use of post-posed time clauses stresses once again how the writers of law reviews are shackled by the time-honored legal ropes of advancing knowledge about the law. While dealing with how the law has been developed or when it applies, the academic papers include precise dates using definite tenses in time clauses as in these extracts:

(14) *The accused, James Keegstra, was a high school teacher from the early 1970s* ***until he was removed from his job in 1982****.*

(15) *The BWC has unlimited duration and allows withdrawal* ***when a state party "decides that extraordinary events … have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country"****.*

The liability of finite time clauses to frame the actions as past realizations with different nuanced temporal binders (*until*, *when*) makes them perfect instruments to relay historical records of former events and thus report the law accurately and minutely. Furthermore, time clauses are exploited as conditional frames which circumstantiate all the possible situations under which only the law comes into force.

Notwithstanding this zealousness and perseverance in staying faithful to the constraints of knowledge-making in the legal discipline, the second use of time clauses – while not as prevalent as the first one – proves that the norms of the academy are as much esteemed by law review writers.

(16) *Schabas is on extremely shaky ground* ***when he equates "on grounds of" with "hatred of the group"****.*

(17) *Even a small failure rate can be disastrous* ***when one considers that millions of submunitions have been released during various armed conflicts****.*

The temporal clauses in these examples seem to be employed as protective shields against any unfavorable reception of the authors' evaluative claims. The attitudinal pejorative adjectives *shaky* and *disastrous* in the main clauses are purely judgmental. Time clauses, thus, can help attenuate their intensity and bluntness by limiting the temporal frame under which the authors' assessment is true. In other words, the criticism is applied only to a particular aspect of the evaluated entity.

6 Discussion and implications

Following the analysis of the above-discussed uses of adverbial clausal patterns in the corpus of law review papers, it has been shown that the authors' lexico-grammatical choices are "constrained by the nature of what they want to say/write" (Freddi 2013: 58). The 'what' in this case relates to a hybrid register of both legal and academic camps of knowledge. Indeed, these hybrid choices confirm the raised claims addressed in the introduction (see Section 1) which stipulate that hybridity and generic instability in law reviews can be traced in the use of adverbial clauses. Empirically, more than one finding supports this conclusion.

First, quantitatively speaking, the statistics revealed that the top two common types of adverbial clauses are not purely informative (non-finite purpose) nor are they purely argumentative (finite concession). More than that, some other frequently used adverbial patterns such as finite condition clauses prove that law review authors are faithful to the 'statutory language' of the law which helps maintain "an objective and impartial provision of the rules" (Maci 2012: 42). Yet, the use of equally abundant patterns such as finite reason clauses, which are typically avoided in legal texts, suggests that other non-legal concerns such as evaluating legal practices and getting the paper to be published above all else are also of paramount importance in law reviews.

Second, most generic features of hybridity (see Section 2.2) in law reviews have been additionally transmitted through the careful selection of the thematic positioning of adverbial patterns. In fact, the quantitative and qualitative analyses of both thematic and rhematic uses of adverbial clauses indicate that their function varies from informing about the law to criticizing it depending on the authors' communicative needs. This is apparent mainly in keeping the unmarked

rhematic order for non-finite purpose and finite time clauses because it allows for the clear and detailed reporting of the law. Likewise, the postposed realizations of non-finite manner and finite reason clauses are frequent as they help the authors argue for their claims without being overtly pretentious. On the other hand, law review authors reorient the discourse towards the thematic spot with finite concession clauses when they need to be firmly persuasive about their criticisms and advanced claims, which is a feature of academic texts rather than legal ones. The positional shifting from initial to final placement of these adverbial patterns ensures the equal dissemination of both legal and academic cultures.

These findings put in focus the dual functional potential of the totality of clausal adverbials, which has been rarely scrutinized in recent research on academic law. Contrary to the studies which spotlighted the argumentative side of peculiar adverbial relations such as concession clauses (Szczyrbak 2009, Balgos 2017) or focused on other typical interpersonal markers such as evaluative adjectives and adverbs (Breeze 2011), this piece of research has spotted the persuasive angle in adverbial clauses. This paper, thus, builds on Tse and Hyland's (2010: 1880) study which departed from exhausting "word-level features" in academic research to dig deeper into the under-explored "evaluative potential of clause-level resources". This work encourages and opens the door for further research in this area.

Added to the aforementioned theoretical implications, the results of this study may be of significance and interest to academic legal scholars involved in the pedagogic legal tradition. Instead of pressuring law review writers to impress the editors by "challenging established tradition in an outrageous, counterfactual way" (Bradford 1994: 16), teachers in the field of English for Academic Legal Purposes should adjust their practices to boost their students' academic legal skills. The three-dimensional side of adverbial constructions and their functional merits in disseminating academic legal knowledge can be part of the curriculum. Doing so is likely to train current law students as well as future legal professionals to make use of the available linguistic resources to evaluate and draft their papers effectively.

7 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to prove that the notion of generic stability in legal texts is being increasingly challenged by the competing contextual frames under which those texts are produced. It has specifically focused on the genre of law reviews whose hybridity already dismisses any chances of static abiding by the rules of the legal community. The main purpose has been to show how the academic side of this legal genre influences the authors' linguistic choices

in relation to the use of adverbial clauses. The findings have indeed confirmed that reaching the communicative ends of informing about the law on the one hand and evaluating it on the other has been carried out by selecting adverbial realizations which balance the objectivity of the law with the interpersonality of academic discourse. Specifically, it has been revealed that whereas some adverbial relations such as non-finite purpose and finite condition are frequently employed in law reviews to help maintain the basic features of legal writing, other adverbial realizations like concession and reason are equally abundant and they work rather in favor of construing knowledge argumentatively.

Furthermore, the generic restraints from the discipline of law and academia have been noted to cripple to the maximum the authors' endeavors for personal gains. For example, advancing claims and opinions has been found to be always hedged by manipulating the position of adverbial clauses which are rhematized in most of the cases to back the authors' judgments. This finding confirms Bhatia's (1993: 14) assertion that "in order to achieve special effects or private intentions", specialists can make use of the conventions of a particular genre but they "cannot break away from such constraints completely without being noticeably odd" (ibid.). In the studied genre, the legal scholars seem to display a clear awareness of this agreed-upon code, which proves that no matter how tempted they are to flout the social norms of the legal and academic communities, they cannot completely break free from them. For this awareness to be transmitted to law students who are still finding their way through the intricacies of academic legal drafting, further research on exploring the lexico-grammatical features of law review papers is needed.

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PROXIMIZATION STRATEGIES USED IN COVID-19 PREVENTION DISCOURSE: AN STA BASED ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL GUIDELINES ISSUED IN PAKISTAN

Nosheen Irshad

Abstract

This study is an attempt to highlight the proximization strategies used in the Covid-19 preventive guidelines issued by the government of Pakistan. The theory of proximization (Cap 2017) has been taken as a theoretical framework for the present study and the analysis of the selected texts is guided by the spatial-temporal-axiological (STA) model (Cap 2013b). The guidelines issued by the government of Pakistan between March 25 and May 6, 2020, for the prevention of the disease have been selected as a sample for this study as they are expected to carry governmental plans for fighting the disease and the coercive strategies that have been used in order to make people act accordingly. Just like war, the situation of the pandemic spread calls for quick proposal of coercive strategies and their presentation in a way that can get the people on board with the institutional plans. With this in mind, the sample has been descriptively analyzed for the linguistic choices that indicate the spatial, temporal, and axiological proximization of the threat (Covid-19) in the light of proximization theory (Cap 2017). The results show that there are a significant number of linguistic markers that link the disease prevention discourse with the political intervention discourse, justifying the application of proximization theory (Cap 2017) to both of them. The evidence collected during the analysis establishes that the authorities use proximization strategies in disease prevention discourse in order to add to the fear appeal which helps in soliciting unconditional and quick legitimization of the proposed plan of action against the spreading disease.

Keywords

coronavirus outbreak, Covid-19 prevention discourse, legitimization, proximization theory, STA model

1 Introduction

The extent to which rulers and government officials are able to use coercion in order to develop political legitimacy, is of utmost importance for the democratic regimes to function stably and successfully. Political legitimacy is achieved when people recognize and accept the cogency of the policies and decisions made by their rulers (Aragón 2008). Consequently, the government which achieves a significant level of political legitimacy is able to deal effectively with periods of crisis. However, in today's world, where heterogeneous groups of people are governed under one political system, achieving unanimous agreement

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of the masses over any issue is not an easy task. Thus, in order to legitimize their choice of certain policies and actions, government makes use of certain coercive strategies, one of the most important of these is the appropriate use of language. Bozhenkova and Bozhenkova (2019), discussing the policy making and implementation, stress the same by saying that although a political domain includes a lot of phenomena such as political actors, institutions, political culture, techniques of political activity etc., "the policy can be carried out only in the process of language interaction, the task of which is to create a certain picture of the world in the society" (ibid.: 120).

Legitimization generally includes the discursive construction, justification, and institutionalization of particular institutional beliefs, orders and plans of action (Fairclough 2003, van Leeuwen 2007, van Dijk 2008). As has been noted by many scholars (Reyes 2011, Reza Abdi 2018), legitimization is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which carries both conceptual and linguistic features. This multi-faceted nature of legitimization has resulted in the concept to be analyzed and discussed within a number of disciplines and fields; however, the core of these analyses is the link between legitimizing arguments and proximization. From a linguistic point of view, there is either a direct or indirect link between legitimization discourse and the proximization effect produced with the use of linguistic markers. This link, as argued by Cap (2013a), whether direct or indirect, can be found intrinsically embedded in the relevant discourse and can be scrutinized through the analysis of lexico-grammatical patterns used in the discourse that enforce proximization. Previous research carried out in this area has mainly focused on the representation and verbalization of the concept of power in political discourse (Bilyalova et al. 2019). This study, however, aims to take a step forward and explicate the implicit legitimization strategies underlying a non-political domain of discourse, i.e. healthcare or disease-preventive discourse.

Legitimizing arguments are those arguments that are used in political and (sometimes) non-political discourse in order to rationalize the policies and rules made by the governing bodies and to create a sense of "moral duty" among the people, which makes them place the collectively binding decisions over their personal preferences (Scharpf 1998). The use of such legitimizing arguments is most common during the times of any national or global crisis. One such recent example of a global crisis which is facing the world, and for which different governing bodies in different states had to quickly plan and implement rules and strategies, is the spread of the pandemic through the virus Covid-19. It was needed for the governmental/institutional bodies all around the world to not only present effective guidelines for the masses to deal with such a disastrous

situation, but also to present a legitimizing argument that construes the virus as a real enemy and the designed policies and rules as the most effective possible way out of the situation.

When Covid-19 hit Pakistan, the government had to introduce extreme preventive measures in order to ensure the safety of the masses. The guidelines for the awareness and precautions regarding the issue became a major part of the public discourse produced during the time. Here, the term public discourse is used in the sense described by Piotr Cap (2017: 1), i.e. "communicated issues of public culture and public concern that affect individuals and groups in a given civilization". This discourse was spread through all types of media, including print, electronic, digital and social media. It was not unusual, though unfortunate, that this discourse of awareness and prevention was countered by multiple other discourses throughout the world, but more frequently in developing countries like Pakistan (Noreen et al. 2020). In particular, with the mysterious and novel nature of the virus that took the world of medical sciences aback, many people took the liberty of presenting and spreading false news and claims regarding the pandemic, particularly over social media, which got spread too quickly and created some misconceptions about the pandemic in the minds of the general public. Although the print and electronic media throughout the world, including Pakistan, has been observed to be cautious of spreading the fake news and disseminating only the information from reliable resources, given the opportunity to speak freely and share your opinion with a huge number of audience over social media, many people generated multiple parallel discourses which made it difficult for the governmental bodies to contain the virus spread among the masses (Karanicolas 2021). These countering discourses include discourses presenting the disease as God's punishment, a conspiracy, or biological warfare (Mir 2020), which hindered the legitimization of the governmental policies by the masses. This article focuses on the use of linguistic coercive strategies in the official guidelines regarding prevention from the virus, disseminated as a public discourse, through digital and print media.

Cap (2017) notes the strategic nature of public discourse which makes it possible to observe the systematic use of lexico-grammatical elements in favor of the interests of the institutional or governmental bodies. It is thus aimed at producing a shared vision against subjective preferences, which helps develop a shared perception of the current reality and its future developments (Habermas 1981, as quoted in Cap 2017). Legitimization achieved through public discourse establishes the credibility of the institute and its right to be obeyed through the use of language (Chilton 2004). Thus, legitimization can serve as 'a bad means

to a bad end', such as in case of legitimization of war, or as 'a good means to a good end', such as the legitimization of healthcare discourse (Hartman 2002).

Focusing on the above-described concepts of public discourse and legitimization, this study aims to shed light on the linguistic strategies of spatial, temporal, and axiological proximization that are used in the officially published discourse on the preventive measures regarding Covid-19 by the Ministry of National Health Services in Pakistan. The aim is to highlight the linguistic patterns and structures that helped present the virus as a common enemy to both the institutes and the masses. The study highlights the threat-based linguistic strategies that have been used for the proximization of the danger posed by the virus and for the legitimization of the proposed preventive guidelines. Situated in the areas of cognitive pragmatics and discourse analysis, this study makes use of the proximization theory presented by Cap (2013b) as its theoretical framework. The spatial, temporal, and axiological proximization through the use of certain lexico-grammatical features has been analyzed in the official Covid-19 preventive guidelines provided by the Government of Pakistan.

The selected theory provides a way to integrate the variety of linguistic and non-linguistic accounts since its main pillars are based on a connection between cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and critical discourse studies. This combination of perspectives, ideas and theories has enabled Cap's theory to address both the strategic use of linguistic devices, i.e. lexico-grammatical elements and its connection to the socially oriented accounts discussing the probable impact on the larger part of society. The diverse scope of the given theory has made it possible to be applied not only to the analysis of political interventionist discourse, but to a range of media discourses, such as the populist discourse generated and spread in cyberspace (Kopytowska 2020) and web-based user-generated content on social media (Kowalski 2018). This highlights the promising aspect of proximization theory and points to its potential use for the analysis of many different types of discursive practices.

2 Proximization theory and the STA model

Proximization is a relatively new concept introduced in linguistics, which seems to carry promising theoretical and empirical significance. Chilton (2004) was the first to use the concept of *proximizing* in the analysis of the political discourse. Building on Chilton's (2004) work, Cap (2006, 2008, 2010) introduced the term proximization for the analysis of coercion strategies in the US anti-terrorist political discourse. With further attempts to develop the concept of proximization to the status of a theory, Cap (2013b) introduced the detailed version of proximization theory. In its most basic sense, proximization can be

defined as a discursive strategy that evokes the closeness of the antagonistic, threat-bearing entities, which are presented as moving towards the spatial domain where the addresser and their addressees reside. The purpose of using this discursive strategy is two-fold: first, it helps the addresser in presenting *the Other* entity as a common enemy and a threat to both the addresser and the addressees, which are presented as *the Self* (Cap 2017: 3); second, it helps legitimizing the preventive course of action proposed by the addresser. Within the two-dimensional Discourse Space (DS), *the Self* is positioned in the center, while the threat-posing enemy, marked negative, construed as *the Other* is shown to be on the periphery of the Discourse Space (DS), moving slowly towards the positive *Self* by journeying the Space. With respect to their positions in DS, the former is named as outside-deictic-centre (ODC) and the later as inside-deictic-centre (IDC) (Cap 2013b).

The three aspects in which proximization is considered, i.e. spatial, temporal, and axiological aspects are derived from the nature of ODCs. Proximization theory holds that the deictic choices made at the lexico-grammatical level by the addresser constitute all three of these strategies of proximization, which may be present to varying degrees in different discursive practices. Proximization theory marks its contribution to the field of discourse analysis with the fact that with its Spatial-Temporal-Axiological (STA) model, it expands its applicability to a wide range of discourses other than political discourses.

With its more dominant use for analysis of war rhetoric (Chovanec 2010), anti-migration discourse (Hart 2010), making of foreign policy and construction of international values (Dunmire 2011, Wang 2019), Cap (2013a) presents a view that with some adjustments, the theory can be applied to the discourses of health care and disease prevention. Discussing the case of "War on Cancer", Cap (2013b: 190) states that the cancer prevention discourse pictures the disease as an antagonistic entity, which poses a threat to the domain shared by the masses and healthcare institutes. This situation gives rise to the fear appeal that helps justifying the proposed course of action for disease prevention.

In line with Cap (2013b), this study is an attempt to apply proximization theory to the Covid-19 prevention discourse, officially introduced by the state institute for healthcare services in Pakistan. Further discussion entails the application of major concepts in proximization theory to the Covid-19 prevention discourse, which is then followed by the analysis of spatial, temporal and axiological proximization strategies in the selected discourse sample.

3 Extending the analogy: The war metaphor

As in the case of cancer prevention discourse, where the situation is metaphorically presented as a war, in which the disease, i.e. cancer, is represented as an antagonistic force or enemy which carries an impending ability to negatively affect the people who represent the home entity (Cap 2013b: 30), the discourse generated during Covid-19 outbreak displays a similar kind of metaphoric representation of the virus which involves the sagacious use of fear appeals. Cap (2013b) states that although the proximization strategies used in disease-prevention or healthcare discourse are not exactly the same as those used in political discourses, there appears to be enough similarity between the two that it seems reasonable to extend the application of proximization theory for the exploration of such discourses.

It has been recorded on different media platforms that the Covid-19 outbreak has been referred to as an attack from the enemy, resulting in war. Since the issue turned into a global crisis, official and governmental statements from throughout the world presented the situation using a war metaphor. Most notably, the former US president Donald Trump referred to corona virus as an "invisible enemy" and called himself "a wartime president" (Vazquez 2020). Levenson (2020) notes how well this war metaphor fits with the prevailing situation of virus outbreak. Comparing the two, he says, "like in war, a pandemic has life-and-death decisions, an 'enemy' who can strike at any time, 'battles' on the 'front lines' and calls for the 'home front' to support the effort". Such an analogy has also been drawn previously by Van Rijn-van Tongeren (1997) regarding the metaphor of war used for cancer, finding the correspondence between cancer and the war enemy, an army commander and a physician, a fighting soldier and a patient, war allies and paramedic staff, and powerful weapons and chemical components as drugs. The fundamental reason for using this war metaphor is the need to evoke the feeling of seriousness and emergency among the masses.

The discourse generated at official level in Pakistan during the Covid-19 outbreak is no exception as the war metaphor has been used by the officials in a similar way to make people realize the magnitude of the threat the virus poses. In the official addresses by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the awareness brochures, in public service messages broadcast on electronic media, and even in the advertisements of sanitary products, the situation has been referred to as wartime, the virus as a powerful, threatening enemy, and the doctors and paramedic staff as front-line soldiers of this war. These examples show that on a basic conceptual level, the disease prevention discourse draws heavily on the interventionist discourses discussed by Cap (2013b).

This comparison of the issue at hand with a war in itself proves to be one of the legitimization strategies adopted by officials to legitimize their actions and plans by magnifying the threat posed by the public health emergency. This study, however, is an attempt to present a thorough analysis of the proximization strategies used in official guidelines regarding Covid-19 outbreak issued in by Government of Pakistan, by focusing on the linguistic parameters provided by the STA model in proximization theory (Cap 2013b).

4 Methodology

The study is primarily descriptive in nature, drawing from the STA model proposed as part of proximization theory (Cap 2013a). The guidelines issued by the government in print form, which are also retrievable from the official website designed by the government to provide the masses with the latest updates regarding the impact of and prevention from the Covid-19 attack i.e. covid.gov.pk, were used as a sample for the study. The purpose for taking these guidelines as a sample for this study was that they carry the officially produced and regulated Covid-19 preventive discourse, which is expected to carry governmental plans for fighting the disease and the coercive strategies that have been used in order to make people act accordingly. The sample contains 14 two-three-page documents available on the official website which were posted between 25 March and 6 May, 2020. The linguistic content of these documents was analyzed in the light of the STA model in order to highlight the spatial, temporal, and axiological proximization strategies employed in the text.

Cap (2013a) notes that the political interventionist discourse that seeks legitimization holds all such characteristics as those that are needed to create a difference between *the Self* and *the Other*. In order for such discourses to achieve legitimization during and after the ongoing moment of crisis, they are designed to include an adequate number of linguistic strategies of proximization. This is true not only of the political interventionist discourse but also of most of the public space discourses, where creating the sense of *we-ness* and *they-ness* and then emphasizing the increasing proximity of the danger posed by the *them-group* is used as a strategy to appeal to the relevant audience and achieve legitimization. In the same vein, it is important to note that the most prominent discourse of this time, i.e. Covid-19 prevention discourse seems to have so much in common with the political interventionist discourse. Like the political interventionist discourse, the disease prevention discourse is designed to highlight the negative, threatening, and danger-posing characteristics of *the Other*, which in this case is not a human agency but a virus.

With the aim of not only spreading awareness among the general public regarding the possible threats and dangers posed by the novel virus, the task at hand for the authorities is to achieve quick legitimization of their proposed plan of action against the rapidly spreading disease. The awareness and prevention discourse thus generated can be assumed to be loaded with proximization strategies, which makes such a discourse a suitable sample to be analyzed through the lens of proximization theory.

The STA model provides researchers with a linguistic device of three lexico-grammatical frameworks, i.e. spatial, temporal, and axiological, which reflect the strategies of proximization. All the three frameworks carry different categories, which provide key lexical items, grammatical structures, and discourse patterns that point towards the use of a given strategy. Cap (2013b) suggests that it is not necessary for a given stretch of discourse to carry all the three proximization strategies in equal ratio. The nature of the text such as political interventionist discourse, healthcare discourse etc. decides which strategies are well-suited for a certain type of discourse, and thus usually one type dominates the others in any particular instance. The analysis of the selected text as a sample will present the instances of different categories within each type of proximization strategy as provided in the lexico-grammatical frameworks by Cap (2013b). The evidence collected will help establish the discussion that the selected disease preventive discourse, primarily aimed at spreading awareness, serves a broader motive of legitimizing authorities' proposed plan of action through the use of such lexico-grammatical patterns that ensure quick and unquestioning legitimization.

The application of proximization theory to the linguistic analysis of the texts that carry linguistic markers of speaker-imposed perception of distance and proximity helps us to elucidate the way in which tactical use of language results in fulfilling political goals. Cap (2017) particularly focuses on the goals of seeking legitimization and approval of general public through such use of strategic language.

This study particularly focuses on the way healthcare discourse makes use of multi-faceted proximization. The existence of proximization strategies in such discourses as disease preventive discourse can be seen as functioning at many levels such as: the coercive level, where the addressee is made aware of the approaching threat, i.e. the disease and approval of some quick preventive measures is demanded; the DS mapping level, where the speaker and the audience are located in the deictic center and the threat-posing disease is shown to be present outside that deictic center and continuously in motion towards the center; and finally the linguistic level, where the use of such lexis is prominent as those that are used to demonstrate the physical ramification of the forth-coming threat.

5 Analysis

The analysis was carried out qualitatively. To conduct the systematic analysis, the occurrences of the lexico-grammatical categories from the three frameworks of proximization were examined along with the examples from the selected texts, in order to judge how successfully the theory of proximization could be applied to the healthcare discourse.

Before starting to analyze the selected sample for the proximization strategies, it is important to first assign the terms ODC and IDC to the entities performing these roles in the given scenario, since these are crucial to the STA model. Therefore, in the selected Covid-19 prevention discourse, as is obvious from the above discussion, the virus, i.e. Covid-19 is considered as the *alien/Other* and the masses, including medical and paramedical staff, patients and their families, non-affected public, etc. are considered as the *home/Self* entities. The virus construed as ODC in this particular case of healthcare discourse is different from the entities usually assigned this label such as refugees, immigrants, etc. In the political interventionist discourse this category is occupied by humans; however, the virus being nonhuman is still assigned agency, perceived as an entity capable of taking action and also represented as something working with an aim to pose danger to the IDCs. The underlying analysis will help us explore the way this metaphorical representation of the virus as an enemy with a plan and purpose to affect and attack the IDCs is embedded in the discourse and how it helps activate the mental representation of the virus as such.

As noted by Cap (2013b), the basic factor on which proximization theory relies is the way the DS is organized cognitively and conceptually. With the cognitive and pragmatic mapping of the actors involved in the disease preventive discourse, i.e. the general public, institutional bodies, and the disease itself, we get to that conceptual arrangement of DS which helps us recognize and analyze the tactical use of language that highlights the probable changes in the DS, such as the encroachment of the threat-bearing disease. Therefore, DS, through the lens of proximization theory, is a well-suited pragmatic and cognitive context to map out the location and movement of the disease and its probable impact onto the general public as presented in the disease preventive discourse issued by the authorities.

5.1 Proximization frameworks

5.1.1 The framework of spatial proximization

Spatial proximization is defined as the creation of forced perception of ODCs and IDCs in a Discourse Space in such a way that ODCs are shown to be moving from the periphery towards the IDCs in the center (Cap 2017). Within the STA model, this difference between the IDCs and the ODCs is marked by a spatial, geographical, and also an ideological gap. ODCs are conceived to be moving in the direction of IDC which basically symbolizes the danger approaching IDCs that is likely to result in a disastrous situation. The process of spatial proximization is dependent on the subtle reduction of the gap between IDCs and ODCs which is symbolically manifested in discourse with the use of certain lexical forms. In the context of the current research, the general public getting attacked by the virus and the institutional and governmental bodies that are responsible for the healthcare and protection of the masses can be mapped as IDCs and the threat-bearing virus can be mapped as an ODC in the deictic space. The movement of the ODC, i.e. the virus towards the IDCs cannot be measured in terms of geographical distance between the two entities; rather, in this case, the enemy already exists among the IDCs and its advancement towards them can only be traced by quantifying the increase in the number of people getting affected with the passage of time. Thus, in order to make an analytical framework for spatial proximization, Cap (2013b) considers some important aspects which are needed to present ODC as a threat. These aspects include negative portrayal of the ODC, seriousness of ODC impact and its possibility of bringing devastating results. The way these aspects can be presented linguistically in a discourse, constitute the categories of the spatial proximization framework. As stated, the conceptualization of ODCs and IDCs is essential for spatial proximization, the first two categories of this framework account for the linguistic items that denote these entities, i.e. they are noun-phrase categories. The third category includes the linguistic items that mark the emblematic movement of ODC to the center of the DS, i.e. it is a verb-phrase category. Categories four-six are representative of the anticipated or observed extent of the destruction caused by ODC, so they include one verb and two noun-phrase categories.

Table 1 below presents the six categories of the spatial proximization framework and the instances for each category found in the selected corpus:

Categories	Examples from the texts
1. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements of the deictic center of the DS (IDCs))	• These guidelines provide guidance to the public health & *health professional* of segregation of patients and health care resources, considering the way COVID-19 epidemic is unfolding itself. • *All individuals (patients, attendants, hospital staff)* entering the clinic will wear a mask and will use hand sanitizer/wash hands before entering the premises. • *Infection prevention and control technicians* shall be assigned to supervise the medical personnel on putting on and removing protective equipment so as to prevent contamination. • *The front-line staff in the isolation areas, including healthcare personnel*, medical technicians and property & logistics personnel, should be well equipped with the recommended PPEs to reduce the exposure risks. • Appropriate procedures shall be standardized for *medical personnel* to put on and take off their protective equipment (Donning and Doffing). • *Workers on construction project site/construction workers/ industrial workers/store owners/managers* coming from diverse environments and working closely together increase the risk of exposure to COVID-19. • To provide management guidelines to the *families, healthcare providers, managers of health facilities and mortuaries, religious and public health authorities*, and to all those who attend to the dead bodies of individuals suspected or confirmed for COVID-19. • COVID-19 pandemic has struck *the world* due to rapid human-to-human transmission. • To provide guidelines to the *store owners/managers and general public (customers)* regarding preventive measures to minimize the risk of COVID-19 transmission and ensure the availability of essential goods.
2. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements outside the deictic center of the DS (ODCs))	• *COVID-19 pandemic* has struck the world due to rapid human-to-human transmission. • Two most important interventions in limiting the *infectious epidemic* outbreak are: • As this is a new virus, there is limited evidence about caring for women with *coronavirus infection* in women when they have just given birth. • Surfaces in the environment of the patient can get contaminated with the *pathogenic microorganisms* by contact with the body or body secretions. • Industrial workers are also exposed to hazards that put them at risk of infection with an *outbreak pathogen*, in this case COVID-19. • … but who might have been exposed to *an infectious agent or disease* such as COVID 19 with the objective of monitoring symptoms and early detection of cases. • … the guidelines regarding home isolation when they or more of the household members become sick during an epidemic of a *communicable disease*.

Categories	Examples from the texts
3. (Verb phrases (VPs) of motion and directionality construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards the deictic center)	• Covid-19 epidemic *is unfolding itself* • *Shedding virus* during sneezing, coughing and while speaking • *Carrying* virus and *releasing* these in the atmosphere • Can *get contaminated* with the pathogenic microorganisms
4. (Verb phrases (VPs) of action construed as markers of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	• (IDCs) *become sick* • (IDC) *gets infected* • (IDC) *dies*
5. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as anticipations of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	• The influx of COVID-19 positive cases pose an *added threat* to the existing hospital population. • *…the current situation that is threatening* to turn in to a devastating crisis. • …the spread of a disease that has *the potential to overwhelm the available resources*. • This contamination may result in *colonization of various surfaces* in the environment of the healthcare facilities. • To provide guidelines to the store owners/managers and general public (customers) regarding preventive measures to minimize *the risk of COVID-19 transmission* and ensure the availability of essential goods. • The front-line staff in the isolation areas, including healthcare personnel, medical technicians and property & logistics personnel, should be well equipped with the recommended PPEs to *reduce the exposure risks*.
6. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as effects of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	• …the current situation that is threatening to turn in to a *devastating crisis*. • In view of *rising cases of COVID-19* it is imperative to prioritize the testing methodologies. • … the guidelines regarding home isolation when they or more of the household members become sick during an epidemic of a *communicable disease*. • *Spread of infection/contamination* • In *this global health crisis*, it is vital that all businesses (high scale or small) act responsibly.

Table 1: Examples for the spatial proximization framework (taken from the selected Covid-19 prevention guidelines issued at covid.gov.pk)

The first category, which is representative of the elements inside the deictic center of the discourse space, includes all the groups of people who are a potential target of the disease in question. This category includes elements as general as *the world* or *general public* that represent the Covid-19 as some kind of an alien entity, posing a threat to the whole humankind, as well as the elements that represent certain groups of people combating the disease in different situations. The second category includes elements representing the entities outside the deictic center in the discourse space and carry potential threat for the IDCs,

and thus mainly includes different NPs used to refer to the infectious disease caused by the virus Covid-19 as an alien attacker. The virus, with the use of some grammatical metaphorical processes is shown as an active agent, capable of inflicting harm to the IDCs. The use of such verbs which require an active agent as their subject has made such depiction possible. Some of the linguistic structures used in the selected texts which give this pandemic agency include *Covid-19 epidemic is unfolding itself*, *COVID-19 pandemic has struck the world*, etc. Being a microscopic creature, the virus does not produce a concrete referent in the minds of the people. Therefore, as is the case with other concepts like this (Grigorenko et al. 2019), the concept of virus has been built into the minds of the people with the strategic use of language. It can clearly be seen that the negative value of ODC is attached to almost every NP used for the disease, with the use of words like *infectious*, *pathogenic*, etc. So, the first two categories establish the opposition between the disease and the world/people in general.

This categorization, however, falls short in accommodating some of the noun-phrases used in the disease prevention discourse, particularly in Covid-19 prevention discourse. The complexity arises with the appropriate placement of NPs like *patients/confirmed patients/dead bodies of individuals confirmed for Covid-19*. These categories possess the characteristics of both IDCs and ODCs in the current case. Patients form part of the IDCs, since they are part of *general public* to whom the disease is an outside attacker; however, once becoming victim to the disease, the patients pose a threat to the rest of the IDCs, i.e. 'healthy individuals', since they become the carriers of the virus. This ambiguous nature of such NPs makes it difficult to locate them in the discourse space either as part of IDCs or ODCs, so they have not been included in either category. This example can be one of the areas that need revision in the theory for better application to the disease prevention discourse, as noted by Cap (2017: 32).

The third category contains examples including VPs such as *unfolding*, *shedding*, *carrying*, *releasing*, etc., which show that the virus is spreading by moving towards the deictic center. This disease, being contagious, is spreading and its spread is representative of the alien entity towards the IDCs to mark its impact. The fourth category includes examples of lexical markers showing the impact of ODC upon IDC. These VPs are used in the disease prevention discourse in order to add to the fear appeal. The fifth and sixth categories of the spatial proximization framework include the NPs of anticipated impact and the effects of the impact of ODC on IDC, respectively. The anticipated impact of the Covid-19 breakout mainly includes threatening situation, viral spread and the like, whose effects are expected to be in form of *devastating/global health crisis*.

As a whole, it can be seen that the lexico-grammatical items, presenting examples for different categories of the spatial proximization framework, successfully reflect the basic characteristics of spatial proximization, i.e. the negative portrayal of ODC against the threatened IDC (categories 1 and 2), the movement of ODC impact (category 3) and the extent to which the impact can prove to be disastrous (categories 4, 5 and 6). Thus, in the case of Covid-19 preventive discourse, the spatial proximization framework can be successfully applied as a device to gather evidence of the use of proximization strategies for legitimization of the preventive guidelines issued by the health ministry.

5.1.2 The framework of temporal proximization

Temporal proximization is defined as the creation of forced perception of the present time as the most suited time to plan an immediate response to ensure IDC's safety from ODC's approaching threat, based either on past and present premises or on future expectancy (Cap 2017). Thus, the temporal proximization framework needs such linguistic items which combine the anticipated future with the past events. Cap (2013b) explains that there are two types of linguistic temporal markers, i.e. real time (RT) markers and construed time (CT) markers. While RT markers mark the actual happening of the event (in the past), the CT markers mark the indefiniteness of the event that it could either happen any other time in the past or can reoccur in the future. The markers of indefiniteness such as *a* instead of *the* are intentionally used by the discourse generators in order to activate the urgency of the preventive measures, as CT helps portray the danger as continuous and on-going as compared to RT which represent it as a one-time event in the past.

The first category of this framework includes markers of indefiniteness, presenting RT events as CT events. The second category includes some particular tense patterns which combine the demonstration of the safe past with the demonstration of frightening future. The third category comprises nominalizations which render presuppositions, while the fourth includes modal auxiliaries and explicit coding of the now time frame. The fifth and last category include not some lexical items or grammatical constructions but somewhat longer stretches of discourse, which presents the picture of a "privileged future" (Cap 2013b: 114) once the threats from ODC are dealt with by the IDC.

Table 2 below presents the five categories of the temporal proximization framework and the examples for each category found in the selected corpus:

Categories	Examples from texts
1. (Noun phrases (NPs) involving indefinite descriptions construing ODC actual impact acts in alternative temporal frames)	(no examples found)
2. (Discourse forms involving contrastive use of the simple past and the present perfect construing threatening future extending infinitely from a past instant)	• Covid-19 *pandemic has struck the world* due to rapid human-to-human transmission. • An estimated *3.4% of Covid-19 cases have died globally* • Many *countries have adopted* this as a national guideline. • *Quarantine facility has been assigned…* • Interim SOP *has been developed* for guidance • *Covid-19 has been identified* in the babies born to Covid-19 positive mothers • Overseas *expert clinicians have expressed concern* about low sensitivity of the test • *It has become the matter of utmost importance*
3. (Noun phrases (NPs) involving nominalizations construing presupposition of conditions for ODC impact to arise anytime in the future)	• The strategy is expected to go a long way in combating the *threat* turning into a devastating crisis. • Two most important interventions in limiting the *infection…*
4. (Verb phrases (VPs) involving modal auxiliaries construing conditions for ODC impact as existing continually between the now and the infinite future)	• The *mortality due to Covid-19 may take place* at home or in healthcare setting • The live virus *may still be present* in the lungs • Contamination *may result in the colonization* of various surfaces in the environment
5. (Discourse forms involving parallel contrastive construals of oppositional and privileged futures extending from the now)	• Covid-19 pandemic *has struck the world* due to human-to-human transmission. Global evidence shows that *the outbreak can be curtailed* through preventive measures. • As this is *a new virus, there is limited evidence* about caring for women with coronavirus infection in women when they have just given birth. *The maternity team will maintain strict infection control measures* at the time of birth.

Table 2: Examples for the temporal proximization framework (taken from the selected Covid-19 prevention guidelines issued at covid.gov.pk)

Surprisingly, among the data analyzed for the present study, no examples were found for the first category of the temporal proximization framework. This category, although very important for proximization in political interventionist discourse, can said to be irrelevant to the disease preventive discourse. The possible explanation for this can be that in the type of discourse that is being dealt with in this study, i.e. guidelines for Covid-19 prevention, real-time markers have been preferred over the construed-time markers so as to keep the readers focused

on what is happening right now, e.g. *Covid-19 pandemic has struck the world…*, *It has become a matter of utmost importance…*, etc. and how to deal with it, e.g. *the outbreak can be curtailed through preventive measures*, *The maternity team will maintain strict infection control measures*, etc. The current situation is devastating enough to create a fear appeal without sketching the possibility of such an outbreak in any other timeframe. Thus, the "now-frame" is activated without the use of indefinite descriptions (Cap 2013b: 85).

The second category of the temporal proximization framework, when applied to Covid-19 prevention discourse, also needs little revision and amendment in the light of the data analyzed. The category involves the use of past tense, showing the safe past, followed by a present perfect construction that represents the constantly threatening future such as *IDC used to think/believe that IDCs were safe as ODC threat was far away. The current disastrous situation has changed the/that IDC belief.* The analysis shows that such a discourse form cannot be found in a disease preventive discourse since the 'safe past' is usually understood/implicit in the present perfect constructions. The present perfect constructions depict what damage has been caused by the spread of the disease or what changes have been made in the wake of the ongoing incident such as *3.4% of Covid-19 cases have died, quarantine facility has been assigned, interim SOP has been developed*, all of which imply the 'normal past' when none of it had happened. The normality of the past is thus not explicitly mentioned in such discourses, rather it is left to be inferred. However, the present perfect construction successfully portrays the continuous threat as it highlights the change in the 'normal' patterns of the past.

The nominalizations given in the examples for category three, i.e. *threat* and *infection* are representative of the presupposed state of the ODC's impact. With the help of such presupposition of the future impact, it becomes easy to share the preventive measures and seek their legitimization. The examples quoted in category four include the modal auxiliary *may* and depict the infinite threat posed by the infectious virus. This use of a modal auxiliary along with the ODC future impact adds to the fear appeal as the addressee feels exposed to the continuous threat which increases the expectations of an effective preventive strategy.

The examples quoted in category five fulfil the demand of the category as they contain the presentation of the current situation, i.e. negative, such as *Covid-19 pandemic has struck the world* and *there is limited evidence*, along with the picture of a better future, such as *outbreak can be curtailed* and *the maternity team will maintain strict infection control measures*. By first presenting the current dangerous scenario, the urgency and need of the suitable preventive

measures is established. The solution is then presented in the continuation of the discourse, which is presented as the best possible solution for the current threatening situation and will ensure a better/privileged future. This strategy helps get the presented solution legitimized even more quickly in wake of the given premises and the hope of a better future.

The analysis presented using the temporal proximization framework shows that collectively all the categories (except for the first one, for which no evidence was found in the selected corpus) work in harmony to present the ODC entity as a continuous threat for the IDCs, thus legitimizing the now-timeframe as the most suitable timeframe to react to the ODC threat.

5.1.3 The framework of axiological proximization

Axiological proximization is defined as the creation of forced perception of the increasing ideological conflict between IDCs and ODCs, which is expected to result in a physical clash (Cap 2011). In this study, since we are dealing with a disease, i.e. Covid-19 infection, as an ODC, the word *ideology* is used in a sense of inherent negativity attached to the virus, since it aims to produce destructive results for IDCs. Thus, we can say that the *ideology* in healthcare discourses means the positive or negative value attached to the IDCs and ODCs. The first two categories of this framework are the noun-phrase categories which present the positive values of IDCs and negative values of ODCs respectively. The third and the most important category involves a complex linguistic sequence which in one part describes the ODC's negative ideological values and in the *Other*, turns them into a physical threat.

Table 3 below presents the three categories of axiological proximization and their respective occurrences in the corpus:

Categories	Examples from the texts
1. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as IDC positive values or value sets (ideologies))	• Public health • Optimal treatment • Guidance • Healthful working conditions • Occupational safety and health • Saving precious lives • Infection prevention • Evidence-based care
2. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as ODC negative values or value sets (ideologies))	• Infection • Critical illness • The potential to overwhelm the available resources • Contamination • Colonization of various surfaces • Hazards • Spread of infection • Death
3. (Discourse forms no longer than one sentence or two consecutive sentences involving linear arrangement of lexico-grammatical phrases construing materialization in the IDC space of the ODC negative ideologies)	• Industrial workers are also exposed to hazards that put them at risk of infection with an outbreak pathogen, in this case Covid-19. Hazards include long working hours, psychological distress, fatigue and occupational burnout.

Table 3: Examples for the axiological proximization framework (taken from the selected Covid-19 prevention guidelines issued at covid.gov.pk)

As has been stated above, the ideological clash between the ODCs and the IDCs is shown in terms of the negative and positive values attached to them. The first two categories of the axiological proximization framework are reflective of this opposition in the ideologies; while IDC's ideology is to achieve *optimal health*, provide *infection prevention guidance* and save *precious lives*, ODC's ideology is represented by the NPs such as *infection* leading to *critical illness*, and ultimately causing *death*. The sharp contrast between the two is apparent and makes it very easy to conceptualize the possibility of ODC's ideologies to turn into a physical threat. The example quoted for the third category represents the materialization of ODC negative value, i.e. hazards and its materialization in the IDC space, i.e. industrial working space. The example shows that the negative value attached to the ODC can turn into a real threat for a group of people belonging to IDCs, i.e. *industrial workers*. This depiction of ODC's negative value as physical threats is also one of the effective way to legitimize the actions planned for prevention of such destruction.

Altogether, the categories of the axiological proximization framework serve the purpose of legitimization of the disease prevention discourse presenting the ideological clash between the *Self* and the *Other* and focusing on how their (the *Others'*) ideology can bring devastation for the *Self*.

To sum up, the analysis conducted above shows that the three frameworks of the proximization theory (Cap 2013b) can be used to analyze the proximization strategies employed in a disease prevention discourse, in this case Covid-19 prevention discourse. Although there are some categories, especially in the temporal proximization framework, which cannot be applied to such a discourse as they are to political discourses, the analysis demonstrates that a significant amount of evidence can be extracted from the Covid-19 prevention discourse which can represent the different categories of the three frames, and thus help identify the proximization strategies adopted by the addresser, in this case, the government of Pakistan, to solicit legitimization of the proposed frame of actions against the spreading disease. This kind of exploration of proximization strategies is a step forward in the research in this area because it not only helps signify the way entities are placed and perceived in a deictic space as static (Chilton 2004), but also portrays the ever increasing chances of danger these threat-bearing entities pose i.e. the dynamic nature of the entities located in the deictic space.

6 Conclusion

This study has analyzed the official guidelines for the prevention of the spread of Covid-19, provided by the Ministry of National Health Services, Government of Pakistan, in order to identify the proximization strategies employed in this disease-prevention discourse. The theory of proximization (Cap 2013b) has been used as the theoretical framework for the study and the STA model with its three proximization frameworks make up the analytical framework of the study. The analysis has shown that the selected corpus includes a number of instances that qualify to be categorized in the spatial, temporal and axiological frameworks. These categories are based on lexico-grammatical units from the selected corpus, and thus provide linguistic evidence of the attempts of soliciting legitimization through proximization.

The different categories of spatial proximization successfully portray *the world* or *the general public* or different groups of people in particular contexts such as *healthcare professionals* or *paramedics* as constituting the deictic center in the Discourse Space, while the disease, i.e. Covid-19 is projected as the outer enemy. However, it has been pointed out that the position of the *infected people* or *confirmed Covid-19 cases* remains ambiguous in the current conception of Discourse Space. The examples depicting the movement of the disease towards

the deictic center, and those showing its devastating impact getting nearer, fit well into the categories of the framework provided by Cap (2013b).

The temporal proximization framework has been observed to be in need of certain adaptations for it to be applied to the disease prevention discourse. No instances of the indefinite descriptions (category 1) were found in the selected corpus, which indicates that the category may not be generally applicable to all kinds of discourses. The second category also needs some revision as it has been found that in disease prevention discourse, particularly the case in hand, the safe past is not explicitly mentioned. Only the changes brought are mentioned in present perfect constructions which appear to imply the safe and normal past. Such a call for revision shows that the discourse is not temporally proximized in the same way as it is in the political context, since the urgency to react to the spread of the disease is way higher than in political matters. The application of the axiological framework to the selected corpus reveals the attempts of axiological proximization with the help of the linguistics markers. This study thus proves that the theory of proximization is well applicable to the disease prevention discourse and attempts to fill the gap in research in this area as pointed out by Cap (2017).

With the identification of proximization strategies, the study attempts to highlight the way in which legitimization is solicited in the disease prevention discourse. Using fear appeal by (factually) presenting Covid-19 as a monstrous killing enemy, the need of urgent, expert-guided preventive measure is evoked. Portraying *the world* as the target of the Covid-19 pandemic, the text presents that the authorities issuing the preventive measures are as much at the risk as the public, which helps in winning trust of the public. Covid-19 is shown *unfolding itself* in order to mark the continuous threat posed by this pandemic. All this is done with the goal of seeking "unconditional legitimization" (Cap 2017: 36) of the action plan proposed by the authorities.

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QUESTION DESIGN IN VETERINARY CONSULTATIONS: QUESTION FORMS AND CLIENT RESPONSES IN ACCOMPLISHING PROBLEM PRESENTATION IN A MALAYSIAN CONTEXT

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Abstract

Question design by medical practitioners has been shown to have important consequences on how patients present their problems in clinical consultations. Linguistic structure of questions as part of question design implements different communicative and pragmatic functions, and hence, affects patients' response in different ways. This study examined types of questions asked by veterinarians in the problem presentation phase of the clinical consultation in relation to their linguistic forms and functions. Veterinary illness consultations were video-recorded and veterinarians' question types, their linguistic forms and clients' response in the interaction were identified and examined. The results show that the general inquiry question implemented using the open-ended *wh*-question structure and the closed-ended declarative interrogative are the preferred forms used by veterinarians to solicit patients' presenting problems from clients. Also, alignment of the linguistic form of questions with their pragmatic functions and the discourse goal of problem presentation affects clients' ascription of veterinarians' actions. The findings from the study can inform veterinarian communication training for more effective veterinarian-client communication to accomplish problem presentation in clinical consultations.

Keywords

clinical consultation interaction, problem presentation, question forms, veterinarians' questions, client response, veterinarian-client communication, question design

1 Introduction

Questioning by doctors in clinical consultations, particularly in the problem presentation phase[1] is an important element of doctor-patient communication. Question design by doctors has been shown to affect how freely (or otherwise) patients present their problem and related information to doctors (Marvel et al. 1999, Heritage & Robinson 2006, Robinson et al. 2016), and how satisfied patients are about communication with their doctors (Robinson & Heritage 2006, Robinson et al. 2016, Solomon et al. 2016). Giving patients the floor to provide information and express their concerns about their medical condition in their own way in the problem presentation phase is said to result in better diagnoses

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and care for patients, as more complete information about the patients' concerns is revealed. This would include patients' psychological concerns apart from the biomedical aspects of the medical problem (see Heritage & Robinson 2006). As the clinical consultation is led and controlled by doctors through questioning, the manner in which questions are designed and deployed by doctors inevitably determines the expanse and level of detail of the medical problem that patients convey to their doctors (Marvel et al. 1999, Heritage & Robinson 2006, McArthur & Fitzgerald 2013). Hence, as an institutional discourse practice, questioning and how it is managed by doctors have important consequences to the successful accomplishment of problem presentation as a communicative event in the clinical consultation.

Research on questioning in medical communication, specifically in doctor-patient communication has revealed various findings about doctors' questions, including insights into: doctors' use of questions to display understanding (Deppermann & Spranz-Fogasy 2011); use of questions to indicate epistemic stance and leading to preferred patient response (Boyd & Heritage 2006); typology of questions based on doctors' display of their knowledge status and patient response, and subsequently, association between question type and length of consultation (Heritage & Robinson 2006); association between doctors' questions and patient satisfaction (Robinson & Heritage 2006, Robinson et al. 2016); and doctors' redirection of patients' talk and its negative effect on patients' expression of their concerns (Marvel et al. 1999). In research focusing on the linguistic form of questions in clinical consultations, Robinson et al. (2016) found that the linguistic format of questions is connected to patients' expression of additional concerns during the clinical visit, and Heritage (2013) observed that patients rely more on their judgement of doctors' epistemic status than the linguistic form of the question in ascribing the action intended by the doctor.

Studies on questions in the veterinary context, however, are relatively under-explored. Communication in the veterinary context is unique in that it requires the veterinarian to obtain information from the client who speaks on behalf of the animal-patient. The communication situation entails information to be solicited from a conversation partner about a non-human third party (the animal-patient), who is within the participation structure of the discourse but is not a speaker. Compared to communication research between doctors and human patients, less attention has been given to communication in the veterinary context.

1.1 Past research on veterinary communication

MacMartin et al.'s (2015) study on veterinarian questioning about the animal-patient's nutritional history found that questions on nutrition mostly comprise a

single open-ended *wh*-question as an initial question, followed by request for clarification on the food mentioned by the client. Typically, no questions are asked on nutrition items not mentioned by the client in the first instance; this demonstrates how communication in the consultations is constrained due to veterinarians' questioning pattern. Bard et al. (2017) examined veterinarian communication in relation to obtaining behaviour change in clients. From analysing role-play interactions between cattle veterinarians in the UK and an actress familiar with veterinarian communication posing as a client, they found that veterinarians tend to adopt a directive communication style that does not encourage relationship-centred communication, and hence, may not motivate successful client behaviour change. Of particular interest is the finding that the veterinarians' communication lacks solicitation of client's opinion as a feature. On patient-centredness in veterinarian-client communication, Borden et al. (2010) found that veterinarians do not fully explore clients' concerns in euthanasia decision-making and this contributed to their lower scores on a patient-centred communication measure. McArthur and Fitzgerald's (2013) work on veterinarians' clinical communication skills found that clients were generally satisfied with veterinarians' communication but were more satisfied when veterinarians' expressions of empathy were directed at them. On the type of questions asked by veterinarians, they found that 10 per cent of the veterinarians did not use any open-ended questions. Finally, Shaw et al. (2004) using the RIAS (Roter Interaction Analysis System) found that information-gathering from the client was chiefly accomplished through closed-ended questioning. Findings from these studies on veterinarian-client communication point to a style of veterinarian communication that generally does not optimise the elicitation of clients' concerns, opinions and evaluations.

To examine question design by veterinarians in eliciting problem presentation from clients, attention needs to be paid not only to the types of questions asked but also the communicative functions of questions, and the questioner's choice of linguistic forms that execute particular functions in the veterinary context. As language functions at the communicative and discursive levels can be implemented by a variety of linguistic forms, investigation on linguistic forms, functions and types of questions used by veterinarians when carrying out their professional work in clinical consultations can provide insight into veterinarians' preferences in using linguistic resources to design questions to accomplish their purpose in interaction with clients. Further, as interpretation of the intended meaning of speakers by hearers is dependent upon hearers' understanding of the communicative functions of questions in specific discourse contexts, an examination of questions and clients' response may contribute to a better

understanding of veterinarian-client communication and would be useful for further research in veterinary communication and education.

1.2 Elicitation of problem presentation

Clients'/patients' expression of their concerns, opinions and evaluations are mainly impacted by the way clinicians manage and structure their questioning during the clinical consultation, particularly during the phase known as the problem presentation phase of the consultation. Heritage and Robinson (2006) have shown that doctors' opening questions are crucial in determining the extent to which patients feel free to talk about their problems and hence, express their concerns more comprehensively. They identified five types of opening questions in the medical consultation that doctors commonly use, and described how each type of question indexes varying degrees of the doctor's knowledge of the patient's condition and thereby plays a role in determining the expanse and detail of the patient's response in presenting their problem. While some types of questions encourage and invite patients' extended narrative of their medical problem, some other types serve to constrain patients to narrow answer slots determined by the doctor.

Through a detailed analysis of epistemics in interaction, the ways in which doctors claim or display knowledge about the patient's condition through their questions at the initial meeting point in a medical consultation, Heritage and Robinson (2006) identified five question types that are commonly put to patients. Type 1 is the general-inquiry question (e.g. *"What can I do for you today?"*, ibid.: 89) which is used to formulate a stance that makes no prior assumption about the precise nature of the patients' medical business. It opens the space for patients to talk about their illness or concerns on their own terms, as the question indicates the doctor's lack of knowledge of the patient's problem. Type 2 is the gloss for confirmation question (e.g. *"So you are sick today, huh?"*, ibid.: 93), whereby the doctor uses a gloss that indicates his having some knowledge of the nature of the patient's medical business and requires the patient to elaborate on the problem with more details. This is despite the fact that the immediate response appropriate to the *yes-no* question is a confirmation by the patient. The primary aim of the Type 2 question is the subsequent description of the problem and not the confirmation of the gloss per se. Type 3 is the symptom confirmatory question (e.g. *"Alright. so having headache, and sore throat_·hh and cough with phlegm for five days?"*, ibid.: 95) in which the doctor cites specific symptoms and constrains the patient's answer to either confirming or disconfirming the symptoms. Type 3 questions indicate that the doctor already possesses knowledge of the patients' symptoms (for example, if they are written

in the patient's record). As an opening question, Type 3 question can be regarded as an implicit invitation to patients to launch into problem presentation after their initial confirmatory answer to the question. Type 4 is the *"How are you"* question (e.g. *"So how are you feeling?"*, ibid.: 97), when posed at the problem presentation phase, requires the patient to give an evaluation of their state as the immediate appropriate response. However, like the Type 3 question, the question may be seen as a prelude for patients to present their problem, and hence, is a question inviting patients to enlighten the doctor about the business of their visit. Type 5 is the history-taking question (e.g. "*How long is that been going on for?*", ibid.: 98) where the doctor assumes having sufficient knowledge of the patient's problem that brought them in for the consultation visit and hence, proceeds to ask for specific history details. In this situation, patients will have little chance to voice out their concerns as the problem presentation phase has been bypassed.

According to Heritage and Robinson (2006), the relative freedom with which patients present their medical problem to the doctor is attributed directly to the indexing of different levels of the doctor's knowledge about the patient's medical condition. This leads the patient to either expand or reduce the amount of information they communicate to the doctor in order not to give information that is already known, an act that would constitute a transgression of norms in social conversation.

It is acknowledged, however, that except for the general inquiry question which directly solicits broad-based information from patients about their presenting concerns, the other question types are indirect requests which require the patient to derive the intended meaning of the speaker beyond the literal meaning conveyed through the surface linguistic form. For example, for a patient to understand the doctor's "*how are you*" question as a solicitation of presenting concerns would require the patient to have knowledge about the goal of the different phases of the clinical visit, its discursive conventions and the various manners in which doctors signal the beginning and the end of the problem presentation phase. Lack of familiarity of the discourse context and its conventions can result in the patient's failure to recognise the indirect request. Hence, apart from epistemic stance, linguistic form and pragmatic functions of questions may play a role in influencing patients' response.

1.3 Linguistic forms and functions of questions

The linguistic forms of questions are grammatical forms that represent interrogatives in the language system. To perform actions in discourse, a speaker has to select from a range of available linguistic resources. Specific communicative actions in text and talk may take conventionalised forms,

sometimes through preferred linguistic means to execute particular functions. So, too, we may expect that language in the clinical consultation may exhibit preferred forms in getting the interactional work done.

Questions can be examined at various levels. At the level of grammatical construction, questions can be described based on their formal linguistic markers (e.g. morphosyntactic structures) that deal with meaning at the clausal level. Common grammatical forms of questions in English include *wh*-questions, *yes-no* questions, question tags, declarative questions, and so forth (see Quirk et al. 1985, Gunlogson 2002, Freed & Ehrlich 2010, Heritage 2013). Question forms mark specific grammatical functions; for example, *wh*-questions (questions with a question-word) are typically used to enquire about specific entities, time, quality or manner, and require an open-ended type of answer. *Yes-no* questions are polar questions that require a confirmation or a negation, making it a closed-ended question. Other closed-ended question types include the declarative question, which is a question formed with a declarative sentence usually coupled with a question particle or interrogative intonation, tag questions as well as alternative (either or) questions that also require a confirmatory answer. A note is made here about the declarative as a question. In interaction, not all declarative questions require a rising intonation or a question particle to be recognised as a question. Declarative statements without these may be interpreted as interrogatives when the speaker relinquishes the floor to the hearer, and expects an answer, as part of the turn-taking procedure in conversation. Speakers of a language possess an intuitive understanding of the communicative functions carried by these grammatical forms, as this knowledge is part of the linguistic competence of speakers.

Doctors' question design through linguistic choice to solicit information from patients/clients has been described to some extent. Robinson et al. (2016) described how particular types of questions serve to elicit additional concerns from patients. In a clinical consultation, doctors typically employ a funnel approach to information-gathering, commencing the interview with open-ended questions and moving to more specific, closed-ended questions to obtain the details (Silverman et al. 2005). This is because opening the visit with closed-ended questions restrains the field of the inquiry and could lead to reduced accuracy in information-gathering (Dysart et al. 2011, Robinson et al. 2016). However, while *wh*-questions are thought to be efficient in acquiring informative answers, they may not be the best option, as shown by MacMartin et al. (2015) in their study on veterinarians soliciting information from clients about their animal-patients' eating habits. They found that the *wh*-prefaced open-ended

structure such as "*What kind of food…*" captured significantly less information than the "*Tell me…*" request structure (ibid.: 469).

Use of language is dictated not only by one's understanding of the linguistic system of a language; speakers and hearers have to navigate between meanings conveyed through grammatical forms, meaning of words, as well as meanings afforded by the communicative situation and the specific discourse context in which the language is used. This is particularly true of indirect speech acts where the intended meaning of the utterance does not match the literal or conventional meaning of the sentence (Searle 1975, Morgan 1978). Where the linguistic structure of an utterance provides insufficient cue for the hearer to derive the speech act the speaker is performing, the act is regarded as indirect. On hearers' comprehension of indirect speech acts compared with direct speech acts, there is evidence that a hearer follows the conversational rule of constructing the literal meaning of the utterance before deriving the indirect meaning after checking the context for plausibility (Clark & Lucy 1975). Hence, additional processing is required of hearers to construct meaning of indirect speech acts such as indirect requests in questions.

Knowledge about the discourse context influences how utterances are deployed and interpreted by hearers. The more indirect the speech act, the more contextual knowledge is required for the hearer to process and derive the speakers' intended meaning or action, a process in which both linguistic and contextual meanings play a part.

Tsui (1992) described five functions of questions to which a verbal response is required, under the broad action of 'elicitation'. They are eliciting information, eliciting confirmation, eliciting agreement, eliciting commitment, eliciting repetition, and eliciting clarification. To identify the function of a question, the context of the utterance has to be closely considered. For example, consider Examples (1) and (2) (ibid.: 102, 108):

(1) *E: D'you have an O.U.P. here, or you haven't got it?*
F: No, ah I asked them, they haven't got it, so I got it from New York.
E: You have to get it from New York huh?
F: Yeah just write, just write them a letter, they'll probably send it by air mail too, for free.

In Example (1), the question "*You have to get it from New York huh?*", which is a declarative with a question particle, is commonly interpreted as one eliciting confirmation. However, as explained by Tsui (1992), this is unlikely to be the intended function because the information that F obtained the item from New York had just been provided in F's previous response. Hence, E's question is

aimed at obtaining further information about the manner in which F obtained the item from New York. This makes the question an information-eliciting rather than a confirmation-eliciting question.

In Example (2), the question "*Can I ask you a question?*", although taking the form of a *yes-no* question, is not one eliciting confirmation. The answer expected by A is not for B to confirm A's assumption, nor to give permission to A to ask a question. What is expected is for B to give a commitment for further interaction with A. Hence, it would be improper if A were to keep silent after B's response. The function of A's question can, therefore, be interpreted as eliciting commitment.

(2) *A: Can I ask you a question?*
B: Sure.
A: Ø

In the problem presentation phase of the clinical consultation, the primary aim of questions is to elicit information from the patient. Further, the form of the information desired is broad-based and holistic, without undue influence from the doctor in directing its course. However, a typical question such as "*So you are sick today, huh?*" (Heritage & Robinson 2006: 93) would require a confirmation or disconfirmation as immediate response based on the linguistic structure of the question, and there is a lack of linguistic cues to indicate that the doctor is attempting to elicit a problem presentation. The questions posed by doctors that employ a closed-ended question form in particular are largely indirect in their pragmatic meaning as a request for problem presentation, and for the patient to unravel this indirect meaning would require familiarity with the specific professional procedures that govern clinical interactions.

In this study, questions employed by veterinarians in the problem presentation phase of veterinary consultation were analysed in a set of 25 veterinarian-client interactions conducted in English at a veterinary hospital in Malaysia. Types of questions (Heritage & Robinson 2006) used to elicit clients' concerns about the animal-patient's medical condition were examined in relation to their linguistic forms and functions. This paper addresses the following questions: 1) What question types and linguistic forms are preferred by veterinarians in eliciting problem presentation from clients in the clinical consultation? 2) How do clients ascribe veterinarians' actions as can be inferred through their responses to veterinarians' open-ended and closed-ended question forms?

2 Method

Twenty-five veterinarian-client outpatient clinical consultations in a veterinary hospital in Malaysia were video-recorded. A total of twelve veterinarians working as full-time practitioners in the clinic were recruited for the study. Twenty-five clients were recruited through convenience sampling as the clients came with their pets for their clinical appointments (see Table 1 for details of participants' age and gender). The clients were approached while waiting for their turns and informed about the research. Those who gave their consent to participate in the research had their consultations recorded. Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the university ethics review committee.

The consultations were conducted in English and most of the participants (veterinarians and clients) spoke English as a second language. The animal-patients brought to the clinic were small pet animals. Table 2 shows the types of animal-patients in the consultations.

	Gender		Age
	Male	Female	
Veterinarians	5	7	24-30 years old
Clients	10	15	not available

Table 1: Age and gender of veterinarians and clients

Animal-patient	Number
Cat	11
Dog	12
Rabbit	1
Hedgehog	1

Table 2: Animal-patients in the consultations

Eleven veterinarians were recorded for two consultations and one was recorded for three consultations, bringing the total number of consultations recorded to 25. The duration of 21 consultations was shorter than 30 minutes, and four lasted more than 30 minutes. The recordings were transcribed in conventional English spelling for ease of reading. Disfluencies, speech fragments, repetitions and non-standard speech forms which are common occurrences in spoken data were retained in the transcriptions, as they reflect naturally occurring conversations.

As this study focused on the problem presentation phase of the consultation, the problem presentation phase sections in the transcription were marked off for analysis. The problem presentation phase is typically the initial part of a clinical

consultation, after any greetings and talk related to administrative matters. It is characterised by the veterinarian getting the client to provide information about the medical reason that brought the patient in to the clinic. While it is common that problem presentation would be the first part of the consultation, it is also possible for problem presentation to re-occur later in a consultation, when the client brings up another medical problem which had not been discussed earlier. This is when the question from the veterinarian would loop back into an opening question type for eliciting the client's concerns, such as "*So, what happened? Tell me about it*". The problem presentation phase typically ends when the restrictive history-taking questions commence.

Veterinarians' questions in the relevant sections of the transcription were identified and coded based on question types for problem elicitation in medical consultations (Heritage & Robinson 2006), linguistic forms (Quirk et al. 1985, Gunlogson 2002, Freed & Ehrlich 2010, Heritage 2013) and elicitation functions (Tsui 1992). A total of 71 questions were identified. Two raters coded the questions independently, and the inter-rater agreement was 91 per cent. Cases of disagreement were resolved through discussion between the raters.

Proportions of question types, forms and functions of questions in the data are presented, followed by an examination of client responses in relation to the types of questions. The aim is not for generalisation of the findings but to seek understanding of the patterns of question and answer in the sequences that represent veterinarian-client interaction in the specific context of communication.

3 Results and discussion

3.1 Veterinarians' questions and their linguistic forms

Out of the five types of question in the problem presentation phase, Type 2 (gloss for confirmation) questions were used the most often (47.9%), followed by Type 1 (general inquiry) questions (28.2%) (see Table 3). The three other types of question (symptom confirmation, "*How are you*" question, and history-taking) were used infrequently. Notably, Type 1 and 2 questions represent about 75 per cent of questions asked. This shows that the veterinarians, in the main, posed questions that are said to be facilitative towards eliciting problem presentation from clients (Heritage & Robinson 2006), as in Examples (3) and (4) from the data:

(3) *Yes, uh, how can I help you today?*

(4) *What's the problem with the …?*

On the other hand, the veterinarians used less frequently questions of Type 3 (symptom confirmation) and Type 4 ("*How are you*" question), which could seem ambivalent to clients about whether or not they are indirect invitations to provide a narrative of the animal-patients' condition. It is noted that for the Type 4 question, instead of "*How are you*", the equivalent form in veterinary consultation takes the third person reference, such as "*How is he/she/name of animal-patient today?*" Examples (5) and (6) show Types 3 and 4 questions from the data:

(5) *Okay, so the dog has mouth inflammation since last week?* [directly after reading the patient chart]

(6) *How is Mei Mei doing?*

History-taking questions appeared only six times in the data, accounting for only 8.5 percent. As history-taking questions posed at the beginning phase of a consultation essentially cuts off the problem presentation opportunity of the client, it is not regarded as ideal for soliciting clients' concerns. In Example (7), although a Type 3 (symptom confirmation) question was posed ("*The cat isn't eating since one week?*"), it was immediately followed by a Type 5 (history-taking) question ("*Any vomiting?*"), which ends the opportunity for the client to present their account of the patient's medical problem.

(7) [Reading the medical record] *The cat isn't eating since one week? Any vomiting?*

On the linguistic forms of questions, overall, closed-ended questions (63.4%) represent the larger proportion of veterinarians' questions compared to open-ended ones (36.6%). Type 1 (general inquiry) questions were asked exclusively using the *wh*-question form (see Table 3). No closed-ended question forms were used for this purpose. For Type 2 (gloss for confirmation) questions, the preferred form was the declarative question form, although the *yes-no* direct, tag question and reduced-shortened forms were also used to a lesser extent.

Question Type*	Linguistic Forms of Questions						
	WH-questions (Open-ended)	Closed-ended					
		Declarative	*Yes/No* direct	Reduced-shortened	Alternative (X or Y)	Tag	**Total**
Type 1	20	0	0	0	0	0	20 (28.2%)
Type 2	1	18	7	1	0	7	34 (47.9%)
Type 3	0	6	0	0	0	1	7 (9.8%)
Type 4	2	2	0	0	0	0	4 (5.6%)
Type 5	3	0	1	1	1	0	6 (8.5%)
Total	26 (36.6%)	26 (36.6%)	8 (11.3%)	2 (2.8,%)	1 (1.4%)	8 (11.3%)	71 (100%)
	26 (36.6%)	**45 (63.4%)**					

*Note: Heritage and Robinson's (2006) types of opening questions in medical consultations

Table 3: Linguistic forms of veterinarians' questions

For Type 3 (symptom confirmation) questions, only the declarative and tag question forms were used, with the declarative question occurring more frequently. For Type 4 ("*How are you?*") questions, only *wh*- and declarative questions were used, in a limited number. Type 5 (history-taking) questions were also present in various forms such as *wh*-question, *yes-no* direct and alternative questions.

While a strong preference for the *wh*-question as a problem-eliciting question form is expected, the results show that closed-ended questions are also strongly represented in veterinarians' questions, particularly the declarative question form. However, contrary to the assumption that closed-ended questions are less ideal for good veterinarian-client communication (see Shaw 2004, Kanji et al. 2012, McArthur & Fitzgerald 2013), the results show that closed-endedness in question forms does not preclude the intended problem-eliciting discourse function of the questions in veterinary consultations.

The results show that the declarative question form is the preferred form among the closed-ended question forms in problem elicitation, particularly for implementing Type 2 (gloss for confirmation) and Type 3 (symptom confirmation) questions. As explained by Gunlogson (2002: 125), one of the functions of declarative questions is conveying a bias, an assumption that the addressee is committed to the proposition expressed. Hence, there is a tendency towards positive polarity and the client in the clinical consultation is expected to confirm or agree with the proposition, as a matter of fact. However, when the declarative question is posed in the problem presentation phase of the consultation, the client is expected to infer the discursive force of the question as an invitation to provide

an account of the patient's medical problem following the initial response to the declarative question. That the proportions of the declarative question and the *wh*-question used by the veterinarians in eliciting problem presentation are almost equal points to the veterinarians' interpretation of the declarative question as pragmatically relevant in performing the problem elicitation function.

On the other hand, the *wh*-question, although open-ended in its grammatical classification, do not necessarily facilitate problem presentation. This is particularly true if the question is a Type 5 (history-taking) question aimed at obtaining answers to fit specific slots (see MacMartin et al. 2015). In the study, three of the *wh*-questions posed by the veterinarians in the problem presentation phase were history-taking questions that did not contribute to eliciting problem presentation. Only where the *wh*-questions take the function of Type 1 (general inquiry), problem presentation by the client is made possible. Examples (3) and (4) provided above are examples of general inquiry *wh*-questions. Examples of history-taking *wh*-questions are shown in Examples (8) and (9):

(8) *Before, what is his weight?*

(9) *When did the eye problem start?*

The findings indicate that veterinarians in the study employed predominantly question Type 1 (general inquiry) and Type 2 (gloss for confirmation) to elicit problem presentation from clients, and that the open-ended *wh*-question and the closed-ended declarative forms were the preferred linguistic choices. That the Type 1 (general enquiry) questions which are implemented entirely through the *wh*-prefaced question form is the preferred question design comes as no surprise. The open-ended linguistic form triggers an unambiguous request for information, displaying the enquirer's unknowing epistemic status about the client's reason for the visit. A question such as "*What is the problem with ...*" or "*What brings you here today?*" is neither indirect nor ambiguous as a request for problem presentation.

While this manner of questioning may seem ideal in eliciting problem presentation, within the discourse practice of the clinical consultation, it is not always possible to use it. Social interactions are constrained by rules that govern how people should interact with one another. An unspoken rule is that one may provide information to an interlocutor only if it is known that the said interlocutor lacks the particular piece of information, that is, they hold an unknowing status (Goodwin 1979, Heritage 2012, 2013). In a clinical consultation, particularly if the doctor is already in possession of some record of the patient, patients expect doctors to have some knowledge of their medical condition, and doctors must

display having this knowledge. The Type 2 (gloss for confirmation) question design allows doctors to negotiate their epistemic status. Type 2 questions allow doctors to take a "knowing" stance, and yet, provide the space for the patient to fill in the information gaps. However, whether the indirect question type is successful in its purpose largely depends on whether clients interpret the pragmatic and discourse functions of the question as intended by the doctor. The next section focuses on clients' response to veterinarians' questions as a means of deriving clients' ascription of veterinarians' actions.

3.2 Veterinarians' questions and clients' responses

Question types were examined in terms of the pragmatic functions to which clients responded. The majority of Types 1 and 2 questions asked by veterinarians were interpreted as information-eliciting (63.4%) and confirmation-eliciting (31%) (see Table 4).

Question type*	**Elicit: information**	**Elicit: confirmation**	**Elicit: clarification**	**Total**
Type 1	16	0	4	20 (28.2%)
Type 2	18	16	0	34 (47.9%)
Type 3	3	4	0	7 (9.8%)
Type 4	4	0	0	4 (5.6%)
Type 5	4	2	0	6 (8.5%)
Total	**45 (63.4%)**	**22 (31%)**	**4 (5.6%)**	**71 (100%)**

*Note: Heritage and Robinson's (2006) types of opening questions in medical consultations

Table 4: Question types and clients' action ascription of veterinarians' questions

Questions eliciting information are highly relevant to the interactional goal of the problem presentation phase of the veterinary consultation, and are incidentally the questions most frequently asked by veterinarians. Where the surface linguistic structure of the questions does not match that of the intended action (a request for problem presentation), clients' interpretation of the questions as indirect invitations to present the patient's medical problem would be derived at from their knowledge of the discourse context of the clinical consultation.

However, there is also a strong representation of questions interpreted as confirmation-eliciting (31%). These are questions that were interpreted by clients as requiring only a (dis)confirmation of the veterinarians' assumptions as posed in the questions. These questions failed to trigger problem presentation from clients, who had relied on the linguistic form of the questions and complied with the literal meaning without inferring the indirect meaning of the questions.

In the following sections, extracts of veterinarian-client interactions from the data are discussed to illustrate the unfolding of the problem presentation phase of the clinical consultation with regard to veterinarian questions. Due to space constraints, only extracts that most clearly exemplify the categories described are selected for illustration.

3.2.1 Information-eliciting *wh*-prefaced open-ended questions

General inquiry questions are typically implemented with an open-ended *wh*-question form, and provide the widest opportunity for the client to narrate the patient's medical problem in their own space and time. In Excerpts 1 and 2 below, the clients understood the question as a clear invitation to present the medical problem that brought the patient in for the visit. This would include the freedom to voice out their concerns, suspicions and so forth. This the clients did right after the opening questions were asked. In Excerpt 3 (line 4), the client appears to be knowledgeable about the patient's symptoms and confidently described it using the medical term, *hematoma*. In all three excerpts, the veterinarian accepted the clients' responses as adequate answers to the questions and proceeded to the history-taking phase. What is clear in these examples is the lack of ambiguity about the intent of the questions from the clients' perspective, as the question form and discourse function (*wh*-question, general inquiry) are aligned in the discourse context in executing a request for problem presentation.

Excerpt 1

Dog – fractured leg

1 V: → **What happened?**
2 C: → Yesterday night we just heard a sound outside, and when we arrived we saw he couldn't move, I think because of car accident.
3 V: ohh, is it your own dog?
4 C: Yeah
5 V: Do you keep the dog outdoor?
6 C: No but sometimes goes out
7 V: He cannot even move?
8 C: When we touch, he feels pain
9 V: We need to take x-ray first to see if there is there any fracture, ok?

Excerpt 2
Rabbit – broken leg
1 V: → **How can I help you today?**
2 C: → So, I don't know sometimes the thing like rotate like that rotate like that whether .. [referring to the rabbit's broken leg]
3 V: There is impact for (inaudible word) la.

Excerpt 3
Dog – ear, hematoma
1 V: Okay. Dino is it?
2 C: Yeah yeah yeah
3 V: → Yes, **what happened**?
4 C: → He has hematoma ah? The ears.
5 V: Since when that happened?
6 C: About a week ago.

However, for clients who are not quite familiar with the discourse conventions of the clinical consultation, a general inquiry may not trigger problem presentation and the veterinarian may need to use a more specific question. In Excerpt 4, the client's response to the general inquiry question was to state the name of the patient, and to gloss the patient's condition as "sick" (lines 2 and 4). The veterinarian regarded the client's response as inadequate in fulfilling the purpose of problem presentation, and proceeded to ask a Type 2 question (line 7), which succeeded in getting the problem presented by the client (line 8).

Excerpt 4
Hedgehog – appetite problem
1 V: → Yes, uh, **how can I help you today**?
2 C: → It's this Turtle, okay.
3 V: Three-year-old, hedgehog. So, you came for general check-up, is it?
4 C: → Yup, supposedly, last week. She's been sick.
5 V: Ahh, okay. So, it's not a general check-up ah? (Laughs)
6 C: Hahaha.
7 V: → Uh what sick, **when you say sick how sick she was**?
8 C: → She doesn't want to eat.

The same may be said about the "*How are you*" question, which could be interpreted by clients as requiring an evaluation of the patient's general condition rather than a request for problem presentation. In Excerpt 5, in response to the veterinarian's question in line 7, the client provided an evaluation of the patient's current emotional state instead of presenting the medical problem (line 8).

Excerpt 5
Dog – Back pain; soft tissue injury
1 V: Right. Come! MEI MEI! Come take Mei Mei's weight
2 C: Take take take (talking to the dog (inaudible)
3 V: You can place her on the weighing scale, on her own
4 C: Sixteen zero five
5 V: Sixteen-oh-five. Okay.
6 C: [says something in Mandarin]
7 V: → Sixteen-oh-five. **How is Mei Mei doing?**
8 C: → You see, she is so upset.

3.2.2 Confirmation-eliciting closed-ended questions

In the following examples, attention is paid to the questions utilising the closed-ended question forms. In Excerpt 6, the tag question form was posed to the client to begin the problem presentation phase. However, the client interpreted the closed-ended question as a confirmation-eliciting question and failed to present the patient's problem (line 2). The veterinarian then followed with a general inquiry *wh*-question (line 4) which successfully elicited problem presentation. In Excerpt 7, the declarative question implementing the gloss (skin problem) confirmation question (line 1) elicited a confirmation from the client, and which did not proceed to problem presentation. Only in line 7 when the gloss confirmation question was repeated using the *yes-no* direct question form, did the client present the patient's problem, after giving the answer "no" as a direct response to the polar question. This example shows the ambiguity of gloss confirmation as a means of eliciting problem presentation from the point of view of the client. Both questions in line 1 and line 7 are attempts by the veterinarian to trigger problem presentation from the client using the Type 2 (gloss confirmation) question, but only in line 7 was the request successful.

Excerpt 6
Dog – appetite problem
1 V: → Okay, **so the dog isn't feeling ok today, isn't it**?
2 C: → Yes.
3 V: → **What happened?**
4 C: Ohhh, he is not eating good and sleeping a lot.

Excerpt 7
Dog – skin problem
[The veterinarian reviews the medical record]
1 V: → **Before this you came here before for the skin problem?**
2 C: Yes.
3 V: Yeah, So uhh, the last visit... Uhh, the last one was in June?

4 C: Yes.
5 V: Hmm, four months ago?
6 C: Yes.
7 V: → **And is it still the same problem?**
8 C: No, that one recovers but now again uhhh, the most part is that the area around
9 his mouth. This one you see, he just scratches everywhere.

In Excerpt 8, the veterinarian began the session with a gloss confirmation question (mouth inflammation) (line 3) after reviewing the patient's record. This elicited a confirmatory response congruent with the closed-ended structure of the question from the client (line 4), which did not proceed to problem presentation. The interaction continued with the veterinarian implementing history-taking with no evidence of problem presentation taking place in the consultation.

Excerpt 8
Dog – mouth inflammation
1 V: Hello
2 C: Hello
[The veterinarian reviews the medical record]
3 V: →Okay, **so the dog has mouth inflammation since last week?**
4 C: yeah
5 V: This is good okay; this is your only dog?
6 C: Yeah
7 V: Do you keep your dog indoor or outdoor?
8 C: Completely indoor
9 V: How is the dog eating?
10 C: Not eating well

In Excerpt 9, the symptom confirmation question in the declarative form was immediately followed by a history-taking question, which was also a closed-ended question form (line 1). The response from the client was to reply to the more recent question, which was the history-taking question. The problem presentation opportunity potentially presented through the initial question asked by the veterinarian was lost when the veterinarian did not give the client the floor to respond. By asking the history-taking question in the opening line, the close of the problem presentation phase was signalled before it could begin.

Excerpt 9
Cat – appetite problem
[Reading the medical record]
1 V → **The cat isn't eating since one week? Any vomiting?**
2 C: No.

3.2.3 Open-ended history-taking *wh*-question

Finally, Excerpt 10 illustrates the situation when a *wh*-question does not serve the purpose of eliciting problem presentation despite its open-ended linguistic structure. This is because the question implements a request for a narrow-range piece of information and does not allow space for the client to narrate the patient's problem. This is the history-taking question labelled as the Type 5 opening question by Heritage and Robinson (2006). In a clinical consultation, the deployment of a history-taking question signals the conclusion of the problem presentation phase, as the veterinarian proceeds to asking detailed history information from the client in a directed and controlled manner. This type of questioning, whether in the form of closed-ended *yes-no* or open-ended *wh*-format, allows the client a slot for a narrow range answer, where no expansion is anticipated. In Excerpt 10, the veterinarian began the session with a history-taking question (line 1). This often happens when the veterinarian has obtained information of the patient's condition from the patient's record, and feels that the information is sufficient for history-taking to begin, and hence, skips over problem presentation from the client.

Excerpt 10
Cat – eye problem
[The veterinarian reviews the medical record]
1 V: → **When did the eye problem start?**
2 C: Last two weeks
3 V: Has it been on any medication before?
4 C: No.

From the examples in the data, clients respond to declarative questions with a confirmation or disconfirmation, in line with the closed-ended function of the question form. However, of the Type 2 (gloss confirmation) questions being asked, approximately only half of the instances resulted in responses that proceeded further into problem presentation as their final outcome. Certainly, not in all instances did clients interpret the closed-ended questions as solicitation of patients' presenting concerns. This shows that clients' understanding of the closed-ended question as requiring more than just a *yes-no* answer is dependent on the individual's understanding of the discourse structure of the consultation interaction, and especially the discourse expectations in accomplishing the interactional goal of the consultation visit. Active inference on the clients' part is required to achieve the goal of the interaction when the linguistic form of the question signals a communicative function that is incongruent with the intended pragmatic function. That the clients' closed-ended answers are deemed

inadequate in fulfilling the veterinarians' question is demonstrated when the veterinarians follow up with further questions to elicit the required response from clients, as illustrated in Excerpts 6 and 7. Hence, it may be argued that clients need to be aware that veterinarians asking a closed-ended question at the initial phase of the clinical consultation represents a common institutional or professional 'procedure' by which they elicit problem presentation from clients. Otherwise, the implicit meaning of the question may be missed all together.

The general assumption that open-ended questions allow expanded responses and closed-ended questions limit the scope of responses may not be entirely accurate with regard to elicitation of problem presentation. *Wh*-questions that target narrow-range information, such as a history-taking question asking about what food was given to a patient (MacMartin et al. 2015), do not provide space for an extended response. The veterinarian's intention to elicit problem presentation by asking the general inquiry and "*How are you?*" questions may also be lost on certain clients, especially if they are not familiar with how veterinarians conduct their business in a consultation.

4 Conclusion

Heritage and Robinson (2006) mapped out question types used by doctors in clinical consultations to solicit patients' presenting concerns, based on how the different types of questions are designed to display the knowledge status of the enquirer. Patients' understanding of the discourse context allows them to volunteer as much or as little information about their medical problem as appropriate, following the rule of social conversation of not giving information that is already known to conversation partners. However, whether patients interpret the questions posed by doctors as invitations to problem presentation depends on their understanding of the discourse context, such as familiarity with the discourse conventions of a medical consultation where the initial phase requires the doctor to invite patients to state their business and provide an account of their medical problem without interruption or redirection from the doctor. This is because the linguistic forms of the questions may not explicitly signal a request for problem presentation, but in fact may lead the hearer to infer a different action. Many of the questions take the grammatical form of the closed-ended question format that may be ascribed a confirmation-eliciting rather than information-eliciting function. Patients who are unaware of the doctor's intended action may provide a confirmatory answer without volunteering further information.

In this study, we have attempted to show how linguistic forms used to design the questions intersect with the question types to provide insight into the way actions are ascribed to veterinarians' questions by clients through an examination

of clients' responses in the veterinary consultation. The findings show that veterinarians prefer to use the open-ended *wh*-question and the closed-ended declarative question to solicit patients' presenting concerns from clients. The *wh*-question form when employed as the general inquiry question type such as "What happened?", is the most effective in triggering problem presentation from clients. The open-ended question form converges with its information-eliciting function to perform an unambiguous request to the client to provide all pertinent information about the patient's medical business. Little effort is required of the clients to infer the intended meaning of the question from the discourse context. In all the instances of the general inquiry question posed in the *wh*-question format, the clients inevitably provided a description of the patient's problem.

Closed-ended question forms showed a slightly different result. The declarative as a linguistic form could be interpreted as a comment/statement or a question depending on how it is uttered. To use the declarative form as a question, speakers usually make clear the interrogative function through appropriate intonation or use of question particles, and with the hearer discerning these signals as such. Heritage (2013) proposed that participants may distinguish a declarative form as an information-request through their shared understanding of the relative epistemic status of enquirer and hearer. If the domain of enquiry is within the knowledge domain of the hearer but not the enquirer, the declarative is interpreted as a question and not a statement. Additionally, as we see in the current data, when the speaker pauses expectantly, the hearer infers the declarative statement as an interrogative that requires an answer. Conversely, when no turn is allocated to the hearer, it becomes unclear whether information is being requested from the hearer, that is to say, whether the questioner relinquishes the floor to the hearer in actual interaction becomes an important consideration for the hearer to distinguish a statement from a question in declaratives.

In the Malaysian veterinary context, veterinarians' most effective question type to elicit problem presentation is the general enquiry question utilising the *wh*-question form. This is consistent with Heritage and Robinson's (2006) finding on the use of the general inquiry question type in medical consultations. Closed-ended question forms, particularly the declarative form are also used, but less successfully. A large number of clients provide only the immediately relevant response to the closed-ended question type which is to give a confirmation or disconfirmation. Where the veterinarians do not pursue problem presentation after the client's response, the problem presentation phase is bypassed and the consultation moves on to the history-taking phase. This represents a missed opportunity that may render the clinical consultation less effective, as the client's observations and concerns may not have the chance to be fully expressed (Dysart

et al. 2011). Hence, consistent with Robinson and Heritage's (2006) observations on doctors' opening questions, it might be more effective for veterinarians to opt for the less ambiguous general inquiry question that indexes the unknowing epistemic status (Heritage 2013) of the enquirer in the open-ended structure to explicitly solicit patients' presenting concerns from clients.

An important finding to note is that while epistemic status may take precedence over linguistic form for hearers in ascribing the speaker's action, for example, whether a declarative is an assertion or a request (Heritage 2012, 2013), evidence from the current study suggests that the linguistic form of the question is significant in its role in limiting the range of possible actions to those congruent with the linguistic form of the question itself. Specifically in the clinical consultation, closed-ended questions are regarded as requests for confirmation in most instances. To infer a closed-ended question as a request for problem presentation would require knowledge at the institutional discourse level which many patients or clients may not possess.

This study brings another level of analysis into clinicians' question design and clients' response in the problem presentation communicative event by considering participants' linguistic and discourse competence. The findings may differ, however, among participants in different socio-cultural environments. Insights from the study have important implications for both veterinarian communication training and client management. On the one hand, veterinarians' awareness of their own question design preferences and clients' ascription of their actions can help them understand why and how problem presentation fails to be implemented or otherwise. How veterinarians should pursue problem presentation from clients with appropriate questioning strategies incorporating a clear understanding of the effects of language is a key aspect of carrying out their professional duties. On the other hand, it is apparent that clients' familiarity with the discourse context of the consultation interaction plays a major role in determining how they ascribe the veterinarian's actions. Attending a clinical consultation is a rare communication event for most people, compared to dining in a restaurant, for example. Hence, it is understandable that the discourse script of the clinical consultation event is not clearly developed for most people. Not knowing the procedure of how veterinarians try to elicit problem presentation, sometimes by asking questions using linguistic forms that appear incongruent with their communicative purposes may result in inaccurate interpretation of the discourse situation. As a final point, there is also the issue of clients' rights, that is, the right of clients to express their concerns unimpeded by the clinician. For this to take place, education for clients about what to expect and how to navigate the clinical consultation should be given due attention.

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Notes

[1] Some researchers (e.g. Heritage & Robinson 2006) regard the problem presentation stage as preceding history-taking. However, in medical schools, history-taking is broadly defined as gathering information about the patient's condition through the patient interview (see Keifenheim et al. 2015) and, hence, the problem presentation stage as part of history-taking.

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ON PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES: METADISCOURSE PRACTICES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

Hadi Kashiha

Abstract

This study attempted to investigate the persuasive meaning of metadiscourse markers in political speeches to see to what extent and how persuasive discourse is constructed in this genre through metadiscourse practices. To this aim, twenty-six political speeches given by Barack Obama, a former president of the United States, were analyzed using a discourse analytic approach and following Hyland's (2005ab) interpersonal models of metadiscourse to identify the frequency and persuasive function of interactive and interactional devices used. The findings indicated that the persuasive meaning conveyed by metadiscourse was for the most part context-dependent, which sometimes required the speaker to rely on a combination of devices to organize his discourse, persuade audiences, attract their attention and engage them in arguments. Furthermore, interactional devices were more frequently used than interactive ones, reflecting that engaging audiences in arguments and showing one's attitude and evaluation towards propositions were more likely to contribute to constructing a persuasive political speech. Findings can be discussed in terms of raising the awareness of second language speakers toward the linguistic and pragmatic conventions of political discourse and how persuasive discourse is constructed through metadiscourse markers.

Keywords

audience, interactional, interactive, metadiscourse, persuasion, political speech

1 Introduction

Political speech is considered a communicative interaction between the addresser and the addressee in which the addresser intends to support his/her propositions by persuading the addressee to accept his/her ideas and viewpoints. To accomplish this, the addresser relies on a range of lexico-grammatical resources and linguistic features as a way to present him/herself in discourse, anticipate the audience's reactions, create affinity with the audience, and moderate personal and power relations. Metadiscourse is one of the common linguistic devices that play a pivotal role in helping addressers show their stance toward a proposition, build a cohesive speech, negotiate meaning with the audiences, and pull them into arguments. To Hyland (2005a), metadiscourse is an endeavor to direct audiences toward a writer or speaker's message and guide them through the text/speech by using a range of linguistic items. Metadiscourse is seen as a powerful

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means by which the speaker constructs social and interpersonal relations with the audience as a discourse participant. Some aspects of metadiscourse such as self-reference, stance and engagement have recently been the target of a number of studies in spoken language (Jung 2003, Biber 2006, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2008, Ädel 2010, 2012, Kashiha & Chan 2014, Lee & Subtirelu 2015, Zare & Tavakoli 2016).

The present investigation builds upon this line of research to communicate the view that the choice of linguistic forms and meanings is genre-related and characterized by the type of interaction between participants. The study aims to investigate to what extent and how persuasion in political discourse is constructed through the choice of a variety of metadiscourse devices. Some examples of these devices are: *today I will discuss, I want to talk about, let's briefly look at, you might still think that,* and *you should know that.*

1.1 Persuasion in discourse

Persuasion has long been recognized as an art throughout history. To Miller (2015), all language styles and the ways they are used are persuasive in nature. Persuasion is an indispensable part of the interaction between members of a society and it has been conventionally regarded as linguistic behavior and strategy used either to change the attitude and reaction of interlocutors or to affect their belief and degree of agreement. It is widely believed that the presence of an addressee, either active or inactive, can facilitate the process of persuasion. Another factor that can influence the process of persuasion is the situational context in which it occurs, and this relationship can be two-way, i.e. persuasion can help build the context in various ways. The notion of persuasion has become famous for its conventional classification introduced by Aristotle, namely ethos, pathos, and logos (Braet 1992). Ethos deals with creating the addresser's persona and stance, pathos has to do with provoking the addressee's emotive reaction, and logos deals with providing a rationale for given arguments. It is worth mentioning that successful persuasive language use, in which the context and argument are connected to the addresser and the addressee, requires a combination of ethos, pathos and logos.

Researchers have shown a tendency to study various strategies of persuasive language use in different contexts, registers, cultures, and disciplines (Dillard & Pfau 2002, Pettegree 2005, Lunsford et al. 2008, among others). Several scholars have defined persuasion from their perspective. For example, O'Keefe (2002: 5) defines persuasion as "a successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom". Van Dijk (2006) looks at persuasion

as a state of the interlocutors' mindset, in which they are "free to believe or act as they please" (ibid.: 361). The definitions imply that the addresser's right to choose what linguistics features they deem necessary to persuade the addressee serves as a building block of persuasive language use. Simultaneously, the addressee is dependent and free enough to show suitable reactions to the addresser's persuasive arguments. These reactions are highly context-dependent.

There are two main views of persuasion: 1) persuasion as a social phenomenon, and 2) persuasion as a cognitive phenomenon. The first view emphasizes that persuasion is a social phenomenon that includes a series of communicative events between the speaker as the persuader and the audience as the receiver of persuasion (van Dijk 2006). The second view asserts that persuasion can be regarded as a cognitive phenomenon because it aims to manipulate and control the audience's emotions, beliefs and responses (O'Keefe 2002). However, it should be borne in mind that persuasion does not completely change the audience's habitual conventions and views; yet, it intends to build up and support the audience's current habits and thought patterns. The present study follows a social phenomenon view of persuasion because it aims to look at the social relationship between the addresser and the addressee by investigating the types of persuasive strategies that are used in political speeches and how they are constructed through metadiscourse practices.

1.2 Linguistic features in political and other oral speeches

Recently, researchers in Applied Linguistics have shown an abundant interest to investigate the discourse of oral speeches to discover how spoken genres are organized and what rhetorical properties they include. As mentioned earlier, one way to investigate the properties of a spoken genre is through identifying a wide range of linguistic features that are commonly used in them and by highlighting the types of interpersonal strategies and styles that are employed by interlocutors. As for the common strategy, persuasion, Rosingana (2018) discovered how audience persuasion is built in political discourse through the use of indirect fictional construals. Upon relying on four different areas of discourse phenomenon, Rosingana found that certain linguistic strategies such as patterns of raising awareness and principal adjustments can be used to construct persuasive processes and help audiences interpret arguments and distinguish between reality and fiction. Another strategy was to draw the audience's attention to the perception of alternative reality through restricting the use of references and those modal words that express moral obligations.

In another study, Sebera and Lu (2018) analyzed the speeches delivered by Churchill during the Cold War to see how corpus and cognitive linguistics can

play a role in exploring the persuasive discourse of politicians and determining their underlying purposes through the choice of certain linguistic features. They found that Churchill made frequent use of metaphors such as 'person', 'journey', and 'building' in his rhetoric in order to give importance to the nation's vision for the future, especially 'journey' which collocated with other attributes to signal the mutual cooperation between the United Kingdom and the United States. In research by Veloso and Feng (2018), a political speech video released during the presidential campaign in Brazil in 2010 was studied to analyze the persuasive effect of the linguistic forms and meanings used in the video. They found that the two candidates attempted to convince audiences not to vote for the other candidate through the use of specific discursive and linguistic structures such as negative behavioral connotations.

Liukonen (2018) looked at the notion of persuasion by analyzing the discourse of David Cameron. The purpose was to investigate the types of persuasive requests David Cameron made in his public speeches on the EU referendum. To this aim, Liukonen adopted Aristotle's rhetorical theory (i.e. the three modes of persuasion: logos, pathos, and ethos) to indicate how a particular form that a speaker selects could contribute to the rhetorical strategies employed in the speech. It was concluded that political speeches do not only deal with conveying the core message to audiences, but they also focus on expressing one's opinion about what is said through constructing social relations. Chen (2017) adopted Hyland's (2005a) model to examine the frequency and function of interactional and interactive metadiscourse markers in Hillary Clinton's speech given in her first political campaign in 2015. The quantitative analysis revealed that all the metadiscourse resources were employed in her speech, except for endophoric markers and code glosses. Furthermore, the most frequent markers were self-mentions, boosters, and transitions, respectively. The researcher asserted that the high application of self-mentions and boosters could imply the speaker's character as a female presidential candidate who wanted to convince and impress audiences through indicating her confidence and political stance.

In other endeavors, the use of personal and self-reference markers has also been found to contribute to forming a persuasive relationship between the speaker and audiences in political speeches. Ismail (2012) looked at the types of logical and personal markers used in political speeches delivered by an English native speaker politician. The analysis demonstrated that these markers were frequently utilized in the discourse of political speeches, establishing connections between different ideas, showing contrasts, and building persuasive relations. Moreover, the degree of social ranking between the speaker and audiences was reduced and the knowledge was shared with the help of personal markers. In another

study, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2008) examined the frequency and function of self-reference metadiscourse in the forms of the first-person pronoun *I*, the object pronoun *me*, and the possessive adjective *my* in institutional and political speeches delivered by three diplomats as general directors of UNESCO. Moreover, the study classified self-references, as markers of persuasion and evaluation, into two main categories; the interpersonal category included stance and engagement markers (hedges, boosters, attitude markers, and expressive speech acts) and the textual category consisted of inter-textual and intra-textual references (shared knowledge, signals of textual acts, and personal asides). The researcher found that *I* as the first-person subject pronoun followed by a finite verb was the most common self-reference employed in those diplomatic speeches, while *me* as the first-person object pronoun was the least frequent.

In a comparative study, Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2015) analyzed the types of discourse markers used in eleven political interviews with politicians from the United States and Iran. They classified the identified discourse markers into four categories including interpersonal category, referential category, structural category, and cognitive category. The researchers found that both groups of politicians relied on the use of a variety of discourse markers to accomplish their political objectives and convince their audiences. Despite this common similarity, some differences were also depicted in the two sets of interviews regarding the function of the markers used. One difference was the higher tendency of English native speaker politicians to use interpersonal discourse markers than their Iranian counterparts. The researchers suggested that such variation could result from cultural differences and the politicians' varying purposes to emphasize the development of interpersonal relations with their interviewers.

2 Corpus and methodology

This study is based on a corpus of 26 political speeches delivered by Barack Obama in the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, and his first and second presidential inaugurations from 2009 to 2016. The speeches ranged from 18 to 63 minutes and their transcriptions together with audio files were obtained from http://americanrhetoric.com. The total size of the corpus was 89,543 words and included six speeches given in the United Nations (25,351 words), twelve speeches given in the U.S. Congress (42,771 words), and eight speeches given in his first and second presidential inaugurations (21,421 words). The rationale for selecting these speeches is that since the purpose of this study was to investigate how persuasive discourse had been realized in political speeches through the use of metadiscourse practices, the existence and role of audiences as receivers

of such persuasion were necessary. Given this, the speeches were selected to represent the role of the audience as an active discourse participant or as a particular addressee who was not actively involved in the process of interaction across three different speech contexts.

This study applied both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The quantitative phase of the study consisted of the frequency distributions of the identified metadiscourse markers in the speeches. On the other hand, the qualitative part dealt with the analysis of the discourse function of the identified markers and the ways that these functions were used to build persuasive discourse in the speeches. A number of steps were taken in analyzing the corpus. First, the transcriptions and their audio files were downloaded from www.americanrhetoric.com. For ethics, it is stated on the website that materials owned by AmericanRhetoric.com may be used for research and educational purposes without permission. The second step was to check and match each transcript with its relevant audio file. Then, each transcript was analyzed manually to identify the types of metadiscourse markers used based on Hyland's (2005ab) interpersonal models of metadiscourse.

Due to the context-dependent nature of metadiscourse and its multifunctional feature, a manual analysis including contextual annotations was done on the corpus to discover the primary function of some ambiguous cases. In order to decrease the risk of idiosyncratic effects imposed by a single researcher and to ascertain the accuracy of the analysis, a consistent method was used in the codification of data. That is, the reliability of the coding was determined through interrater agreement. To achieve this, another researcher who was an expert in discourse analysis was asked to help the researcher in identifying the primary category of any ambiguous and conflicting cases, and an agreement was reached after a careful analysis of the context in which they were used. In cases where a marker had more than one function, the most common one was selected as the primary function. This is illustrated in the example below which was taken from the corpus used in this study:

(1) *and today, I'd like to talk about what we've done over the last 20 months to meet these challenges.* [The U.S. Congress]

In the above case, the speaker is expressing his stance (using the self-mention *I*) through structuring and framing his discourse (using the frame marker *like to talk about*). Since the latter function appeared more prominently in the corpus and was commonly used as a point of departure to initiate speeches, frame marker was selected as a primary function. Eventually, the final list of metadiscourse markers underwent another discourse analytic investigation to explore the

persuasive meaning of each marker based on the context in which they occurred and to find what specific metadiscoursal purpose they served in the speeches in order to convince audiences.

In order to control length variation and justify the distribution and occurrence of the markers across the three contexts where the speeches took place (the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, and presidential inaugurations), the frequency counts were normalized based on Biber et al.'s (1998) raw frequency count/number of words in the text (x 1,000 = normalized frequency count).

2.1 Analytical framework

The interpersonal models of metadiscourse were first proposed by Hyland (1998, 2004) and Hyland and Tse (2004) and were further developed by Hyland (2005ab). Hyland's (2005a) model has been commonly used in the literature to investigate the use of interactive and interactional markers in a wide range of registers (Hyland 2003, Gillaerts & van de Velde 2010, Molino 2010, McGrath & Kuteeva 2012, Cao & Hu 2014, Kashiha & Marandi 2019, Kashiha 2018, 2021ab, 2022, among many others). In this study, a combination of the two models introduced by Hyland (2005ab) was employed because the adapted version is more comprehensive and contains some functions relating to spoken discourse (shared knowledge, personal asides, directives, and questions). In addition, and to better suit the purpose of the study, the sub-function of 'reader pronouns' was changed to 'audience pronouns' because the focus of this study was on speech. The taxonomy of metadiscourse has two main categories, namely interactive and interactional. Interactive metadiscourse contributes to directing the audience through the discourse and is divided into five sub-functions. Transitions indicate the relation between main ideas (*but*, *and*, *in addition*, *thus*). Frame markers express discourse acts, sequences, or stages in a speech (*finally*, *to conclude*, *my purpose is*). Code glosses are used to explain and elaborate a propositional meaning (*namely*, *e.g., such as*, *in other words*). Endophoric markers refer to the information given in different sections of a speech (*as noted above*, *as I said before*), while evidentials are used to refer to information from other sources (*according to X*, *Z states*).

The second main category, interactional, aims to engage audiences in discourse and indicate a speaker's attitude and evaluation toward what is being said. It has nine sub-functions including hedges, boosters, attitude markers, self-mentions, directives, shared knowledge, audience pronouns, questions, and personal asides. Through hedging devices like *might*, *perhaps*, *possible*, and *about*, a speaker attempts to withhold complete commitment to propositions by showing uncertainty and opening a dialogue. Boosters, on the other hand, stress

certainty and close a dialogue (*in fact*, *definitely*, *it is clear that*). As the name implies, attitude markers show a speaker's attitude toward propositional contents (*unfortunately*, *I agree*, *surprisingly*). Self-mentions give explicit reference to the speaker by using *I*, *we*, *my*, *me*, and *our*. Directives guide audiences to carry out an action or to notice items in a way determined by the speaker (*note that*, *should remember that*, *important to know*). The shared knowledge expressions put audiences in a position inside naturally occurring agreements (*as we know*, *as is clear*, *as we are familiar*). Audience pronouns are realized by the second person pronoun *you* and its possessive adjective *your*, and are used by the speaker to address the audience and tap his/her attention during a speech. Questions mainly deal with the plan of conversational engagements and are used as another way to attract the audiences' attention (*Do you know that*, *the question is …*). Finally, personal asides enable the speaker to communicate with audiences by interrupting the main flow of an argument to add another related comment (*meanwhile*, *in the meantime*, *by the way*).

3 Results and discussion

It is necessary to mention again that the present research followed the social phenomenon view of persuasion which considers persuasion as a social relationship between the addresser and the addressees and as a means through which the addresser supports and facilitates the addressees' current understanding of the topic rather than convincing them to change their beliefs. Therefore, the identified metadiscourse resources in this study mainly acted as persuasion facilitators or initiators rather than idea manipulators. With this in mind, a total of 1,746 lexical items (1.9% of the total running words in the whole corpus) were found to function as metadiscourse which carried a persuasive meaning. Furthermore, interactional types were more widely observed in the speeches than interactive ones (965 tokens compared with 781 tokens respectively). This higher occurrence may suggest that engaging audiences in arguments and showing one's attitude and evaluation toward propositions are more likely to contribute to constructing a persuasive political speech. However, Obama also relied on a variety of interactive markers as another type of persuasive strategy to organize his discourse, build a cohesive speech, and determine his preferred interpretations. In general, the quantitative finding of this study is in line with that of Chen (2017), who found interactional resources more frequent than interactive ones in Hillary Clinton's speeches. By contrast, Ismail (2012) found interactive and personal markers more prevalent than interactional markers in political speeches.

In this study, interactional metadiscourse had two features, namely speaker-oriented and listener-oriented features. The speaker-oriented dimension included features that refer to the ways in which the speaker attempted to convince audiences through expressing his views and communicating his attitudes, judgments, and commitments to audiences. The listener-oriented feature dealt with a position where the speaker convinced audiences differently by connecting to them directly, guiding them through the speech, helping them understand arguments, recognizing their doubts and uncertainties, as well as involving them as discourse participants.

Table 1 gives detailed information about the distribution of interactive and international types across the three venues where the political speeches were delivered. It is necessary to note that this study did not primarily focus on comparing the language use of the addresser in these subcorpora because all the speeches were given by a single speaker. However, an attempt was made to discuss particular examples in the light of the content and context of the speeches to see whether there was any connection established between what was said and where it was said.

	Interactive		Interactional	
	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm
United Nations	168	6.62	216	8.52
U.S. Congress	367	8.58	443	10.35
Presidential inaugurations	246	11.46	306	14.28
Total	**781**	**8.72**	**965**	**10.77**

Table 1: Frequency distribution of metadiscourse markers in political speeches

3.1 Interactive metadiscourse in political speeches

The findings show that the persuasive purpose of interactive types was to display the speaker's endeavor to guide audiences through the speeches. The quantitative and qualitative analyses demonstrated some similarities and differences in the ways that interactive types were deployed in the three subcorpora. As illustrated in Table 2, the most frequent interactive type in the whole corpus was transitions, aligning with Chen's (2017) work on Hillary Clinton's speeches. In this study, transitions appeared in the forms of additive, adversative, and causative; and were mainly used to create cohesion in speech and ease the audience's burden of understanding the connection between propositions. Within transitions, and was the most frequent realization followed by *but*, *or*, *because* (*of*), *as*, and *so* (*that*). In the following examples, *and* as an additive transition aims to connect sentences, adjectives, nouns, verbs, and adverbs.

(2) *Without a deal, those inspections go away, and we lose the ability to closely monitor Iran's program and detect any covert nuclear weapons program.* [The U.S. Congress]

(3) *Our national security policies are stronger and more effective when they are subject to the scrutiny and transparency that democracy demands.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(4) *We stand for the principle that all people have the right to express themselves freely and peacefully.* [The United Nations]

	United Nations		U.S. Congress		Presidential inaugurations		Total in the whole corpus	
	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm
Transitions	98	3.86	274	6.40	164	7.65	536	5.98
Frame markers	23	0.90	36	0.83	28	1.30	87	0.97
Endophoric markers	21	0.82	24	0.55	20	0.93	65	0.72
Evidentials	11	0.43	13	0.30	16	0.74	40	0.44
Code glosses	15	0.59	20	0.46	18	0.84	53	0.59
Subtotal	**168**	**6.62**	**367**	**8.58**	**246**	**11.46**	**781**	**8.72**

Table 2: Frequency distribution of interactive types in political speeches

Another persuasive strategy represented by interactive metadiscourse was the use of frame markers. Although accounting for almost one instance per 1,000 words, frame markers appeared in the three subcorpora to help Obama outline his discourse, refer to sequences or stages, show topic shifts, and announce the goals of his speech. In Example 5, which was taken from a speech delivered in the U.S. Congress, Obama attempted to convince the Congress and assure them of the precautions taken to control Iran's nuclear program through organizing his discourse into steps. He endeavored to do the same in Example 6 from his presidential inaugurations when he was thanking his team for their assistance. He made the argument in Example 7 convincing by drawing the attention of politicians in the United Nations to a summary of his speech.

(5) *First, Iran will not be able to pursue a bomb using plutonium. Second, this deal shuts down Iran's path to a bomb using enriched uranium.* [The U.S. Congress]

(6) *and finally, I want to thank the American negotiating team.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(7) *To summarize, the United States has a hard-earned humility when it comes to our ability to determine events inside other countries.* [The United Nations]

Table 2 indicates that Obama used endophoric markers in the three settings of speeches with almost similar frequency. Some examples of endophoric markers identified in the speeches are as *I said*, *what I've said tonight*, *I've already talked about*, *what I said earlier*, *as I just explained*, and *I've said before*. These markers were employed by Obama to guide different audiences through the speeches and refer them to particular information given in different sections of his speech. It appears that emphasizing and giving special importance or value to an argument through referring backward or forward was likely to establish a more persuasive speech. In other words, this way of importance marking was considered one of the strategies of building persuasion in political speeches. The use of endophoric markers is illustrated in the examples below:

(8) *I've said before and I will repeat: There is no room for accommodating an apocalyptic cult like ISIL …* [The United Nations]

(9) *What I've said tonight matters little if we don't come together to protect our most precious resources.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(10) *As I just explained, not only do we keep in place for five years the arms embargo under this particular new U.N. resolution …* [The U.S. Congress]

In Example 8, when convincing the politicians from other countries in the United Nations to accept an important decision taken by the United States regarding military interference, Obama used *I've said before* to refer to what he had already stated and *I will repeat* to put more emphasis on it. In a speech given in his presidential inauguration (Example 9), where most of the audiences were ordinary people, he used *what I've said tonight* to refer back to an important assertion that he had put forth regarding the significance of protecting the nation's precious resources. A closer look at the examples of endophoric markers showed that they mainly collocated with the self-mention *I* and were expressed in connection with this interactional metadiscourse. These types of combined use of metadiscourse markers are further discussed under the interactional category.

Another persuasive strategy represented by interactive metadiscourse was the use of evidentials, although being infrequent in the whole corpus. The speaker attempted to convince audiences to trust his assertion by backing it up with what other famous people or organizations had stated in relation to it. This again proves that this study followed the social phenomenon view of persuasion in which a relationship was built between the speaker and the audiences in order to facilitate and ensure the audiences' current understanding of a proposition rather than convincing them to completely change their belief about it. In the case of evidentials, it was depicted that supporting arguments through giving reference

to, for example, a known person in the community such as John F. Kennedy in Example 11 or a place that makes important decisions such as the U.S. Congress in Example 12 was one of the constitutive elements of political speeches that can help the speaker build persuasive discourse.

(11) *Fifty-one years ago, John F. Kennedy declared to this chamber that "the Constitution makes us not rivals for power but partners for progress." "It is my task," he said, "to report the State of the Union -- to improve it is the task of us all."* [The U.S. Congress]

(12) *Moreover, our closest allies in Europe, or in Asia -- much less China or Russia -- certainly are not going to agree to enforce existing sanctions for another 5, 10, 15 years according to the dictates of the U.S. Congress.* [The United Nations]

In Example 11, Obama referred to a declaration from a former president of the United States as supplementary information in order to support his own argument. This is because he was aware that politicians in the U.S. Congress know the former president very well and might take his words for granted. Even in Example 12, while giving a speech to politicians from other countries in the United Nations, he relied on an order from the U.S. Congress using *according to* in order to legitimate his argument and convey this message that the situation would not change for the time being.

It was found that through code glosses, the speaker intended to either give examples or explain the topics and issues under discussion in the three settings of speeches. The realizations such as *for example*, *in other words*, *such as*, *I mean*, *including*, and *that means* were employed as a persuasive approach to rephrase or elaborate particular sections of discourse and help audiences have a better understanding of the topic. This is exemplified below:

(13) *But that depends upon economies that tap the power of our people, including the potential of women and girls. That means letting entrepreneurs start a business …* [Presidential inaugurations]

(14) *Many have joined terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda's affiliate, the Nusrah Front, and ISIL.* [The United Nations]

(15) *In other words, no deal means no lasting constraints on Iran's nuclear program.* [The U.S. Congress]

He used two code glosses in Example 13 in one of his presidential inauguration speeches; *including* specified the group of people that his statement addressed, and *That means* elaborated his previous assertion. Such a persuasive and attention-raising strategy was further realized by giving an example using *such as* in Example 14 and elaborating using *in other words* in Example 15.

3.2 Interactional metadiscourse in political speeches

The results displayed that persuasion was further characterized and enhanced by the use of a variety of interactional types of metadiscourse. To build persuasion, Obama attempted to involve audiences in his argumentations and evaluate his degree of certainty and commitment toward utterances. Table 3 gives detailed information about the distribution of the types of interactional metadiscourse in the speeches. As can be seen, the most frequent element of persuasion was a reference to the speaker or his nation by the use of first person singular and plural pronouns referred to as self-mentions. They accounted for 3.36, 3.69 and 4.53 occurrences per 1,000 words in Obama's speeches in the United Nations, the U.S. Congress and presidential inaugurations, accordingly. The high tendency of the speaker to use self-mentions, compared to other types, suggests that the explicit reference to the speaker and his stance introduces him as a holder of discourse or an active discourse participant, thus making the speech more convincing and influencing (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2008, Chen 2017). Furthermore, persuasion was built through an abundant occurrence of the subject pronoun *I* because with *I* "the utterance has all the reliability of first-hand claim" (Hodge & Kress 1993: 92), and thus, is given extra importance and high credibility to the utterance. It normally collocated with stance verbs and adjectives such as *know*, *state* and *eager* at the beginning of speeches to demonstrate feelings and personal opinions, as in:

(16) *I know that many are frustrated by the lack of progress. I assure you, so am I.* [The U.S. Congress]

(17) *I am well aware of the expectations that accompany my presidency around the world.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(18) *I stated my willingness to order a limited strike against …* [The United Nations]

	United Nations		U.S. Congress		Presidential inaugurations		Total in the whole corpus	
	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm	Raw	Norm
Hedges	43	1.69	78	1.83	54	2.52	175	1.96
Boosters	48	1.89	91	2.13	66	3.08	205	2.28
Attitude markers	11	0.43	33	0.78	13	0.60	57	0.64
Self-mentions	85	3.36	158	3.69	97	4.53	340	3.79
Directives	11	0.44	36	0.84	22	1.02	69	0.78
Shared knowledge	2	0.08	8	0.18	6	0.28	16	0.18
Audience pronouns	8	0.31	18	0.43	26	1.22	52	0.58
Questions	6	0.24	16	0.38	21	0.98	43	0.48
Personal asides	2	0.08	5	0.12	1	0.05	8	0.08
Subtotal	**216**	**8.52**	**443**	**10.35**	**306**	**14.28**	**965**	**10.77**

Table 3: Frequency distribution of interactional types in political speeches

A notable finding of this study was the high reliance of the speaker on the use of first person plural pronouns, especially inclusive *we*, to imply that audiences were also active discourse participants. The inclusive *we* along with its other forms (*our* and *us*) accounted for the most prevalent type of self-mentions in the speeches, making this strategy of audience involvement an exclusive genre-based feature of political discourse that may distinguish it from other spoken genres. Moreover, the nature of political speeches required the speaker to show a sense of patriotism to his nation through inclusive *we*. It was noted that expressing patriotism through self-mentions was more evident in the speeches given in the presidential inaugurations and the U.S. congress, where the audiences and the speaker had the same nationality, compared with the speeches in the United Nation where audiences were from different countries. The use of self-mentions is exemplified below:

(19) *We understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(20) *In an interdependent world, all of us have a stake in working towards greater opportunity and security for our citizens.* [The U.S. Congress]

(21) *Some of our most urgent challenges have revolved around an increasingly integrated global economy.* [The United Nations]

It is evident from the above examples that first-person plural carried distinct functions based on the context of the speeches. For example, in the speech given in a presidential inauguration (Example 19), it seems to refer to the president and the government, while in the speech given in the U.S. Congress (Example 20),

it (*us*) refers to the president and citizens first and then to the president and government (*our*). Therefore, it can be inferred that the use of metadiscourse is characterized and influenced by the context in which it is used (Hyland 2005a). Another interesting finding was that the speeches delivered in presidential inaugurations included more instances of audience involvement (containing inclusive *we* and its other forms), compared to those given in other subcorpora. This is because most of the audiences in presidential inaugurations were ordinary people; therefore, Obama was more likely to engage them in argumentations and made them feel like they were part of the discourse, as in:

(22) *No longer do we have the luxury of indulging our differences to the exclusion of the work that we must do together.* [Presidential inaugurations]

Self-mentions also had the highest tendency to collocate with other metadiscourse functions including endophoric marker (Examples 8, 9 and 10), frame marker (Example 23), hedge (Example 24), booster (Example 25), and attitude verb (Example 26) or adjective (Example 27).

(23) *I'd like to talk to you about what we've done over the last 20 months to meet these challenges.* [The United Nations]

(24) *I believe in my core that repression cannot forge the social cohesion for nations to succeed.* [The United Nations]

(25) *We must continually renew this promise.* [The U.S. Congress]

(26) *If we cannot agree even on this .... I also hear it from some of our friends. I disagree.* [The U.S. Congress]

(27) *and this year, I am eager to help advance the bipartisan effort in the Senate.* [Presidential inaugurations]

In some cases, in an endeavor to persuade audiences, Obama made a combined usage of various metadiscourse markers in one utterance. For example, the frame (*would like to talk to you about*) marker is expressed through a self-mention (*I*) followed by a pause (marked as a hyphen) in order to introduce a code gloss in Example 28. At the beginning of the sentence in Example 29, he indicated his objection through a combination of an adversative transition (*However*) and a self-mention (*I*) followed by a hedge (*believe*) as a persuasive act to mitigate his argument and leave room for any opposite opinion. In Example 30, the expression of attitudinal meaning (*apologize for*) is conveyed through a self-mention (*I*) followed by a booster (*will never*).

(28) *I would like to talk to you about a subject that is at the heart of the United Nations – the pursuit of peace in an imperfect world.* [The United Nations]

(29) *However, I do believe that it is the obligation of all leaders in all countries to speak out forcefully against violence and extremism.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(30) *I will never apologize for defending those interests.* [The U.S. Congress]

It was noted that persuasion was also marked through evaluative functions of hedges and boosters. The evaluation here refers to the speaker's judgment of the propositions and ideas, as a way to create solidarity with the audience. Likewise, hedges and boosters aim to express the speaker's epistemic stance and degree of commitment toward utterances.

Boosters were the second most frequent interactional type in Obama's political speeches, which mirrors the finding of Liukonen (2018) on David Cameron's political speeches. Moreover, it was depicted that boosters had a relatively higher occurrence in presidential inaugurations (see Table 3). Obama used boosters, mostly in the forms of simple verbs, phrasal verbs, modals, and adverbs, to express his high degree of certainty and authorial commitment regarding what he was saying and hereby persuade his audiences. This would reflect his authoritative role and position as a president who was expected to impress his audiences through giving reliable and credible messages, thus, convincing them to acknowledge and support his viewpoints, as in:

(31) *But in this rapidly-changing economy, we have to make sure that every American has the skills to fill those jobs.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(32) *We have to remain vigilant because I strongly believe that our leadership and our security cannot depend on our military alone.* [The U.S. Congress]

(33) *I've made it clear that the United States will never compromise our commitment to Israel's security.* [The United Nations]

It was interesting to note that boosters primarily collocated with self-mentions (as is exemplified above) to express the speaker's stance toward what he said and this was common in all three settings of speeches. In another combined use in Example 32, the boosters *have to* and *strongly* are followed by the hedge *believe* to give special importance and value to the utterance and indicate the speaker's varying degree of commitment and certainty towards what he says to the politicians in the U.S. Congress about leadership and security of the country.

Table 3 shows that hedges were also slightly more frequent in presidential inaugurations, with 2.5 occurrences per thousand words compared with 1.69 and 1.83 occurrences in the United Nations and the U.S. Congress, respectively.

Like boosters, hedges had an evaluative function of demonstrating the degree of commitment toward an utterance. However, unlike boosters, hedges were used by Obama to lower the level of certainty in his political statements or claims depending on the context. This persuasive device could enable him to refuse to take full responsibility for the accuracy of certain assertions and to indicate his willingness to express some utterances cautiously through the use of mitigating words such as *may*, *might*, *can*, *believe*, *possibly* and *perhaps*, as in the following examples.

(34) *Many people watching tonight can probably remember a time when finding a good job meant showing up at a nearby factory.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(35) *We believe that each nation must chart its own course to fulfill the aspirations of its people.* [The United Nations]

(36) *It might be the power of our vote that drives our democracy.* [The U.S. Congress]

In all the above examples, Obama attempted to moderate his arguments and attribute them to the expectations of his audiences as a means of persuasion. Exercising such caution in political speeches reflects the need for the appropriate respect for the views of audiences by taking into account their potential expectations and perspectives. This is because the audiences in the United Nations and the U.S. Congress were all political experts who had a position as a political authority and had some shared values with the speaker. This can justify the high occurrence of *I believe* and *I think* in the speeches given in the United Nations and the U.S. Congress. Miššíková (2007) suggests that the function of these hedges is metalinguistic because they "refer to the quality of the language used by the speaker" (ibid.: 147).

In Example 35, Obama used the hedge *believe that*, preceded by a self-mention, to open room for a potential disagreement or a difference of opinion on the part of audiences in the United Nations about his assertion on the decision of each nation to fulfill the aspirations of its people. With regard to the hedge *I think*, which is embedded in a self-mention expression, it was noted that it also functioned as an involvement device to evoke the audiences' response and increase their engagement in discourse, as in:

(37) *I think its message must be rejected by all who respect our common humanity.* [The United Nations]

(38) *I think that's not just true for us.* [The United Nations]

Audience persuasion was further facilitated by the use of attitude markers, although accounting for less than one occurrence per thousand words in the three subcorpora. These markers served another function of stance, attitudinal stance, which refers to the speaker's relationship and engagement with the addresses concerning the topic. This was a purposeful convincing strategy deployed by the speaker to noticeably manifest his opinion or assessment of a particular subject through emotive expressions, as in:

(39) *and sadly, but not surprisingly, this body has often become a forum for sowing discord instead of forging common ground.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(40) *We have fought fiercely for our beliefs.* [The U.S. Congress]

(41) *I come before you humbled by the responsibility that the American people have placed upon me.* [The United Nations]

In the following example, Obama used the attitudinal expression *It is my honor* at the beginning of his first speech in the United Nations to indicate politeness and gentility, and thus, impress his audiences.

(42) *It is my honor to address you for the first time as the 44th President of the United States.* [The United Nations]

In some cases, attitude expressions such as *committed to*, *convinced that*, *confident that*, and *determined to* collocated with a self-mention and a booster to stress the importance of topics and to attribute the emotional evaluation directly to the speaker. This explicit attribution of the speaker's attitude to audiences and topics is considered a strategy of self-discourse, which can contribute to making the speech persuasive and coherent (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2008). In the following examples, the significance of the topic was expressed through a booster (*absolutely*, *strongly*), which collocated with the self-mention *I* and was followed by an expression of attitudinal meaning (*convinced*, *determined*):

(43) *I'm absolutely convinced that was the right thing to do.* [The U.S. Congress]

(44) *I'm strongly determined to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad.* [The United Nations]

Another persuasive strategy relating to audience involvement was through the use of directives. Directives typically guide audiences to perform an action or to perceive things in a way determined by the speaker. Obama employed imperative structures as a directive way to pull audiences into the argument and raise their awareness of the topic being discussed. For example, in his speech in the U.S. Congress (Example 45), he used *imagine* to attract the politicians'

attention to the importance and lack of diplomacy in Russia by asking them to think of the benefits of the opposite condition in which Russia had engaged in true diplomacy and worked with Ukraine and the international community. In Example 46, he made use of the directive *keep in mind* to remind politicians in the United Nations of the duration of unilateral U.S. sanctions against Iran.

(45) *Imagine if, instead, Russia had engaged in true diplomacy, and worked with Ukraine and the international community.* [The U.S. Congress]

(46) *Keep in mind unilateral U.S. sanctions against Iran had been in place for decades.* [The United Nations]

Those speech acts that served attitudinal meanings such as *thanking* and *welcoming* were also found to function as directives or interactional engagements with the audiences. They were primarily evident in the speeches given in the United Nations and the U.S. Congress where the speaker directly addressed audiences at the beginning or end of the speeches through audience involvement pronouns, as in:

(47) *Thank you for the opportunity to address the General Assembly of the United Nations.* [The United Nations]

Obama used audience pronouns to either implicitly or explicitly refer to the direct or indirect addressees, including people and political leaders of other countries in his speeches in the United Nations, and people and politicians of his nation in his speeches in presidential inaugurations and the U.S. Congress. Giving such explicit reference to audiences through audience pronouns, especially the second person *you*, appears to be an effective persuasive act by Obama in impressing audiences and controlling the discourse, especially in presidential inaugurations where audiences were ordinary people who needed more attention-getting devices. This can be a possible reason for a relatively higher occurrence of audience pronouns in presidential inaugurations (see Table 3). The use of these markers is exemplified below:

(48) *Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(49) *To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West.* [The United Nations]

In some cases, the speaker made a combined use of a directive and an audience pronoun as a persuasive strategy in order to enhance speaker-audience relations and establish a direct engagement with audiences by guiding them to an intended meaning of discourse, as in:

(50) *I ask you to look at the concrete actions we have taken in just nine months.* [The U.S. Congress]

Shared knowledge markers were infrequent in political speeches (16 tokens in the whole corpus). Through the few examples of shared knowledge markers such as *we know*, *It's well known to all of us*, and *we recognize that*, which collocated with first person plural pronouns, the speaker explicitly positioned audiences inside naturalized limits of agreement. This would be a successful persuasive strategy when the addresser stimulates the audiences' shared knowledge by pointing out the notions and values accepted by the sociocultural or sociopolitical community without referring to the source document. In the following examples, Obama attempted to refer to and share some knowing points with the people of his nation (Example 51), senators and heads of states in the U.S. Congress (Example 52), and members of the United Nations (Example 53) in order to activate their shared knowledge and put more emphasis on the points being mentioned:

(51) *We know our economy is stronger when our wives, our mothers, our daughters can live their lives free from discrimination in the workplace.* [Presidential inaugurations]

(52) *We recognize that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it.* [The U.S. Congress]

(53) *I put forward a new basis for negotiations in May of this year. That basis is clear. It's well known to all of us here.* [The United Nations]

In a few cases exclusive to the speeches in the United Nations, Obama persuaded audiences by relating an utterance to a specific resolution or agreement (Example 54) or by quoting or referring to a particular point or speech from himself or other politicians (Example 55) to accentuate the importance of arguments.

(54) *Instead, we insist that the Iranian government meet its responsibilities under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and U.N. Security Council resolutions.* [The United Nations]

(55) *President Rouhani has just recently reiterated that the Islamic Republic will never develop a nuclear weapon.* [The United Nations]

Finally, questions and personal asides were the least frequent interactional types used in political speeches. Questions carried rhetorical meanings rather than being real questions that anticipate a response from audiences. These types of questions are considered a convincing approach because they were employed

to present the main plan of conversational engagement and establish a direct dialogic involvement with audiences to attract their attention, as in:

(56) *How should we respond to conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa?* [The United Nations]

(57) *Do you really think that this verifiable deal, if fully implemented, backed by the world's major powers …* [The U.S. Congress]

Personal asides were found to be a very context-oriented strategy, which included the speaker's attempt to interrupt the main flow of the argument with other comments, making the argument more appealing to audiences and seeking their response or reaction. Personal asides are considered the main feature of oral language, occurring in real-time and reflecting interlocutors' tendency and ability to directly converse with each other and interrupt each other's utterances based on conversational situations. All the identified realizations of personal asides were found to be introduced by a connector such as *of course*, *meanwhile*, *in the meantime*, *by the way*, and *while*, as in:

(58) *In Iraq, killings and car bombs continue to be a terrible part of life, and meanwhile, Al Qaeda has splintered into regional networks and militias.* [The U.S. Congress]

(59) *People of different races, religions, and traditions have lifted millions out of poverty, while respecting the rights of their citizens.* [The United Nations]

4 Conclusion

The present investigation analyzed the persuasive meaning of metadiscourse markers in political speeches delivered by Barack Obama, the former president of the United States. To this end, the proportional distribution and communicative functions of interactive and interactional markers were analyzed and classified based on Hyland's (2005ab) interpersonal models of metadiscourse. In general, the findings suggested that metadiscourse is a constitutive element of building persuasion in political discourse and has an effective role in organizing the discourse of political speeches. The persuasive purpose of interactive types was to display the speaker's attempt to guide audiences through the speeches, while interactional markers contributed directly to the speaker's various ways to involve audiences in his argumentations and evaluate his degree of certainty and commitment toward utterances in order to convince audiences. The results also indicated that Barack Obama relied more on interactional types than interactive ones, suggesting that engaging audiences in arguments and showing one's attitude and evaluation towards propositions were more likely

to contribute to constructing a persuasive political speech. As for the sub-types, transitions and self-mentions were found to be the most prevalent interactive and interactional markers, respectively. Furthermore, it was found that some metadiscourse markers collocated with other items to show the speaker's varying degree of interpersonality towards audiences or utterances including directing audiences, expressing stance and attitude, attracting audiences' attention, and evaluating propositions.

The current findings can provide insights into our understanding of the discourse of political speeches in general, and how audience persuasion builds around metadiscourse use in particular. The results suggest that persuasive strategies are context-dependent and they directly deal with genre-specific features, specifying the ways that an addresser positions himself in discourse and expresses his stance and engagement with the audience. These findings can inform the construction of persuasive discourse and raise novice speakers' awareness of the linguistic and pragmatic norms of political genres.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that despite having some limitations that need to be tackled, the findings of the present research demonstrated that metadiscourse expressions play a pivotal role in establishing and enhancing persuasion and directing audiences to perceive an underlying meaning of utterances in political speeches. However, the analysis did not focus on genre-specific and rhetorical features of political speeches. This can be a venue for future research to establish connections between the strategic use of metadiscourse devices and particular features (moves or rhetorical structure) of political speeches. Further studies can also provide insights into cross-linguistic features of metadiscourse use in political speeches to see whether cultural differences can influence such language use as well as the style of speech delivery utilized by English native and nonnative politicians.

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CROSS-TEXTUAL RECONCEPTUALISATION OF THE DEICTIC SPACE OF "VICTORY" IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: DONALD TRUMP VERSUS JOSEPH BIDEN

Amir H. Y. Salama

Abstract

The present study propounds the notion-complex of cross-textual reconceptualisation as a cognitive-linguistic output of applying Paul Chilton's (2013, 2014, 2017) model of Deictic Space Theory (DST) to textual practices drawn from the broad domain of political discourse. The DST model has operated methodologically towards conducting a cognitively oriented political discourse analysis of the two victory speeches produced by Donald Trump and Joseph Biden during the 2020 election for US presidency. As a geometric model, DST has been applied to the two speeches in a way that demonstrated the deictic spatial construction of victory in relation to Trump and Biden as the *now-here-real* speakers on the three axes of discourse referents, time, and epistemic modality. The data analysis has revealed four significant instantiations of cross-textual reconceptualisation made by Biden of Trump's deictic space of victory as a contested concept: (i) a "clear" and "convincing" victory, (ii) a peripersonal real victory, (iii) Trump and his voters, and (iv) a now shift from a past Democrat to a future President. All four instantiations have proved the hypothesis that the DST model, while revealing the deictic-spatial conceptualisations of "victory" constituted by each speaker in his speech, may further be extended to disentangle the interesting aspect of how one and the same concept could be reconceptualised across two textual practices produced by speakers with ideologically opposed perspectives.

Keywords

cognitive linguistics, cross-textual reconceptualisation, Deictic Space Theory (DST), Donald Trump, Joseph Biden, political discourse analysis, victory

1 Introduction

Probing the interface between language and politics, Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 25) make it clear that the analysis of political text and talk can start from a premise about the "political": "something becomes political when a particular representation of social organization becomes integrated with some validity claim or some value claim which is in conflict with some other such existing representation". Perhaps, recently, no other political talks have been more "political" in this sense than Donald Trump's and Joseph Biden's speeches claiming victory in the major event of the 2020 elections for US presidency,

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before the official declaration of the winner. On the one hand, Trump's speech was delivered with a claim to victory in the presidential elections at the White House in the early hours of Wednesday morning on 4 November 2020, while several key swing states were still in the throes of counting thousands of ballots. On the other hand, following Trump's speech, Biden's speech was delivered on Saturday 7 November 2020, immediately after days of vote counting and uncertainty. Biden was speaking, then, for the first time from Delaware as the potential US president-elect, whose core message consisted in renewing his commitment to unify America and to become a president for all Americans, both those who voted for him and those who voted for his Democratic Party opponent Donald Trump.

Indeed, strikingly, the "political", in the sense of Chilton and Schäffner (2002), has emerged precisely at this point where Biden has rhetorically struggled to conceal this sense of the "political" in his speech; that is, concealing the conflict appearing in a polarised time when Trump, alongside his then-revolting supporters, firmly denied electoral defeat. Thus, it can be said that the same moment of victory has become a temporal frame within which Biden's validity claim to winning the election for US presidency has been vehemently countered by Trump's election-fraud claims and rejection of Biden's victory.

Continuing with Chilton and Schäffner's (2002) argument, it can be assumed that political actors, like Trump and Biden, interact through "mental representations of themselves, the groups they belong to, and forms of action"; and this aspect can readily be revealed should discourse analysts and political-communication researchers consider the communicative strategies whereby language in action (discourse) "can be viewed first in the cognitive perspective and second in the interactive perspective" (ibid.: 25). Thus, a cognitive-linguistic approach may be redeemed doubly productive at the methodological level of conducting political discourse analysis in terms of synergising both (i) the conceptual toolkit (e.g. spatial metaphors, metonymies, and frames) whereby the mental representations of political speakers can be explained and (ii) the linguistic features giving expression of such representations (e.g. deixis, tense, aspect, and modality).

Further, cognitive linguistics is considered most fitting as an analytic framework for revealing the abstract political cognitions of politicians, for the field is primarily concerned with the situatedness or embodiment of linguistic meaning (notably, Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 1980, Croft & Cruse 2004). According to Chilton (2014: 10-11), "situatedness", in the parlance of cognitive linguists, means that human language always presumes and/or refers to "the time and place of speaking", with a "perspective" on the physical-environment surroundings

taken by the human language user; and such an element of situatedness is inherent in the "design" of language basically through deixis. Perhaps, this is the reason why, in preference to the rather conventional label "Discourse Space Theory" (DST), Chilton (2013, 2014, 2017) dubs his cognitive-linguistics model "Deictic Space Theory" (DST) (see below).

Perhaps, in the thicket of cognitive linguistics theories and models, Chilton's (2013, 2014, 2017) Deictic Space Theory (DST), as evolving from his earlier Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2010), is particularly helpful in the arena of political discourse analysis mainly because it nicely dovetails both the conceptual and the interactive linguistic-pragmatic dimensions of analysis. This is especially so when it comes to revealing the conceptual nature of the political use of language; or, more obviously, political conceptualisation as determined by the deictic spaces constructed by speakers through their dominantly deictic use of language. At this point, it should be made clear that the term conceptualisation derives from Chilton's (2014: 40) following premise: "Linguistic constructions give rise to conceptual representations, the fundamental structure of which is the deictic space". Chilton's premise renders linguistic form the originator of conceptualisations bound by the deictic space hinging on the speaking self S (the "*I*") that perspectivises a whole "discourse world" ("immediate situation") (Werth 1999) along the three axes of referents, time, and epistemic modality. Crucially, the same S is argued here to be not only able to conceptualise discourse worlds of some sort (say, political), but also to reconceptualise such worlds along the same three axes.

Interestingly, let us assume here that Chilton's above premise may take a most concrete form should one of the deictic spaces of one concept – in our case, "victory" – be investigated from the perspective of the deictic centres of Trump and Biden in their respective textual practices on the issue of their political victory in the 2020 presidential elections. Again, these deictic spaces are examined along the three axes indicated above (discourse referents, time, and epistemic modality). As will be demonstrated in the analysis section, the DST approach is likely to be revealing and telling of each deictic centre's/speaker's conceptualisation of political victory in the elections. Yet, the same approach may well prove to have greater potential with the DST model utilised in a way that examines the same conceptualisation of victory as being contested between the two deictic centres, i.e. demonstrating how one deictic centre/speaker contests the other cross-textually; or, in a more technical sense, how there might emerge a politically contested conceptualisation of the same concept ("victory") tackled in the two speeches in hand.

Here, then, the current study hypothesises that the DST model, while revealing the deictic-spatial conceptualisations of "victory" constituted by each speaker in his speech, may further be extended to disentangle the interesting aspect of how one and the same concept could be reconceptualised across two textual practices produced by speakers with ideologically opposed perspectives. Here, I argue, the two speeches delivered by Trump and Biden are a typical case in point, where the concept of "victory" is tackled in these two speeches in the political event of the 2020 elections for US presidency, yet from ideologically opposed (even contesting) perspectives, Republican Party versus Democratic Party. Thus, the current study has been directed towards addressing one main question: How has the meaning of "victory" in the 2020 elections for US presidency been politically reconceptualised across the two victory speeches of Donald Trump and Joseph Biden?

Besides the introduction section, Section 2 reviews the literature relevant to the DST-bound investigations of political speeches in particular. Section 3 outlines the theoretical framework adopted for analysing the current research data. Section 4 presents the data analysis of Trump's and Biden's victory speeches. Section 5 touts a DST analysis of the research data. Section 6 culminates the current study with offering an overall summary of the main research point and charting the main research findings and implications.

2 DST applications in the arena of political discourse analysis

Generally, since the mid-1970s, there has been an upsurge in the research undertaken on the interrelation between linguistic and discursive structures on the one hand and mental representations on the other (e.g. Minsky 1975, Schank & Abelson 1977, Fillmore 1985, Johnson 1987, Langacker 1992, Fauconnier 1994, Lakoff 1996). But, since the focus of current research is Deictic/Discourse Space Theory (DST) and its cognitive-linguistic workings in the arena of political discourse, the present review is confined to the literature directly related to this area of research.

One of the early attempts at applying the DST model to political discourse is Chilton's (2003) analysis of a long and complex address delivered by Bill Clinton, the US ex-president, on 24 March 1999. In this study, Chilton (2003: 95) investigated the process of conceptualising geopolitical space, with a view to unveiling the president's intention of justifying America's involvement in "a military action in a far-away place, among a far-away people, of whom the American electorate knew little". Chilton significantly demonstrated how the deictic centre was constructed as a relation between speaker and hearer inside a political entity; he further identified "locations" with respect to the three

dimensions of space, time, and modality in a way that was largely determined by knowledge and cognitive frames. By way of illustration, in the speaker's assumed frame, "[the discourse referent] *my fellow Americans* is closest to S, *NATO allies* are closer than *Kosovo*, and *Kosovo* is closer than *Serbian armed forces*" (Chilton 2003: 114).

Also, interestingly, Chilton (2004: 157-172) utilised the DST model in examining post-9/11 discourse, with special reference to the speeches delivered by George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden. The DST analysis concluded that each speaker (as a deictic centre) has constructed enemies that are geographically and ideologically distant at the conceptual level of discourse processing: (i) Bush conceptualising al-Qaeda members in Afghanistan and the Middle East; (ii) Bin Laden the infidels in the West, specifically, those in America and Israel.

Additionally, Hart (2007: 119-121) adopted the DST approach towards analysing the British National Party (BNP) manifesto. Focusing on "the UK" as the deictic space along the spatial axis, Hart observed that in one stretch of the text the temporal axis was not particularly significant; rather, it was the modal axis that appeared significant, especially the deontic aspect, with the conclusion that in the manifesto what is legal has been equated with what is moral (ibid.: 119-120). Considering another stretch of the text, Hart demonstrated that the modal axis has been significant in terms of its epistemic, rather than deontic, modality: the speaker conceptualised with certainty that "the native British people" would become "an ethnic minority" in Britain within sixty years. Moreover, with further investigation of the discourse referents of "we", "our", "the native British people", and "Britain", Hart showed how such referents have been located with the speaker at the deictic centre of the discourse space, whereas the referent "immigrants" has been positioned at the remote end of the spatial axis.

More recently, drawing on the DST model, Chilton (2017) has analysed a significant speech delivered by Donald Trump, the US ex-president, at Gettysburg on 22 October 2016. The analysis revealed how Trump, as the deictic centre in the speech, conceptualised two embedded sets of axes containing two past narratives: one narrative wherein the speaker (S) reported a conversation with the Mexican president; the other narrating a past event that made an ascription to an unnamed individual "he". The latter narrative was demonstrated to be inferentially located prior to the Mexican president meeting on *t*-axis (conceived time). Equally interesting, in the same speech, the DST analysis has revealed how the repeated cases of "they" established a conceptual dichotomy between the collective "we" and a distal "their party" on *d*-axis (discourse referents). Perhaps, most interesting results of all is the fact that the Trump text would have no *m*-axis

(epistemic modality), marking the conclusion that the speaker "typically does not hedge, speculate, hypothesize or use conditionals" (Chilton 2017: 246).

Thus, as readily observed from the foregoing literature, the DST applications to political discourse, and more specifically political speeches, is a scarcity indeed; further, a modicum of the DST-based research reviewed above leaves uninvestigated the potentially interesting issue of contested conceptualisation across textual practices with politically opposed ideologies – hence the contribution claimed in the present context of research regarding DST-adduced cross-textual reconceptualisation.

3 Deictic Space Theory (DST) and the potential for reconceptualisation

Deictic Space Theory (DST) came to be used under the moniker of Discourse Space Theory (DST) with the appearance of several seminal publications by Chilton (2004, 2005, 2007, 2010); thereafter, for the cognitive significance of deictic space as the most fundamental part of human language ability, Chilton has had a predilection for using the label Deictic Space Theory (DST), instead, in later publications (Chilton 2013, 2014, 2017). The DST model is argued to draw on Bühler's (1934/1990) psychologically oriented theories of language, especially his idea that the relationship of deixis with self, space, and time "leads naturally to geometric modelling" (Chilton 2014: 8). Indeed, in proposing the latter DST, Chilton has explained the significance of coordinate geometry to his approach:

> The crucial point is that a rather simple geometrical formalism is an economical way, and indeed a natural way, of describing fundamental spatial meanings. On a more abstract level, what coordinate geometry enables us to do is to analyse "point of view" or "perspective", both in a physical-spatial and in various abstract sense. (Chilton 2014: 10)

Practically, then, coordinate geometry enables DST to conceive of the speaker's self as being cognisant of what is *here* ("the graspable in primary peripersonal space defined physically"), what is *now* ("what is temporally within reach, that is, peripersonal space projected onto time"), and what is *real* ("what can be 'grasped' cognitively and in some possibly non-linear fashion correlating with spatial and temporal distance") (Chilton 2013: 241).

Thus, as Chilton (2017) points out, DST takes as its starting point the self "in experienced space-time", where a deictic space (conceptual, not physical) is utilised by language system to "represent many kinds of conceptualisations by way of words, parts of words and grammatical constructions" (Chilton

2017: 238). As exhibited in Figure 1, Chilton (2013: 239) offers an abstract diagram that schematically represents three spatial axes/dimensions (composing conceptual space): (1) discourse referents (*d*-axis), (2) conceived time (*t*-axis), and (3) epistemic modality (*m*-axis). In a later development, Chilton (2014: 40) crucially draws attention to three main points: first, all three axes are hinged on and start from the origin or zero point as "the conscious now-here-self, designated S (self, subject, speaker)"; second, all points on the three axes are "relative distances" from the origin/subject S; third, the intersection of the three axes – the origin 0 – defines the viewpoint of the subject S.

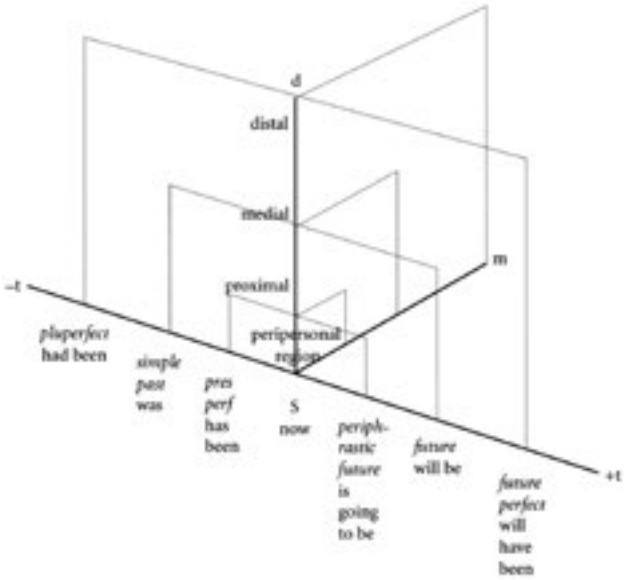

Figure 1: The fundamental deictic space (Chilton 2013: 239)

Obviously, then, from Figure 1 it can be gathered that Chilton pays close attention to what he describes as the "conceptual distance" prototypically communicated through the linguistic structure of demonstrative expressions, which denote the three relative positions of proximal, medial, and distal – with only proximal and distal being the case in English. This can be demonstrated on *d*-axis where a conceptual distance arises between the S (subject/speaker) and discourse referents. Indeed, as Chilton insists, such a conceptual distance can be projected on the two other axes of time and epistemic modality (*t*-axis and

m-axis): (i) "the peripersonal space is transposed onto the time axis", allowing for the "peripersonal time" of the past recent to the deictic centre and the immediate future nearer to it; (ii) analogously, a "peripersonal region" may be transposed onto the epistemic modal axis, with "a proximal epistemic region of the real extending to high certainty" (Chilton 2014: 41-42). Now, let us take each of the three axes aside for further elaboration.

The *d*-axis affords "mental 'locations'" for the discourse entities referred to (as referents) by the speaker (S); such entities amount to conceptual objects that are typically arguments of predicates at the semantic level, but these objects should be understood as being objects of focus or referential attention at the cognitive level. On the *d*-axis there lies a conceptual (not exclusively physical) distance from S as the deictic centre. As Chilton argues, space-bound expressions such as the demonstratives *this* and *that* are closely related to the *d*-axis, simply as they typically enable the conceptualisation of discourse referents as being proximal or distal: "a proximal demonstrative for referring to an entity close to the deictic centre, and a distal demonstrative for referring to entities located at some indeterminate distance from S, in the extrapersonal space" (Chilton 2014: 32). However, as Chilton contends, there are other grammatical resources for the conceptualisation of distance in relation to S on the *d*-axis; for instance, the peripersonal space can be said to be conceptualised by means of "the spatial component of transitive verbs in English such as *touch*, *hit*, *grasp*, *hold*, *knock*, *kick*, *break*" (Chilton 2014: 31). Indeed, Chilton (2013: 238) crucially describes the *d*-axis in the cognitive terms of "attentional focus", where the *d* is equated with "attentional distance of discourse referents from S (foregrounding, middle ground, background)".

The *t*-axis, according to Chilton (2014), geometrically specifies the relative distance from the deictic centre (S) as conceptualised into two directions, "past (-*t*) and future (+*t*), both on scales of "distance" relative to time of utterance"; further, the *t*-axis is directed according to S's point of view: "events can be relatively "close" or relatively "distant" in the past, and similarly for the future" (ibid.: 33). As exhibited in Figure 2, Chilton (2014) has visually represented the relative degrees of pastness and futurity as conceptualised by S via the linguistic formula "*look back to the past vs. look forward to the future*".

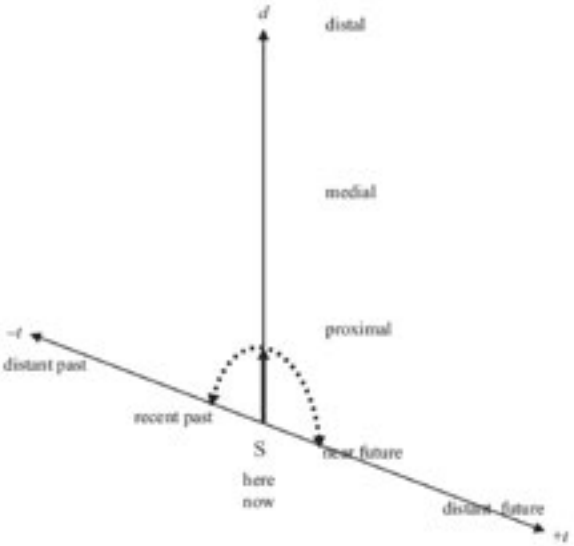

Figure 2: The relatively temporal distance of the past and the future from S (Chilton 2014: 34)

Of course, as is typical of DST, time here is conceptual, and it can readily be projected on the *d*-axis – as manifested in Figure 2 – as reflected in Chilton's following remark:

> The DST framework also suggests that proximal temporal space corresponds in some way to spatial peripersonal space. Like other "locations" in the deictic space, events can be viewed egocentrically or allocentrically, that is, taking 0 as reference point or some other time relatively distal to 0 as reference point. (Chilton 2014: 34)

This may well explain the visual presentation of how the attentional distance, associated with the *d*-axis, is projected onto the temporal distance formally marked by tense on the *t*-axis.

The *m*-axis, in the latest version of DST, refers strictly to epistemic modality, where the deictic space allows S to detach or distance the propositional contents of the utterance from absolutely true assertions. Along the *m*-axis, then, the two polar concepts of what is "certainly true" and what is not are relative to the S's state of knowledge. This coheres well with what Chilton describes as conceptualised "epistemic distance". In this respect, Chilton reports Langacker's description of

modality in spatial terms: "the modals can be described as contrasting with one another because they situate the process at varying *distances* from the speaker's *position* at immediate known reality" (Langacker 1991: 246, as cited in Chilton 2014: 37; emphasis added by Chilton). Further, in order to clarify the conceptual epistemic distance of the *m*-axis, Chilton (2014: 37) has insightfully visualised Werth's (1999: 314-315) scale of modality whereby English modal adverbs, adjectives and auxiliaries are intuitively graded, as shown in Figure 3.

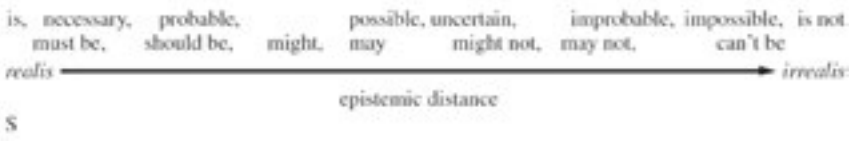

Figure 3: A scale-based modal axis of epistemic distance (Chilton 2014: 37)

Crucially, Chilton points out that in the figure above the two terms *realis* and *irrealis* denote strictly "cognitive states", and not grammatical ones: the *realis* represents a cognitive state wherein S takes "some cognised entity", say happening, to be "real" or "there" in the world or to be *experientially true* (in terms of S's encyclopaedic knowledge); the *irrealis*, on the other hand, represents a cognitive state wherein "S has a mental representation that S understands as being removed from realis cognition to some degree" (Chilton 2014: 38).

Indeed, in his DST[1], Chilton (2004, 2005, 2007, 2013, 2014, 2017) has recurrently emphasised the role of "conceptualisation" as the core notion constituting the conceptual space used by language systems in the representation of the perspective of the "experiential self" (formally, the geometric origin S), or the "*I*", in a given discourse world – including political discourse worlds – in terms of the three conceptual axes outlined above. But, as the literature reviewed above suggests, in applying the DST model there seems to have been no heed paid to the potential notion of reconceptualisation; the notion, as it stands here, is closely intertwined with conceptualisation itself, although with certain considerations taken into account. First, reconceptualisation is sensitive to the type of data analysed via the DST model; the data needs to be conceptually related in two ways: (i) more than one text should be topically bound as a result of having one core concept that constitutes the enunciative event in text; (ii) the producers of such texts should ideally be ideologically opposed in some way. Second, reconceptualisation is equally sensitive to what Gallie (1956: 171-172) dubs "essentially contested concepts". This point merits further elaboration.

Gallie's classic notion-complex of "essentially contested concepts" can be argued to be theoretically most serviceable in the context of applying DST towards revealing political reconceptualisation. Gallie insists that some concepts be essentially contested such that certain existential disputes are centred on them; that is, "concepts the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users" (Gallie 1956: 169). As such, building on Gallie's argument, users of essentially contested concepts may conceivably become contestants, who would in turn add their conceptual input to those *essentially contested concepts* across the different texts produced by the contestants themselves. At this point, one seeks to use the term contested conceptualisation as a descriptor of this process.

Having covered the theoretical framework adopted in the present study, it is time we moved to the methodological aspects of research data and procedure.

4 Methodology

This section is an outline of the methodology adopted in the present context of research in terms of the data sets proposed for analysis and the overall procedure adopted towards undertaking the data analysis.

4.1 Data

The data sets used for the current application of DST towards revealing cross-textual contested conceptualisation are two textual practices produced by the Republican Party Donald Trump, the then-standing US President, and Joseph Biden, the Democratic Party candidate, competing with the former (Trump) in the 2020 election for US presidency. Both textual practices are known as "victory" speeches since the two have the enunciative event of announcing their political victory in the election; but, significantly, prior to the official declaration of the election results. In what follows, let us take each victory speech aside.

Trump's speech[2] was launched during the election night of Wednesday 4 November 2020 in the East Room of the White House in Washington, DC. Given its time and place, the speech might be viewed as a pre-emptive allegation to presidential victory in the elections. Perhaps, this sounds plausible should one consider the public backlash on the part of both conservative commentators and the Biden campaign, describing the speech as being not only "outrageous", but more importantly, "unprecedented" in the entire history of America and its well-established democratic ethos. More than anything, such a backlash may well adduce particular significance to the Trump speech as a data set for analysis. This may further be corroborated when one considers the second set of data, the

Biden victory speech, probably coming as a retort to Trump's current premature victory speech.

Biden's speech[3], delivered just three days after the Trump's victory speech, was launched from Wilmington, Del., in Delaware, on 7 November 2020. The speech timing is quite significant for Biden as the likely president-elect of America, following the Pennsylvania win that put him over the 270 electoral-vote threshold required for the day. But, to the significance of the speech, one more circumstantial aspect may be added; that is, the speech was delivered at a politically tense time when it was no secret that Trump (as the then-president) has never conceded, and publicly challenged, the legitimacy of the election; and as a corollary of it, neither Trump nor many top Republican leaders have offered the customary congratulations. Again, these circumstances may render Biden's speech politically contesting with Trump's prior victory speech, both sharing the same enunciative event of celebrating presidential victory at a critical timing of uncertainty about the winner. Crucially, considering Gallie's argument above, the current element of political contestation over electoral victory across the two speeches may conduce to the potential for reconceptualisation of the meanings of "victory" itself.

4.2 Procedure

The methodological procedure followed in the present study proceeded towards fulfilling an integrated form of analysis, with the two victory speeches examined alternately. Yet, the analytic point of departure has been decided to be Trump's speech, for it chronologically precedes Biden's. This has already been determined in view of the current research hypothesis, wherein the DST model is presumed to be potentially extendable to analyse the cross-textual reconceptualisation of "victory" as the concept being politically "contested" across the two texts; that is, in his speech, Biden is presumed to construct a deictic space of "victory" that reconceptualises Trump's along the three axes of discourse referents, time, and epistemic modality. Of course, considering the DST model, there has been a focus on the *now*, *here*, and *real* of each speaker, being the deictic centre wherefrom the whole textual event emanates.

The DST is a geometric model in the first place; and here geometry has been intended as the ideal medium for modeling spatial meanings across the two speeches. Being so abstract and spatially complex, the linguistic meaning of "victory", as conceptualised by one speaker and reconceptualised by the other in their respective speeches, needs this geometric modelling as the *terra firma* whereupon the two speakers are presented as deictic centres whose deictic space of victory can be visually represented along the three axes of discourse referents,

time, and epistemic modality. Obviously, as a geometric model, the DST has been applied to the two speeches in a way that demonstrated, along the three axes, the deictic spatial construction of victory in relation to Trump and Biden as the *now-here-real* speakers.

Indeed, there have been two procedurally guiding principles that governed the course of data analysis. The first guiding principle is the enunciative event that is common between the two speeches, that is, political victory. This principle has essentially governed the process of selecting the data parts relevant to such an enunciative event. Of course, this entails other conceptually relevant linguistic expressions; more specifically, these lexical items denoting voting, voters, winning, results, disenfranchising, etc. The second principle is cross-textual contested reconceptualisation as the core notion-complex proposed in the present context of research. Again, it should be made clear that this notion-complex is theoretically grounded in Gallie's (1956) definition of "essentially contested concepts" (see above).

Crucially, the principle of cross-textual contested conceptualisation has always been brought in play throughout the analysis, particularly insofar as the systematic shifts of analysing one deictic centre in relation to the other was concerned. Understandably, according to this principle, the analysis direction has dominantly shifted from Trump to Biden in a way that revealed the latter's reconceptualising deictic spaces of the former's regarding the meaning of victory as cognised by each speaker along the three axes – referents, time, and epistemic modality. Perhaps, the same principle of cross-textual contested reconceptualisation has informed the interpretive process of *selecting* one "statement"[4] uttered by one speaker in his speech. That is, only those statements with potentially contesting conceptualisations have been taken as units of analysis. Of course, procedurally, this entails another interpretive process of *de-selecting* potentially interesting – albeit irrelevant to the present context and scope of analysis – statements across the two speeches. By way of illustration, as shown in the coming analysis section, the two opening (and not closing) statements made by Trump and Biden in their speeches have been selected, for both constitute a typical case of cross-textual contested conceptualisation: Whereas Trump's opening statement conceptualises a deictic space of the election process in terms of voting, Biden's (statement) reconceptualises a deictic space of a "clear" and "convincing" victory. At this point, Biden's opening statement appears to pose a conceptual contrast to that of Trump's. Thus, after all, the present methodological procedure has been directed towards investigating instantiations of the deictic space of contested conceptualisation of "victory" as a referential-temporal-modal structuring across the two speeches under analysis.

Now, let us then put the above two procedurally guiding principles in action in the coming section of data analysis. This section unfolds through two stages: first, exploring the positions of Trump and Biden as the deictic centres in their victory speeches; second, investigating the deictic spaces of reconceptualising contested "victory" across the two speeches.

5 Analysis

In the following subsections, there is an initial brief contextual examination of Trump and Biden as the deictic centres in their victory speeches, with a focus on the three deictic-centre dimensions of *now*, *here*, and *real*; thereafter, a detailed investigation of the reconceptualised deictic spaces of "victory" follows, with a focus on both speeches as ideologically opposed textual practices along the three spatial axes of discourse referents, time, and epistemic modality.

5.1 Trump and Biden as speech deictic centres: Now, here, and real

Let us begin by presenting Trump and Biden as deictic centres with three dimensions of *now*, *here*, and *real* in their speeches. First, the *now* of both speakers is temporally consecutive in the same month and year (November 2020), but different days, since they (both) are bound by the same enunciative event of political victory in the presidential elections; there is, however, one interesting temporal difference: Whilst Biden addressed his speech to the American people as "president-elect" following the Pennsylvania win (which placed him over the 270 electoral-vote threshold required), Trump's speech was addressed prior to Biden's at an uncertain time during the election night when several key swing states were still in the process of tallying thousands of ballots.

Second, the *here* of both speakers is spatially distinct. Trump's speech was delivered in the East Room of the White House in Washington, DC; this is understandable from the fact that Trump was still acting as the US President. Biden's speech, on the other hand, was delivered in Delaware; crucially, it is a city reported to have voted Democratic in the last seventeen elections, with Hillary Clinton beating Trump himself by 11.5 points in 2016.

Third, regarding the real, at the time of uttering his speech, Trump had a political reality of becoming the US president-elect for a second term; Biden, on the other side, while uttering his speech, he – for the first time in an entire political career of 48 years since he was first elected to the Senate – had a political reality that the transition was at hand and that he was almost there as the US President-elect.

5.2 Reconceptualising the deictic space of "victory": Trump versus Biden

Speaking of the election process, Trump has opened his speech with a two-clause statement: "Millions and millions of people voted for us tonight, and a very sad group of people is trying to disenfranchise that group of people […]". As shown in Figure 4, the statement constructs a deictic space of the election process in terms of voting; the deictic space features on both the *d*-axis and the *t*-axis, yet the *m*-axis manifests no modalisation (*m = 0*); or, in Recanati's (2007) terms, being "modally innocent". The three discourse entities of "Millions and millions of people", "us", and "a very sad group of people" can spatially be located along the *d*-axis; on the *t*-axis, the temporal points of simple past and present progressive are marked in a way that reflects the sequence of the two processes of voting and disenfranchising.

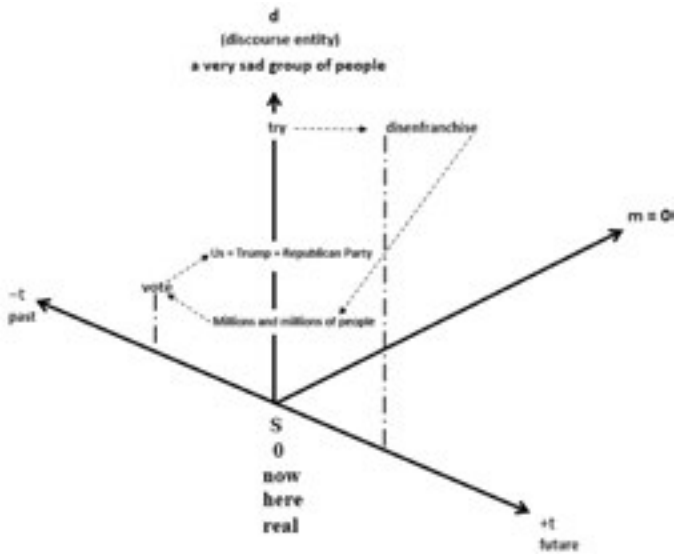

Figure 4: The deictic space of voting and disenfranchising in Trump's speech

As Figure 4 exhibits, on *d*-axis, within the peripersonal space of Trump lies the proximal referent "Millions and millions of people" which is conceptualised as doing the past act of voting along the *t*-axis; such an act has been directed to the collective referent "us" denoting Trump and his Republican Party. Contrary to this conceptualisation is the distal referent "a very sad group of people" placed

at the extreme end of Trump's extrapersonal space on *d*-axis. This should create a foregrounding-backgrounding effect, where the former referent ("Millions and millions of people") comes into Trump's attentional focus. The rather backgrounded latter referent ("a very sad group of people") can be observed in the deictic space (Figure 4) to be committed to the progressive "trying" – synchronising with S's *now* – which is temporally extended to the near-future point of disenfranchising the millions and millions of people on *t*-axis. Indeed, here, the progressive "trying" gives rise to the cognitive effect of "windowing" (Chilton 2017: 245) as excluding the beginning and end of the process of *trying* from the perspective of the speaker (Trump).

Moving to Biden's speech, the opening statement reads as such: "[…] the people of this nation have spoken. They have delivered us a clear victory. A convincing victory". Here, the statement seems to provide a deictic space of a "clear" and "convincing" victory, which appears to be a conceptual contrast to that of Trump's. Biden's attentional focus tends to be on the referent "the people of this nation," which is explicitly made proximal on *d*-axis via the demonstrative "this" preceding the collective referent of "nation"; thus, Biden's collective discourse entity of "the people of this nation" conceptually contrasts with Trump's referentially specific discourse entity of "Millions and millions of people". Obviously, then, as shown in Figure 5, within the peripersonal space of Biden lies a referent of all Americans on *d*-axis; and they are described metaphorically as speakers with the message presumed to be their voting. Along the *t*-axis, the verbal process of speaking is located as a recent event in the present perfect; that is, the act of voting is conceptualised as a past that is quite recent to the *now* of Biden's speech. Further, notably, Biden seems to be quite assertive in his conceptualisation, where the formula $m = 0$ is no different from that of Trump's above conceptualisation.

Figure 5: The deictic space of a "clear" and "convincing" victory in Biden's speech

A quick glance at the deictic space represented in Figure 5, on *d*-axis, two other referential coordinates appear. One is "us", composing Biden and the Democratic Party, and the other "victory", which Biden describes as being "clear" and "convincing". Indeed, the latter referent ("victory") stands as the direct object of the process "deliver"; a process that temporally falls within the time region of present perfect on *t*-axis, and therefore synchronises with the preceding process of "speak" in relation to the *now* of Biden's speech. The former referent ("us") is the indirect object metaphorically receiving the direct object of "victory". Perceptibly enough, in Figure 5, "us" is closer to the speaker (Biden) than "victory"; this is even syntactically reflected in the word order of the sentence structure where *victory* is sentence-final and *us* is sentence-medial; and of course, *the people of this nation* is the closest element to the speaker, and thereby coming into the attentional focus of Biden. This aspect of varying conceptual distancing from Biden merits further elaboration.

Whilst the discourse entity "the people of this nation" is the proximal referent on the *d*-axis of Biden's deictic space of "victory", the entity of "victory" is the distal one; it is cognitively the ultimate goal conceptualised by Biden as vying for winning the election and becoming the new US President. This may explain why this discourse entity conceptually lies within Biden's extrapersonal space. Further, on a rather semantic level, considering the information structure of the whole utterance, the linguistic entity "victory" is presented as the end-focus of

Biden's message; or the New information to be disclosed to Biden's audience in terms of the *now*, *here*, and *reality* of his speech. Also, represented at the medial point of the *d*-axis, the discourse entity of "us" is conceptualised as a mediating link between the means and the end, i.e. between the people of this nation and the electoral victory.

At this point, in terms of each speech's opening statement, it can be said that Biden's deictic space reconceptualises Trump's earlier deictic space on a number of grounds. First, Biden's deictic space of a "clear" and "convincing" victory *contests* Trump's space of voting and disenfranchising, where Trump's *voters* and *disenfranchisers* have been conceptually transformed into Biden's *speakers* and *deliverers*. Second, on *t*-axis, Biden is temporally bound by the recency of the events associated with victory in a way that departs from the remoteness of the past voting and the *windowing* of the progressive act of conspiracy towards future disenfranchisement. Third, Biden's discourse entity of "us" reconceptualises Trump's "us" through the political opposition holing between the two candidates and their contesting political parties; but, more subtly, whereas Trump's "us" is conceptualised as being flanked by voters and disenfranchisers along the *d*-axis, Biden's "us" is conceptualised as being a link between supporters and victory.

Now, moving again to the Trump speech, there is a self-expression of appreciation for specific discourse entities, which is then immediately followed by a collective call for "a big celebration": "I want to thank the first lady, my entire family, and Vice President Pence, Mrs Pence for being with us all through this. And we were getting ready for a big celebration". At this point, Trump appears as though he is constructing a deictic space for conceptualising a moment of victorious celebration that is coming soon in the near future and that would be a gathering for his family members as well as for all members of Democratic Party and his supporters. This specific order of the preceding discourse entities is determined by the conceptual distancing from Trump himself as a speaker on *d*-axis as exhibited in Figure 6.

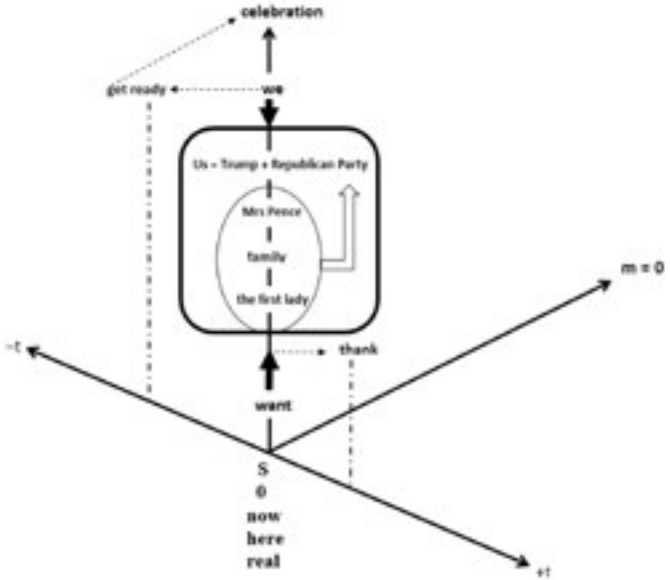

Figure 6: Trump's deictic space of extrapersonal celebrated victory

From Figure 6, it is clear that the geometrical coordinates of "the first lady", "family", and "Mrs Pence", Trump's Vice-President, are all referred to in a specific frame of appreciatory discourse world; a discourse-world that is presented as an object of Trump's verb of desire *want*, which is in synchrony with the *now* of the speech; but of course Trump's actual speech act of thanking is a little extended further in the so near future linguistically marked by the *to*-infinitive form "to thank". This futurative aspect renders Trump's appreciatory discourse world semantically extensive, and thereby being cognitively more effective. Further, notably, all these discourse entities in their conceptual distancing from Trump are spatially related to another discourse entity along the *d*-axis, that is, "us" as conceptually equated with Trump and Republican-Party members. This has been visually featured in Figure 6 by means of the oval shape spatially demarcating all three entities and the vectorial arrow directed towards the referent "us" – the latter may be conceived of here as falling at the medial point of *d*-axis. Even more interestingly, on *d*-axis, the discourse entity "we" appears as a more inclusive referent, which seems to conceptually condense all other discourse entities appearing thus far, namely, "the first lady", "family", "Mrs Pence", and "us".

Here there appears a complex discourse processing of an all too inclusive "we", which is spatially visualised in Figure 6 via the bold framing including all such discourse entities. At this point, conceptual vectoring seems to be of overriding importance: the discourse referent "we" is shown to be directed at the speaker's more conceptually proximised entities; and this may signify a particular conceptual link. Indeed, the link can be detected in the linguistic construction of the progressive-past construction *were getting ready*, which spatially shifts the whole discourse world from a present-future time zone to a past-progressive one along the *t*-axis. The cognitive effect of this temporal shift is past "windowing" (which is induced by the progressive aspect indicated in the past); that is, occluding any conceptualisation on Trump's part for the beginning and end of the act of preparation for "a big celebration". This cognitive effect of *windowing* gives rise to the hearer's anticipation of unfulfilled celebration – big or otherwise. This may explain why in Figure 6 the discourse referent of "celebration" is presented as falling in the extrapersonal space of Trump's conceptualisation to the furthest end of *d*-axis – hence the conceptual failure of celebrated victory.

All in all, then, in his appreciatory discourse world, Trump can be said to conceptualise a deictic space for an unfulfilled extrapersonal celebration; a conceptualisation that is likely to materialise should one consider a later statement uttered by Trump: "We were winning everything, and all of a sudden it was just called off". Obviously, the statement begins with a progressive-past time reference, with the same *windowing effect* in play, then a cognitively interrupting past-time reference emerges in a way that ends the winning process; such a cognitive process of interruption has been linguistically explicitised through the adverbial construction *all of a sudden*.

A rather different conceptualisation of an appreciatory discourse world can be found in Biden's speech with the following statement: "I would not be here without the love and tireless support of Jill, Hunter, Ashley, all of our grandchildren and their spouses, and all our family". The statement is underlain by a counterfactual proposition that is based on the negated reality of Biden's physical appearance in the speech's location (Delaware) as *here*. Indeed, as can be observed in Figure 7, the spatial deictic *here* is visualised as a discourse entity on *d*-axis within a bold circle; the reason for this is attributed to the fact that Biden has explicitly used "here" as a space term for the place where he was delivering his victory speech. Thus, at this point, it can initially be said that Biden reconceptualises Trump's foregoing deictic space of extrapersonal celebrated victory (Figure 6), mainly because Biden (as a speaker) has cognitively brought in attentional focus the *here* of his speech, i.e. by bringing this *here* within his

peripersonal region of conceptualisation. Yet, Biden's reconceptualising aspect of celebrated victory is more complex in terms of the discourse processing of his preceding counterfactual statement, as it may be surmised from the complex deictic space exhibited in Figure 7.

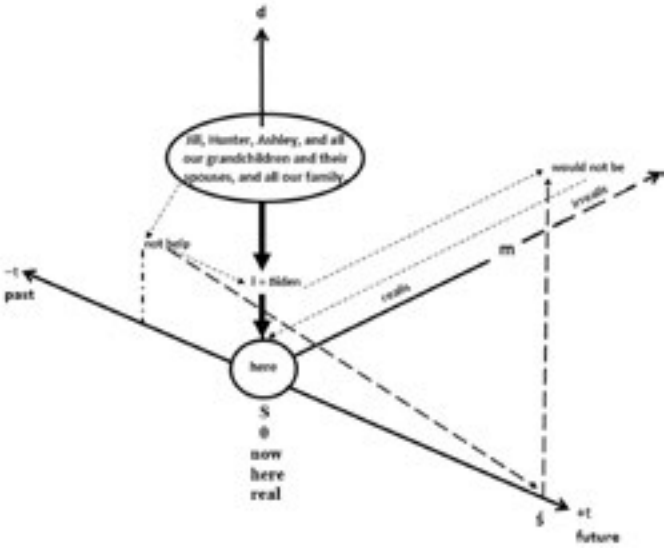

Figure 7: Biden's deictic space of a peripersonal real victory

As Figure 7 demonstrates, the counterfactual proposition conceptualised by Biden is mentally represented by a number of closely related discourse entities, viz. "here", "I", and a group of supportive referents ("Jill, Hunter, Ashley, all of our grandchildren and their spouses, and all our family"). As stated earlier, *here* is Biden's deictic focus that falls within his conceptualised peripersonal space as the setting of celebrating his presumed victory; further, Biden refers to himself as "I" (self-speaking), as spatially close to "here": note the proximal conceptual distancing and the direction marked by the bold arrow points towards *here* in Figure 7. Also, the group of supportive referents are collectively related to Biden by means of their essentially semantic role of being the presupposed agent of Biden reaching *here* and delivering his victory speech. Again, this conceptual agency has been marked by both the bold arrows pointing to Biden on *d*-axis and the dotted arrows referring to the past event of helping Biden all through the process of preparing for such a moment of celebration.

Crucially, the whole counterfactual proposition, with all these discourse entities, affords Biden's mental representation of a furthest "possible world" (Stalnaker 1968) of an otherwise electoral defeat in default of the help of supportive referents. This element should highlight a conceptual split between two discourse worlds along the *m*-axis: *realis* vs. *irrealis*. As delineated in Figure 7, the latter discourse world of *irrealis* is located beyond that of *realis* as an embedded imagined space for Biden's conceptualised failure to deliver his victory speech from the *here* and *now* of the speech itself. On this *irrealis* plane lies the unreality encoded into the hypothetical negated modal verb *would not*, which conceptually triggers a deictic shift of the actual speaker Biden (S) to a virtual speaker Biden (Ś): the latter speaker would not have appeared as a president-elect in the imagined scenario of S if (and only if) he had received no help from these supportive referents, who conceptually populate the *realis* discourse world. Thus, here, Biden (as S) negates the hypothetical reality of Ś and is committed epistemically to the truth of the actual reality of S and the rest of its deictic space of a peripersonal real victory, *here* and *now*.

Obviously, then, let me reiterate, at this point of Biden's speech there seems to be a reconceptualisation of Trump's deictic space of the latter's extrapersonal celebrated victory; such reconceptualisation has emerged from Biden's conceptualisation of the *here* of his speech as a space for an all too proximal victory becoming a reality only with the agency of a group of supportive discourse referents who share the same conceptual space created by S.

However, Biden's reconceptualisation is continued in his speech further beyond his supportive referents; that is, it has included even those discourse referents who have not volitionally voted for Biden: "And to those who voted for President Trump, I understand your disappointment tonight". It is patently clear that Biden's statement about "those who voted for President Trump" is interesting should one consider the conscious foregrounding of those referents at the linguistic level, which is explicitly emphasised through the opening addressive marker *to*. Yet, at the cognitive level, as Figure 8 shows, the same referents are located at a distal level of conceptual distancing from Biden as a speaker on *d*-axis; this distal representation has been established via the demonstrative *those*. But more interesting still is the observation that Trump is mentioned – only one mention in the whole speech – and conceptually located even further away from Biden on *d*-axis, the remotest from Biden so to speak. Equally interesting is the observation that both Trump and those who *voted* for him are temporally located as remote in time; the simple past tense encoded in the process *voted* denotes such temporal remoteness as exhibited on *t*-axis in Figure 8.

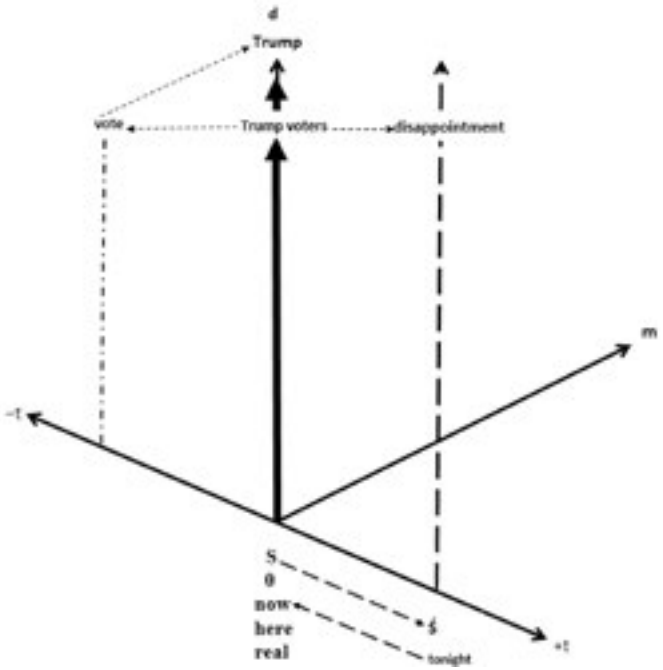

Figure 8: Biden's deictic space of Trump and his voters

Indeed, as reflected in Figure 8, the discourse processing of the second half of Biden utterance ("I understand your disappointment tonight") renders the whole conceptual picture more complex. At this point there emerges a conceptual deictic shift from the actual speaker Biden to an imaginary/virtual speaker Biden, who develops the mental representation of a sympathiser and who understands the disappointment of those who voted for Trump; and while the voting happened in the fairly remote past (at the time of voting), the disappointment transpires in synchrony with the same "night" Biden celebrates his victory with his supportive referents. Yet, as visually represented in Figure 8, the time reference of Biden's understanding cognitively supersedes that (time reference) of "tonight", since the latter temporal zone came into conceptual effect only by means of the former's, with the reading: *I would imagine how disappointed you are!*

Following such a complex discourse processing of the conceptual network holding among the two Ss (actual and virtual) of Biden and the discourse referents voting for Trump is another no less complex conceptualisation that has

been triggered by the following statement: "I ran as a proud Democrat. I will now be an American president". But this time, the conceptual complexity occurs on *t*-axis and *d*-axis as manifested in Figure 9. Strikingly enough, two sequential phases are conceptually marked as a temporal shift from the past Biden as "a proud Democrat", before becoming a president-elect, and the future "American president" speaking *now*; one may call it a *now* shift, which is inherently the temporal core of Biden's peripersonal space, as visualised in Figure 9. The now president is no longer a Democrat-Party member in the conceptual sense of the past; rather, he is a president for all Americans; a fact that has been textualised by Biden himself in his victory speech:

> Democrats, Republicans and Independents. Progressives, moderates and conservatives. Young and old. Urban, suburban and rural. Gay, straight, transgender. White. Latino. Asian. Native American. […] the African American community stood up again for me. They always have my back, and I'll have yours. (Biden's 2020 victory speech)

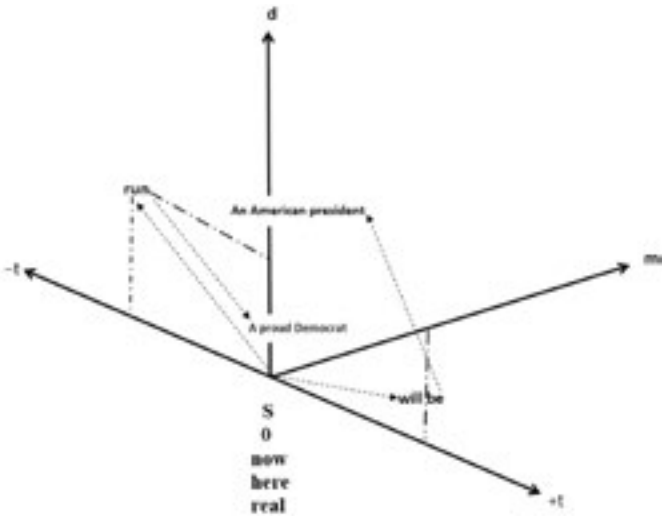

Figure 9: Biden's deictic space of a now shift from a past Democrat to a future president

No doubt this *now* shift conceptualised by Biden may conceivably be viewed as a mental representation of his entire forty-eight-year political career since he was first elected to the Senate up till the *now* of his victory speech, celebrating the moment of becoming the US president-elect. Using the future-time reference

encoded in *will* conceptually represents Biden's vision in terms of his perspective to his future political career; such a time reference projects on *m*-axis, where the epistemic necessity of Biden's becoming a president is near-certainly close to the *now* of his speech, as demonstrated in the visual representation of *will be* on both axes of time and epistemic modality (Figure 9). Thus, the relative distance of futurity on +*t* corresponds to a degree of near certainty on *m*-axis.

In Trump's victory speech, one can easily find a conceptualisation that Biden has already reconceptualised in the above analysis of the discourse referents of (i) Biden's supportive referents (Figure 7), (ii) Trump's voters and their disappointment (Figure 8), and (iii) Biden's self-conceptualisation of his past and future (Figure 9). This can be realised in Trump's declaration speech act: "so we will be going to the U.S. Supreme Court". As Figure 10 exhibits, on *d*-axis, Trump's peripersonal space allows only for "we" as a conceptual merger of Trump, his supporters, and fellow Republican-Party members. Of course, as shown above, Biden has already reconceptualised this deictic space by allowing for Trump himself and his voters to enter the former's deictic space of his speech (Figure 8).

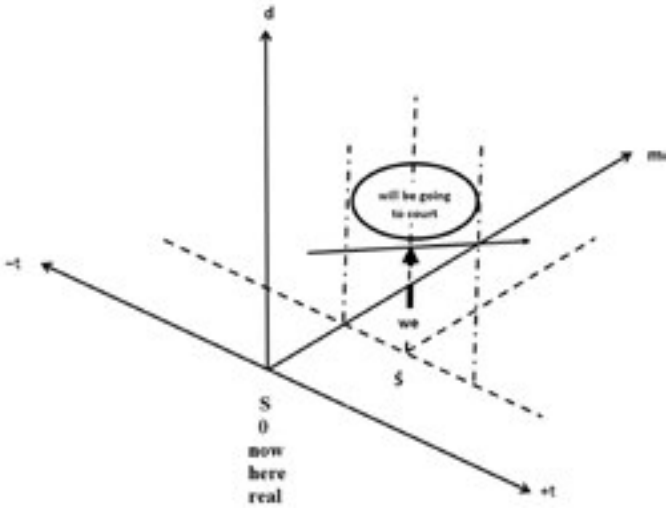

Figure 10: Trump's deictic space of delegetimising voting

Most interesting about Trump's deictic space of delegetimising voting (Figure 10) is the combination of the future time reference marker *will* and the

progressive aspectual operator attached to the main verb *go* in a way that yields the full verbal process *will be going*. With the future marker *will* the cognitive meanings of intending and planning can easily be realised; and using the progressive operator prompts a conceptualisation in which "spasmodic events succeed one another in a series" (Chilton 2014: 124). Thus, the process of "going to the US Supreme Court" is conceptualised here as a series of separate events that serve to arrest the process towards its completion, with a homogenisation cognitive effect (Langacker 1999).

This conceptually complex intersecting of the future and the progressive reveals the insertion of a new viewpoint in a new reality located at some time in the future relative to Trump (S); and this new viewpoint is conceptually based on a deictic shift from the present *now* of S to an imagined scenario by Ś, who (alongside his fellow Republicans) intends or plans to go through a series of successive legal events. Indeed, in the statement immediately following his speech act of declaring the intended plan of going to the Supreme Court, Trump divulges the perlocutionary effect of his intended plan: "We want all voting to stop". Obviously, using *wish* as an instance of *verba sentiendi*, Trump conceptualises such an effect of causing all voting to stop as emanating from the collective desire of his supportive Republicans, who are anchored as *we* into Trump's peripersonal space as part of Ś's inserted viewpoint in Figure 10. Thus, generally, Trump's current deictic space conceptualises a plan for delegitimising all voting through the official agency of the US Supreme Court.

Indeed, recalling Biden's foregoing conceptualisations of certain discourse referents (Figures 7, 8, 9), there emerges a threefold reconceptualisation of the above complex deictic space of delegitimising voting. First, Biden conceptualises his supportive discourse referents as the *raison d'etre* of the spatial surroundings (*here*) of his electoral victory (Figure 7). Second, Biden has allowed Trump and his voters to conceptually feature in one virtual space embedded in the deictic space of Trump and his voters (Figure 8). Third, Biden has implicitly conceptualised the voting as legitimate by conceptualising himself as the future US president-elect from the present *now* of his speech (Figure 9).

6 Conclusion

Now, it can be said that, in his 2020 victory speech on 7 November, Biden has textually created instances of conceptual deictic space of presidential victory that contested those of Trump in his victory speech, produced days earlier on 4 November. In the present study, this cognitive-linguistic output has been theoretically termed cross-textual reconceptualisation. Revealing this output entailed the methodological operationalisation of Deictic Space Theory (DST)

with its three conceptual dimensions or axes of discourse referents (*d*-axis), time (*t*-axis), and epistemic modality (*m*-axis) (Chilton 2013, 2014, 2015). All three axes have been combined at the experiencing self of each actual speaker (S) – or sometimes, virtual/imagined speaker (Ś) – in his speech in terms of his cognisance of what is *here* (denoting the peripersonal geopolitical space of the speech), what is *now* (indicating the political timing of the speech), and what is *real* (defining what can be cognitively grasped as a political reality in the speech).

The first macro-stage analysis above has been concerned with detailing all three aspects of cognisance (*now*, *here*, *real*) for each speaker in a way that uncovered the political contexts of the speeches under analysis. The second micro-stage analysis of the reconceptualised deictic-space instances of "victory" in the Trump speech has brought out different deictic spaces of the two speakers cross-textually (Trump vs. Biden), so that a whole picture of cross-textual reconceptualisation could be delineated through DST at the level of cognitively oriented political discourse analysis. Indeed, this picture of cross-textual reconceptualisation has materialised by means of coordinate geometry as a system for specifying the space-bound points of referents, times, and epistemic modals featuring along three axes (respectively, *d*-axis, *t*-axis, and *m*-axis). Therefore, the present study has utilised the DST as a modelling attempt that sought to grasp the multifaceted workings of Trump's and Biden's political communication seen as part of their political minds, respectively, Republican and Democratic. In other words, the micro analysis presented above has been a more or less cognitive-linguistic geometrical reading of the political cognitions[5] of the two ideologically opposed speakers on the enunciative event of political victory in the 2020 elections for US presidency.

The main question of "how has the meaning of 'victory' in the 2020 elections for US presidency been politically reconceptualised across the two victory speeches of Donald Trump and Joseph Biden?" has been addressed with reference to the different instantiations of cross-textual reconceptualisation potentially holding between the two speeches under analysis. Four such instantiations have been recognised, and these can be said to have proven the current research hypothesis introduced in the introduction: the DST model, while revealing the deictic-spatial conceptualisations of "victory" constituted by each speaker in his speech, may further be extended to disentangle the interesting aspect of how one and the same concept could be reconceptualised across two textual practices produced by speakers with ideologically opposed perspectives. Further, these three aspects represent the main analytical findings coming out of the present study. Let us present each aside.

The first instantiation of cross-textual reconceptualisation holding between the two speeches consisted in Biden's deictic space of a "clear" and "convincing" victory as a political contestation of Trump's deictic space of voting and disenfranchisement (Figures 4 and 5). With the first instantiation on *d*-axis, Trump's political referents of voters and disenfranchisers have been reconceptualised as Biden's referents of speakers and deliverers of victory; and, further to this, the referent "us" has marked a reconceptualisation of Trump's static deictic space that accommodates only Trump and his Republican Political Party; Biden's deictic space has proved more dynamic in mentally representing "us" as a mediating link between the people of this nation and the electoral victory. Also, on *t*-axis, Trump's temporal representation of past voting and the *windowing* of the disenfranchising event has been reconceptualised in Biden's representation of the comparatively recent victory-bound events.

The second instantiation of reconceptualisation across the two speeches has been realised in Biden's deictic space of a peripersonal real victory (Figure 7) as contesting Trump's deictic space of extrapersonal celebrated victory (Figure 6). Through this deictic space Trump conceptualised an unfulfilled extrapersonal celebration due to a spatial shift of the whole discourse world of this celebration from a present-future time zone to a past-progressive one along the *t*-axis; the cognitive effect of such a temporal shift is past "windowing"; that is, occluding any conceptualisation on Trump's part for the beginning and end of the act of preparation for "a big celebration". On the other hand, Biden's conceptualisation of the *here* of his speech was seen as a space for a proximal victory that became a reality only through a group of supportive discourse referents who share the same conceptual space created by S, namely, "Jill, Hunter, Ashley, and all our grandchildren and their spouses, and all our family". This sort of mental representation has been made more cognitively effective through Biden creating two conceptual worlds of *realis* and *irrealis* along the *m*-axis, where Biden himself would not have appeared as a president-elect in the imagined scenario of S without the help received from these supportive referents, who conceptually populate his *realis* discourse world of victory.

The third instantiation of cross-textual reconceptualisation has conceptually materialised with Biden's deictic space of Trump and his voters (Figure 9) as politically contesting Trump's deictic space of delegitimising voting (Figure 10). Whereas Trump's deictic space has conceptually provided a peripersonal region on *d*-axis that allows only for "we" as a merger of Trump, his supporters, and fellow Republican-Party members; Biden's deictic space has conceptually developed an embedded space for Biden as a virtual speaker (Ś) who would imagine the disappointment of those who voted for Trump; and here comes

Biden's reconceptualisation of Trump's deictic space, where the former has conceptualised himself as a virtual sympathiser to Trump's voters.

The fourth, and last, instantiation of reconceptualisation has been recognised across the deictic spaces of Biden and Trump in Figures 9 and 10, respectively. Trump's deictic space of delegetimising voting has reflected the mental representation of the process of "going to the US Supreme Court" as a series of separate events that serve to arrest the process towards its completion, with a homogenisation cognitive effect (Figure 10). On the other hand, Biden's deictic space of a now shift from a past Democrat to a future president has implicitly conceptualised the voting as legitimate as a direct consequence of Biden picturing himself as the future US president-elect from the present *now* of his speech (Figure 9).

In fine, then, through the DST, Biden's reconceptualisation of Trump's deictic-space instantiations can be said to have been all both systematic and persistent across the two victory speeches. All four instantiations summarized above can prove such a hypothesis should one allow the overall perspective of each speaker to rest on the meeting point of the three axes of political referents, time, and epistemic modality; the two perspectives have not only reflected politically opposed speakers on the enunciative event of presidential victory in the 2020 election for US presidency, but they have also demonstrated a cross-textual reconceptualisation with tangible cognitive effects produced through their political communication.

Notes

[1] Here, it should be made clear that the abbreviation DST is being used (advisedly) ambiguously to denote the old and the new versions of Chilton's Discourse Space Theory (2004, 2005) and Deictic Space Theory (2013, 2014, 2017), respectively, where "conceptualisation" has always remained the core notion constituting both versions.

[2] The script of Trump's victory speech is available online: https://www.newsweek.com/what-donald-trump-said-election-victory-speech-full-transcript-1544716 (accessed on 26 December 2020).

[3] The script of Biden's victory speech is available online: https://www.mercurynews.com/2020/11/08/transcript-joe-bidens-victory-speech/ (accessed on 26 December 2020).

[4] Here, I opt for the Foucauldian sense of the technical term "statement" as being abstracted from "the simple inscription of what is said" (Deleuze 1988: 15). Foucault (1972) privileges this term ("statement") as "the elementary unit of discourse," which represents "an ultimate, undecomposable [sic.] element that can be isolated and introduced into a set of relations with other similar elements" (p. 80). "Wherever there is a grammatically isolable sentence," Foucault (p. 81) argues, "one can recognize the existence of an independent statement"; however, as he continues to argue, it would be "pointless to object that some statements may be composed [outside the canonical form of a sentence] of a simple nominal syntagm ("That man!"), or an adverb ("Absolutely"), or a personal pronoun ("You!")" (Foucault 1972: 81).

[5] Here, the term "political cognitions" is understood to be each speaker's "mental representations about political situations, events, actors and groups" (van Dijk 2002: 206).

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MANAGEMENT OF THERAPIST DIRECTIVENESS IN INTEGRATIVE PSYCHOTHERAPY: A CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE STUDY

Jesse W. C. Yip

Abstract

Healthcare practitioners often face the dilemma of whether to provide advice during medical consultations due to concerns around affecting patients' autonomy in decision making. Healthcare practitioners' directiveness in patient–practitioner interactions may influence the success of medical consultations. Research has revealed that healthcare practitioners employ various communicative strategies and linguistic patterns to manage directiveness in medical consultations, such as the notions of likelihood and uncertainty, use of information, and politeness. Nonetheless, few scholars have examined how psychotherapists manage directiveness in counseling or psychotherapy sessions. Directives are inevitable speech acts in counseling or psychotherapy. Therapists may encounter challenges when producing directives, such as preventing clients from seeking their own solutions or clients becoming excessively dependent on therapists' suggestions. Drawing upon the systems of mood and modality in systemic functional linguistics, this article employs a corpus-assisted approach to investigate therapists' directives in terms of phraseological patterns, use of modality, and corresponding interpersonal meanings. Results reveal that therapists tend to manage directiveness by forming indicative directives and using low-value modulation modality. This article is the first corpus-assisted study to contribute to an understanding of therapist directiveness in psychotherapy from a lexico-grammatical perspective.

Keywords

corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, directiveness, systemic functional grammar, psychotherapy

1 Introduction

Healthcare practitioners often face the dilemma of whether to offer advice in doctor-patient interactions (e.g. Kinnell & Maynard 1996, Couture & Sutherland 2006, Heritage & Lindström 2012, Zayts & Schnurr 2012). Practitioners may bear a certain degree of responsibility for the advice they offer; directive speech may also influence patients' decision-making autonomy, the therapeutic relationship, and even the outcomes of medical treatment. Research has shown that healthcare practitioners tend to uphold the principle of nondirectiveness; maintain a courteous demeanor; and present information with uncertainty, likelihood, and

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indirectness in medical interactions (e.g. Aronsson & Satterlund-Larsson 1987, Sarangi 2002, Sarangi & Clarke 2002, Flores-Ferran 2010, Defibaugh 2014, Pilnick & Zayts 2014). Therapist directiveness in psychotherapy is defined as "the degree to which the therapist is the primary agent of therapeutic process or change through the selection of specific techniques and/or the adoption of a specific interpersonal demeanor" (Beutler et al. 2011: 135). Therapist directiveness supposedly increases via advice, questions, clarifications, steering to topics, goal setting, self-disclosure, and session management (Rautalinko 2017: 600). Psychotherapy, known as the 'talking cure' (Russell 1987), aims to provide clients with guidance by exploring the meaning of their lives and suggesting ways to overcome difficulties (Pawelczyk 2011). Therapist directiveness plays a key role in achieving this goal, as therapists must inevitably produce directives and thus encounter potential risks of influencing clients' autonomy, face threat, and dependence on their advice. Healthcare professionals routinely engage in the providing of recommendations or guidance, and patients may request such information from them specifically (Zayts & Schnurr 2012).

Advising, a type of directive speech, is closely related to the concept of directiveness; more explicit and direct advice evokes a higher degree of perceived directiveness. Couture and Sutherland (2006) outlined several reasons why counselors and therapists should potentially avoid offering advice: advice may prevent clients from searching for their own solutions to problems; clients may come to rely heavily on therapists and request more advice; clients might blame therapists for unsatisfactory outcomes driven by providers' advice, thus compromising the therapeutic relationship; and therapists may feel disappointed when clients choose not to follow the advice offered. Essentially, therapists' directiveness may hinder the effectiveness of therapy. The ways therapists use language to manage their directiveness, and the meanings behind such directiveness, are crucial in psychotherapy. Although a wealth of research has addressed the strategies healthcare practitioners employ to provide patients with advice or suggestions, few studies have explored how psychotherapists manage directiveness toward their clients in terms of linguistic features and interpersonal meanings. A directive approach warrants further examination given its inherent abstractness. This study employs an approach rooted in corpus linguistics and takes systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as a reference tool to examine therapists' directive speech, revealing phraseological patterns and interpersonal meanings of therapists' directiveness in 32 psychotherapy sessions.

2 Linguistic (non)directiveness in medical communication

Despite the need to direct, advise, and introduce values to clients, psychotherapists and counselors tend to be nondirective and value-free given their desire to conform as members of the professional community (Gaylin 2000). None of the linguistics literature appears to have evaluated directiveness among mental health professionals; however, a growing number of studies exploring healthcare practitioners' use of language have revealed a common emphasis on nondirectiveness in medical interactions (e.g. Sarangi 2002, Sarangi & Clarke 2002, Sarangi et al. 2003, Pilink & Zayts 2014, Yip 2020). Nondirectiveness among healthcare professionals denotes an unbiased and non-imposing presentation of information intended to help patients or clients make decisions based on their own values and judgements (White 1997, Marteau & Dormandy 2001). Reviewing relevant studies could offer insights into therapists' linguistic directiveness in counseling or psychotherapy sessions. Aronsson and Satterlund-Larsson (1987) noted that doctors in a hospital clinic of internal medicine used negative politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987) to maintain social distance when making requests and questioning patients. Specifically, the doctors used euphemisms such as "slight tuberculosis", "little problem" and "slight thyroidea"; used modalities when asking patients to undress (e.g. "You may…", "You could…", and "Would you possibly…?"); and used the collective pronoun "we" when giving directives. Sarangi and Clarke (2002) pointed out that genetic counselors tended to adhere strictly to the principle of nondirectiveness due to clients' lack of relevant medical expertise and the need to inform clients about the uncertainty of future events. Sarangi and Clarke (2002) found that the counselors used multiple communicative strategies, such as providing disclaimers about being in a zone of related expertise, affirming their scope of expertise while indicating uncertainty, and deploying discourse strategies such as contrast and hedging devices (e.g. "I think", "I suppose", "might", "from the point of view", "likely a little bit sooner"). Another study by Sarangi (2002) indicated that geneticists used the notion of probability, reflecting a degree of commitment and the notion of range or normalcy. Genetic counselors also used pragmatic devices such as hedging, disclaimers, and markers of frequency and distribution. The degree of commitment refers to the extent to which counselors expressed certainty of future events; the notion of range relates to *if–then always* and *if–then in a certain percentage* relation; and the notion of normalcy reflects the broadest sense of normality. Building on the principle of uncertainty in clinical communication, Pilnick and Zayts (2014) examined uncertainty through interactional analysis, revealing how doctors conveyed positive results

of antenatal screening tests for fetal abnormalities to female patients in an antenatal screening clinic. To demonstrate uncertainty, the doctors used numerals such as "1 in x" figure and percentages; provided imprecise and noncommittal formulations (e.g. "It's just a likelihood" and "It will still not be able to tell you for sure"); and evaluated numerical evidence using mitigators such as "not so high" or "a bit high". Flores-Ferran (2010) investigated mitigation strategies used in Spanish psychotherapeutic discourse, noting that the therapist offered a large number of 'shields', referring to impersonal mechanisms (e.g. "one", "as we know", and the generic "you") and hedges, to mitigate face-threatening acts when inviting clients to continue treatment and when guiding the interaction.

Studies have shown that healthcare practitioners apply various discourse strategies to manage directiveness in doctor–patient interactions, including hedges, disclaimers, presentation of likelihood and uncertainty, pronouns, and politeness. Research has also indicated that practitioners tend to mitigate the degree of directiveness in medical consultations. However, therapists' management of directiveness in psychotherapy or counseling sessions remains unexplored. Moreover, nearly all the aforementioned studies were informed by conversation analysis, and interpretations of the findings are predominantly context-oriented from a social pragmatic perspective; the phraseological patterns of directives produced by healthcare practitioners were not revealed. The present study combines corpus linguistics with the analytical framework of SFL to examine therapist directiveness in integrative psychotherapy sessions, revealing the linguistic patterns and their corresponding interpersonal meanings of directives to enhance our understanding of how therapists manage directiveness through language use.

3 Integrative psychotherapy for anxiety and depression

The general goal of psychotherapy is to provide "guidance on discovering the meaning of one's life as well as suggesting ways to surmount everyday difficulties" (Pawelczyk 2011: 1). Thus, psychotherapists will inevitably need to offer clients suggestions throughout the course of therapy. In this context, directives are used to guide clients and hopefully facilitate deeper understanding (Culley & Bond 2011: 126). However, the primary approach used in therapy can influence the degree of provider directiveness. Mental health professionals employ different techniques and strategies to achieve therapeutic goals; some approaches encourage the therapist to be directive, whereas others do not. For example, compared with narrative therapy, a provider who practices cognitive behavioral therapy may be more directive in an effort to help the client modify maladaptive thought patterns and collaboratively devise solutions to adverse

symptoms. Conversely, narrative therapists help clients co-author and re-author a new narrative and seldom offer suggestions; rather, these providers probe for details about events in the client's past by questioning. In other words, acknowledging and understanding the predominant approach employed by therapists in psychotherapy sessions is crucial as this information enables the researcher to scrutinize and elucidate directives performed by therapists in relation to the specific context. The psychotherapy sessions collected in the present study were classified as integrative psychotherapy, which is often associated with cognitive behavioral therapy. Integrative psychotherapy is informed by the relational perspective (Gilbert & Orlans 2011). The therapeutic framework focuses on the relationship between the self at an intrapsychic level and physiological level, the relationship of the self with others through interpersonal exchanges, the relationship of the self with past and present contexts, and the self as a spiritual individual. In short, therapists practicing integrative psychotherapy inevitably produce directives and must take care to manage directiveness when providing directives to clients, as directives play a significant role in modifying clients' thought patterns.

4 Theoretical background

SFL is intended to investigate how language functions as a human communication system. In this perspective, linguistic analysis is vital for considering form and meaning (see Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, Thompson 2008). The entire model of functional grammar is composed of three umbrella terms: textual, interpersonal, and ideational metafunctions. The model can be understood by beginning with the *textual metafunction*, which refers to sentence and clause formations. This metafunction enables operation of the latter two metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), as meaning is delivered through the textual construction of language. The *interpersonal metafunction* indexes personal and social relationships and the meanings people convey in communication. The *ideational metafunction* encompasses how people construe their worldview and human experiences. The interpersonal metafunction is the most relevant to this study; it "embodies all use of language to express social and personal relations, including all forms of the speaker's intrusion into the speech situation and the speech act" (Halliday 1973: 41). Applying key concepts of the interpersonal metafunction to analyze healthcare texts enables researchers to investigate the tenor of the relationship between doctors and patients using illustrative examples (Matthiessen 2013). In other words, the interpersonal metafunction can facilitate understanding of the social and interpersonal meanings therapists impose on clients via observed structural patterns.

Three main principal grammatical systems of English, namely mood, polarity, and modality, comprise the interpersonal metafunction. This study focuses on the mood and modality systems to examine therapist directives.

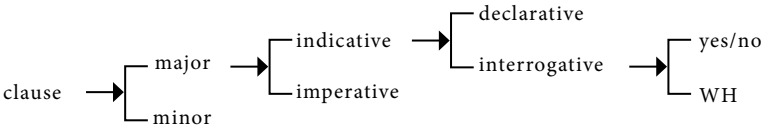

Figure 1: Simplified mood system (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 23)

As Figure 1 illustrates, an independent clause can be classified as either indicative or imperative; an indicative clause can be either declarative or interrogative; and an interrogative clause can consist of either *yes/no* questions or *wh*-questions. A declarative clause is constituted by a *subject^ finite* sequence, whereas an interrogative clause is formed by a *finite^ subject* or *wh-word^ finite* sequence. The system initially takes the syntactic structure of a clause into account, focusing on the subject and finite components. Accordingly, the subject supplies the remainder of what is needed to form a proposition: something by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 117). The subject is often responsible for the success or failure of the proposition in a declarative clause. For tag-questions, the subject in the tag specifies the validity of the information. A finite allows for the possibility of arguing about the validity of a proposition (Thompson 2008: 53). In other words, the subject carries propositional meanings, and the finite functions as a regulator that allows the language user to moderate the validity or reliability of the meanings of the subject.

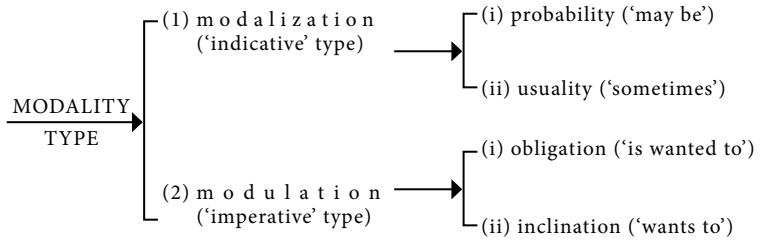

Figure 2: Categorizations of modality (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 618)

Modality assumes two basic forms: modalization and modulation (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). *Modalization* can be categorized into probability and usuality; *modulation* is divided into obligation and inclination. Each division represents varying degrees of moderation in the validity and reliability of a proposition. Modality classifications can elucidate the degree to which therapists emphasize, validate, and rely on the advice they give their clients. This study employs the frameworks of mood and modality to investigate patterns and examine the social meanings of psychotherapists' advice. As mentioned in the literature review, several studies have concluded that modality is a linguistic element repeatedly used by healthcare practitioners (see Aronsson & Satterlund-Larsson 1987, Sarangi & Clarke 2002).

5 Methodology

This study drew examples from the *Counseling and Psychotherapy Transcripts*, *Client Narratives and Reference Works* database, which consists of thousands of psychotherapy session transcriptions published from 1877 to 2012. Database access was granted via a library subscription through the affiliated institution of the author.

Patient	Number of sessions	Duration (mins)	Number of words	Occurrences of directives
A	4	181	23,123	2
D	4	190	24,704	19
J	3	129	14,729	22
R	4	153	28,767	49
Ju	3	128	12,425	7
M	1	44	6,599	0
L	4	165	23,115	18
Ma	2	84	9,120	10
S1	2	96	25,492	4
B	2	74	8,697	4
K	1	50	7,769	6
S2	2	90	7,763	24
Total	32	1,384	192,303	165

Table 1: Overview of the dataset

As shown in Table 1, dialogues were analysed from twelve psychotherapy clients whose names have been anonymized in accordance with ethical considerations. Transcriptions in the database were most recently archived in 2012. To ensure the most up-to-date dataset, only transcriptions from 2012 were included in this study. Thirty-two samples of therapist–client dialogue were

selected randomly from the database for analysis. According to the database, the predominant approach adopted in the selected psychotherapy sessions was integrative psychotherapy. Each session lasted approximately 45 minutes, and the total length of all analysed transcriptions was 1,384 minutes (approximately 23 hours). The chosen transcriptions were extracted to compile a corpus of psychotherapy conversations, totalling 192,000 words. All selected transcriptions were double checked to ensure they represented complete psychotherapy sessions. Language mistakes in the transcriptions, including misspellings, inappropriate punctuation, and other typos, were filtered and corrected. The final corpus consisted of multiple transcription cases to ensure findings were not dominated by a single therapist; the final corpus included sessions from twelve providers. Although this corpus is modest, the small size enabled the author to conduct quantitative and in-depth qualitative analysis as smaller corpora are more suitable for studying specific genres (Handford 2012).

General information was gathered from the transcriptions, including the clients' symptoms, the main topic of the session, and the total length of the therapy. To maintain participant confidentiality, no personal information was revealed and only a few extracts from the corpus were used as examples in this study.

This study employed the approach of corpus-assisted discourse analysis. Data analysis began by identifying therapists' directives. As a speech act, a directive is defined as a speaker attempting to make an addressee carry out an action (Searle 1975). It could include specific speech acts, such as ordering, advising, requesting and inviting. Directives in psychotherapy sessions, particularly their lexico-grammatical structures, reflect the degree of therapists' directiveness. In this study, directives were identified contextually by considering conversational topics and clients' symptoms and responses to minimize decontextualization. The analytical unit of the directive was a clause, and 165 units of directives were identified in the corpus. These directives were then coded manually according to the mood and modality models in SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Specifically, directives were categorized by mood type (i.e. imperative or indicative), and those involving modality were classified to compile three sub-corpora of therapists' directives. Table 2 lists the sub-corpora sizes.

Interpersonal metafunction	Sub-corpus	Number of words
Mood	Imperative advice	1,225
	Indicative advice	3,272
Modality	Directive with modality	2,072
	Total	6,569

Table 2: Sub-corpora compiled for analysis

Subsequent analysis focused on three topics, namely imperatives, indicatives, and modality of directives. This analysis employed a corpus linguistics approach to determine phraseological patterns in the directives. The corpus tool *AntConc 3.5.7* was employed to generate word frequencies and N-grams of words in directives. N-grams refer to clusters encapsulating two or more words and repeatedly occurring consecutively in a corpus (Cheng 2012). The imperative aspect of this study explored initial verbs and N-grams in directives in imperative forms; the indicative aspect examined sub-categories of indicative mood, the subject, and N-grams of directives in indicative forms. Instances of modality in directives were identified and coded manually according to the modality system (see Figure 2). The word list reflecting modality in associated directives was generated using *AntConc 3.5.7*. Though the present study focuses on lexico-grammatical characteristics of the therapists' directives, interaction analysis was conducted to examine the potential impacts of therapists' directives. The analysis shed light on how specific linguistic devices such as phrases and modality in therapists' directives function, delineating their effects on clients in the therapist-patient conversations.

An intercoder reliability test was conducted to enhance coding consistency and validity. The author and his research assistant were each involved in directive identification and coding. Coders identified directives from the compiled corpus and coded them independently. Ambiguous classifications were discussed after independent coding, and a consensus was reached for coding validation. Categories about which the author and his assistant could not reach a consensus were reviewed by a colleague in the English Department of the university. Eventually, the coders agreed on approximately 97 per cent of classifications.

6 Findings and discussion

Findings from this study are divided into two components: the mood types of directives and directives with modality. The linguistic features and patterns of directives were investigated using a corpus linguistic approach.

6.1 Mood of the advice

Mood	Number	Percentage
Imperative	50	30%
Indicative	115	70%
Total	165	100%

Table 3: Types of mood in advice giving

As displayed in Table 3, the ratio of imperative to indicative advice was three to seven, implying that a larger proportion of therapists' advice was conveyed indirectly. According to Kiesling and Johnson (2010), directness is a path "that goes straight from a point of origin to the destination with no other steps", whereas indirectness is "an alternate path, one that must go through some extra steps and often take a circuitous route" (ibid.: 293) to deliver meanings. Directives in imperative forms may have a relatively high degree of directiveness. If the speaker produces directives in forms other than the imperative, then the degree of directiveness will probably be moderated by the speaker and likely decline to a certain extent. Table 3 indicates that therapists in the study sample preferred to manage their directiveness by presenting directives in indicative forms. This could be explained by the fact that declaratives and interrogatives are often used to produce indirect speech act of directive, as illustrated in speech act theory (Austin 1962). The following sections explore the linguistic features of therapist directives in imperative and indicative forms.

6.1.1 Directives in imperative mood

The basic semantic meaning of an imperative clause can be either "I want you to do something" or "I want us (you and me) to do something" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). The former commonly begins with a verb, whereas the latter often begins with "let's". The initial verb plays a role in managing the directiveness of imperative directives. Table 4 lists initial verbs from therapist directives in imperative forms.

let (20, 40%), find (4, 8%), give (3, 6%), make (3, 6%), try (2, 4%), figure out (2, 4%), go (2, 4%), be (2, 4%), send (2, 4%), check (2, 4%), block (1, 2%), feel (1, 2%), put (1, 2%), take (1, 2%), allow (1, 2%), talk (1, 2%), see (1, 2%), catch up (1, 2%)

Table 4: Initial verbs in imperatives (frequency, percentage)

The above table indicates that the verb "let" was the most frequently used verb (40%; 20 out of 50) in imperatives. N-grams of "let" in imperative directives were investigated to further examine patterns of these types of directives.

N-grams	Frequency	Rank
let yourself	9	1
let's	5	2
let your	2	3
let go	1	4
let him	1	5
let it	1	6
let that	1	7

Table 5: N-grams of *let*

Table 5 shows that the N-gram "let yourself" occurred most frequently, and "let's" appeared the second most frequently as in the following examples:

(1) *THERAPIST: Let yourself take it step by step.*

(2) *THERAPIST: Let yourself enjoy having just met someone that you really like and spending the past month with someone to whom you're really attracted.*

(3) *THERAPIST: Let's actually put it on paper.*

As shown in the above examples, the therapists compose their directive in imperative forms which began with the verb *let* without mitigation. An imperative is a structure that is "not open to negotiation in interpersonal terms" (Thompson 2008: 56); therefore, imperative directives are likely to convey a relatively high degree of directiveness. Gaylin (2000) pointed out that therapists direct, advise, and introduce information out of a need to address complex human functioning involving emotions and aspirations for which few universally accepted norms exist. The use of the phrase "let's" is a frequent collocation of the initial verb *let*. The N-gram "let's" is an inclusive verb phrase akin to the first-person plural, which can be used to connect the therapist and client to establish a collaborative climate for therapy (Crits-Christoph et al. 2010). The following excerpt is an exemplar:

(4) *THERAPIST: What were your thoughts like? As you were sitting there and struggling to get the latch, what were you thinking?*
CLIENT: That same feeling of just, "I'm the one responsible for feeding him, and if this isn't going well he's not getting enough food, and then what does that mean?" I think that feeling of responsibility that is on me. And I know there are backup plans, but that I really want to make this work I think is putting pressure on it.
THERAPIST: Let's look at some of those thoughts and see how you can modify them so that it doesn't become so catastrophic.

CLIENT: Yeah. I know we're still figuring this out. Even my mom has been saying that I'm the perfectionist, so of course I want to go in and be a perfectionist with breast-feeding, and I just don't think that's going to happen right away.

The excerpt shows that the client felt stressed due to her thought that she was responsible for breastfeeding her baby and making sure he gets enough food. The therapist used the phrase 'let's' to form an imperative through which the therapist advised the client to examine her thought together. The client then agreed with a positive response 'Yeah'. This indicates that the therapist's directive was appropriate and acceptable to the client. More importantly, the collaborative atmosphere could be realized in the client's use of the first-person plural 'we' to be aligned with the therapist.

6.1.2 Directives in indicative mood

Mood	Number	Percentage
Declarative	103	89.6%
Interrogative	9	7.8%
Others	3	2.6%
Total	115	100%

Table 6: Types of indicative advice

Table 6 demonstrates that most (89.6%) indicative directives in the corpus were declarative. As demonstrated in Figure 1, declarative clauses can be either exclamative or non-exclamative. All directives identified in this study were non-exclamative. According to Halliday and Matthiessen's model (2004), a declarative begins with a subject that can optionally be followed by a finite. Table 7 reveals the most commonly used subjects in indicative directives in the study sample.

Subject	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
you	64	55.65%	1
I	14	12.17%	2
it	12	10.4%	3
we	7	6%	4
Others	18	15.65%	
Total	115	100%	

Table 7: Subjects of indicative directives

More than half (55.65%) of subjects in indicative directives were the second-person singular "you". In Halliday and Matthiessen's study (2004), therapists appeared to confer to clients the responsibility for the success and failure of suggestions. In this case, the pronoun specifies that the client is the one capable of achieving directives. This approach may also prevent clients from becoming overly reliant on therapists' advice and thus reduce the potential of being blamed for unsatisfactory outcomes related to providers' suggestions (Couture & Sutherland 2006). Conversely, the use of this pronoun might increase the degree of directiveness to a client because the structure of "you" followed by a verb is often perceived as an imperative, such as "You look!" The finite is similarly crucial to therapists' management of directiveness because it allows a speaker to moderate the validity of the proposition of the subject (Thompson 2008). Examining N-grams of "you" in the sub-corpus of indicative directives revealed how the subject of the second-person singular was used to manage directiveness.

N-grams	Frequency	Rank
you can	37	1
you could	18	2
you know	17	3
you're	15	4
you to	11	5
you were	6	6
you don	5	=7
you have	5	=7
you need	5	=7
you want	5	=7

Table 8: Top 10 N-grams of "you" in indicative advice

Table 8 shows that the N-grams "you can" and "you could" ranked first and second in terms of frequency, suggesting that therapists tended to use modal auxiliaries when producing directives in an indicative mood:

(5) *THERAPIST: You probably could have told them that and still gotten yourself out of work at twelve.*

(6) *THERAPIST: You can grab a box and put a lamp on it in the corner and give you enough light to see what you're doing. These are things you can do.*

(7) *THERAPIST: You could probably find you something more age appropriate.*

(8) *THERAPIST: Well, you could hang out and move stuff together.*

The examples above indicate that the therapists produced directives formed in declaratives which often began with *you* preceding "probably", "could" or "can". In the corpus, the N-gram "you can" often preceded the main verb of the directive clause. This phraseological use of declaratives aligns with work by Aronsson and Satterlund-Larsson (1987: 7), who found that doctors typically used the phrases "You may…", "You could…", and the more open construction "You could perhaps…" to present invitations in doctor–patient interactions in a hospital clinic. In addition, the cluster "you know" was the third most frequent N-gram of indicative directives in this study, often serving as a filler that did not contain specific literal meanings but rather social meaning in the directives. Therapists in this study used the phrase when producing directives:

(9) *THERAPIST: You know it might be possible to start some cover letters and then wait a day or two to give yourself more time to proof it.*

(10) *THERAPIST: You know, catch up on a couple episodes of whatever and it would be easier to structure yourself.*

The phrase "you know" could be a discourse marker facilitating intimacy between the therapist and client because the client tends to utter it before disclosing personal emotions and thoughts (Pawelczyk 2011); that is, the phrase functions as a mitigator to hedge potential face threat to the client, enabling therapists to moderate their directiveness. The following excerpt might explain.

(11) *THERAPIST: Well, I think and you know being comfortable with what you've decided is the most important thing and having sex with him once doesn't mean that you have to get right back to it when you're finished with your period.*
CLIENT: That's true.
THERAPIST: And, I don't think you're abstaining during your period.
CLIENT: Yes.
THERAPIST: You know having it not be a fantastic first experience also doesn't mean that you can't do it again or that the second won't be better.
CLIENT: Yeah.

The therapist in the above conversation used the phrase "you know" with another phrase "I think" as hedges to perform a directive that advised the client to put more importance on self-feelings when having sex for the first time with her boyfriend. The client agreed with the therapist by saying "that's true". The therapist then kept persuading the client and the client responded positively. The positive responses of the client indicated that the potential face threat of the directive might have been mitigated by the phrase "you know".

Directives in the interrogative mood, as illustrated in the mood system (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), are composed of either a finite and subject to form a *yes/no* question or a wh-word and finite to form a *wh*-question. Therapists used each type of interrogative in their directives:

(12) *THERAPIST: So what if you turn that energy someplace else?*

(13) *THERAPIST: What about reassuring him?*

(14) *THERAPIST: Do you think you could challenge yourself to take one step of saying hello?*

(15) *THERAPIST: So can you disapprove of someone's choices but not excommunicate the person?*

Examples (12) to (15) manifest that interrogative directives produced by the therapists were often constituted by phrases in the initial position of a sentence, such as "What if…" and "What about…". Another form was *yes/no* questions that comply with the sequence of *finite^ subject*, such as "Do you…" and "Can you…".

6.2 Modality in indicative directives

From 115 indicative directives, 87 units of modality were identified. Modality can be categorized into two types, each with two sub-categories: modulation and modalization (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, Thompson 2008). Modality in modulation includes the subcategories of obligation or inclination; modality in modalization includes the subcategories of probability or usuality. Tables 9 and 10 present the frequencies and percentages of modality categories in this study.

Basic type of modality	Number	Percentage
Modulation	65	74.7%
Modalization	22	25.3%
TOTAL	87	100%

Table 9: Basic types of modality in indicative advice

Basic type	Sub-category	Number	Percentage
Modulation	Inclination	3	4.6%
	Obligation	61	70.1%
Modalization	Usuality	0	0
	Probability	23	26.4%
TOTAL		87	100%

Table 10: Sub-categories of modality in indicative advice

Table 9 reveals that most instances of modality in therapist directives were categorized as modulation (65 out of 87; 74.7%) with the rest (25.3%) categorized as modalization. Table 10 reveals that 70 per cent of modulation-type modality involved the sub-category of obligation, which concerns the degree to which others are expected to achieve the proposed command with respect to permissibility, advisability, and obligation (Thompson 2008). The degree of obligation the therapist imposes as indicated by the finite position of directives could influence the degree of directiveness.

Modality	Frequency	Rank	Degree
can	41	1	low
could	28	2	low
probably	14	3	median
would	10	4	median
maybe	9	5	low
might	9	5	low
need to	9	5	low
really	6	6	high

Table 11: Word list of modality in indicative advice

Halliday and Matthessien (2004: 147) explained that the modality system "construes the region of uncertainty that lies between 'yes' and 'no'". Table 11 suggests that most modal items in therapist directives were low-value modulation, such as "can", "could", and "need to", reflecting "the lowest degree of pressure, opening the possibility for the other person to do the action but leaving the decision to them" (Thompson 2008: 69). The second most frequent modality type was probability, attached to propositions of varying degrees of likelihood (Halliday & Matthessien 2004) such as "probably", "maybe", and "might". Modal items of probability can convey a sense of uncertainty toward the effectiveness or feasibility of directives, similar to other healthcare practitioners who use the notion of probability (Sarangi 2002) in genetic counselling sessions and the principle of uncertainty in antenatal screening consultations (Pilnick & Zayts 2014). Therapists in this corpus tended to combine the modality of probability with that of obligation, as evidenced by directives in the declarative and interrogative moods:

(16) *THERAPIST: You probably could have told them that and still gotten yourself out of work at twelve.*

(17) *THERAPIST: Well you can probably go back and look online.*

(18) *THERAPIST: You can I guess solidify those kinds of skills.*

Therapists' mixed adoption of modal items in integrative psychotherapy could be ascribed to their tuning functions; modal items help avoid problems caused by directives, such as preventing clients from searching for their own solutions and minimize clients' excessive dependence on therapists' suggestions (Couture & Sutherland 2006).

7 Concluding remarks

Overwhelming directiveness from therapists may prevent clients from seeking their own solutions to problems, leading to over-reliance on therapists' suggestions; this pattern could compromise the therapeutic relationship due to unsatisfactory outcomes related to therapists' advice (Couture & Sutherland 2006). To achieve the general objective of psychotherapy, which is to provide "guidance on discovering the meaning of one's life as well as suggesting ways to surmount everyday difficulties" (Pawelczyk 2011: 1), therapists can manage their directiveness in the linguistic formation of directive speech acts. Informed by corpus-assisted study, this study reveals the most frequent mood types in chosen directives, their predominant phraseological patterns, use of modality, and associated interpersonal meanings. Findings show that therapists are likely to use directives formed in imperative and indicative moods. Regarding imperative directives, the pattern "let yourself…" was used repeatedly, presumably for the sake of directing clients toward a healthy lifestyle and positive thoughts. The inclusive "let's" helped establish a therapeutic alliance between therapists and clients. Moreover, directives in the indicative mood were most common. Most indicative directives were in the declarative mood, enabling therapists to achieve two communicative goals: shifting responsibility to clients by using the second-person singular pronoun "you" as the subject; and moderating the degree of pressure placed on clients. In addition to the mood types of directives, this study also found that therapists tended to use modal items categorized as low-value modulation to diminish the degree of directiveness. This study is the first to contribute to an understanding of therapist directiveness in integrative psychotherapy from a functional linguistic point of view, enhancing patients' understanding of therapists' advice. The findings of this study should raise patients' awareness about how the therapists managed their directiveness, maintained patients' autonomy in decision making, and discouraged clients from overly relying on their suggestions. Indeed, medical service users' understanding of healthcare practitioners' language is significant in health communication, as it is key to reducing the probability of patients' misinterpretation and anxiety with their health conditions (Berry 2007).

The results reveal that combining corpus linguistics with SFL can enable researchers to identify phraseological patterns using empirical evidence generated by corpus tools and interpret the social semiotic meanings of directives within a mood and modality system in SFL. Many studies related to healthcare practitioners' directiveness have been informed by conversation analysis, a qualitative approach (e.g. Sarangi 2002, Sarangi & Clarke 2002, Heritage & Lindström 2012, Zayts & Schnurr 2012). The corpus-assisted analytical approach to discourse analysis in this study enabled the researcher to examine a more representative collection of medical discourse compared with other studies without computational assistance. By generating sizable quantities of authentic language data, corpus methods can facilitate a more objective approach to large datasets common in empirical research on health communication (Brown et al. 2006). Drawing upon the analytical framework of interpersonal metafunction in SFL (Halliday & Matthessien 2004), the present study has demonstrated the application of corpus linguistics to reveal the predominant textual patterns of psychotherapists' directives, and subsequently evaluate the degree of directiveness in the directives. Interpersonal metafunction of SFL, which is a framework that emphasizes forms and meanings in discourses, enabled the researcher to quantify and code linguistic devices that indicate (in)directness and (un)certainty in clauses. Interaction analysis was also conducted to examine the impact of therapists' directives on patients, such as whether the patients accept the directives and whether they perceive the directives as appropriate. In other words, the corpus-assisted approach allows researchers to obtain quantitative results and conduct in-depth qualitative analysis at the same time. This approach is applicable to health communication research which aims to investigate and elucidate social relationship management, politeness, and attitudes of language users.

Despite the unique contributions of this study, limitations do exist. This work assesses therapists' directiveness by focusing on the lexical-grammatical meanings of directives, providing a general insight into psychotherapists' directiveness. The study may have overlooked directives with socio-pragmatic meanings that should be identified through conversational analysis. Mental health has attracted increasing attention from individuals in developed countries, owing to increasing social pressure. The need for counseling and psychotherapy services has risen steadily each year, and research related to language and medical communication is thus becoming more important. To contribute to this field, future research should explore therapist directiveness and its possible effect on therapeutic outcomes.

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REVIEWS

Farkas, J. and Schou, J. (2020) ***Post-Truth, Fake News and Democracy: Mapping the Politics of Falsehood.*** **Routledge. 166 pp.**
Giroux, H. (2021) ***Race, Politics, and Pandemic Pedagogy: Education in a Time of Crisis.*** **Bloomsbury Academic. 296 pp.**
Seargeant, P. (2020) ***The Art of Political Storytelling: Why Stories Win Votes in Post-Truth Politics.*** **Bloomsbury. 272 pp.**

1 Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 has created an unprecedented number of issues around the world since it greatly affected global and local processes that require social interactions. Specifically, as seen in different parts of the world, processes such as travel, exchange of goods and essential activities have been halted by authorities in order to prevent the spread of the virus preventing further infection and death. Although COVID-19 is mainly a public health issue, it has exposed greater inequalities in the distribution of resources between nations and people. For instance, issues on vaccine distribution, access to adequate medical care and financial support have been greatly contested among communities. However, although communication technology has provided a suitable alternative in providing opportunities for people to continue essential activities such as work and social interaction, the pandemic has become a test for the adequacy of political leadership, stability of the economic status of nations and sustainability of collective action. Significant here is the emergence of a post-truth era in politics which is primarily driven through communication technology that has created polarizing movements resulting in the rise of populist regimes, Brexit and Trumpism (Valdez et al. 2019). As scholars point out, the post-truth era has put into question the legitimacy of facts, the integrity of democratic institutions and the primacy of affect in decision making, preventing sustained engagement among people (McNair 2018, Farkas & Schou 2020). This review article covering the works of Seargeant (2020), Farkas and Schou (2020) and Giroux (2021) attempts to explore the relationship between language, political and economic movements, post-truth and the potential responses of education to create new spaces for engagement among communities.

2 Interrogating post-truth politics

The emergence of post-truth politics in recent years around the world is the primary context where Seargeant's *The Art of Political Storytelling* examines the intricacies of storytelling politics. While the use of narratives in politics is not new, globalization has created conditions which have changed the dynamics of engagement between people. Instrumental here is the role of communication technology, which appears to have democratized the flow of information resulting in communities of practice with varying belief systems. As a result, conflicting views among these communities have been instrumental in the rise of political movements such as Brexit, Trump and populist regimes.

Containing twelve chapters, Seargeant's book is divided into four sections covering different aspects of storytelling in the political domain. The first section (Chapters 1-3) serves as a foundation for understanding the impact of storytelling in post-truth times and establishes the main premise of the book.

Chapter One sets the scene by mapping out the relationship between storytelling and the rise of recent political movements such as Brexit, Trump and the resurgence of populist regimes. Specifically, this chapter identifies different parts of narratives such as motivation, struggle and climax as essential elements in engaging the public in political affairs. Chapter Two interrogates the problem of post-truth and alternative facts by examining the nature of facts as a means of rational thought. While facts may lead to "truthfulness", its establishment is a product of criteria among a select few. In the context of politics, the assault on truth has heavily favored emotions over rational thought greatly influencing critical decisions. Chapter Three is devoted to an analysis of populist movement in its ties to post-truth politics. Capitalizing on the mobilization of the grassroots, populist movements hinge its strength on shared values among people, which leaders conveniently use to represent the people's voice.

Section Two (Chapters 4-6) covers different aspects of storytelling from a range of perspectives. Chapter Four delves into the centrality of explanatory storytelling in politics. Specifically, this chapter draws on examples from literary storytelling that are appropriated in political contexts. Extending the discussion, Chapter Five describes the uses of storytelling through literary archetypes and prototypical patterns of development to assert that narratives in politics take away the complexity and nuances of public policy and collective engagement. In Chapter Six, storytelling is described from the lens of dramatic structure as applied in political movements. As such, different actors use narratives to engage audiences.

Section Three (Chapters 7-9) is devoted to examining the use of language and rhetoric in post-truth politics. Chapter Seven details different strategies deployed by politicians in framing their political message among the public. Specifically, the chapter shows the different techniques in either instilling hope or painting a bleak imaginary future through storytelling. Chapter Eight, on the other hand, provides a post-truth lexicon to further understand specific rhetorical strategies to tap on affective associations among the audience. Instructive here are discussions on the use of metaphors, doublespeak and wooden language, which in turn reduces complex issues into binary opposites. Chapter Nine explains the use of political storytelling by news and media outlets in the internet age and its contributions to post-truth.

Section Four (Chapters 10-12) presents the different uses of political storytelling in establishing fact or fiction in creating the conditions for post-truth politics. Chapter Ten describes the notion of the hermeneutics of suspicion as a useful concept in understanding the current trend in people's tendencies to look beyond surface reality and question the truthfulness of events. In addition, it also elaborates on the stages of gaslighting, which is a common strategy in denying holding politicians into account when falsehoods are used. Chapter Eleven covers different aspects of conspiracy politics. Drawing from stigmatized knowledge, conspiracy theories are often distrustful and exaggerated creating opportunities for speculation among the public, which often causes problematic assumptions about events or political issues. Chapter Twelve serves as a conclusion to the book by identifying the ways different domains establish the truthfulness of things. It also raises issues on the problems brought about by storytelling in present day politics leading to the failure to engage with the complexities of public policy and greater division in society.

While Seargeant's book focuses on the uses of storytelling in post-truth politics, Farkas and Schou's work delves into the politics of falsehood. Comprising eight chapters, Farkas and Schou's *Post-Truth, Fake News and Democracy: Mapping the Politics of Falsehood* examines post-truth in relation to the state of democracy, the establishment of truth and rationality. Chapter One problematizes the nature of truth in relation to the existence of democracy. They argue that while the present post-truth times suggest a fragile state of democracy, there is a need to examine the historical, political and economic conditions that may have contributed to the favoring of falsehood over rationality.

Chapter Two lays out the theoretical and methodological approach employed by the book in studying the politics of falsehood. Instrumental here are post-Marx discourse and post-foundational theory which treats democracy, truth and post-truth as fluid constructs which are historically conditioned. Chapter

Three is devoted to identifying the hegemonic qualities of post-truth, fake news and post-factuality by examining the different forces that drive the movement. Specifically, this chapter further refines post-truth in the context of fake news, which can be classified as satire, parody, propaganda, advertising and manipulation. Chapter Four exemplifies the mechanisms of post-truth through the presidency of Donald Trump. This chapter demonstrates how Donald Trump co-opted the use of fake news as an assault against traditional journalistic standards of vetting information as well as the use of social media to push forward his brand narrative normalizing the mobilization of base over factuality. Given the concerns raised in Chapters Three and Four, Chapter Five sketches current measures in addressing post-truth. Solutions ranging from legislation, appointment of task forces to address fake news, enhanced screening through technology and machine learning and educational reform are cited with varying effects. Chapter Six outlines the historical conditions that have created post-truth. Interestingly, the chapter cites tensions between liberal and democratic traditions in politics in the context of social and economic forces. Given the holistic approach to viewing post-truth, Chapter Seven cites possible means in addressing this. Specifically, the authors suggest that there needs to be re-configurations in understanding democracy, sovereignty, rationality and truth. Moreover, the measures cited entail collective action among different sectors in dealing with post-truth across different platforms as the spread of disinformation has become much more rampant. As a conclusion, Chapter Eight highlights the importance of reexamining beliefs about democracy in light of post-truth times. That is, there is a need to open meaningful opportunities for dialogue and genuine attempts for inclusive practices that can allow other voices to be heard.

3 Problematizing pandemic pedagogy

With the first two books focused on the emergence of post-truth politics, Giroux's *Race, Politics, and Pandemic Pedagogy* situates his discussion during the COVID crisis and Trump's tactics to propagate pandemic pedagogy and stifle critical thought. Containing seven chapters, the book is divided into four major sections that elaborate on the existing pandemic landscapes. Specifically, the book covers areas such as the rise of populism and the counteracting role of education, the challenges to history at post-truth times, and the deeply rooted socio-economic issues that are to linger even after the crisis.

Section One (Chapters 1-2) vividly describes the rise of pandemic pedagogy that normalizes lies, cruelty, bigotry, and violence. It is a pedagogy that discredits civic institutions, values economic gains over public welfare, silences critics to erode democracy, and blames individuals for their suffering and oppression. Such

dismal and disturbing pedagogy is grounded on Giroux's central premise that the COVID19 pandemic uncovered and marked neoliberalism as the true pandemic plague in which neoliberalism as an economic system favors capitalist markets. In effect, this has weakened and deprioritized public healthcare and other social safety nets by defunding public institutions. He illustrates the brutality of neoliberalism through the COVID19 pandemic where nations' governments and their social provisions were tested. As a case in point, Trump's market-driven ideals and mishandling of the crisis have shown the inadequacy of the current structural systems in place. In addition, Trump and his allies' use of militarized language and media to control narratives concealed ineptitude and deflected blame over the historic death toll of Americans due to the virus.

Section Two (Chapters 3-4) opens with a discussion on the dramatic rise of fascist politics, embedded in the discourse of violence, fake news, racism, and lawlessness. The rise of these authoritarian regimes is fueled by the public's discontent and loss of trust in government institutions which are meant to protect and care for them. This kind of politics concentrates power in the hands of a leader like Trump who sees democracy as a threat to a society's order and economic growth and who makes use of disimagination machineries which shape and back capitalist ideologies, brainwash people to believe that their suffering is of their own doing, and regard critical agency, along with collective action and resistance, as dangerous. Giroux argues that neoliberal politics will only end if society is radically re-structured where the needs of the disenfranchised are met. He emphasizes the need for a new politics that values critical understanding and agency and the distinctive role of education in achieving this vision.

Section Three (Chapters 5-6) provides the backstory of Trump's rise to power as a fascist leader and how he, in numerous accounts, maneuvered and co-opted the media to perpetuate alternative facts and fake news. Trump's manipulations were set in a larger context of a society that appears to suffer from social and historical amnesia, which allowed Trump to forward his lies, ignorance, and personal and political agenda. In this section, Giroux calls for a collective resistance to the historical confusion and amnesia by challenging educational institutions to intensify their efforts in developing students' historical consciousness and critical understanding. As the chapter emphasizes, this can be done by encouraging them to re-tell histories, and in molding them to work for justice and social transformation.

The last section (Chapters 7-8) re-focuses on the systemic problems of the neoliberal economic system that were made more visible during the COVID crisis. The chasm between the rich and the poor has become more prominent because of the current politics and the rise of enablers that create, legitimize,

and accelerate inequalities. Giroux labels Trump's governance of the crisis as a failed state in which the poor were most affected and his capitalist society failed to protect public interests. He ends the book with a hope in re-building a post-COVID society where learnings from the crisis capacitate people to re-think and envision a new kind of politics and future that celebrates democracy, agency, engagement, and other forms of empowering practices.

4 Opening spaces for engagement

While Seargeant's and Farkas and Schou's books deal with post-truth in detail, there are several key similarities and differences in their approach. In terms of the similarities, both books tackle former US president Trump as a signifier for post-truth. That is, the books have detailed Trump's strategies in dealing with facts in his rise in US politics and run as president. Specifically, the books cite Trump's use of social media as a means to spread conspiracy theories, ambiguous language and antagonistic rhetoric against democratic institutions. Second, both books highlight the role of different social actors – the media, tech companies, the public and economic elites in contributing to post-truth politics. For instance, Seargeant identifies the strategic use of narratives in the media to sensationalize news about politics while Farkas and Schou identify owners of social media companies tolerating the spread of misinformation over issues of free speech.

As regards differences, the two books appear to approach post-truth from different analytical angles. Seargeant's book describes post-truth from a storytelling/narrative focus while Farkas and Schou use post-marxist discourse theory and post-politics in explaining the phenomenon. As such, Seargeant's notion of post-truth appears to focus on language's ability to facilitate the spread of misinformation. On the other hand, Farkas and Schou focus more on the relationship between post-truth and the state of democracy and the nature of rationality as essential concepts in developing a greater understanding of the phenomenon.

Although Giroux's book is devoted to pandemic pedagogy, it greatly draws from the current social and political state of affairs in the United States and around the world. That is, the current economic structures in place which have privileged a few and have exploited the masses have created the conditions of not only sustained unequal practices but have significantly reduced opportunities for engagement for the public. As such, the emphasis of profit-centeredness among industries has even permeated in other democratic institutions through the aid of communication technology. For instance, the proliferation of clickbait news and misleading information articles online has greatly contributed to the lowering of

ethical standards in journalistic practices all for the sake of profit. A central issue therefore is that these recent political developments have led to sentiments of hopelessness and powerlessness making the public become more vulnerable to fake news, conspiracy theories and post-truth politics.

As seen in the three books, there are several ideas that cut across the publications. First, while post-truth appears to be a prominent problem in society, its emergence cannot be claimed as an abrupt phenomenon, but rather as historically conditioned. Attributing to years of frustration of the public due to perceived inaction of governments, post-truth has become a driving force in fueling social and political movements (Trump, Brexit and populist regimes) leading to problematic results. The study of post-truth also compels scholars to look at the phenomenon from a holistic perspective. That is, economic movements such as neoliberalism and capitalist principles that have driven economies for the past decades significantly reducing productive spaces of engagement for the public. A significant theme that emerged in the books is the growing problem of misinformation in social media. Therefore, there is a need for different sectors in society to hold these corporations running social media platforms to greater accountability as these platforms have become echo chambers creating further division among the public. Another important concept tackled in these books is the need to find opportunities for agency as a means to political participation. The authors of the three books believe that agency allows authentic dialogue among different sectors enabling pluralist ideas resulting in conditions of possibility. This also prevents the oversimplification of complex socio-political ideas which seem to be apparent among current populist regimes (Gianolla 2020).

5 Mapping out the future in post-truth times

As the world comes to grips with the COVID-19 pandemic, the books come in as relevant material in dealing with significant issues that have exposed wider issues concerning structural inequality, unequal access to resources and limited political participation.

In terms of readership, the books may prove valuable to those interested in doing work on post-truth, populist discourse and critical pedagogy. With varying analytical frameworks to examine post-truth, the books engage readers with holistic views on the rise of post-truth, its effects and more importantly, ways to address it. Ultimately, the books invite greater reflective thought given these unprecedented times brought about by the pandemic. That is, the staggering number of deaths, economic impact and marked divisions in society due to COVID-19 prompt readers to reflect on the fragile state of democracies in these times and think of our role in preserving our democratic rights and privileges.

While it appears that the pandemic has greatly exposed the structural inequalities at work in place, varying degrees of action have been pursued by different sectors in society. Education as a movement that can challenge inequalities is in itself at a crisis point. As access to it is problematic, other economic and political forces compel institutions to adhere to greater unequal practices. As such, the pandemic has proven to be a reflective moment for the education sector. As a site of struggle, the education domain is assumed to reflect the unequal practices that are reproduced and sustained in society. However, we argue that this is the same site that can be the catalyst for an effective change in dealing with structural inequality, economic and political elitism and reduced political participation among the public. Given these realities, it is believed that education in these post-truth times is a fertile ground for reflective thought, critical engagement and collective action.

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