Discourse Studies in Public Communication

EDITED BY
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Discourse Studies in Public Communication

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Preface

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It is the best of times for Public Discourse Studies, it is the worst of times, it is the age of wisdom, it is the age of foolishness, it is the epoch of belief, it is the epoch of incredulity, one might say, adapting the opening words of Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* (see Dickens 1976: 35). For, on the one hand, studies of public discourse are flourishing, as evidenced by the profusion of academic journals and book series such as *CADAAD, Critical Discourse Studies, Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture, Discourse Studies, Discourse, Context and Media, Discourse & Society, Journal of Language & Politics, Metaphor and the Social World, Pragmatics & Society*, in addition to the continuing flow of monographs and edited volumes in the field.

On the other hand, we might ask, what have all these critical studies done to improve or at least clarify public debate? Are they in any way superior to the cut and thrust-polemic of criticism that the public language users level at each other? Accusations of employing "fake news", "post-truth", or "hate speech" are traded daily in the UK and the US among politicians, publicists and media of all colours. In the space of two days in the summer of 2019, the US President, Donald Trump, his Democrat opponents and the media all attacked each other for using "vile language" in the context of the debate about immigration.[1] In terms of material available for critical discourse analysis, such meta-communicative debates provide further objects for study, but if politicians and media already do so much linguistic criticising: what "added value" is there in adding a discourse-linguistic super-layer, apart from being less polemical?

And it is not just political discourse, which, adversarial and contested as it is, "lends itself" to meta-communicative commenting and critique, but also other genres of public discourse. As the *Guardian*-journalist David Shariatmadari observed, public language has "become a battleground" in all its aspects, be it the use of

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1. See *The Daily Telegraph*, 19/07/2019: "Ivanka Trump and senior Republicans distance themselves from rally chants of 'send her back'"; *The Times*, 19/07/2019: "Trump is riding a powerful wave of white resentment", *The Guardian*, 20/07/2019: "'Welcome home!' Ilhan Omar returns to Minnesota amid Trump smears."

euphemisms or dysphemisms for taboo topics, the ever-contentious terminologies of gender, age, and ethnic allocation, the rules for using commas and apostrophes, multilingual and multidialectal practices, or the use of jargon in management, which, in the words of the late former British cabinet minister Tessa Jowell, "floats along on a linguistic sea of roll-outs, step changes, public domains, fit for purposes, stakeholder engagements, across the pieces, win-wins, level playing fields and going forwards" (Shariatmadari 2019). Internet-discourses are characterised by a particularly high amount of meta-communicative criticism, which ranges from grammatical and stylistic corrections to extended text and discourse critique (Angouri and Tseliga 2010; Crystal 2011: 3–7, 61–62; Sivenkova 2015; Yus 2011: 153–154). With so much "folk-linguistic" analysis of public discourse going on, who needs academics engaging in it?

The present volume provides evidence that this question can in fact be answered in the positive by way of (primarily self-critical) theoretical and methodological reflection and reliance on empirical data and their collection in corpora. Its contributors explicitly define their critical aims, relate these to the three specific discourse genres relevant for their objects of study (political, gender-related, business, and academic discourses) and explicate in detail their methods, including multimodal analysis. In this way, the dangers of circularity in "proving" that some pre-defined "bad" language use is indeed bad, or of presupposing a context-independent critique, are avoided. Instead, the studies here demonstrate the fascinating complexity of critical discourse analysis at its best, i.e., in its ability to reveal both the power of public discourse to sustain and legitimise power- and ideology-formation as well as its creative potential to question, change, or even subvert it.

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Introduction

Discourse analysis and public communication

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Public communication can be broadly defined as any communication in any form directed at the general public and specific social groups for a variety of purposes. Understood in this sense, public communication can be considered, following Koller and Wodak (2008: 2), "as a social general horizon of experience integrating everything that is actually or seemingly relevant for all members of a society." As public communication is concerned with the transmission of information produced for public consumption, it necessarily includes any form of communication – written, oral, visual, or electronic – in the public sphere, i.e., "a network for communicating information and points of view (…) filtered in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified *public* opinions" (Habermas 1996: 360).[1] From this conception it follows that many different types of discourse transmitted by the media, both conventional and digital (television, radio, newspapers, magazines, etc.) or produced in a public space (talks, lectures, speeches, songs, etc.) fall under the scope of public communication. The primary motivation for public communication, be it commercial, corporate, academic or political, is, as Fairclough (1989: 189) pointed out, *strategic*, i.e., intended to reach certain instrumental goals whose attainment is expected to benefit those responsible for producing the message. In this regard, communication in the public domain "amounts in reality to an act of transmission directed towards the attainment of specific social purposes" (Price 2007: 2). This explains why public communication is, by definition, purpose-oriented: it is constructed with particular goals in minds.

The purpose-oriented nature of public communication necessarily leads to considering the producer's deliberate – yet more or less implicit – intentions in particular situations. This point of view reminds us of the asymmetrical power

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1. The concept of "public sphere" is not easy to define and delimit in a clear-cut way. As Wright (2008: 21) argues, "there is no such thing as 'the' public sphere. Rather, there are public spheres. Any definition must take account of this distinction, and this (…) necessitates a multi-definitional, transdisciplinary approach."

relationships sustained in public discourse which contribute to legitimate the elite's political and economic values and interests. In this sense, public discourse can be considered as a means to achieve hegemonic dominance: the information transmitted ultimately serves the purpose of reinforcing the speaker or writer's authority, as part of the legitimate group, over the subordinate position held by the audience. This entails, following van Dijk (1996: 10), "a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members) a less powerful group." After all, as Koller and Wodak (2008) claim, the public sphere "is by definition open to everyone but in practice often excludes particular groups of people in particular societies at particular points in time." Indeed, ordinary people have no direct influence on public communication, unlike what happens in private communication, much less constrained by social and cultural factors.

Public communication cannot only be interpreted in the sociocultural setting in which it occurs. As a contextually-bound phenomenon, communication in the public domain is highly dependent on the particular characteristics of the discourse practice (i.e., "the ways in which texts are produced, received and socially distributed", Fairclough 2002: 16) and discourse type (i.e., "the configurations of genres and discourses which actually occur, and which may become more or less stable and conventionalized", Fairclough 2002: 76) in which the communicative event takes place. Public communication is therefore shaped by the social and cultural factors surrounding the transmission of information. This basic assumption leads to the consideration of public communication as *discourse*, that is, as language use in social life, as text in context.[2]

Given the variety of discourse types and practices that fall under the label of public communication, the analysis of communication in the public domain should serve as a rich storehouse for discourse researchers. The discourse-analytic approach is, as one can naturally expect, not altogether homogeneous or unified; rather, it supports different methods and approaches regarding discourse which are given by the kinds of data used by the researchers (written, spoken data, visual), by the research issues under consideration (race, ethnicity, gender, sexism, social class, etc.), by the discourse type considered (political speeches, news editorials, advertisements, music, social media postings, etc.), by the theoretical framework followed (cognitive metaphor theory, multimodality, appraisal theory, functional pragmatics, etc.), by the range of disciplines involved (not only linguistics, but also

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2. According to van Dijk (1998: 211), context is "all that comes with the text, that is, the properties of the environment of discourse." Fairclough (1992: 81) distinguishes two dimensions of context: the immediate verbal context and the broader situational context, i.e., the overall social practice in which discourse is anchored.

anthropology, philosophy, sociology, political science, etc.), and by the chosen perspective (synchronic or diachronic) to analyse communication issues.[3]

The concept of discourse cannot be easily addressed from a single perspective (see Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002: 8–15). The definitions of discourse can be divided into three major groups (Tannen, Hamilton, and Schiffrin 2015): discourse as anything beyond the sentence; discourse as an instance of language in use; and discourse as a social practice including both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communication. Discourse, it must be borne in mind, is not merely equivalent to extended samples of either spoken or written language; rather, discourse underscores the process of interaction that is established between the producer and the receiver in the social contexts of language use. Context is a key factor in understanding discourse. In fact, as Johnstone (2018: 8) argues, context and discourse are mutually shaped: discourse is shaped by its context and discourse shapes context. This implies that contextual elements (people's purposes, participants, its media, etc.) determine discourse and, in turn, these elements are determined by discourse.

The social nature of discourse is emphasised in Fairclough's three-dimensional concept of discourse, i.e., discourse as a piece of text, discourse as an instance of discursive practice, and discourse as an instance of social practice. For Fairclough (1992: 8) "discourse *constitutes* the social. Three dimensions of the social are distinguished – knowledge, social relations, and social identity – and these correspond respectively to three major functions of language." This view of discourse does not simply consider the formal features of texts but the sociocultural dimension of public communication. From this view of discourse it follows that the different linguistic devices employed in public communication (euphemism, dysphemism, metaphor, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, etc.) are considered discursive phenomena: they are socially oriented and they fulfil a social and communicative purpose in particular real-life contexts, as is the case in the contributions to this volume.

It is also worth noting that the term *discourse* has additionally been used as a countable noun to refer to "different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice" (Fairclough 1992: 43). Discourse in this sense leads us to consider language use in relation to specific domains in speech communities: prison discourse (Mayr 2004), homosexual discourse (Baker 2005), medical discourse (Gotti and Salager-Meyer 2006), corporate discourse (Breeze 2013), political discourse

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3. The volume edited by Tannen, Hamilton, and Schiffrin (2015) is an illustrative example of the variety of language data (literary texts, everyday conversations, political speeches), research issues (racism, homosexuality, gender, humour), theoretical paradigms (systemic-functional linguistics, critical discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis), and real-life communicative contexts (institutional, political, educational, the workplace) used in discourse-analytical research.

(Musolff 2016), and journalistic discourse (Bednarek and Caple 2017), to mention a few. Other labels, however, like telecinematic discourse (Piazza, Bernadek, and Rossi 2011) point to the way discourse is produced and distributed.

As happens with discourse, the concept of discourse analysis is also difficult to define and delimit. First introduced by Harris in the early 1950s as a means to study connected speech and writing within specific situations, the analysis of discourse has been subject to change and redefinition over the years. It has ranged from textually oriented views which focus on the formal characteristics of texts to more socially oriented ones which concentrate on the function of texts in the social contexts in which they occur (see Paltridge 2012: Chapter 1). The major advantage of a functional, socially-oriented approach to discourse over a formal approach was put forward by Brown and Yule (1983: 1):

> The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs. While some linguists may concentrate on determining the formal properties of a language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for.

The formal and the social views of discourse analysis are not mutually exclusive, though. After all, the structure of texts and the language choices text producers make can only be fully understood with respect to the discourse situation in which they happen to occur. In this sense, discourse analysis can be considered as both linguistic and social, in accordance with Fairclough's view of discourse commented earlier. Paltridge (2012: 7) also points to this dual sense of discourse analysis: "[D]iscourse analysis is a view of language at the level of text. Discourse analysis is also a view of language in use; that is, how people achieve certain communicative goals through the use of language, perform certain communicative acts, participate in certain communicative events and present themselves to others."

As already mentioned, discourse analysis is not a homogeneous field of study. In the early 1990s critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged from critical linguistics and soon became the most influential branch of discourse analysis. Discourse researchers like Fairclogh, van Dijk, and Wodak started to look at the ways in which text producers use language in ideologically significant ways. More specifically, CDA scholars consider discourse as a form of social behavior and critically examine the discursive representation of social issues and discrimination with respect to ethnicity, gender, class, etc. as well as the ways in which power is asserted through language (see Wodak 2009). Two main approaches can be distinguished in CDA, namely Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-layer model and Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach (DHA). Fairclough's approach, related to Halliday's

systemic functional linguistics, is a textually-oriented approach to critical discourse analysis whereby text and discourse are socially constitutive, i.e., language use is simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations, and systems of belief and knowledge (Fairclough 1995: 134). It is thus through discourse that social identities, relations, and meanings are constructed. Wodak's discourse-historical model is a problem-oriented and more interdisciplinary approach to CDA which emphasises the historical and socio-political dimensions of discourse formation. CDA has been recently redefined as a broader paradigm that has come to be known as critical discourse studies (CDS). This label emphasises, as van Dijk (2009: 63) argues, that CDA is not a method of discourse analysis but a critical perspective in the field of discourse analysis which uses methods of the humanities and the social sciences. CDS researchers are concerned with the discursive construction of social and political knowledge as well as with the discursive reproduction of power abuse in contemporary public discourse. As Wodak and Meyer (2105: 7) put it, CDS aims to "gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power."

Given the variety of social domains in which discourse occurs and the number of research issues arising in public communication contexts (see Note 3), different types of discourse analysis have developed to address reseach needs in specific discourse domains and types: multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), political discourse analysis (van Dijk 1997), gender discourse analysis (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002), computer-mediated discourse analysis (Herring 2004), and classroom discourse analysis (Rymes 2015), among others.

Regardless of the variety of perspectives and approaches commented, discourse analysis rests on two main pillars: first, it focuses on language in use, on authentic instances of language in naturally-occurring contexts; and second, it applies a social-scientific approach to research issues (see Tracy 2001: 735). Discourse analysis helps us make sense of communication and understand why particular language choices are made in a specific social context, be it political, institutional, academic or whatever. In this sense, it is a useful tool to decipher intentions and value judgements which are more or less implicitly transmitted in public communication. But this is only one of the possible applications of discourse analysis.[4] The benefits of discourse analysis for research in communication studies are summarised by Tracy (2001: 734): "Discourse analysis provides communication researchers with a compelling way to study how people present themselves, manage their relationships, assign responsibility and blame, create organizations, enact culture, persuade

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4. For an account of the uses and applications of discourse analysis in different research fields, see Johnstone (2018: 5–6).

others, make sense of social members' ongoing interactional practices, and so on." Discourse analysis is therefore not limited to those studies that critically address social issues; rather, it investigates real-life discourse in different domains to portray social reality.

In sum, it is my hope that the collection of articles in *Discourse Studies in Public Communication* will reflect the heterogeneous nature of real-life discourse and provide evidence of society, social life, and social problems. Indeed, as I will explain in what follows, the contributions to this volume follow the parameters of different analytical frameworks and address diverse research issues and interests in a range of social contexts and discourse types.

The contributions to this volume

As these introductory remarks have aimed to show, discourse analysis and public communication cannot be approached from a single perspective. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that in the thirteen contributions to this volume there are significant differences in the kinds of discourse under study (political, journalistic, telecinematic, computer-mediated, commercial, corporate, or academic); in the theoretical paradigms followed (critical discourse analysis, multimodality, cognitive metaphor theory, critical metaphor analysis, appraisal theory); in the corpus data sources (advertisements, television series, obituaries, lyrics, political manifestos and essays, newspaper editorials, cartoons, academic talks, company brochures, entrepreneurial pitches); in the research issues under consideration (regional nationalism, political populism, gender, sexual identities and stereotypes, persuasion, etc.); in the real-life communicative contexts considered (classroom, office workspace, etc.); and in the medium through which discourse is produced (social media, the written press, television, motion pictures…).

Although the chapters are different, as the reader will notice, all of them contribute to the subject matter of this book, discourse analysis in public communication, insofar as the authors focus on real instances of discourse, on contextualised and naturally-occurring data produced in the public domain. In this sense, it is important to note that the data used as empirical evidence in the contributions are not gained by personal intuition; rather, the samples examined meet the basic research requirements in the field of discourse analysis: first, they are instances of real language use; second, the range of realisations of the research issue is not anecdotal; and third, they guarantee that the issue under consideration is actually used in certain speech situations (Caballero and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009).

For ease of organisation, the chapters are grouped together into three main parts, according to subject matter: political rhetoric (Part I), gender and sexuality

(Part II), and a miscellaneous section devoted to business and academic discourse (Part III), as summarised below.

Part I ("Political discourse studies") comprises six chapters concerned with political communication from different perspectives and in diverse contexts including Britain and Spain. In Chapter 1 ("Imagining the nation in British politics"), RUTH BREEZE focuses on the issues of nationalism and populism in current British politics. Drawing on a mixed methodology (Breeze 2019), she approaches the discursive representation of the nation from an exploratory, comparative perspective in a corpus of six election manifestos from the 2017 Election: Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, UKIP, Scottish National Party, and Plaid Cymru. Breeze's chapter provides fresh insights into the discursive representation of regional nationalism and the way the Brexit referendum has sharpened the debate about national identity, about the relationships between England, Scotland and Wales and their potential relationships with the EU. Nationalism is also the focus of Chapter 2 ("Political and journalistic discourse regarding the Catalan declaration of independence: A critical analysis"), written by LUIS ESCORIZA MORERA. He critically examines the linguistic mechanisms used to downplay or enhance the same facts for different ideological purposes in different Spanish newspapers (four of them national in scope and three published in Catalonia) dealing with Catalonia's independence process. This author also analyses the different discourse approaches adopted by the main political parties in Spain when dealing with the concept of the State in their respective manifestos for the 2019 General Elections. Like Escoriza Morera, in Chapter 3 ("National vs international cartoons depicting Catalonia's independence process in the press: A critical multimodal metaphor approach") MARÍA MUELAS-GIL is also concerned with the journalistic representation of the process of independence in Catalonia but from a different angle: Muelas-Gil examines political metaphors in a corpus composed of cartoons depicting Catalonia's independence process published by both the Spanish and the international press. Following multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Machin 2007) and critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), she specifically analyses the ideological role of metaphors and their impact on the international perception of Spain.

The next two chapters are specifically concerned with persuasion in political communication. In Chapter 4 ("A corpus-assisted qualitative approach to political discourse in Spanish print and digital press") GÉRARD FERNÁNDEZ SMITH explores hidden patterns of persuasive communicative goals throughout data obtained from written pieces of discourse in Spanish digital media. He focuses his attention on a series of symbolic words (e.g., *sostenibilidad* 'sustainability', *empoderamiento* 'empowerment', *liberalism* 'liberalism', etc.) and their variants, frequently used by politicians and reproduced by the media. His analysis supports the idea that a positive or a negative position is defended regarding the contents represented by said

symbolic words. In Chapter 5 ("Persuasive discourse in Daniel Defoe's political essays: Boosting and hedging"), drawing on Fairclough's social-theoretical approach to discourse (1992, 1995), ROSA MARÍA LÓPEZ-CAMPILLO analyses two of the most common rhetorical strategies used by Daniel Defoe as a political journalist in the first decades of eighteenth-century Britain, boosting and hedging, in a sample of Defoe's political essays published in 1709 excerpted from *The Review* (1704–1713). The results reveal that Defoe used language as a political weapon, resorting to boosting, on the one hand, to add emphasis and convince the readership of the evidence of his statements; and to hedging, on the other, to soften potential conflicts produced by his assertions, connect with the readers, and attain persuasion.

Although very diffferent in subject matter, politics is also present in Chapter 6 ("Politics beyond death? An analysis of the obituaries of Belgian politicians"), which closes the first part of the book. In this contribution PRISCILLA HEYNDERICKX and SYLVAIN DIELTJENS touch on the fascinating topic of death in public discourse. They analyse a corpus of obituaries of Belgian politicians both published in the media and issued by the political party the deceased politician represented. This study aptly illustrates that obituaries provide valuable material not only for social analysis, i.e., the political orientation in the description of the deceased person, but also for linguistic analysis, i.e., the role of metaphors in these texts.

Part II ("Gender and sexuality discourse studies") brings together four chapters devoted to the discursive representation of gender and sexuality in the public sphere, including discrimination, identity, and stereotypes. In Chapter 7 ("It all comes down to sex: Metaphorical animalisation in reggaeton discourse"), MARÍA JOSÉ HELLÍN GARCÍA writes about the cultural and ideological power of metaphors in musical discourse. Following George Lakoff's premises of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1993), she investigates how sex functions as the main conductive thread in 118 songs of twenty-five male reggaeton singers. Hellín García's analysis reveals how the animalisation of women portrayed in the lyrics is related to women being sexually objectified, and even mentally and physically abused.

ANTONIO GARCÍA-GÓMEZ is concerned with the discursive representation of gender in Internet social media. In Chapter 8 ("Cyberbullying and gender: Exploring socially deviant behavioural practices among teenagers on Twitter"), García-Gómez explores the discursive strategies male and female teenagers use to represent themselves and the impressions that they exhibit when they verbally abuse and victimise others on Twitter. García Gomez's chapter casts light on a gender-sensitive construction of the gendered strategies used in verbal cyberbullying.

Whereas García-Gómez's study addresses gender matters in the study of cyberbullying, Chapter 9 ("A visual critical discourse analysis of women representation

in Dolce & Gabbana advertising"), written by MARÍA MARTÍNEZ LIROLA, introduces a visual critical discourse approach to uncover the discursive representation of women in a sample of Dolce & Gabbana Internet advertisements. In her study, grounded in Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar (1996) and van Leeuwen's model of social actors (2008), Martínez Lirola critically examines whether the linguistic and visual choices used by the publicist to portray the woman in the corpus contribute to perpetuate gender stereotypes. Her analysis reveals that women are represented as stereotyped, following traditional canons of beauty and foregrounding their bodies as objects of desire.

In Chapter 10 ("Let's talk about sex in high school: The TV series *Sex Education*"), RAQUEL SÁNCHEZ RUIZ looks at the discursive representation of the sexual taboo in *Sex Education*, a comedy-drama series about different sexual issues of teenagers in the setting of sex-therapy sessions. Her study, embedded in the pragmatic-based theories of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) and appraisal (Martin and White 2005), reveals that the vocabulary that teenagers use to talk about sex provides evidence of their attitudes and value judgements regarding sexuality.

Part III ("Business and academic discourse studies") comprises four contributions that address the business and academic public spheres. The first two chapters in this section focus on business discourse. In Chapter 11 ("Paralinguistic resources in persuasive business communication in English and Spanish"), ANA M. CESTERO MANCERA and MERCEDES DÍEZ PRADOS address the persuasive function of non-verbal paralinguistic signs in business communication. Supported by evidence from a corpus of two parallel Spanish/British English corpora of TV entrepreneurial pitches, Cestero Mancera and Díez Prados identify discrete non-verbal elements and the pragmatic function they perform in communicative acts and establish comparisons based on gender and L1 differences. Chapter 12 ("Business discourse from a psycholinguistic approach") is also based on evidence from business communication. In this contribution, CARMEN VARO VARO aims to attain a comprehensive formulation of business discourse as a communicative modality and determine the major cognitive strategies found in its different textual manifestations. To these ends, she applies the latest achievements in Psycholinguistics through a neuro-semantic approach to the language of business in commercial texts and brochures related to and/or produced by three well-known Spanish companies.

The volume ends with a contribution devoted to academic discourse. In Chapter 13 ("Compensatory discourse strategies in the bilingual university classroom"), MARY GRIFFITH takes a sequenced and multi-methodological approach to classroom instructional discourse. She analyses the impact of errors in spoken performance in the context of bilingual university education on a sample comprised of 34 hours of spoken classroom discourse with eight different Spanish speakers

teaching through English. Her analysis demonstrates that thanks to the use of compensatory discourse strategies, university lecturers can compensate with instructional discourse and therefore communication significantly improves in the classroom.

In short, the papers collected in this volume illustrate that public communication is a fascinating, evidence-based storehouse for research in discourse analysis. The studies of public discourse presented here in the spheres of political rhetoric, gender and sexuality, and corporate and academic communication provide good evidence of contemporary social structure, social phenomena, and social issues. In this way, the contributors address not only the linguistic aspects of texts but also, and even more importantly, the cultural and cognitive dimensions of public communication.

As editor, I would like to express my gratitude to the editorial staff at John Benjamins for their guidance and support from start to finish, particularly Isja Conen. Thanks are also due to several anonymous reviewers and Johann W. Unger for their expert and valuable feedback on earlier drafts of the manuscript. Last but not least, I am grateful to the colleagues who kindly accepted to contribute to the volume for their interesting and insightful chapters.

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Political discourse studies

Imagining the nation in British politics

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In European politics today, the issues of nationalism and populism are attracting considerable research attention. However, most discourse studies have either focused exclusively on far-right politics, or have looked at populism at both extremes of the political spectrum. In this chapter, I approach the discursive representation of the nation and the people from an exploratory, comparative perspective informed by corpus assisted discourse studies, drawing on mixed methodology, and focusing on the politics of Great Britain. My corpus contains six 2017 election manifestos: Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrats, UKIP, Scottish National Party, and Plaid Cymru. Principled searches are conducted for references to nations, national groups and people/citizens, which are then analysed qualitatively in a contrastive perspective.

Keywords: populism, nationalist, discourse analysis, corpus-assisted discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, United Kingdom, politics

1. Introduction

Recent discussions of political developments in the European context have been characterised by frequent use of terms such as *populism*, and by attempts to define what this might mean in politics today. Interest centres on how populist strategies are being used to bring about massive change in the political landscape of specific countries, or of Europe as a whole. Such approaches are beset by problems, not least because there seems to be no general agreement about what populism is, or which politicians or parties can be regarded as representing it – nor is there any real consensus about what the opposite of populism is, which makes it hard to establish reliable comparisons. In discourse studies, it is becoming usual to adopt perspectives based on Laclau (2005), Moffitt (2016), and Mudde (2004, 2016), which locate populism firmly in the discursive and performative sphere (rather than in policy). However, even then, considerable difficulty arises when we apply what we (think we) know about populism to concrete cases. Moreover, even in political discourse

studies, there is considerable overlap with other major concepts, such as nationalism, which can easily lead to conceptual blurring (de Cleen and Stavrakakis 2017; Breeze 2019a).

What seems to be agreed about the populist style in politics can be summarised briefly as follows. The core message is that populists align themselves discursively with *the people*, against *elites*, who are framed as exploiting or betraying the people. In addition to this, populist leaders may indulge in celebrity-style performances and personality cults, and often communicate in simple, direct, informal or even crude language intended to engage the *ordinary people* whom they claim to represent. In many cases, populists seek to position *the people* against internal or external enemies (minorities, migrants, the EU). Some disagreement arises at this point: de Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017) and de Cleen (2019) suggest that this type of populism operating horizontally with an in-out dynamics should properly be regarded as *nationalism*, with the term *populism* reserved for vertical (people versus elite) conflict, but as Breeze (2019b) argues, it is neither practical nor productive to apply a strict separation: some types of nationalism are also populist, and are capable of attracting large numbers of supporters for precisely this reason. Some observers argue that this type of blurring is not just a definitional problem: the actual political landscape itself is changing. Widespread disaffection among large social sectors in the wake of globalisation, and the resulting de-alignment from conventional parties, are leading to a realignment of politics across Europe, and the rise of so-called populist parties (which are often, but certainly not always, nationalist-populist parties) is the most visible consequence of this (Eatwell and Goodwin 2018). However, these parties are far from uniform: in response to the social and historical circumstances of each country and context, such parties combine the different elements of populist and nationalist discourse to frame *the people* and its relationship to other entities in different ways.

One key aspect of this forms the setting for the present chapter: the current centrality of representations of *the nation* and *the people* in the discourses of political parties across the spectrum (Ayerbe Linares 2019). In all political discourse, but particularly when populism and nationalism are present, the terminology used to represent the nation and its people offers a key to understanding the underlying ideology (see also Escoriza Morera, this volume). To give just one classic example, when the ideologues of the French revolution outlined their vision of a new society in "*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*" their use of the term *citizen* (which previously meant 'city dweller') marks a new departure, a deliberate coining to replace the word *subject* with its implications of subjection to a king's authority. Similarly, when an area that does not have complete political independence defines itself as a *country* or *nation*, this also makes a statement of an ideological kind, asserting a political ambition, or perhaps even ignoring a constitutional reality.

But importantly, it is not only the radical populists and nationalists who use these terms in politically-loaded ways. As Truan argues (2019), to reach an understanding of populist uses of *the people* (and in parallel, nationalist uses of *the nation*), it is important to consider not just how so-called populists represent the people, but also in what way their discourses in this sense really differ from the formulations used by mainstream political parties.

Current British politics provides valuable material for a case study on such discourses: in addition to pre-existing nationalist movements in Scotland and Wales, the debate about national identity has been sharpened by the Brexit referendum, which has complicated the relations between England, Scotland, and Wales, and their potential relationships with other entities. In this chapter, I examine the discursive representation of the people and the nation in the official discourses of the six main political parties in Great Britain (i.e., the parties of Northern Ireland will not be included) in their 2017 election manifestos. The choice of manifestos was thus motivated by the fact that these documents still constitute the most formal public expression of the parties' current thinking and have a high symbolic value, even though the discourses found there are characteristically more moderate than the soundbites or tweets that contribute greatly to election campaigns.

2.   Corpus and method

This study focuses on the manifestos of the six principal UK parties at the national election held in June 2017: Conservative and Unionist Party (Conservative), Labour Party (Labour), Liberal Democrats (LibDems), Scottish National Party (SNP), Plaid Cymru (meaning 'Party of Wales'), often known simply as Plaid, and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) (abbreviated forms used hereafter).[1] The choice of these six parties requires some explanation. In the General Election of June 2017, the largest numbers of seats and largest percentage of votes were obtained by the Britain-wide parties (Conservative, Labour, and LibDems), and by the SNP (see Table 1). In terms purely of the percentage of votes, they were followed first by UKIP (3%), which failed to gain any seats, and then by the Green Party (1.6% and one seat) and by Plaid Cymru (0.5% and 4 seats). The seemingly contradictory relationship between the overall percentage of votes and the number

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1. The manifestos cited in the examples used in this study are abbreviated as follows: C17 (Conservative and Unionist Party Manifesto 2017), L17 (Labour Party Manifesto 2017), LD17 (Liberal Democrat Party Manifesto 2017), PC17 (Plaid Cymru Action Plan 2017), SNP17 (Scottish National Party Manifesto 2017), UKIP17 (UKIP Manifesto 2017). Please consult the author concerning access to the corpora on Sketch Engine.

of seats/MPs is a result of the "first-past-the-post" system, in which voters elect a representative for each of 650 constituencies (geographically defined areas with very different populations). In this system, unlike systems based on proportional representation, it is possible for a party to have a large percentage of voters and obtain no seats, or to have a majority of voters and a minority of seats. For the sake of simplicity, this chapter focuses on the six most influential parties in British politics country-wide. The Green Party was omitted from this study, on the grounds that it has a highly circumscribed agenda focusing on ecological issues. The political parties of Northern Ireland (DUP, Sinn Féin, SDLP, and UUP), together accounting for 2.2% of the total number of votes and 17 seats, were also omitted, on the grounds that issues concerning nationalism and the nation have a markedly different character in Ireland, and the highly complex and potentially inflammatory situation of politics there necessarily falls beyond the scope of the present chapter.

Table 1. Characteristics of parties and manifestos
(Source: General Election 2017: Full Results and Analysis)

Full party name	Short name	Political position	No. of seats obtained in 2017 election	% of total UK votes	No. of words in manifesto
Conservative and Unionist Party	Conservative	Centre-right	317	42.4%	30,093
Labour Party	Labour	Centre-left	262	40%	23,804
Liberal Democrats	LibDems	Centre	12	7.4%	21,021
Plaid Cymru	Plaid	Moderate nationalist, centre-left	4	0.5%	6,447
Scottish National Party	SNP	Nationalist, centre-left	35	3%	20,375
United Kingdom Independence Party	UKIP	Right	0	1.8%	24,933

Each manifesto was downloaded from the party website, converted into a text file, and then uploaded to the Sketch Engine platform (http://www.sketchengine.eu) for processing (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). The characteristics of the parties and the size of the corpora are set out in Table 1.

In order to study the representations of the nation and its people in the present corpora, I focused on the role of particular naming practices in building the ideological position of each party, following the principles set out in Jeffries and Walker (2019), particularly the notion of cultural keywords (Williams 1983: 15; Jeffries and Walker 2019: 4–8). To this end, I centred on a specific set of names and words that

previous studies had found to be fruitful (Ayerbe Linares 2019; Breeze 2019b; Truan 2019). This consisted of (1) proper nouns (and related adjectives) for the parts of the United Kingdom; (2) nouns/adjectives used to denote the nation and its people; (3) nouns/adjectives referring to the world/international sphere (see also Escoriza Morera, this volume, and Fernández Smith, this volume, on the identification of politically relevant keywords). Once the lists for each category had been drawn up, digital resources were used to obtain synonyms and quasi-synonyms, and the presence of all listed items was tested in the corpora. At this stage, some words were discarded (e.g., *electorate, subjects, globalised*) since their presence in the corpora was negligible. At this stage I also decided to include proper nouns and adjectives referring to the European Union, since this entity figured largely in discussions of international relations. Searches were conducted using the Concordance and Word Sketch functions, in order to quantify word frequencies, identify collocations, and generate concordances for the search words. Patterns and concordance lines were then analysed following the methodology for the analysis of key terms outlined in Partington, Duguid, and Taylor (2013) and Jeffries and Walker (2019).

3.   Analysis: Representing the nation

In what follows, I look first at the complicated, specifically British, issue of how each party refers to the constituent parts of the United Kingdom. After that, I examine the more general terms used by the parties in their manifestos to talk about the nation and its people (*nation* and *country, people* and *citizens, society* and *community*, and a few quasi-synonyms), and their relationship with entities beyond the United Kingdom.

3.1   Naming places: A specifically British problem?

The United Kingdom is a sovereign country that currently includes the island of Great Britain, the north-eastern part of the island of Ireland, and many smaller islands. It consists of four constituent countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, all of which except England have their own devolved governments as well as representation in the House of Commons at Westminster. *Great Britain* or *Britain* is thus a geographical term referring to the island containing England, Scotland, and Wales, while *United Kingdom* is a political term referring to the whole country. In popular usage, however, it is common for *Britain* to be used to refer to the *United Kingdom*, not least because the nationality of its inhabitants is usually defined as *British*. To add to this confusion, certain Protestant sectors of Northern Irish society like specifically to define themselves as *British*. This brief

explanation also brings to light the potential confusion over the terms *country*, or *nation*: while Scotland, say, is a *country* or *nation* in its own right, it is also regarded as part of the United Kingdom, which is also a *country* or *nation*, and the term *countries within a country* has sometimes been used in official government publications. The constituent parts are also sometimes known as *regions*, and Northern Ireland has also sometimes been called a *province*. The official UK government Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/the-permanent-committee-on-geographical-names) recommends United Kingdom or UK as geopolitical terms for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and advises against using the term *British* to include everything. However, *British* is still the main term used when talking of nationality/citizenship, is frequently used by government bodies in everyday documentation and practice, and has proved useful in negotiating the terminological challenges of a multicultural society, since it foregrounds nationality and backgrounds ethnicity (Modood 2016).

The situation concerning names is thus already complicated. How the manifestos negotiate this provides some interesting insights into the way the names, and the geographical and political realities that they represent, are deployed in political discourses. Figure 1 shows the normalised frequencies with which the different parties use the main names for representing the whole and parts of the United Kingdom. For the sake of visual clarity, the figures for the nouns and adjectives for each part (i.e., England/English) have been merged together. However, in the discussion that follows, these are considered separately.
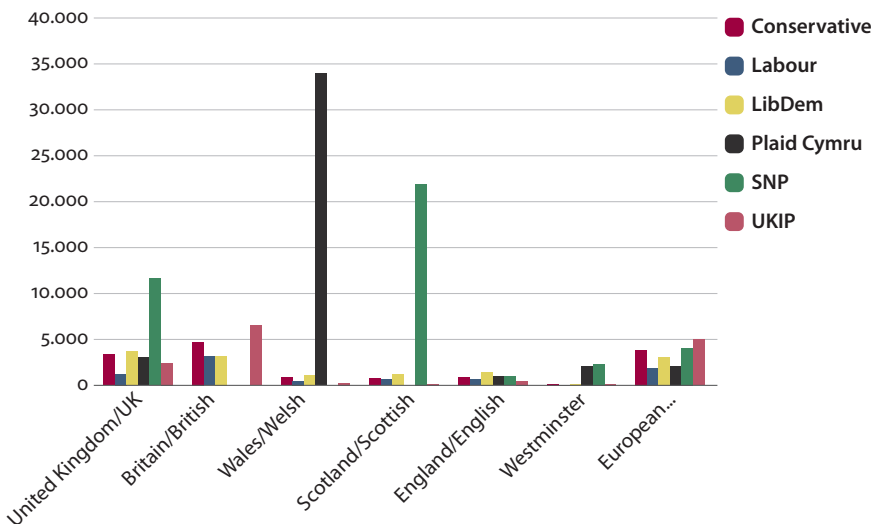

Figure 1. Geographical/geopolitical names in the six manifestos (F/M)

The two nationalist parties (SNP and Plaid) are clearly outliers in their use of such terms. On the one hand, unsurprisingly, each makes much greater use of the names for their own area (Scotland/Scottish for the SNP, and Wales/Welsh for Plaid) than do any of the other parties. In fact, the other parties scarcely mention Scotland or Wales, while the nationalist parties mention their own area more than they mention the UK. Notably, the SNP and Plaid entirely avoid using the noun *Britain*, with its implications that the island is a single unit, and hardly ever use the adjective *British*: the SNP use it only to refer to the names of institutions (i.e., the British Legion) that cannot be mentioned in any other way. Plaid uses it twice, to refer unfavourably to "the British government" as if it were an external antagonist. The Conservatives, Labour and LibDems make moderate use of the terms *Britain* and *British*. In terms of overall frequency, however, UKIP is the party to make greatest use of *Britain/British*. Interestingly, the SNP in particular also makes very heavy use of *UK*, which suggests that this party's discourses embody a very strong awareness of Scotland's constitutional position (we should note that Scotland voted 55%–45% to remain in the UK in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, but since the 2016 Brexit Referendum, in which Scottish voters voted 62%–38% in favour of Remain, the permanence of Scotland within the UK has again been questioned).

The other point of particular interest in the SNP and Plaid manifestos is their shared use of *Westminster* to denote the UK government, a term hardly ever used by the other parties. By using this formula to denote what is generally framed as the source of Scotland's or Wales's problems, these parties avoid terms that might be potentially thought racist or xenophobic ("English politicians", "parliament/government in London") and focus exclusively on the institution (variously the government or the Houses of Parliament) responsible for political decision-making and constitutional procedures.

With the exception of the Labour manifesto, all the parties give prominence to the EU/European Union and the relationships between it and the United Kingdom/Britain. The LibDems give more prominence to all the constituent nations (England, Scotland, and Wales) than do the other London-based parties, and are the only party to use the name *England* frequently.

3.2   Nations and countries

Figure 2 shows the use of common nouns and their related adjectives related to the national and international context. Conservative, Plaid, and UKIP make greatest use of *nation*, while the lemma *country* is most used by Conservative, Labour, LibDems, and UKIP. The Conservative party gives prominence to the lemmas *world* and *global*, while the LibDems, Plaid, and SNP make frequent use of *international*. The deployment of these lexical items is not straightforward, and it is worth considering the particular ways in which they are used in each manifesto.
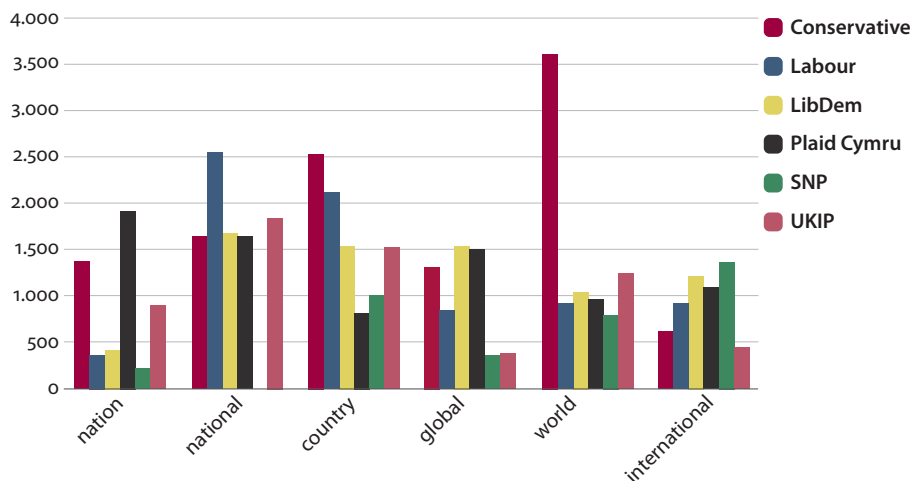
Figure 2. Nation-related lexis in the six manifestos

Let us look first at the two self-defined nationalist parties in this sample: Plaid Cymru and SNP. Plaid is the party which makes the greatest use of *nation*, and this use is striking. For Plaid, the *nation* is unequivocally Wales, rather than the UK. The formula "UK nation" is used to stress this status, in which the situation of Wales is compared, usually unfavourably, with that of the other parts of the UK:

(1)   a.   Wales has the lowest wages and weakest economy of any UK nation.

(PC17)

       b.   Wales has the lowest school test results of any UK nation.   (PC17)

However, in Plaid's discourses this nation status is almost always framed in rela-tion to UK issues and institutions, and even this "UK nation" status is frequently presented as under threat. The heading "Living in England's shadow" points to the perennial problem, which is that Wales has economically, politically and culturally long been overshadowed by England. The manifesto even makes reference to the "'for Wales see England' mentality" which, it is claimed "is all too familiar on the global stage". The following problem-solution sequence sheds light on the insecurity associated with Wales's nation status in Plaid discourses:

(2)   Where we are: Wales is becoming a forgotten nation, destined to be no more than a minor English region. Plaid Cymru's answer: Elect Plaid Cymru MPs to stand up for our nation and to give Wales a strong voice during this crucial time.   (PC17)

By implication, then, Wales rightly has the status of a nation. Yet this status is being ignored, and Wales may come to be treated as "a minor English region" (a statement that is a double provocation to patriotic Welsh voters, first, since Wales is certainly not in England, it is not a "region" of England, and second, because past hopes kindled by devolution and the creation of the Welsh Assembly are now fading and the future is increasingly bleak ("is becoming", "destined to be")). The ultimate goal of the nationalist movement is spelled out only once in the manifesto, in the following example from the party leader's statement, which sets out how Plaid currently sees its own role in UK politics. Although independence is mentioned as the final objective, the party's current purpose is to stand up for "our people" within the present constitutional framework:

> (3)   It remains our ambition for Wales to become an independent nation, standing on its own two feet. But this election is about an immediate threat to our nation, our economy and our people. (PC17)

The threat to Wales is located firmly in Westminster, and with the parties that usually hold the majority there (Conservative and Labour), which ignore or even act against "Welsh people" and "us". The dichotomy Westminster/Wales is a recurring feature of the manifesto:

> (4)   a.   Without a strong team of Plaid Cymru MPs, the Tory Party in Westminster will have a free hand to put Welsh people's futures at risk. (PC17)
> b.   Labour and the Tories in Westminster don't care about or understand our valleys, our coastal communities, our cities, our farms or our rural villages. (PC17)

The SNP's discourses of nationhood bear some resemblance to those of Plaid Cymru, but are characterised by greater confidence and stronger claims to independent identity and status. The SNP also uses the formula "UK nation":

> (5)   Scotland is the first of the UK nations to approve (…) (SNP17)

But this alternates with the combination "UK country":

> (6)   Scotland has the most GPs of any UK country. (SNP17)

Evidence from other studies suggests that the SNP prioritised the use of the word *nation* to describe Scotland in the years preceding the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, but has modified its discourses slightly since then (Breeze 2019a: 37–40). Although *nation* is still used occasionally, the term *country*, usually "our country", to refer specifically to Scotland, prevailed over *nation* in the 2017 election manifestos. The emergence of "UK country" as a term seems to be relatively recent,

and comparison with other corpora suggests that it is extremely unusual (for example, the 770-million word SiBol corpus of English broadsheet newspapers contains only 6 instances of "UK country" used to mean one of the parts of the UK). The SNP's frequent use of this term suggests that it is an intentional move to bolster national feeling in Scotland, and the choice of *country* rather than *nation* (with its stronger constitutional implications) might be motivated by the consideration that use of *nation* might deter voters who did not support independence in the 2014 referendum.

Aside from this, there is still considerable evidence that the SNP sets Scotland's sights much higher than the Plaid does those of Wales, with discourses that project a more proactive role for Scotland in the international sphere:

(7)   An immigration policy that works for Scotland. Our vision of Scotland is one of an open country that looks outwards, and encourages the best and brightest from Europe, and around the world, to make Scotland their home.   (SNP17)

This example illustrates quite well the projection of Scotland as a quasi-independent country operating on the same level as other EU countries, which has been identified in other SNP discourses (for example, the representation of Scotland as a "northern European nation" neighbouring the Arctic in the SNP's recent Scottish election manifestos (Breeze 2019b: 50)). This manifestation of high national self-esteem extends to positive comparison with other "UK countries":

(8)   Per head of population, Scotland has the most GPs of any UK country and there are now almost 50 per cent more qualified nurses and midwives working in our NHS Scotland than in England.   (SNP17)

The SNP also frames Scotland as a model for other countries (within and beyond the UK) to emulate:

(9)   The Scottish Government has now produced a draft Climate Change Plan, with tougher targets for future years, ensuring Scotland continues to set an example for other countries to follow.   (SNP17)

We could imagine that there are at least three reasons for the greater confidence and optimism exuded by the SNP than Plaid Cymru in its use of the words *nation* and *country*. The first, and probably the least important, relates to the concrete fact that Scotland is larger in terms of population (with around 5.4 million people as opposed to 3 million in Wales and 61 million in Great Britain overall). The second concerns history, since Scotland was an independent kingdom into the eighteenth century and its formal alliance with the rest of Britain dates back only to the Act of Union in 1707, while Wales effectively lost its independence after being conquered by Edward I in the thirteenth century. The third, which is probably the most

significant in the present case, is the actual status of nationalism and the nationalist parties there today. The SNP has gained considerable momentum as a political party in Scotland over the last 15 years, swept power from Labour in 2011, held an absolute majority in the Holyrood parliament between 2011 and 2016, and currently governs there with 62 of 129 seats. SNP also holds 35 of the 59 Scottish seats at Westminster. Plaid Cymru is considerably less successful as a party, only holding 10 of the 60 seats in the Welsh Assembly and 4 of the 40 Welsh seats at Westminster.

Leaving the two nationalist parties to one side and turning to the UK-wide parties, we can see from Figure 2 that the Conservative party stands out as making the greatest use of *nation, country, global*, and *world*. This brings out their preference for portraying the UK as a player on the world stage, which we can assume represents their vision for a positive reinvention of the UK after Brexit. The collocates of *global* shed some light on their discourses: not only do we read of "global Britain" (3 times), but the UK is envisaged as a "global leader" (5), a "global power" (2), and a "global champion of free trade/for an open economy". The verb "to lead" collocates (4) with *global* in positive contexts, as the UK "leads a global effort" or "takes a lead in global action". This upbeat globalist discourse is also prevalent in the concordance lines for *world*. Here, collocates of *world* include "lead" (7) and "leading" (8): we read of "our world-leading higher education system", and learn that "we have already demonstrated that in advanced manufacturing, such as aero and automotive engineering, we can lead the world." Finally, the Conservative party's use of the adjective *international* in optimistic contexts also points to a positive and dynamic view of world affairs and the UK's role in them: they call for a "new international agreement", want to "develop an international legal framework" and celebrate "British leadership in international institutions." Above all, the triumphalist neoliberal vision conveyed in the Conservative manifesto celebrates the future of the UK in competitive terms, in a world where "open and free trade is a key to international prosperity."

The Labour manifesto mainly avoids the word *nation* but has the highest frequency of the term *national*, which can largely be explained by the policies proposed by Corbyn's Labour party to roll back economic liberalism and increase state-run initiatives such as a "national care service" (5), a "national education service" (9), a "national investment bank" (5), etc., in tune with his policies to re-nationalise key industries and services.

In an interesting contrast to the Conservative manifesto, *global* is fairly frequent in the Labour manifesto, but is often negatively connoted:

(10)   a.   …corporate accountability for abuses in global supply chains.   (L17)

     b.   Violence against women and girls continues to be a global epidemic.

       (L17)

     c.   The current global tax system is deeply unjust.   (L17)

The ultimate *global* phenomenon, namely "globalisation", is only mentioned once, and is clearly presented as a threat:

(11)   The next Labour government will rebuild communities ripped apart by glo-
        balisation and neglected for years by government.   (L17)

International here tends to be associated with normative aspects or obligations presented as external structures ("international law" (3), "international trading system", "international standards" and "international commitments"), or threats ("international tensions", "international financial crisis"). *International*, like *global*, is rarely associated with positive contexts in this corpus.

The LibDems make relatively little use of the term *nation*, and when they do, it is often (8/10 cases) in the context "the nations of the UK", in which they project a more inclusive, balanced approach where each part will receive specific attention and support:

(12)   The nations of the United Kingdom have long had different needs with regard
        to funding.   (LD17)

The collocates of the words here also shed light on the LibDems' main areas of inter-est. *National*, in their manifesto, is often (11/40 instances) associated with the world of education, while *international* is associated with collaborative or humanitarian actions: "international cooperation" (4), "international partners" (5), "international institutions" (2), and "the international liberal order" (1). *Global* is associated with security issues and, again, with education. *Country* is used in the plural form in around half the instances found, in combinations such as "neighbouring countries", "developing countries", and "European countries": i.e., the UK is situated as one country among many others. Overall, the LibDem manifesto suggests a balanced view of the nation-state cooperating in harmony with other nation-states within a peaceful international order.

Finally, UKIP's use of *nation, national*, and *country* presents a dramatic contrast to most of the others in this study, in both tone and content. Their manifesto exudes national pride, alluding to past problems but promising a bright future outside the EU as "an independent sovereign nation once again":

(13)   …we reclaim our waters, and we become a free independent nation once again.
                                                                              (UKIP17)

Interestingly, UKIP also makes reference to the status of Scotland, Wales, etc., and promises a new type of devolution in which each of the "four nations" has similar competences. Although this might seem contradictory, UKIP and its best known representatives are often sympathetic to independence movements elsewhere in the

world, seeing conflicts such as Catalonia/Spain as metaphors for the UK's struggle to liberate itself from the EU. Here, they promise that "all four nations" will have broadly similar devolved powers once UKIP comes to power.

It is also important that around one third of the instances of *nation* here are fronted by the possessive "our". We thus read that "it is time to make our nation democratic", or that foreign policy has to prioritise "British interests and the security of our nation". By contrast, seven out of 53 instances of *national* in this corpus are actually nouns referring to citizens of other countries resident in the UK, mainly found in the combinations "foreign nationals" (4) or "EU nationals" (3), as in the following striking examples:

(14) a. We will send as many as possible of the 13,000 foreign nationals in our jails back to their home countries.   (UKIP17)
      b. Foreign nationals marrying British citizens will have to prove the primary purpose of their marriage is not to obtain British residency.   (UKIP17)

Moreover, the National Health Service is described pointedly as "a national not an international health service." More contrasts between the "in" and "out" are also to be found elsewhere. *Global* here is used vaguely to indicate the UK's dealings with the world after Brexit. In many of these examples, *global* is implicitly contrasted with "the EU", in such a way that what is global is exciting, new, and positive, full of opportunities, while the EU is a source of negative elements, such as "excessive regulation":

(15) There needs to be a bonfire of excessive EU regulation when we leave the EU so smaller businesses can compete successfully on the global stage. (UKIP17)

In a rather different way, the noun *world* is strongly associated with the vaunting of British achievements: the world is a "stage" on which Britain's manifold glories and virtues naturally attract admiration from far and wide:

(16) a. Britain has produced some of the most remarkable people in world history, some of the best thinkers, innovators, leaders, and creators.   (UKIP17)
      b. Britons are among the most welcoming and tolerant people in the world.
                                                                            (UKIP17)
      c. British medical expertise and disaster support is among the best in the world.   (UKIP17)

Yet this *world* that serves as such a convenient stage to exhibit Britain's qualities is also "an increasingly dangerous world". Accordingly, UKIP is proud to proclaim "Britain's status as a force for good in the world":

(17) By reclaiming its status as an independent, democratic nation, the UK can
through force of example play a role similar to that it played through force of
arms in two World Wars: that of a shining star illuminating the way ahead for
other European countries.   (UKIP17)

This example illustrates how UKIP characteristically draws on the World Wars to
define the UK's relationships to other countries, bolster patriotic sentiment and
underpin its claims about Britain's greatness. As I have discussed elsewhere (Breeze
2019c), UKIP's discourses contain a disproportionately large number of references
to the armed forces, and to wars long past, a habit that they share with a significant
sector of the British press (particularly the tabloids *Sun, Mail* and *Express*, and the
Daily Telegraph). In the case of the tabloids, critics have explained this tendency
as being rooted in "a sense of confusion about English identity that began soon
after World War II, as Britain's role as a world power started to decline" (Garland
and Rowe 1999: 89). UKIP's powerful identitarian discourses draw on a sense of
national pride nourished by war films and tabloids, promising disaffected and frus-
trated members of British society a restoration of former glory after departure from
(or "defeat of") the EU.

3.3   People or citizens?

The way in which politicians refer to people has been the focus of considerable
discussion in recent analyses of populism. In particular, it is generally agreed
that populists rhetorically summon up a "homogeneous people" (de Cleen 2019),
while non-populists prefer to address sectors ("young people", "working people").
However, even this is not simple, because nationalists also, classically, call on "the
people" as a homogeneous entity: this is one of the principal intersections between
populist and nationalist discourse.

Figure 3 shows the normalised frequency of nouns used to refer to the people
or electorate of a country. Although the general quantitative trends in the six man-
ifestos are not startlingly different (all use *people* more than *community*, and the
latter more than *society*), qualitative analysis reveals considerable differences in the
way these words are deployed.

Since *people* is considerably more frequent than *citizens*, I devote most of the
analysis here to this term, and then refer briefly to trends in the use of *citizens*.
Starting with the nationalist parties, we observe that consistently with its discourse
on the *nation* outlined above, Plaid frequently opts for the formulae "the people of
Wales" (10/44), "our people" (6/44), and "Welsh people" (6/44), all of which suggest
the homogeneity of the national group. As just one example, the following extract
sets "the people of Wales" against "the establishment", i.e., the London elites:
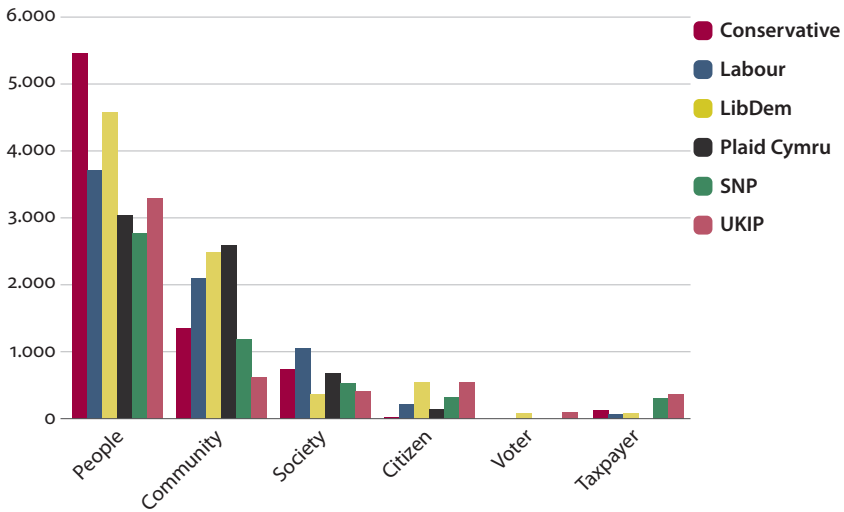
Figure 3. Nouns used to denote the people of the UK in the six manifestos

(18)   We will continue to oppose the Tories' plans to waste £5 billion on renovating the Houses of Parliament and £400 million on Buckingham Palace, so that we can invest in the people of Wales rather than the establishment.   (PC17)

But Plaid's manifesto also has many instances of *people* used for sectors ("young people" (4/44)) and as a generic collective noun, for example, in promises to "defend people" against racism or intolerance.

The SNP refers to a homogeneous Scottish people in around one fifth of instances, using a variety of formulae: "a majority of people in Scotland" (3/63), "the people of Scotland" (6/63), and the slightly more ambiguous, less identitarian option "people in Scotland" (5/63). However, it also refers to people sectorially ("young people" (9/63), "disabled people" (5/63)). The SNP aims to "protect fundamental rights currently enjoyed by the *people* of Scotland", and promises to ensure that "the UK does not short-change the *people* of Scotland."

The Conservative manifesto occasionally uses "the British people" (4/183), but by and large almost all the occurrences of *people* are non-populist, denoting specific groups of people within society as a whole. Frequent combinations include "older people" (9/183), "local people" (3/183), "working people" (7/183), "young people" (14/183), and "younger people" (6/183), as well as quantifiers ("more people" (7/183), "millions of people" (5/183)).

Labour also adopts a predominantly sectorial approach to *people*, and frequent combinations include "many people" (7/101), "more people" (5/101), and "young people" (11/101). Notably, though, Labour's use of *people* diverges from that of

other parties in the frequency with which this term is used with prepositions: "for people" (10/101), "of people" (5/101), "by people" (2/101), suggesting a use of *people* meaning 'the people in general', the populace, "ordinary people", which has definite up/down populist undertones, particularly in the context of Labour's election slogan "For the many not the few". Labour only once seems to offer what seems to be a "nationalist-populist" use of *people*, ironically in one of the very few instances in which a London-based party refers to Wales:

(19)   In government, we will work in partnership to stand up for the people of Wales and protect public services.   (L17)

The LibDems use *people* 110 times. Although this does include 4 instances of "the British people", these always refer to elections, when this use can be said to be factual rather than populist. As in the Labour manifesto, there is a high incidence of prepositional collocations, "for people" (5/110), "of people" (7/110), but unlike Labour there are many verbal combinations: "help/helping people" (6/110), "giving people" (3/110), as well as more extended combinations like "people… need" (8/110) or "people… work" (8/110). This "ordinary people" usage matches with a certain style of up/down populism, but it is not sharpened here by references to the many/few, or to "corrupt elites". As far as sectors are concerned, the most striking feature is the frequency of "young people" (24/110).

Finally, UKIP makes frequent use of *people* – and although it does use this term to indicate sectors or groups (a non-populist use), such as "disabled people" (8), "young people" (12), or "older people" (8) – it also makes copious use of the true "populist" variant, that is, the *people* as a homogeneous group, here often explicitly represented as "the British people" (11/95) or just as "the people" (6/95):

(20)   a.   We have fought for Brexit all our political lives and we want to ensure that the people get the kind of Brexit they voted for.   (UKIP17)
       b.   UKIP stands for a fundamentally different kind of politics that puts power back in the hands of the British people.   (UKIP17)

This homogeneous *people* is presented as having rights and status that place it in contraposition to other types of people:

(21)   It is the government's duty to get our own unemployed off benefits and into the workplace, and improve prospects for our own people, rather than facilitate the continued importation of foreign workers.   (UKIP17)

The term *citizen* is rare in the manifestos, and is generally used to refer to the rights of EU citizens in the UK or UK citizens in the EU after Brexit. Only the LibDems use it (4 times) simply to refer to people, as in the example "ordinary citizens and local communities". UKIP predictably focuses its citizen-related discourses chiefly (10/16 instances) on defending the rights of "British citizens".

3.4   Society or communities?

As Figure 3 shows, all the parties use the lemma *community* more than they do *society*, but Labour, LibDems, and Plaid use it much more than Conservative, SNP, and UKIP. Tables 2 and 3 show the collocates of *society* and *community* in the different manifestos. Table 4 illustrates the balance between *community* and *communities* in each corpus.

Table 2. Collocates (*F* > 1) of *society*

Conservative	Labour	LibDem	Plaid Cymru	SNP	UKIP
Civil/civic 5	Our 4	Our 3	–	Our 5	Our 4
Ageing 4	Civil 3	Democratic 2			British 2
Our 4	Equal 3				

Table 3. Collocates (*F* > 1) of *community*. *BAME means black, Asian, and minority ethnic

Conservative	Labour	LibDem	Plaid Cymru	SNP	UKIP
Local 4	Local 7	Local 9	Our 7	Rural 7	Coastal 3
Coastal 2	Our 6	Rural 3	Rural 5	Fishing 3	Fishing 2
Integrated 2	Their 4	Their 3		Local 2	Minority 2
Sustainable 2	BAME* 3			Our 2	
	Every 2			Remote 2	
	Rural 2				

Table 4. Singular and plural instances of *community*

	Conservative	Labour	LibDem	Plaid Cymru	SNP	UKIP
Community	16	16	38	3	2	7
Communities	29	41	22	16	25	11

The Conservative manifesto lays particular stress on the way a partnership between the state and civil society can resolve social problems. The ideological background to this can be traced to classic liberal notions of "small government", in which the state devolves some power and some responsibility to lower social instances:

(22) a.   We will support the public sector and civil society in identifying extremists.
(C17)

b.   … a great endeavour by government, business and civic society over many years.
(C17)

As regards the lemma *community*, it is of interest that the Conservatives prefer the plural form, and maintain an integrationist discourse (cf. Modood 2016):

(23)   Integrating divided communities Britain is one of the world's most successful multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious societies.   (C17)

The goal is "contented and sustainable communities" or "safe, vibrant and sustainable communities": these vague but positive descriptors seem to suggest that in the Conservatives' view, overall harmony can be achieved even though different identities are maintained.

The Labour manifesto is the one that uses the term *society* most, which is probably unsurprising in a "socialist" party. It makes clearer and more overt claims than the Conservative manifesto concerning the sort of society it regards as desirable:

(24)   a.   The Labour Party is the party of equality and seeks to build a society and world free from all forms of racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.
                                                                                              (L17)
        b.   A Labour government will create a more equal society for the many by working with communities, civil society and business to reduce loneliness.
                                                                                              (L17)

It is noteworthy here that Labour also often has recourse to the term *communities* to refer to specific minority groups ("gipsy, Roma and Traveller communities", "BAME communities") as well as to groups defined geographically ("local communities", "rural communities"). Labour also lays a particular stress on an inclusive discourse about "people and communities" or "individuals and communities".

The LibDem manifesto is the only one to talk about "democratic society", and other combinations found are "free society", "fair society", and "tolerant society". Regarding *community*, it is noticeable that they use the singular form proportionally much more than the other parties do, and a close reading of the text shows that they go deeper into the problem, elsewhere taken for granted, about what a *community* actually is:

(25)   Arts, media and sports are essential for personal fulfilment and quality of life – they are part of what turns a group of people into a community.   (LD17)

Community and integration are expressed as goals here, rather than as something given: we find references to "pursuing local and community integration" and "building community confidence". The LibDems also identify two types of *community* in need of special support: areas that have received a lot of immigration, and villages – both of which are promised special attention:

(26)   We recognise that large-scale immigration has placed strains on some local communities and services. Major improvements are urgently needed. (LD17)

The LibDems thus both problematise *society* and *community* more, and in particular, being a *community* is presented as a goal to be achieved, rather than a given fact. Their manifesto endeavours to appeal to voters who are not satisfied with the status quo – but seems to convey a reflective and constructive attitude.

The two nationalist parties both make considerable efforts to demonstrate that they represent and defend the people of their areas, paying special attention to those who are disadvantaged, but also indicating their inclusive attitude towards incomers. Plaid Cymru depicts Wales as a unitary society, but as a plural one that is "a welcoming society" to outsiders. Wales is also a nation of *communities* (although the 16 instances of this term are all defined in terms of socio-geographical area rather than ethnicity): Plaid acts as the voice for these isolated or disadvantaged rural communities in UK politics:

(27)   Labour and the Tories in Westminster don't care about or understand our
       valleys, our coastal communities, our cities, our farms or our rural villages.
                                                                            (PC17)

Moreover, their idea of a successful future vision is firmly anchored in this agricultural environment, as "vibrant rural communities built around successful farms."

The SNP similarly defends a vision of *society* in which "our" (Scottish) society needs to be protected from London politicians:

(28)   We will seek additional powers for the Scottish Parliament to boost our econ-
       omy, mitigate the damage of Brexit, and protect the most vulnerable in our
       society from damaging Tory cuts.   (SNP17)

Not here, but in earlier manifestos, the SNP also declared allegiance to pluralism and explicitly extended a welcome to "new Scots" (Breeze 2019b). Like Plaid, then, the SNP is careful to show a positive attitude to incomers, but also takes enormous care to show that it defends remote, rural, island, and fishing communities which are understood to be losing out, and to provide them with "a strong voice at Westminster". Both the Welsh and Scottish nationalists seem thus to be extremely aware of the fragility of their large rural constituencies, with the threats of declining economies, ageing populations, and ultimately depopulation.

The UKIP manifesto is unique among these texts in representing *communities* as a potential source of danger:

(29)   Theresa May weakened Stop and Search, saying it was undermining relations
       with ethnic minority communities. UKIP warned this would lead to an increase
       in knife crime and, sadly, we have been proved right.   (UKIP17)

In this panorama, "wider British society" is posited as good, and Muslims are evidently positioned outside it:

(30)   The failure to address the crucial topic of integration has led to a dangerous situation where young people with little or no experience of wider British society, except having been told that it is bad, are at risk of being brought up as hardline and potentially violent Islamists.   (UKIP17)

Finally, let us give some brief consideration to the other two words referring to the people in these manifestos. *Voters* occurs only in the LibDem and UKIP manifestos, and is extremely rare. *Taxpayer* is used occasionally by all the parties except Plaid, but is more frequent in SNP and UKIP (309 and 383/M respectively). Predictably, the SNP underlines the readers/voters' status as "Scottish taxpayers". But UKIP is the party that insists most on the status of the *taxpayer*. By appealing to readers, insisting that they are the ones who pay, UKIP legitimises strong claims that public money is being squandered: student loans are a waste, and undeserving foreigners are taking advantage of free medical treatment. This sheds further light on the populist dichotomy established by UKIP, this time framed as between "the British people who pay" and "the foreign people who exploit the system":

(31)   Treating those ineligible for care costs British taxpayers around £2 billion every year. UKIP will launch the toughest ever crackdown on ineligible foreign nationals using our NHS.   (UKIP17)

4.   Discussion

The foregoing analysis has shown that naming practices and patterns surrounding key lexical items referring to the nation serve as discursive markers of political parties' ideologies, particularly as far as populism and nationalism are concerned. In what follows, various aspects of this phenomenon will be discussed in more detail.

Starting with populism, I started out from the notion that populism in the original sense principally operates on a vertical axis, that is, it centres on "the pure people" (down) versus "the corrupt elite" (up) (Mudde 2004: 543; de Cleen and Stavrakakis 2017). In this antagonistic relationship, populists take the side of the people and argue for popular sovereignty (Stanley 2008: 102). In this sense, Labour, Plaid, SNP, and UKIP have all been found to make some use of populist discourses, since they all claim to represent the underdog against elites, but there are clear distinctions between them.

First, Labour's discourse is the least emphatic: Labour's manifesto has populist undertones that could be characterised as vague and allusive ("for the many, not the

few"), and – in adherence to the rules of mainstream political discourse – Labour generally situates the "problem" in the Conservative party's policies and decisions, rather than in an oppressive institution ("Westminster") or class ("the elite"). In the case of Plaid and SNP, the supposed victim-oppressor relationship is driven by a post-colonial element, in that the ordinary people of Scotland/Wales are pitted against an oppressor that comes from outside, as well as from above. In this sense, they contain elements of "horizontal populism". But at least in these manifestos, their discourse is not xenophobic and does not activate what we might term "ethnic nationalism" (Breeze 2019a): they are not interested in warding off incursions from migrants or foreign aggressors. Indeed, they go some way to express inclusive welcoming sentiments to outsiders who settle or travel there. Lastly, UKIP's populism is the most marked, and operates both vertically (against elites) and horizontally (against migrants, foreigners, and the EU). Previous research has noted UKIP's obsession with "the sword and the ploughshare" (Breeze 2019c: 123–126) and its celebration of a nostalgic *locus amoenus*, the "heartland" dear to populist and nationalist rhetoric (Breeze 2019c: 132). By placing elements such as crime, insecurity, identity loss, and fractured communities into loose juxtaposition with nostalgia for a lost land of farmers and fisherfolk defended by valiant heroes, UKIP builds a chain of equivalences (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) to conjure up a homogeneous people threatened by malign forces from outside (the EU, migrants) and from within (the political elites) (see also Breeze 2019c: 131–134).

As these four examples show, populist discourses can be combined with other political ideas (socialism, regional nationalism, the radical right) in very different ways, bolstering political claims of diverse kinds with feelings of identity and in-group solidarity. As previous authors have pointed out, the core premise of populism is that "the people ought to get what they want" (Stanley 2008: 107), but it is notoriously difficult to translate the core concepts of populism into a coherent ideological tradition (Stanley 2008: 106). As Stanley (2008: 107) notes, the very plasticity of populist discourse "assists the individual populist, for whom it can expand or contract to suit the chosen criteria of inclusion or exclusion." The very thinness of populist ideology endows it with this flexibility.

As for the nation and nationalism, it is clear that nationalist claims in Wales and Scotland are materialised in what we might term an intentional lexical gap, materialised in the elimination of the terms *Britain* and *British*, which serve as an unwelcome reminder of the conceptual unity of the island. Their systematic non-use of this name reminds us of one of the premises of discourse analysis, which is that what remains unsaid is as important as what is said (Gee 2003), and if this is true on the level of propositions, it is all the truer when it comes to naming and non-naming. By contrast, UKIP's celebration of Britain's achievements, and its default deployment of the (national-populist) combination "the British people",

situates this party at the opposite extreme from SNP and Plaid on this point, while the other parties avoid taking polarised stances.

As for nations and relations, the envisaged relationship between the nation and the outside world is construed in sharply contrasting ways by different parties. The Conservative and UKIP manifestos project ebullient optimism concerning the UK's present and future role on the "world stage", the difference being that UKIP communicates in a popular, tabloid register while the Conservatives' discourse reads more like corporate public relations. UKIP's simplistic, backward-looking defence of Britain is very different from the Conservatives' ebullient celebration of Britain's future role in the emergent neoliberal world order. Interestingly, the third party that also boldly sketches out a positive role for its country in the world is the SNP, although its presentation of Scotland's bright global future is prudently measured to the circumstances. Labour and LibDems, on the other hand, seem to share a less competitive view of Britain's role in the world, while Plaid scarcely gives the outside world any consideration. The difference between the SNP's proactive vision and Plaid's reactive one scarcely needs to be underlined here. It perhaps suffices to say that both SNP and Plaid have reinvented what were essentially once hard-core nationalist movements as modern political parties that defend the special interests of particular regions within the constitutional order. Within this, the SNP's position of (relative) power permits it to adopt more ambitious discursive strategies than its Welsh counterpart.

Finally, as far as methodology is concerned, this chapter complements the findings of Jeffries and Walker (2019), Fernández Smith (this volume) and others, showing that by working from a finite list of culturally significant keywords, we can use corpus linguistic tools complemented by qualitative analysis productively to map out the discourses associated with particular parties at a specific period in time. Although the results of such an analysis may be viewed as somewhat predictable, this does not invalidate such an approach, but rather confirms its usefulness as a key to understanding the discourses of a party or era, as Escoriza Morera (this volume) also illustrates. In this sense, corpus assisted discourse studies focusing on particular keywords provide a short cut to understanding the essence of a party's ideology, and could well be applied across a wider geographical scope or longer period of time in order to map larger-scale patterns in political development.

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Political and journalistic discourse regarding the Catalan declaration of independence

A critical analysis

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As van Dijk argues, ideologies are social beliefs which are usually transmitted through discourse, and therefore journalistic and political texts are seen to be two trusted means of communication which are ideal for that function. Within the framework of the relation between language and ideology, my aim is to carry out a critical discourse analysis of various texts of this type. I shall begin by comparing the content of seven different newspapers published on 28 October 2017, the day after the Catalan Parliament's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). Four of these are national in scope (ABC, El País, El Mundo, and La Razón) and three are published in Catalonia (La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, and Ara). I then focus my attention on the information expressed in two of these, namely ABC and La Vanguardia, with the aim of examining the different ways the same information is treated and the linguistic mechanisms used to downplay or enhance the same facts for different ideological purposes. In a similar vein, I go on to analyse the different discourse approaches adopted by the main political parties when dealing with the concept of the State in their respective manifestos for the 2019 general election.

Keywords: political discourse, journalistic discourse, ideology, nationalism, propaganda, Spain, Catalonia

1. Introduction

The Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spanish Language (DRAE) defines *ideología* 'ideology' as "a set of fundamental ideas that characterises the thinking of a person, collective or period, of a cultural, religious or political movement, etc." Similarly, the Cambridge Dictionary defines *ideology* as "a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party, organisation is based." This

second definition includes the concept of belief, which indicates the subjectivity of any ideological manifestation. If we analyse the definition of *idea* (the concept at the base of ideology), in the aforementioned Spanish dictionary, together with a more neutral and objective definition describing it as the "first and most obvious of the acts of understanding, limited to the mere knowledge of something", we find two others that are more interesting, in line with the notion of subjectivity mentioned above. The sixth definition of *idea* describes it as a "concept, opinion or judgement formed about something or someone" and the eleventh compares ideas with "convictions, beliefs, opinions." This reflects the obvious fact that human beings base our way of thinking on beliefs that are opinions or interpretations of reality.

In the framework of linguistics, van Dijk's (2003) affirmation that ideology is the basic belief of a group and its members is only too well-known. In the approach to political discourse known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough (1995), van Dijk (2003), Wodak and Meyer (2015), and other authors have pointed the way to analysing how these ideological interpretations of society are shown in discourse. Therefore, discourse does not reflect reality, but, rather, interprets it (see Martín Rojo 2003), which makes it especially interesting to discover what type of beliefs are hidden in certain discursive acts and how they are shown from a linguistic point of view.

The ideological concepts shared by most people constitute especially interesting subjects of study, and, in this regard and bearing in mind the transmission of these concepts through discourse, so do linguistic manifestations directed at a collective audience. From my point of view, in the framework of so-called special languages, I am particularly interested in journalistic and political texts that, despite obvious differences, share a series of common features related to the type of analysis proposed here (see also Fernández Smith, this volume). The transmission of ideas through collective discourse, as van Dijk (1999: 29) points out, usually implies an attempt to control the receivers' minds and a means of exerting the sender's power and domination. Some ways of exerting this domination would be the credibility of the sources that emit the discourse; the non-existence of discourse based on other beliefs, or the receiver's lack of the knowledge or critical thinking necessary to question the ideas received.[1] I will attempt to show how these propositions can be applied in the aforementioned special languages that will be analysed in this text. More precisely, I will analyse seven newspapers published on 28 October 2017, four of which are national publications and three are published in Catalonia, with the aim of discovering the different ideological positions as regards the same event,

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1.   The importance of the receiver's critical attitude explains the publication of multiple works on so-called critical thinking (see Bowell and Kemp 2002; Tittle 2011).

the Catalan Parliament's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) through the linguistic differences existing in their content.

To this end, I shall begin by comparing the content of seven different newspapers published on 28 October 2017, the day after UDI, four of which are national in scope (ABC, El País, El Mundo, and La Razón) and three are published in Catalonia (La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, and Ara). I then focus my attention on the information expressed in two of these, namely ABC and La Vanguardia, with the aim of examining the different ways the same information is treated and the linguistic mechanisms used to downplay or enhance the same facts for different ideological purposes. It is worth noting that the analysis presented here is based on the lexical level: although it is not the only level of linguistic analysis that can be carried out, it is clear that lexical analysis is of major importance in the study of political language (see Fernandez Lagunilla 1999). I will finally analyse the different discourse approaches adopted by the main political parties when dealing with the concept of the State in their respective manifestos for the 2019 general election.

2.   Journalistic language, political language, and ideology

In my opinion, journalistic and political languages share a number of features in relation to the transmission of ideologies. First, both the media and political groups are set up around the formation of what could be called their own ideological space, characterised by a series of beliefs or interpretations of reality that are different from other interpretations existing in other media or opposing groups. It is clear that each political party represents a different way of organising society according to a series of opinions, but it is equally clear, although it may seem less obvious for the general public if we consider the supposed objectivity of the mass media, that each of the media focuses differently on the same facts depending on some underlying beliefs, as evidenced by having been one of the topics of CDA for years.

Second, and directly related to my first point, political parties and the media address stereotyped audiences depending on their intrinsic beliefs. Similarly, it is usual for receivers of both types of discourse to identify with an ideological space, which leads them to accept certain discourses and ignore other alternative ones, or, which boils down to the same thing, they read only a part of the press and follow only one or several political parties but not others, depending on whether or not they identify with their ideological position. This fact often leads to a certain intellectual accommodation guided by the group mentality and a lack of careful thought regarding the interpretations received, which are accepted or rejected according to the framework in which they are included. To give a very simple example, it can

appear odd in the Spanish political panorama nowadays for a person to declare himself conservative and feminist or progressive and monarchist, since the constant creation of a limited number of ideological spaces can make any demonstration of eclecticism into an apparent sign of incoherence.[2]

In the third place, we must not forget that both journalistic discourse in the written press and political discourse aimed at the general public that I am analysing here have a clear perlocutionary function. Only the consumption of the press guarantees its continued existence and only those political parties who receive public support in the form of votes can survive. In this regard, the creation of a clearly defined space, with precise limits and that is visibly differentiated from other alternatives, guarantees what we would call in business language its own market share and facilitates the reception of the discourses, which are the means of that ideological transmission. I can allude to some of the principles of political propaganda described and used in Nazi Germany by Joseph Goebbels (Musolff 2010) or, on the opposite side of the political and ideological spectrum, by Winston Churchill (Crespo-Fernández 2013). In this case, I do not wish to enter into comparisons between propaganda and political discourse but it is obvious that some of the principles that define the former can also be found to a certain extent in the latter and they are clearly related with the peculiarities of journalistic and political language that I am propounding here. I am referring to principles such as simplification, which personifies all adversaries as a single enemy; transposition, by which the person's own defects are attributed to the adversary (remember the mutual accusations of corruption between different political parties), or orchestration, which attempts to turn a series of ideas into indisputable truths by incessantly repeating them. We can note how the aforementioned three ways of exerting domination through discourse specified by van Dijk fit with this approach: the credibility of a medium of communication or a trusted politician, the lack of contact with discourse representing contrasting ideologies and the absence of critical thinking as regards specific ideas within a general ideological framework, since, as well being unaccustomed and lacking knowledge, people may think that questioning a particular interpretation would mean questioning the whole framework.

The ideological spaces that I have mentioned can be shown in journalistic and political discourse in different ways:

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2. Forgas Berdet (2013), in the context of her interesting research on news headlines, closely related to the second section of this chapter, even considers that ideological bias can also depend on the reader's subjectivity. In the examples that I will examine below, it is not necessary to take this aspect into account in order to recognise the underlying ideology.

a. Through the *selection* of information. There is a long bibliographical tradition showing the usual criteria for the selection of news in the journalistic sphere (see, for example, Martínez Albertos 1989). The importance of those involved, the general interest, the number of people affected by the fact, its potential for future evolution, or the very degree of newness are some of the usual factors that turn a fact or event into news. But other aspects of interest which are much more subjective and show the importance of ideology in the press (e.g., the suitability of the medium, the receiver's profile, and the existence of other competing media) are also mentioned. This description of journalistic language can be extrapolated to the political scene. The selection of what is considered relevant in both types of discourse is the first way of outlining an ideological scene. I will see a clear example of this in my analysis of the party programmes in the 2019 Spanish general election.

b. Through the *presentation* and *topicalisation* of information. Many authors have dealt with the organisation of the information of the text and the importance of the informative structure (see, for example, Fuentes Rodríguez 1999). The focalisation or topicalisation of the events and arguments in the discourse can also hide ideological differences even when the same facts are being described.

c. Through the *verbalisation* of the information. Linguistic analysis can show the importance of certain expressive resources to produce a different effect while narrating the same facts. Several attenuating and reinforcing mechanisms are present in the discourse and, in this regard, the lexical level is especially important, as the choice of lexical units can give rise to completely different connotations depending on the intentions of the narrator. For example, in reference to the European refugee crisis, there is a great difference between the headline "Una oleada de inmigrantes ilegales se agolpa en las fronteras de Europa 'Wave of illegal immigrants collapses European borders' and "Miles de seres humanos ruegan ayuda a Europa para sobrevivir" 'Thousands of human beings seek help from Europe to survive'. It cannot be said that either of the two headlines is untrue. Refugees are illegal immigrants (they have no papers) and they are also human beings. Both designations are correct but each of them accentuates a different interpretation of reality. In the same way, *oleada* 'wave', *agolparse* 'crowd, collapse', and *frontera* 'border' suggest a situation that is almost an invasion, whereas the use of *rogar ayuda* 'seek help' and *sobrevivir* 'survive' suggest an idea of solidarity. In the following sections of this text, I will attempt to provide some examples of linguistic resources in accordance with the ideological position in journalistic and political texts.

3. The treatment of the unilateral declaration of independence in the Spanish and Catalan press

On 27 October, 2017, the Catalan Parliament under the presidency of Carles Puigdemont passed the UDI and hours later the Spanish government, under the presidency of Mariano Rajoy, invoked Article 155 of the Constitution, dissolved the Catalan Parliament and called an election in that autonomous community to be held two months later. This was, without doubt, a unique and significant event in the Spanish political scene in times of democracy, which was widely covered by the written press.

My analysis will focus on the front pages of seven newspapers published on 28 October 2017, four of which are national publications and three are published in Catalonia. It is worth noting that I will concentrate on the written texts of these front pages and not on graphic aspects such as photographs. In any case, these are very similar and show different images of the Catalan Parliament during the unilateral declaration of independence, with the exception of ABC, whose main photograph shows the president and the majority party leaders in the Spanish Parliament. These are the headlines and overlines of the newspapers chosen:[3]

ABC: *España descabeza el golpe* 'Spain decapitates the coup'.

El Mundo: *55 días de 155. Intervención constitucional para frenar la insurrección* '55 days of 155. Constitucional intervention to halt the insurrection'.

El País: *El Estado acude a sofocar la insurrección. El Parlamento de Cataluña consuma el golpe a la democracia* 'The State steps in to suffocate the insurrection. The Catalan Parliament carries out a coup against democracy'.

La Razón: *Urnas frente al golpe. El Gobierno activa el 155 tras declarar el Parlament la independencia ilegal* 'Ballot boxes against the coup. The government invokes (article) 155 after Parliament illegally declares independence'.

La Vanguardia: *Rajoy interviene la Generalitat para convocar elecciones el 21-D. La cuestión catalana* 'Rajoy seizes the Generalitat to call an election. The Catalan question'.

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3. The front pages can be found in https://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-portadas-periodicos-hoy-sabado-28-octubre-2017-20171028010520.html and http://kiosko.net/es/2017-10-28/np/ara.html

El Periódico: *Rajoy aborta la DUI: elecciones el 21-D. Euforia contenida en el soberanismo* 'Rajoy aborts UDI: election 21-D. Contained euphoria in the pro-sovereignty ranks'.

Ara: *La República, proclamada i el Govern, destituït. Procès soberanista* 'Republic proclaimed and Catalan Government deposed. Pro-sovereignty process'.

I can establish a general comparison between the first four national papers, which give a negative opinion of UDI, and the last three, Catalan papers, whose expression is completely different. The first differentiating factor is the linguistic designation of UDI itself, which is the central topic of the reports. The national papers describe the act as a *golpe* (de estado) 'coup (d'état)', *insurrección* 'insurrection', or *independencia ilegal* 'illegal independence'. In other sections of the front page, the four papers use similarly negative lexical elements such as *rebelión* 'rebellion', *secesión* 'secession', *desafío* 'defiance', or *separatistas* 'separatists'. Besides, El Mundo includes two further significant expressions as slogans; an opinion column titled *Siempre el traidor es vencido* 'The traitor is always beaten' and a quotation from Orwell, which says *El nacionalismo es el hambre de poder alimentado por el autoengaño* 'Nationalism is hunger for power fed by self-deception'. The linguistic treatment of this issue by the Catalan newspapers is very different and none of these denominations appear in their pages. On the contrary, apart from an objective reference to UDI and the interesting euphemistic use[4] of *la cuestión catalana* 'the Catalan question' to refer to it, I find designations like *soberanismo* 'sovereignty' and *proceso soberanista* 'sovereignty process', *República* 'Republic', or, elsewhere on their front pages *proclamación* or *independencia* 'proclamation of independence' (without the adjective *ilegal* used in La Razón). It is also interesting to analyse the verbs chosen by the different newspapers to refer to the Spanish government's action. The national papers use *tomar el control* 'take control' and *descabezar* 'behead', *frenar* 'halt', or *sofocar* 'suffocate' the insurrection, expressions denoting authority and a sense of justice, whereas in the Catalan media the Spanish government *interviene* 'seizes' the Generalitat and *aborta* 'aborts' UDI.

I can also see an attempt in the Spanish press to minimise the importance of the declaration by highlighting the fact that it was the decision of a small group of politicians, using expressions like *Con solo 70 votos* 'With only 70 votes' (El Mundo)

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4.   The presence of euphemistic uses in political and journalistic language is one of the most obvious features and is subject to frequent critical analysis. For the latest version of the concept, see Casas Gómez 2009 or Fernández Smith and Casas Gómez 2018. Interesting examples can be found in recent studies on euphemistic uses in public communication (Fernández Smith 2017a, 2017b; Crespo-Fernández 2018; Sánchez García 2018).

or *el Parlament vota en secreto* 'Parliament votes in secret' (La Razón). The phrase *defensa callejera* 'defence in the streets' is used to refer to UDI as opposed to the abovementioned sovereignty which is used in the Catalan press and is accompanied by expressions such as *Miles de personas celebran en la calle la proclamación* 'Thousands of people celebrate the proclamation in the street' (La Vanguardia). The Spanish press insists that this is a situation affecting the whole Spanish state with expressions like *Ciudadanos de España, ahora es la hora* 'Citizens of Spain, now is the time' (El Mundo), *La democracia prevalecerá* 'Democracy will prevail' (El País), or *La hora del estado de derecho* 'Time for the rule of law' (La Razón), whereas the Catalan press has a different approach to the situation: *Los catalanes tienen la palabra* 'It is the Catalans' turn to speak' (La Vanguardia). It is also significant that this same Catalan newspaper has the headline *El Ejecutivo considera que de esta forma se restablece la normalidad constitucional* 'The government believes that, in this way, constitutional normality is restored', a statement that makes the Spanish government responsible for the decision, which appears to be questioned, or, at least, not supported by this medium. Even when referring to an undisputed fact like the EU and the USA's lack of support for UDI, the linguistic expression is nuanced; on one hand, they insist that recognition will never happen: *La UE ni reconoce ni reconocerá la independencia* 'The EU neither recognises nor will recognise (Catalan) independence' (El Mundo) and *EEUU y Europa aseguran que nunca reconocerán a la república catalana* 'USA and Europe affirm that they will never recognise the Catalan republic' (El País). On the other hand, the Catalan press omits allusions to future positions and even incorporates nuances that do not appear in the Spanish papers: *Donald Tusk respalda a Rajoy, aunque le pide que evite el argumento de la fuerza* 'Donald Tusk backs Rajoy, although he asks him to avoid the use of force' (La Vanguardia).

Although I believe that a simple analysis of the front pages clearly reflects different approaches to the same news item, I will pause to examine briefly other important sections, the editorial and the letters to the editor, in two of the papers mentioned, one as the paradigm of the national press, ABC, and the other of the Catalan press, La Vanguardia. In the ABC's editorial, entitled *La hora del estado de derecho* 'Time for the rule of law', I observe the same interpretation of reality that could be seen on the front pages of the Spanish press. The unilateral declaration of independence is mentioned accompanied by terms like *golpe* 'coup', *asamblea totalitaria* 'totalitarian assembly', *algarada callejera* 'street disturbances', *ilegalidad* 'illegality', *separatistas* 'separatists', *extremistas* 'extremists', *secesionista* 'secessionist', *agresión* 'aggression', or *secuaces* 'henchmen'. The negative connotations when referring to the supporters of independence are seen in a very clear euphemistic expression when stating *habrá que creer a los nacionalistas y no esperar a que demuestren de lo que son capaces* 'we must believe the nationalists and not wait and see

what they are capable of'. As a counterpoint, in representation of what the editorial is defending, the whole text is riddled with references to legality including the title itself. Against the coup, it is necessary to defend *el estado de derecho* 'the rule of law', *la Constitución de 1978* 'the 1978 Constitution', *la legalidad* 'legality', *el ordenamiento jurídico* 'the legal system', and *el orden legal e institucional* 'institutional law and order'. All this is corroborated by another euphemistic use, saying that before waiting for the nationalists to show what they are capable of, Article 155 must 'be imposed as firmly as necessary' (*ser impuesto con toda la firmeza necesaria*). Anecdotically, it is also interesting to mention the titles of the letters to the editor, having no need to refer to their content, which is quite obvious: *El Estado tiene la obligación de defender la nación* 'the State is obliged to defend the nation' and *¿Y ahora qué, señor president?* 'What now, Mr President?'.

La Vanguardia's editorial, entitled *Los catalanes tienen la palabra* 'It's the Catalans' turn to speak', is also very significant. This is a newspaper that could be considered conservative, and therefore we do not expect it to go against what is reported in the Spanish press by defending Catalan independence. In fact, in its content we can observe a criticism of the way in which the declaration was conceived and it speaks of a *restauración del orden constitucional en Catalunya* 'return to constitutional order in Catalonia'. However, it does not adopt the position of the national press, focusing on the illegal nature of the political action, and avoids the designations with negative connotations found in the Spanish papers. It refers to *declaración de independencia* 'declaration of independence' (deleting the adjective *unilateral*), to *declaración institucional* 'institutional declaration', *proceso soberanista* 'pro-sovereignty process', *enrevesada situación política catalana* 'convoluted Catalan political situation', or *ilusión legítima* 'justifiable excitement'. The general election is considered to be positive because it hands over the responsibility for the situation to Catalan people, as seen in the title of the editorial and its final sentence: *Los Catalanes tienen la palabra. Todos* 'It is the Catalans' turn to speak. All of them', which sums up the criticism of the Catalan Parliament's way of proceeding, rather than the concept of independence itself. The titles of the letters are also of interest. Again, there is mild criticism of the procedure in titles like *Amarga victoria* 'Bitter victory' *Catalunya a la deriva* 'Catalonia adrift' or *No nos lo merecemos* 'We do not deserve this', calls to construct a future: *Comença el camí* 'The journey begins' or *Ahora es la hora* 'Now is the time' and even revealing references to national political parties, which I do not consider coincidental: *¿Dónde está el PSOE?* 'Where is the PSOE?' or *Corrupción del PP* 'Corruption in the PP'.

It is important to say that this study is obviously qualitative rather than quantitative, in the tradition of discourse studies which are typically based on relatively small amount of contextualised language data. I consider, however, that this relatively brief review of the most visible information in the seven newspapers that

make up the corpus is illustrative enough for my purpose here: to show how the choice of lexicon is sufficient valid evidence to identify the existence of two clear ideological stances. All the papers cover the objective facts: the UDI on the part of the Catalan Parliament and the dismissal of the Catalan government and the calling of an election by the Spanish government. But, going beyond the objective information, the Spanish newspapers construct their own ideological scenarios based on an interpretation of these facts and characterised by the illegal and unconstitutional nature of the declaration of independence, the minority backing for it and the need for the Spanish state to take control and decide on future courses of action. On the other hand, the Catalan press, based on the same events, insists on the Catalan people's exercise of sovereignty that underlies the declaration of independence, highlights the popular support for the action, minimises the lack of international support and reflects the need to solve a specific problem pertaining to the Catalan people. These two interpretations (both valid as justifiable interpretations with different arguments) are borne out fundamentally by the linguistic resources used, and, above all, as we have seen, by the choice of lexicon (see the analysis of political cartoons of Muelas-Gil in this volume). In this way, the reader's exposure to some media or others could condition his interpretation of reality unless the information received is the subject of critical reflection, which is difficult if we bear in mind that none of the papers examined clearly presents conflicting visions or insinuates the possibility of multiple interpretations. On the contrary, they insist on a discourse that consolidates the ideological space that they have chosen to occupy.

4.   The concept of Spain in the political discourse of the 2019 general election

In the previous section, dedicated to journalistic language, I have analysed the importance of linguistic, especially lexical, formalisation, in the presentation of the same information in different media, according to the interpretation of that information within a certain ideological framework. In this section, I will deal with political language through the analysis of the electoral programmes (see Appendix 1) presented for the Spanish general election in April 2019 by the five main parties: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), Partido Popular (PP), Ciudadanos (Cs), Vox, and Unidas Podemos (UP). I will pay particular attention to the treatment in the manifestos of the territorial concept of State in order to compare both its greater or lesser presence in these programmes and the linguistic treatment that it receives, especially in the programmes where its presence is greater (see Breeze, this volume, for a similar analysis in six 2017 election manifestos in Great Britain).

The mere appearance of the concept of Spain in the manifestos shows significant differences. Below I will give the percentage of space dedicated to it (from more to less), the position it occupies and the heading of the section in which it appears:

– Vox: 10 measures of a total of 100 (10%). First point of ten in total under the heading *España, unidad y soberanía* 'Spain, unity, and sovereignty'.
– Cs: 11 measures of a total of 175 (6.3%). First point of 14, under the heading *Defender la unidad de España y garantizar la igualdad de derechos de todos los ciudadanos* 'Defending the unity of Spain and guaranteeing equal rights for all citizens'.
– PP: 17 measures out of 500 (3.4%). First point of ten, under the heading *Comprometidos con el fortalecimiento de la nación* 'Committed to strengthening the nation'.
– PSOE: 5 measures out of 281 (1.8%). Included in the fourth point of 7, under the heading *El modelo territorial* 'The territorial model'.
– UP: 2 measures out of 264 (0.7%). Included in the last of 9 points, under the heading *Garantías de justicia territorial* 'Guarantees of territorial justice'.

A very clear difference can be established between the first three parties mentioned, the conservative block, who prioritise and topicalise the information, which appears in the first point of their programmes, and the two belonging to the more progressive block, who do not automatically give the subject a specific entry, do not treat the idea of Spain as a major issue and give it significantly less space in their programmes. This distinction is borne out by the actual headings of the sections in which the subject appears. In the first three, the reference to the State is more succinct than in the last two.

I will now proceed to the linguistic analysis of the lexicon used in the different texts. For this analysis, I created a corpus of over 5,000 words gathered from the points contained in the aforementioned electoral manifestos. By means of the AntConc program (v. 3.4.4) I identified the most frequently-occurring lexical words for each party, which were as follows (the frequency for each word appears in brackets):

– PP: *nación, nacional* 'nation, national' (15), *ley, legalidad* 'law, legality' (13), *Constitución, constitucional* 'Constitution, constitutional' (13), *Estado* 'State' (12), *España, español* Spain, Spanish (11), *público* 'public' (10), *comunidades autónomas* 'autonomous communities' (8), *castellano* 'Castilian Spanish' (5), *aprobar* 'pass' (4), *ejercicio* 'exercise' (4), *impulsar* 'promote' (4), *organismos* 'bodies' (4), *territorio* 'territory' (4), *unidad* 'unity' (4).

- Ciudadanos: *España, español* 'Spain, Spanish' (21), *garantizar* 'guarantee' (13), *Constitución, constitucional* 'Constitution, constitutional' (12), *ley, legal* 'law, legal' (12), *igualdad* 'equality' (10), *electoral* 'electoral' (9), *público* 'public' (8), *ciudadanos* 'citizens' (7), *derecho* 'law' (7), *reformar* 'reform' (7), *Cataluña, catalán* 'Catalonia, Catalan' (6), *financiar* 'finance' (6), *reforzar* 'reinforce' (6), *asegurar* 'ensure' (5), *Estado* 'State' (5), *sistema* 'system' (5), *transparente* 'transparent' (5), *separatistas* 'separatists' (4), *voto* 'vote' (4).
- Vox: *España, español* 'Spain, Spanish' (20), *inmigración, inmigrante* 'immigration, immigrant' (10), *nación, nacional* 'nation, national' (10), *ilegal* 'illegal' (8), *país* 'country' (6), *policías* 'police' (5), *delito, delincuente* 'crime, criminal/delinquent' (5), *suprimir* 'eliminate' (5), *exigir* 'demand' (5), *público* 'public' (5), *autonómico* 'autonomous' (5), *mafia* 'mafia' (4), *seguridad* 'security' (4), *soberanía* sovereignty' (4), *defensa* 'defense' (3), *devolución* 'devolution' (3), *Estado* 'State' (3), *frontera* 'border' (3), *origen* 'origin' (3).
- PSOE: *comunidad autónoma, autonómico* 'autonomous community, autonomous' (31), *territorio, territorial* 'territory, territorial' (19), *Estado* 'state' (15), *Constitución, constitucional* 'Constitution, constitutional' (15), *modelo* 'model' (12), *España, español* 'Spain, Spanish (10), *competencias* 'competencies' (9), *participación* 'participation' (8), *gobierno* 'government' (6), *financiar* 'finance' (6), *local* 'local' (6), *funcionamiento* 'functioning' (5), *reparto* 'distribution' (5), *decisiones* 'decisions' (4), *ejercicio* 'exercise' (4), *igualdad* 'equality' (4), *sistema* 'system' (4), *socialistas* 'socialists' (4).
- Unidas Podemos: *comunidad autónoma, autonómico* 'autonomous community, autonomous' (8), *financiar* 'finance' (7), *país* 'country' (5), *España* 'Spain' (4), *ciudad, ciudadanía* 'city, citizenship' (4), *territorio, territorial* 'territory, territorial' (4), *Cataluña, catalán* 'Catalonia, Catalan' (4), *diálogo* 'dialogue' (3), *nuevo* 'new' (3), *pueblo* 'people' (3), *sistema* 'system' (3), *zona* 'zone' (3), *desigualdad* 'inequality' (3), *conflicto* 'conflict' (2), *público* 'public' (2), *reto* 'challenge' (2), *servicios* 'services' (2), *vaciada* 'emptied' (2).

In accordance with what I have said above, from this data we can observe significant differences between the conservative and progressive blocks. Although, as we might have expected from the content of the texts analysed, words like *España* 'Spain', *español* 'Spanish', *Estado* 'State', *nación* 'nation', or *país* 'country' are among the most frequent for all the parties, these words have a more marked incidence in the higher positions in the conservative parties' programmes, whereas, in the case of the progressive parties, these lexical items are clearly outnumbered by others such as *comunidad autónoma* 'autonomous community', *territorio* 'territory', or *territorial* 'territorial' (five times in the syntagm *modelo territorial* 'territorial model' for the PSOE). These latter elements are totally absent from the Ciudadanos'

programme, hardly appear in that of the PP, and are merely anecdotal in the case of Vox. All this shows two different concepts of State, as I will explain later. The lexical references to the problem of nationalism in specific areas of Spain are not significant in this frequency analysis apart from the direct allusions to Catalonia by Ciudadanos and Unidas Podemos and the use of the word *separatistas* 'separatists' in the case of Ciudadanos. The examination of the different treatment of this issue by the parties studied must be supported by a more comprehensive, qualitative study of the texts, although lexical analysis does show the different viewpoints, highlighted by the presence of other words, such as *unidad* 'unity' in the case of the first block and *reparto* 'distribution' or *diálogo* 'dialogue' in the second. For most parties I can also note that words pertaining to the legal sphere also figure among the most frequently used. In the programmes of the PP and Ciudadanos, *Constitución* 'Constitution' and *ley* 'law', together with their derivative adjectives, appear among the highest positions. It could be deduced that this is normal in this type of texts, and in the PSOE programme, although there is no reference to the law, we can find references to the constitution high in the ranking. In contrast to these more traditionalist parties, the image of the other parties with a more innovative discourse stands out in the Spanish political scene. In the case of Vox, far from making direct allusions to lawfulness, the word *ilegal* 'illegal' is one of the most frequently used. Furthermore, this lexical element is used in conjunction with others like *inmigración* 'immigration', *policías* 'police', *delincuente* 'criminal/delinquent', *mafia*, or *seguridad* 'security', which reflects a clear descriptive line of reasoning as regards Spanish society. As for Unidas Podemos, even though the text analysed is shorter than the others are, it is notable that there are no direct references to the law and only one to the constitution.

I will examine now the similarities and differences among the conservative parties (PP, Cs, and Vox) and then make a general comparison between them and the progressive parties (PSOE and UP). In the conservative block, it is the Popular Party (PP) that gives least space to the description of the national identity but it does show very clear general lines regarding the lexical treatment of the issue. In their manifesto (not only to the specific section mentioned above, but also to some paragraphs of the programme's introduction which have the same content), I have identified noun chains characterised by lexical elements that are semantically related to an notion, with important connotations in accordance with the message that they wish to transmit. This type of semantic connections constitute a cohesion mechanism that has been extensively dealt with (see García Rodríguez 2005, who reviews the work of different authors, starting with Halliday and Hasan). In this regard, as an example of the importance in electoral programmes of the political events in Catalonia which I partly analysed in Section 2 of this article, there is a chain of lexical elements having pejorative connotations that refer directly or indirectly to the growth

of the independence movement: *secesionismo* 'secessionism', *cesiones humillantes* 'humiliating concessions', *deslealtad* 'disloyalty', *desafío contra la unidad* 'challenge to unity', *enemigos* 'enemies', *nacionalismo* 'nationalism', *golpe al Estado* 'coup d'état', *referéndum ilegal* 'illegal referendum', *rebelión* 'rebellion', *sedición* 'sedition', *ponga en jaque la unidad de España* 'put the unity of Spain at risk', *atenten contra la unidad y los intereses generales de la Nación* 'attack on the Nation's unity and general interests'. However, there are very frequent allusions to the national legal system and the use of terms like *ley* 'law', *Estado de Derecho* 'rule of law', *mecanismos constitucionales* 'constitutional mechanisms', *Constitución de 1978* '1978 Constitution', *democracia parlamentaria* 'parliamentary democracy', *legalidad constitucional* 'constitutional legality', *juramento o promesa de la Constitución* 'swearing or promising allegiance to the Constitution'. This notion of State is consolidated by allusions to different national symbols, especially *la bandera* 'the flag', *la corona* 'the crown', *el retrato del jefe de Estado* 'the head of State's portrait', and *la lengua común de todos, el español* 'everybody's common language, Spanish'. Still in this context there are references to creating *una ley de símbolos nacionales* 'a national symbols law', promoting the *Fiesta Nacional del 12 de octubre* 'the National Holiday on 12 October') and guaranteeing the *utilización del castellano, como lengua oficial del Estado, en todas las comunicaciones públicas realizadas en cualquier parte del territorio nacional* 'use of Spanish, as the State's official language, in all public communications made in any part of the national territory'.[5] The party's project for Spain is reflected in the concept of unity and in expressions like *fortalecer la capacidad vertebradora del Estado* 'strengthen the State's structuring capacity', *reforzar los elementos comunes que vertebran la nación* 'reinforce the common elements that structure the nation' or *reforzar la presencia del Estado en todas las comunidades autónomas* 'reinforce the State's presence in all autonomous communities'). They have created a model that might be described as centralist and inflexible with independence movements. However, allusions to some terms are avoided (as we have seen, *vertebrar* 'structure' is preferred over *centralizar* 'centralise') and some very interesting euphemistic expressions are used. For example, they refer to a *descentralización mejor* 'a better decentralisation' and affirm that *centrarse en lo que es de todos no es descuidar lo local o lo autonómico sino consolidarlo* 'focusing on what belongs to everyone does not mean neglecting local or regional matters, but rather, consolidating them'.

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5. In the PP's programme there is a strange allusion to the flag as a symbol when referring to the reign *of la España de los balcones* 'the Spain of balconies'. This expression refers to the fact that many citizens all over Spain hung Spanish flags on their balconies during the conflict with Catalonia in defence of the country's unity. The PP tries to identify with those citizens by not only using this expression but also with photos in the manifesto in which the party leader can be seen surrounded by people holding Spanish flags.

Furthermore, they promise a *completa evaluación del funcionamiento del Estado Autonómico desde una perspectiva de eficiencia y equidad* 'complete evaluation of the working of the Autonomous State from a perspective of efficiency and fairness', without specifying what this evaluation would consist of. And, with reference to independence movements, it is said that *cuantas medidas sean necesarias* 'all the necessary measures' will be applied. From all this, it is easy for the receiver to perceive the ideological position and at the same time an ideological self-profiling is taking place, avoiding terms that could have negative connotations despite the fact that these may define the policies proposed.

The presence of Spanish nationalism in Cs' programme is greater but largely similar to that of PP, so I will not go into common aspects at length. Once again we find lexical references to the Spanish legal framework: *respeto a la Constitución* 'respect for the Constitution', *legalidad vigente* 'current legislation', *procedimientos democráticos* 'democratic procedures', *derechos fundamentales* 'fundamental rights. We also find the negative connotations of the independence movement, with the difference that the allusions to the Catalan sphere are much clearer: *Torra y los separatistas* 'Torra and the separatists', *golpe de Estado de los separatistas catalanes de otoño de 2017* 'coup d'état by Catalan separatists in October 2017', *sedición y rebelión* 'sedition and rebellion', *procés separatist* 'separatist process', *propaganda separatista* 'separatist propaganda'), *adoctrinamiento nacionalista* 'nationalist indoctrination', *Puigdemont y el resto de consellers huidos de la justicia en el extranjero* 'Puigdemont and the rest of the government members fugitives from justice abroad', etc. There are minor references to other Spanish autonomous regions like Navarra and the Basque Country, but this point in the programme focuses on Catalonia. The allusion to national symbols is of less importance than in the PP programme, perhaps because this is a much younger party, apart from the defence of the *uso del español como lengua oficial y común en toda España* 'use of Spanish as the common language throughout Spain'. The focal point of the section is once more the unity of Spain, which appears in the title, and there is no recognition of any autonomous initiative outside the national framework. Thus, the discourse is very similar to that of PP, although more direct and less euphemistic (here, for example, the phrase *reforma de la financiación autonómica* 'reform of autonomous funding' is used) and with more specific allusions to Catalonia. In support of this idea, it must be mentioned that, like other parties, Cs presented another manifesto in an easy-to-read format, a simplification of the original, and consisting of a few brief lines for each of the main points. In the first point, dedicated to the notion of Spain, there are direct references to *separación y ruptura de España* 'separation and break up of Spain' and *condena a los independentistas en Cataluña* 'Catalan separatists sentenced'.

It is the third party in this conservative block, Vox, that dedicates most importance in its manifesto to the concept of Spain and presents nationalistic arguments

that are not only proportionally longer but also more forceful in their expression. There are fewer references to the independence movement but the lexicon used has even more negative connotations than those in the abovementioned programmes, with expressions like *golpismo* 'coups d'état', *ofensas y ultrajes a España y sus símbolos o emblemas* 'offence and affronts to Spain and its symbols or emblems' and *menospreciar la lengua común de todos, el español* 'belittling the common language, Spanish'. Once more, previously mentioned national symbols like *la Bandera* 'the Flag' and *la Corona* 'the Crown' play an important role, accompanied by others such as *el Himno* 'the National Anthem', *la aportación de España a la civilización y a la historia universal* 'Spain's contribution to civilisation and world history', or *las gestas y hazañas de nuestros héroes nacionales* 'the feats and exploits of our national heroes'. The defence of Spanish nationalism goes beyond the problems arising in the traditionally nationalist Spanish autonomous communities and also refers to Gibraltar, Ceuta and Melilla, and Muslim fundamentalism in Spain and elsewhere. The defence of the concept of State is based on a series of direct actions that imply authority and avoid any type of euphemistic formulation; on the contrary, intensifiers are frequently used. The programme refers to *suspensión de la autonomía catalana* 'suspensión of Catalan autonomy', *derrota sin paliativos del golpismo* 'unmitigated defeat of the coup', *ilegalización de partidos* 'illegalisation of parties', *supresión de las policías autonómicas* 'suppression of autonomic policies', *transformación del Estado autonómico en un Estado de Derecho unitario* 'transformation of the State of autonomies into a single, unified State governed by rule of law', *reforma del sistema electoral* 'reform of the electoral system', *cierre de mezquitas fundamentalistas* 'closing fundamentalist mosques', *fortalecimiento de nuestras fronteras* 'strengthening our borders, *levantar un muro infranqueable* 'building an unassailable wall', *deportación de los inmigrantes ilegales* 'deportation of illegal immigrants', *exigencia a Marruecos de la soberanía española de Ceuta y Melilla* 'demanding from Morocco Spanish sovereignty of Ceuta and Melilla', or *suspensión del espacio Schengen* 'suspensión of the Schengenzone'. It is possible that some of these measures may coincide with the ideological approach of the previously examined parties, but, as opposed to the use of attenuating euphemisms, for example, referring to *cuantas medidas sean necesarias* 'all the necessary measures', the discursive style is direct and rather aggressive.

The examination of the party manifestos of the other two parties, PSOE and UP, which form the so-called progressive block, reveals a very different vision of Spain. The PSOE devotes fewer points to the topic under the heading *El modelo territorial* 'The territorial model' which, unlike what occurs in the other programmes, is not found at the beginning, but towards the end. The allusions to the independence movement are formulated using a milder vocabulary. There are references to *aspiraciones independentistas en Cataluña* 'separatist aspirations in Catalonia' but also to

aventuras independentistas 'separationist adventures' or *derecho de autodetermi-nación* 'the right to self-determination' and the situation is described as a simple *crisis*, with none of the epithets used in the previous programmes. The Constitution is recognised as the base of national legislation and the object of *lealtad institucional* 'institutional loyalty' but there are no other references to national symbols, which are traditionally identified with right-wing ideologies in Spain. With regard to the Spanish language as a national symbol, it is significant that it is not mentioned in this section, whereas other parts of the programme speak of the official State languages. This is also a characteristic of the UP manifesto.

The proposed national model is completely different. They foster the idea of *una España democrática, plural, abierta, europea y moderna* 'a modern, democratic, plural, open, and European Spain', *la España de las autonomías* 'the Spain of the autonomies', with *solidaridad territorial* 'territorial solidarity', el *reconocimiento de las singularidades de los distintos territorios* 'recognition of the uniqueness of the different territories' and with an *organización institucional y territorial adaptada a las peculiaridades de cada comunidad* 'institutional organisation adapted to each community's particular characteristics'. Summing up, they propose *la diversidad en la unidad* 'diversity in unity', appropriating the European Union's well-known slogan. Thus, we can seethe lexical evidence of an ideological approach that attempts to adopt a modern, pro-European model of State, minimising the independence movements to this end (remember that they are called "adventures") and questioning the *pasado centralista* 'centralist past' and the *estado de excepción territorial* 'territorial state of exception' defended by other parties.

The last party analysed, Unidas Podemos (UP) presents a very similar model to the PSOE, but, in addition, it is the political group that gives least attention to the concept of nation, with only two specific sub-sections, which appear in the last part of the programme. There is a brief allusion to Catalan independence, described as the *conflicto catalán* 'Catalan conflict', for which they recommend a *resolución democrática* 'democratic solution', *un proceso de reconciliación* 'a reconciliation process', *diálogo* 'dialogue', *un referéndum pactado* 'an agreed referendum', and *un nuevo encaje para Cataluña en España* 'a new status for Catalonia in Spain'. The concept of nation is also reduced to a few lines and favours the idea of a *país plurinacional* 'plurinational country' in conjunction with *convivencia fraternal* 'fraternal coexistence' and *diálogo* 'dialogue' instead of the *garrotazos* 'clubbings' suggested by other parties. There are no references to the national symbols mentioned in other manifestos.

A brief analysis of the lexicon used in the manifestos of the five most-voted parties in the last Spanish general election is sufficient to observe two different ideological positions as regards the concept of State, identifiable in the varying length at which the subject is dealt with in these programmes. The repercussion

of the pro-independence movements in Catalonia, whose journalistic treatment I have also analysed, constitutes a major factor to define the idea of nation. The development of the issue, its greater or lesser topicalisation in the programme, and the lexical elements used to describe it clearly illustrate, more or less explicitly, the exact ideological positions aimed at receivers who identify with these same positions.

5.   Conclusions

We all interpret the reality around us according to the ideas that make up our ideology or the way we see the world. The different interpretations of the same facts, our different ideological visions, are usually shared by a great number of people. In this regard, the possibility of creating and sharing ideologies with part of the population can undoubtedly be a tool of empowerment.

Furthermore, the transmission of our way of thinking, the communication that characterises us as a species, takes place through language. In this study I have attended to some of these linguistic manifestations, to the mass communications which are established in certain texts in journalistic and political language, starting from the premise that the simple choice of the lexicon used in both types of language to narrate the same facts often implies an ideological vision of reality. Within the framework of critical discourse analysis applied to journalistic language I have compared the treatment of a news item, the unilateral declaration of independence proclaimed by the Catalan government in October 2017 and the reaction of the Spanish government, in mass media aimed at the whole of Spain and in others published in Catalonia to demonstrate that the lexicon used shows different interpretations of the same facts. Whereas the national press insists on the illegal and negative nature of the situation for the country, the Catalan press uses much more attenuated language to establish the existence of a conflict in need of a solution.

As far as political language is concerned, I have examined the treatment of the concept of nation in the electoral manifestos presented by the five most-voted parties in the 2019 general election. In my opinion, the situation in Catalonia has influenced this issue, which has enabled me to observe clear differences in the references to what we understand by Spain: a single State, affirmed in its national symbols in the case of the more conservative parties (with language that is more or less direct), or a plurinational State, similar to the European Union, for the more progressive parties. Again, the analysis of the lexicon facilitates the identification of both ideological positions. Although the analysis of the most frequent lexical elements carried out here clearly shows the differences in the treatment of the same issues, it would be interesting to offer a more detailed analysis of the texts based on the contrast of the most frequent, predominant, or exclusive lexical items, along

with their syntagmatic contexts and their semantic and pragmatic value. Further research could also consider a large selection of texts in the tradition of corpus linguistics, which would allow to draw valid conclusions in quantitative terms.

I would like to conclude by saying that the ideological positioning visible in the lexicon of the media and in the political texts analysed can also be a useful tool for the senders of these messages, who are interested in establishing a clear ideological space, without ambiguities, and in the perlocutionary effect that it produces (newspaper sales in the first case and votes in the second). A message aimed at many receivers able to identify group markers in the discourse which could allow them to adopt a position and interpret the facts without the need to carry out a critical analysis.

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Appendix 1. Electoral programmes

http://www.pp.es/sites/default/files/documentos/programa-electoral-elecciones-generales-2019.pdf

https://www.psoe.es/media-content/2019/04/PSOE-programa-electoral-elecciones-generales-28-de-abril-de-2019.pdf

https://www.voxespana.es/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/100medidasngal_101319181010040327.pdf

https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/programa-electoral

https://podemos.info/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Podemos_programa_generales_28A.pdf

National vs international cartoons depicting Catalonia's independence process in the press

A critical multimodal metaphor approach

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Given the key role played by political metaphors in multimodal discourse, the objective of the study is twofold: first, to contrast the main source domains used by the national and the international press in a sample of political cartoons depicting Catalonia's independence process (September-November 2017). Second, to critically analyse the political and cultural (mis)conceptions behind the cartoons and their potential implications on the international audience's perception of Spain. This study draws upon the groundings of Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal critical discourse analysis and Charteris-Black's critical metaphor analysis in order to address Critical Multimodal Metaphor Analysis. The results show relevant differences in terms of source choice by the international vs. national press, since the former makes use of sources that are absent in the later, and vice versa. This study supports the claim of a critical multimodal metaphor analysis to examine political metaphors in multimodal communication.

Keywords: pictorial metaphor, critical multimodal metaphor analysis, political cartoons, Catalonia's independence process, contrastive studies

1. Introduction

A country's political sphere is of the outmost relevance to all members of society. It is precisely for this reason that the way people are informed becomes a key factor in the way such sphere will affect them and the way they perceive it. In a digital era as the present one, most individuals use the press to be informed, using all the elements involved, both written and visual, i.e., both text and images or cartoons. It is the second element mentioned, cartoons, which is of interest to the present study.

Political cartoons are drawings depicting current affairs that show the artist's views and opinions on them. As El Rafaie (2009: 175) claims, "the purpose of a political cartoon is to represent an aspect of social, cultural or political life in a way that

condenses reality and transforms it in a striking, original and/or humorous way."
As a critical depiction of reality, political cartoons try to convince the audience of
the stand they show or, at least, have an effect on them. They can therefore be con-
sidered as powerful and subtle carriers of persuasion and ideology and constitute
a manipulative device that the cartoonist makes conscious use of.

In fact, ideology is a key concept when it comes to considering the commu-
nicative role of political cartoons. In van Dijk's (1995: 18) words, ideology is to be
understood as "the interface between the cognitive representations and processes
underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and
interests of social groups, on the other hand." As a cognitive phenomenon, ideology
is present in the way we think and the way we act, as it occurs alongside one of the
tenets of this study, conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987,
2006). In their seminal *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson define metaphor
as a cognitive phenomenon that helps us understand the world: as humans, we
conceptualise ideas and concepts through associations, linking domains that are
similar in nature in order to understand one (target domain) in terms of the other
(source domain). Therefore, using a given metaphor to portray any aspect of reality,
being this written or visual, will entail a cognitive process in which there is a link
between the abstract and the understandable.

Following this, cartoons in newspapers and the press make constant use of
metaphors, and the effect they can have deserves critical analysis. Moreover, met-
aphor can perform ideological and persuasive aims in a wide range of discourse
types, as it shapes reality in favour or detriment of certain aspects (Koller 2004,
2009; Hellín-García 2013, this volume; Caballero 2014, Musolff 2016, among oth-
ers). Apart from metaphor, ideology and discourse are also closely related insofar
as they share a reciprocal or dynamic relationship: discourse does not only reflect
ideologies; it also has an influence on the reader and therefore helps to shape and
even change people's judgements. Ideology can be both the determiner and the
consequence of social practices that are reflected in and shape, at the same time,
discourse (Semino 2008).

Over the last years, the study on political cartoons and ideology has prolifer-
ated (Forceville 2008; El Rafaie 2009; Schilperoord and Maes 2009; Negro 2014;
Muelas-Gil 2018, just to mention a few). However, most of these studies focused on
political debates between opponent parties or on the economic crisis suffered by
the country. They have performed isolated analyses of a national or international
event, but, to the best of my knowledge, none of them examines the concrete event
from both the national and the international perspective (for example, Escoriza
Morera, in this volume, contrasts the same political issue as the present one, tak-
ing newspapers from the two parts involved within the same country). That is
precisely the main motivation of this study: to contrast how the same political
event is portrayed differently by the national press of the country in question on

the one hand, where all citizens are affected to a lesser or greater extent, and by the international newspapers, on the other, which are not (usually) so directly or openly conditioned.

In a more general view, a parallel objective of this chapter is to examine the powerful persuasive load of metaphors in political cartoons along the lines of cognitive theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005) in combination with multimodal critical discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). For such purpose and from the tenets of the previously mentioned fields of study, it takes a corpus of national and international depictions of the same political event: the independence process of Catalonia. More specifically, the study takes a multimodal corpus of 17 Spanish cartoons (published by different media sources) and 20 international ones, from several European countries. My goal here is not only to identify multimodal metaphors, but primarily to analyse them from a critical and contrastive approach, not only explaining and interpreting them, but, mainly tackling the potential implications they may have on the receivers.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Sections 2 and 3 review the most relevant and recent studies on metaphor in political discourse, including ideology, persuasion, and manipulation, as well as existing studies on multimodal metaphor and its critical analysis. Next, the political and social background of the study is summarised. After presenting the corpus and the procedures followed to analyse the data, I proceed to interpret the results in the light of recent research on visual and multimodal metaphors in political cartooning. Finally, I provide some concluding remarks.

2.   Metaphor in politics and the media discourse

The discourse of politics alongside metaphor has been largely studied over the last decades (Chilton 1996, 2004; Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Musolff 2004; Semino 2008; Crespo-Fernández 2013, 2018; Neagu 2013; among others) and the latter has proved to be a ubiquitous discourse component of the former. As Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 149) argue, "politics is an area in which we would expect metaphorical expressions to be used. Indeed, political speech is one of the recognised types of classical rhetoric, of which metaphors are an integral part". This ubiquity of metaphor in political discourse is not unusual; indeed, a politician is expected to highlight the positive aspects of himself and the party he represents and, at the same time, downsize or criticise rival politicians. Considering that metaphor is used to highlight certain aspects of reality by one choice of source or another, it is logical that politics makes constant use of its potentially persuasive and manipulative power. This persuasive power of metaphors was already supported by Semino (2008: 86), who stated that "by metaphorically talking about something in terms

of something else, speakers/writers foreground some aspects of the phenomenon in question and downplay others, and therefore potentially affect receivers' view."

Not only is persuasion involved in political discourse, but also and inherently, ideology, another cognitive phenomenon (Goatly 2007; Semino 2008) that appears in political discourse in many shapes, more or less visible to the public. It is generally assumed that metaphors shape the way we talk and think and therefore play a vital role in carrying and reinforcing ideologies, as they "allow us to emphasise some desirable aspects of a concept at the expense of those aspects which we want to keep hidden or out of focus" (Silaški 2012). I argue that persuasion and ideology are therefore linked and often appear together in the same metaphor, as the three of them (persuasion, ideology, and metaphor) are cognitive elements which can be found in discourse. In fact, as Silaški (2012: 216) argues, persuasion and ideology function unconsciously and neatly hidden within metaphors:

> The most effective metaphors are those that are built into the language and mind unconsciously by means of established conventions and serve as perspectivisation and attention-grabbing devices- they highlight certain attitudes, views and opinions, while downplaying some other irrelevant and undesirable aspects of a phenomenon. Thus, apparently harmless metaphors may be an ideologically charged weapon, relying on simple explanations and strong emotional effects.

As already said, political discourse is evidently part of a country's public sphere, which comprises the communicative institutions of a society. Moreover, in line with McNair (2011), mass media is nowadays humans' main source of information and experience, and all social events, including politics, are transferred to the common reader through them. Therefore, it is worth looking at some of the characteristics of media discourse in the field of political communication.

One of the main differences among the different participants in media discourse is best summarised by Koller (2004: 25) when she states that

> while business journalists at least have access to the version provided for them, readers see corporate discourse through the additional lens of the media. Reception of such indirectly produced texts is obviously less easy to control by corporations. Yet, pre-selected information presented in a collaborative way may to some extent anticipate the reception of media texts. In any case, readers are positioned mainly as consumers and their power is restricted to meaning construction in reading.

This somehow unidirectional communicative sphere can be summarised in Figure 1.

When speaking about press or communication, we shall take McNair's (2011) view on the main five functions of the communication media. According to him, they serve the functions of (1) informing citizens of what is happenings; (2) educating them on the significance of such happenings; (3) being a platform for political discourse, which consequently causes or enables public opinion; (4) giving
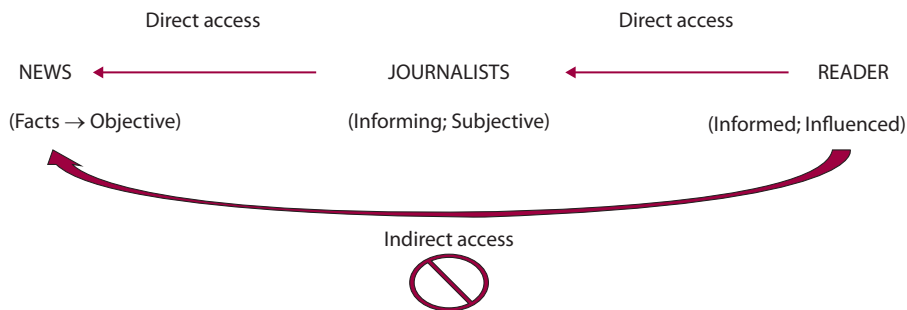
Figure 1. Unidirectional media-discourse communication process

publicity to the government and politicians; and (5) being a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints (2011: 19–20). These five functions make this specific type of discourse of great interest to critical studies and, evidently, considering the ubiquity of metaphor in it, to critical metaphor studies more particularly (see Moragas-Fernández and Capdevila 2017).

In relation with this and with the strong persuasive and ideological power of metaphor that has been aforementioned, Resche (2012: 93) claimed that "journalists take their inspiration from the core metaphorical terms stemming from the root metaphors and extend the metaphors by choosing elements from everyone's experience of everyday life. Obviously, surface metaphors as developed by the press need to find an echo in every reader." In other words, the metaphors used by the journalists (and cartoonists working for a newspapers or a media source) will unavoidable find their echo in the audience. Another key factor influencing the ideological representation on the readers is ideology. As Wolf and Polzenhagen (2003: 268) claim, "ideological patterns may arise from the application of a particular metaphor and the neglect of alternative ones." Cubo de Severino et al. (2001: 220) also refer to this inherent relation between metaphors and strategic ideological purposes by claiming that "the use of metaphors in journalistic discourse is an ideological strategy that masks underlying intentions".

Kress (1989) had already supported this idea decades ago. As he defended, since metaphor is a vehicle that naturalises an abstract, intangible and difficult-to-grasp domain via a more familiar or natural one, if it is a carrier of ideology, it will therefore naturalise the ideology behind the metaphor, the ideology behind the discourse. In other words, if the readers are presented a constant metaphorical construction stating that "A is B", where B (source domain) is something good, then A (target domain) will be naturally related to something positive (to serve as example).

The communicative potential of metaphor will lead us to critically approach figurative language in the following section in order to fully comprehend the motivations of metaphors, on the one hand, and the impact they may have, on the other.

3.   Critical metaphor studies: Towards a multimodal metaphor core

The previous section has focused on metaphors in general; however, it is the multimodal and visual realisation of this discourse tool that matters to the present study. Numerous researches have approached visual and multimodal metaphors and metonymy during the last decades (Phillips and McQuarrie 2004; El Rafaie 2009; Koller 2009; Gkiouzepas and Hogg 2011; Caballero 2014) and its aforementioned persuasive load is what makes it worth of meticulous critical studies. As Charteris-Black (2004, 2005) argues, "metaphor, viewed as a blend of semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions, serves the purpose of influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion." Since then, many studies have critically analysed the use and purpose of metaphor in discourse (Koller 2004, 2009; Hart 2007; Musolff 2012; Crespo-Fernández 2013, 2018). Still, there are not many studies concerning the multimodal aspect; if cartoons show critical perspectives on current situations (Negro 2014) and their critical aspect must be looked closely for the potential implications it may have, there is a need for a new approach to the topic of political metaphor and multimodality, which could be referred to as Critical Multimodal Metaphor Analysis, an approach combining the semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions with the different modes involved in the metaphor (verbal, visual, aural…). This study then aims at supporting this new sub-field of study, which I already refer to in previous works (Muelas-Gil 2018). I depart from the assumption that it is not only the identification, explanation, and interpretation that should be accounted for when analysing multimodal metaphors that imply a broad audience such as the readers of national and international press, but also, and most importantly, the implications. In other words, I shall not only look at the "which" and "why" metaphors as used, but also at the "so what" they convey.

4.   Political and social background: Catalonia's independence process

Before presenting the methodology followed in this study, it is important to refer to the social and political background of Catalonia's independence. It has been a long on-going process during which some politicians of the autonomous community of Catalonia have tried to claim the complete independence of this region from mainland Spain, and which has divided opinions not only within the borders of the community but also in the country as a whole. This conflict has led to a heated debate and has meant prison for some pro-independence Catalan politicians. However, for practical reasons, I shall focus on the key events that led to the situation described in my corpus.

The New Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia was signed in 2005; three years later, the European financial crisis affected many countries, including Spain; this financial crisis would impregnate the country at all levels, and it actually highlighted the fiscal deficit of the central administration of this community (Guibernau 2013). In 2010, there were certain changes to the Spanish Constitution that would fuel this raising tension in Catalonia, as it refused to claim that it was a nation as the instigators of the movement were defending; moreover, one of the main figures of the movement was elected as President of Catalonia, Artur Mas, who was in strong favour of its independence and was supported by the first demonstrations in Barcelona that same year, claiming "som una nació. Nosaltres decidim" (Catalan for 'we are a nation. We decide'). From them, as Liñeira and Cetrà (2015: 263) point out, "any reform to enhance self-government and the recognition of Catalonia's national distinctiveness looked less likely (…), damaging the political opportunities of those groups in favour of a federal reform of the constitutional framework (…)."

However, the biggest demonstration and what is considered to be a turning point would not occur until 2012, and two years later, in 2014, the heads of the movement started to ask for a referendum or public vote in order to ask citizens whether they wished for such independence or not. Even though the former Spanish government (led by Mariano Rajoy at that time, whose discourse was very restrictive and clear on the subject) rejected the idea, an illegal referendum was held anyway, according to which 41,6% of Catalonia's population voted, 80,8% of them saying "yes" to independence[1] still, the Spanish court would not recognise such event or results. New elections were held in 2016, and a new President, Carles Puigdemont was elected, who strongly defended and proclaimed the independence. His announcement of another referendum to be held on October 1st 2017 is the prelude of the events under study here, as it would bring a very hostile ambience both at the political sphere and in the streets, which would end in a heated confrontation on that date. Different opinions were deduced from it, when 40,2% of Catalan citizens participated and 90% of them voted "yes" again;[2] on the one hand Puigdemont claimed that "Catalans have earned their right to be a Republic".[3] On the other, Rajoy denied that there had been a referendum at all.[4]

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1.   http://www.participa2014.cat/resultats/dades/en/escr-tot.html (last accessed August 15, 2019).

2.   https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/10/02/catalunya/1506898063_586836.html (last accessed August 15, 2019).

3.   http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/programa/discurso-puigdemont-integro/4248337/ (last accessed August 15, 2019).

4.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTux1geWWFI (last accessed August 15, 2019).

Leaving politicians' opinions aside, October 1, 2017 was a crucial date for the community and country's recent history, and the form that communication technologies described or talked about would also become crucial. As has been commented in the previous section, media resources become a key transmitter of current affairs as they serve the functions of informing and educating the audience on what is happening in the world. Therefore, the discourse that communication media used to talk about the conflict arisen from the independence process as a whole, and from October 1 in particular, became critical as well as its consequences on the readers (Moragas-Fernández and Capdevila 2017); this is in line with Castelló (2012: 7), who claims that "the communication of the conflict constitutes the conflict itself."

Although previous studies on this topic, such as Alonso Muñoz (2014), Rico and Liñeira (2014), Moragas-Fernández and Capdevilla (2017), or Escoriza Morera (this volume) mainly focused on the way communication media reported on the process from a national perspective, analysing national newspapers alone, there are not many of them considering the way international media report it, apart from Perales-García and Pont-Sorribes (2017) who analyse the discourse of the international press. The following sections show how this study combines and contrasts both.

5.   Data and methodology

Considering both national and international cartoons, the focus of this study is not the ideological side of the newspapers, meaning it is not whether they agree with the process or not that matters as a selection criterion; on the contrary, varied ideological sources are considered. All the Spanish sources are published in European (or Castilian) Spanish – the Spanish common language – and in the mainland, which meant they are bound to be affected by the Government's and main politicians' ideology. The fact that most political parties in Spain are against the independence of Catalonia is highly significant. As for the international sources, different languages are used (English, German, or French, among others).

It is important to note here that the source of data that has been constantly mentioned along the chapter are newspapers; however, it shall be specified now that not only the most widely-read newspapers or sources were considered, as one of the features of internet communication is the facility to access any website. To be more concrete, the first step in the data extraction was typing "Catalonia' s independence process" (in both languages) on Google's image search tool, and the first two pages given by this tool were taken for a first pre-analysis. Considering the tool shows them in terms of visits and spreading, I shall deduce those cartoons were the most widely visited and seen during that timeframe. Then, all cartoons depicting the process were downloaded and taken for the analysis independently

of their readership or scope; most of them were directly linked to a newspaper, but others had been published on other media sites (such as Twitter or .txt) yet signed by journalists attached to a newspapers or publishing house. Although the total number of cartoons originally retrieved was much higher, and we acknowledge the existence of further cartoons which were not found by the searching tool during the timeframe of the study, the final corpus under study consists of 37 cartoons: 17 cartoons from different Spanish communication sources and 20 cartoons retrieved from international media sites. All of them were published during the months surrounding October 1, 2017 (this date was taken as the threshold as it was a turning point in the process as already introduced). The links to these cartoons are gathered in Appendix 1 (Spanish cartoons) and Appendix 2 (international cartoons).

Concerning the methodology followed in this study, it consists in a meticulously staged process as it involves different steps for each part of the analysis. To begin with, the first parts of the analysis involve individual analysis of each corpus, while the contrastive part needs to be observed in combination. The steps followed can be summarised in Figure 2, and are later explained in brief:
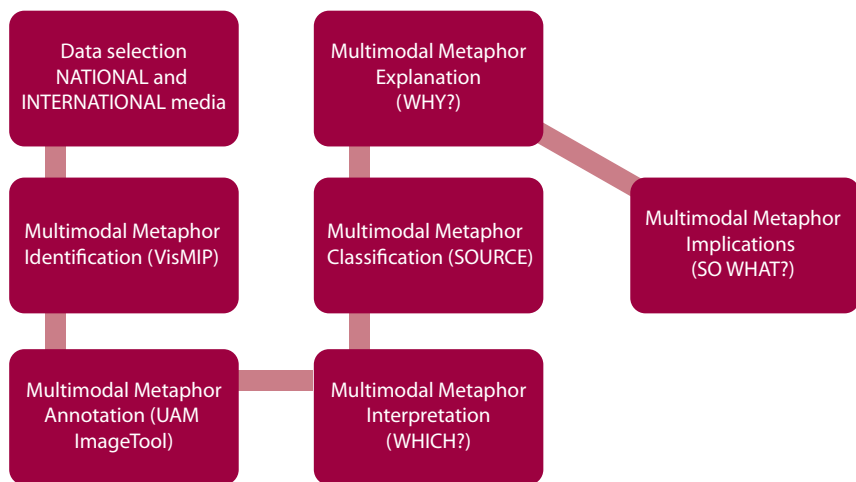
Figure 2. Steps followed in the analysis of the corpus

The data selection has already been explained; the total number of cartoons would undergo a metaphor identification process afterwards. This was done following the Visual Metaphor Identification Procedure (VisMIP henceforth), introduced by Šorm and Steen (2018) and based on the assumption that the metaphors found in images contain incongruous elements that we need to replace by other congruous, feasible ones. It is actually such incongruities that create the humorous effect in political cartoons, since they deceive the eye and the way readers/viewers perceive the cartoon

and the event/people this depicts. The steps to apply a visual that is potentially met-aphorical or that may contain metaphors are the following (Šorm and Steen 2018):

1. Establish general understanding.
   1a. Describe denotative representational meaning.
   1b. Search cues to symbolic, connotative meaning (abstract concepts/features).
   1c. Describe argumentation (standpoint) and general topic.
2. Structure conceptual/semantic roles of the units.
3. Find incongruous visual units. Distinguish topic incongruous from property incongruous.
4. Test whether the incongruities are integrated in the topic by comparison with something else. Is there a unit or property that would be literal (congruous with the topic)?
5. Test if comparison is cross-domain (to exclude metonymy).
6. Test if comparison is indirect discourse.
7. If 4–5–6-are true, then mark visual metaphor.

This identification tool turns very useful mainly in those cases in which it is doubt-able whether an element is metaphorically used or if, on the contrary, its use is conventionalised and therefore no longer metaphorical. By applying this systematic procedure, the researcher does not simply rely on introspection and suspicion, as even the most expert on visual metaphors could be misled, making the outcomes more reliable.

Once all the cartoons were separated according to whether they contained met-aphor(s) or not, the total number forming both corpora (Spanish and international, as mentioned above) would undergo a subsequent process of metaphor annotation, i.e., I specifically annotate the domains found in each visual compound. This stage was performed using *UAM Image Tool*(O'Donnell 2008), which served very useful for the analysis and would facilitate the following stages.

The interpretation and explanation of multimodal metaphor can be summa-rised in three questions words: the "which", the "why", and the "so what", which are depicted in the aforementioned figure and which are based on the tenets of Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis. He adopts a three-step method: identification, interpretation, and explanation of conceptual metaphors. The first has already been commented and done thanks to VisMIP. Metaphor inter-pretation refers to the analysis of the relationships between the potential metaphors identified in the previous step and the cognitive elements they are embedded in; this would refer to the "which" question word applied in the present study. In other words, I identify which elements are being metaphorically portrayed and which elements are being used in the link between the two domains (target and source). This was partially done during the annotation, but would need a separate second

analysis. Finally, an analytical approach needs to explain "why" a given metaphor is preferred to another. In order to solve this, following Wei (2016: 94), "the analysts need to identify the social agency that is involved in the production of metaphoric expressions and their social role in persuasion, that is to say, the ideological and rhetorical motivation of a metaphorical expression." The explanations obtained should then reveal "understanding or thought patterns which construct people's beliefs and actions" (Cameron and Low 1999: 88). This is the most critical part as it takes ideology and the potentially persuasive load and tries to explain how they have motivated the cartoonist to use the metaphors in question.

However, it is the last step of the procedure that seems to be the least studied so far, the "so what"; in other words, the implications that the metaphors in question can have on the audience. This is supported by Charteris-Black (2004: 252), who argues that metaphors enable us to challenge existing ways of thinking and feeling about human behaviour and its relation to language, and they also help us to present "alternative ways of thinking and feeling about the world."

Finally, it is important to note that the first three stages of the analysis (identification, annotation, and interpretation) were performed in each corpora individually and separately; however, Spanish and English cartoons were addressed together in the more contrastive stages, i.e., their explanation and potential implications in the audience. The results are thus presented in turn following this division in the next section.

6.   Results and discussion

6.1   Metaphor identification, annotation, and interpretation

After identifying all the visual and multimodal metaphors of the Spanish corpus, all the annotated conceptual metaphors are summarised in Table 1. As observed, the more specific metaphorical instantiations appear on the left side of the table and they are then grouped into a more generic category that serves as an interpretation of them as a whole, depicted on the right side.

I decided to categorise them into three different sub-groups, according to the source domain they were using to depict the independence process. In the first group (Cartoons 1 to 5, see Appendix 1),[5] the Spanish government (represented by either its politicians or the Spanish flag) is metaphorically represented as a tank

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5.   As observed in Appendix 1, the cartoons have been referenced by a link to the source they were retrieved from. Due to copyright reasons, it has not been possible to include all 37 cartoons in this paper.

Table 1. Metaphors found in the Spanish cartoons

SPANISH MEDIA		
SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS A TANK CATALANS ARE OPPRESSED PEACEMAKERS SPANISH FLAG IS A NIGHTSTICK BALLOT BOXES ARE WEAPONS	⎤	GOVERNMENT IS THE STRONG FORCE **CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM**
NATIONALISM IS A PARALLEL REALITY PUIGDEMONT IS A STUBBORN STUDENT PUIGDEMONT IS A DREAMER NATIONALISM IS ALICE IN WONDERLAND	⎤	NATIONALISM IS AN ILLUSION → (NO VICTIMS?)
INDEPENDENCE PROCESS IS A TRAIN CRASH INDEPENDENCE PROCESS IS A CLIFF INDEPENDENCE PROCESS IS A TRAIN FALLING DOWN THE CLIFF	⎤	BOTH SIDES ARE THE CAUSE AND THE VICTIM

and as an oppressing weapon, fighting another weapon, the ballot boxes used by the Catalans to vote during the referendum held on October 1. A potential interpretation of these sources is that Catalonia is trying to make peace and is more calmed than its opponent (Spain), who is brutally fighting and oppressing it. This is why these cartoons seem to be saying that Catalonia is the victim of the conflict.

However, a very different view is given by the second sub-group of cartoons (Cartoons 6 to 10), in which the Catalans (or its ideal of nationalism and its main representative at the time, Puigdemont) are represented as dreamers and illusive (being depicted as the Statue of Liberty or Napoleon) or as enraged, rebel children. The source of Alice in Wonderland is also used, referring to the fantasy of these ideals. These source domains are more in line with the Spanish denying stance, claiming that the referendum did not take place at all and that all attempts of an independent Catalonia are delusional and naïve. In this case, there seem to be no victims and a more peaceful tone depicted.

Finally, the last sub-group of cartoons (Cartoons 11 to 17) coincide in the use of the same source domains: the clashing train and the cliff. In some of them (11, 12, 13), each part is represented as a train, and its either they are going to crash each other or at least Catalonia's train is. In others (14, 15, 16), the use of a cliff as a source domain depicts the fatal ending of the conflict, meaning there is a huge abysm dug by both parts; however, there is a reference to Catalonia being the part that is going to fall after all. Finally, Cartoon (17) combines both sources, showing both representative politicians (Rajoy and Puigdemont) on parallel train bound for the same destination: a cliff. A possible interpretation of these cartoons is that both side are equally responsible of the tensions and the fatal envisaged ending, as both forces, being trains, are going to crash and therefore suffer the same, even if Catalonia seems to be somehow destined for an even worse ending. Then, both parts are represented as the victims but also as the cause of such situation.

Concerning the international corpus (see Appendix 2), the cartoons were retrieved from different sources and in different languages, such as the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, or the United Arab Emirates, among others. The results obtained from the metaphor identification and annotation process appear on the left side of Table 2, and the metaphor interpretation results, on the right:

Table 2. Metaphors found in the international corpus

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA	
SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS A TANK / WAR PLANE CATALONIA IS KING KONG BEING KILLED CATALONIA IS A SMALLER WEAPON BEING DEFEATED	CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM
CATALONIA'S INDEPENDENCE IS BULLFIGHT → POLICE (SPANISH GOVERNMENT) IS A MATADOR → CATALONIA IS THE FIERCE BULL TO BE KILLED	CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM
SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS SATURN DEVOURING ITS OWN SON (CATALONIA) NATIONALISM IS SATURN DEVOURING ITS OWN SON (CATALONIA) → CATALONIA IS THE SON BEING DEVOURED	CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM
SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS DON QUIXOTE KILLING HIMSELF CARLES PUIGDEMONT IS DON QUIXOTE KILLING HIMSELF	BOTH SIDES ARE VICTIMS
CATALONIA'S INDEPENDENCE IS A SECOND CIVIL WAR → CATALANS ARE POPULATION KILLED	CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM
FAMILY: → CATALONIA IS AN ABUSED CHILD (VICTIM) → SPAIN IS AN OVERCONTROLLING/ABUSSIVE PARENT(CAUSE) → EUROPEAN UNION IS AN IMPASSIVE OBSERVER	CATALONIA IS THE VICTIM

The international corpus shows a wider variety in terms of source choice, mainly at the more specific or particular levels. As observed, the outcomes have been divided into different categories, also according to the source they contain. To begin with, the first sub-group of cartoons (18 to 20) show the Spanish government metaphorically represented as a tank (appearing twice) or as war planes; on the other hand, Catalonia is the small weapon against the tank, the buildings being crashed by it, or the *King Kong* or monster facing the planes, who is going to fall and die anyway. In any case, the interpretation of this common reference to war is that Spain is the oppressing force here, while Catalonia is the victim.

The second set of cartoons (21 to 27) share bullfighting, a very Spanish cultural component, as a common source; within a bullfight, there are two sides: the bull, which is incited by the other side, the *matador* 'bullfighter' (literal translation of 'killer' in Spanish). In all the cartoons of the corpus found within this topic, the former is the source used to refer to Catalonia, the independentism or the referendum itself; on the other hand, the *matador* is the source preferred in all cases to portray the Spanish government and forces. Again, knowing the fate of all bulls entering the ring, they are bound to be killed; therefore, this can be interpreted again as a portrayal of Catalonia (and all it represents) being the victim and Spain the oppressing force.

This interpretation can also derive from the next sub-group of cartoons, which take another cultural element as the topic: Spanish art. To begin with, Goya's famous

painting of *Saturn Devouring His Own Son* is the motif of the first subset of cartoons (28 and 29). This is a very interesting choice, as the two parts are not the same in both cartoons. While in the first one, the source of Saturn is the Spanish police force (representing the Government's interests), in the second, this is used to refer to the Nationalism itself; however, the child being devoured is the same in both cases: Catalonia and Catalans. Therefore, even if the oppressing (or devouring) force is different this time, the final interpretation is the same again: Catalonia is the victim.

Don Quixote de la Mancha is the second piece of Spanish art used as the motif (Cartoons 30 and 31). In this case, the main protagonist, Don Quixote, is the source domain but in different ways as well. While in Bertram's cartoon, Spanish president Rajoy is the mad knight and he is killing himself, de Schot shows Puigdemont as the delusional knight instead, also suiciding himself. The interpretation of this particular use of source may be that both sides are the victims, since the ending of both, depicted as mad men (I shall note here that Cervantes's Don Quixote became mad after all), is death.

The last artistic or cultural element used as the theme is the Spanish Civil War. Cartoon 32 takes Robert Capa's famous picture to portray a fighter taken down by a shooter, who in this case are the Spanish police forces; in the second one (Cartoon 33), Picasso's Guernica is the theme, and the population that is being bombed (and destroyed) is Catalonia. These last depictions of the group can trace two different interpretations, which can complement each other. First, the fact that they use the Spanish Civil War as a motif is a reason to believe that Catalonia's independence process conflict has become a second civil war indeed; second, both of them show Spain as the main oppressing, killing force, showing Catalonia as the main victim again.

Finally, the last common generic source or topic used in the international corpus is the family scenario (Cartoons 34 to 37) and they all depict a common source: the controlling parent or force. In fact, there are three main parts depicted in this set. On the one hand, there is Spain, represented by either the flag or the president himself; this target is metaphorically represented as a parent who is over-controlling and even abusing, threatening, punishing, and even choking his own child. This abused child is the source used to represent metaphorically the second target, Catalonia. The third part shown in all these cartoons is the European Union, whom the child seems to be trying to call for help, but which is shown as an impassive observer ignoring what is happening in this conflict. Therefore, three different interpretations can be deduced: first, Catalonia is the main victim of the situation, while the Spanish government is the oppressor, and the European Union is ignoring what is happening within the national borders.

In sum, the Spanish corpora seems to vary to a considerable extent in terms of source choice and also in terms of who is depicted as the victim or the cause. These

outcomes may not seem very representative, but it is necessary to contrast them to those obtained from the international corpora in order to note the relevance of the metaphors used and the implications they may have. In contrast, the outcomes of the analysis of the international corpora show a much higher level of agreement (in terms of who is interpreted as the victim or the oppressor). In other words, there is a much clearer portrayal of the Spanish government as the strong, oppressing force, while Catalonia is depicted as the helpless victim in most cases. While there are occasions on which both parts are suffering, there is no reference whatsoever to Spain being a victim at all, or even independentism being unrealistic; quite the opposite, they seem to be showing a very realistic and critical ambience. When compared to the outcomes of the Spanish corpora, there are important differences to remark. It is precisely for this reason that a critical explanation of the results is given next, alongside their potential implications in the national and international audience, respectively.

6.2   Metaphor explanation and implications

Once all the metaphors were interpreted, the last critical steps of the analysis attempt to explain why the metaphors in question were chosen in each case, as well as to address the consequences their use can have. In order to facilitate this, Table 3 summarises the main motifs, topics, or source domain used by both corpora. This table shall be taken as reference for the last two stages.

Table 3. Main motifs and sources of the study

SPANISH MEDIA	INTERNATIONAL MEDIA
WAR → TANKS AND WEAPONS FANTASY AND ILLUSION TRAIN CRASH (ACCIDENT) CLIFF (NATURAL FORCES)	WAR → TANKS AND WEAPONS BULLFIGHTING CANNIBALISM SUICIDE CIVIL WAR ABUSSIVE PARENT

To begin with the "why", or the explanation of the metaphor choices in this study, I shall refer back to one of the main tenets previously introduced: persuasion. As explained, journalists' and cartoonists' metaphor preference has a reason behind; moreover, metaphors are a good weapon to portray such persuasive reason, and that is why they need to be carefully chosen (see references in Section 2). The fact that the Spanish cartoonists choose sources that portray both sides as victims and Catalonia's independence defenders as delusional and dreamers can hide different objectives behind.

First, they seem to be hiding the process, even showing it as fantasy and unrealistic; second, they seem to want to show both sides as sufferers of the conflict, as if there were not winners at all. The crashing trains' source is used to portray the conflict as an accident, meaning that if no part brakes, everyone is going to suffer the consequences. This is similar with the cliff source; natural scenarios seem to give the idea that there is nothing to do about it, as nature is nature and Catalans are bound to falling unless the situation changes, but there is no oppressing force pushing them. There is in fact reference to a more warlike scenario, using tanks and weapons as sources and showing the Spanish government as the strongest side in this case, but in a more peaceful way than the international counterparts. Another potential explanation of the metaphor choice here is that of trying to deviate the Spanish citizens' attention from the topic, as if it was not that important or that violent as it appears (somehow reflecting Rajoy's denial of the referendum and the independentism at all).

On their side, international cartoons show a crueller scenario as a whole. The war sources are also used, but this time the victim is much more clearly Catalonia; this is also the case in the bullfighting scenario, as well as the cannibalism, the civil war, the mad knight's suicide or the abusive parent. The fact that the international cartoonists prefer much more negative and violent sources may have different explanations. On one side, there is a somehow clear stand towards who the victim is and whom the oppressing force. Therefore, they are being much more critical of the conflict, informing Europe and the world; they are also making a wake-up call of the situation by the choice of aggressive scenarios and trying to bring Europe's attention on the seriousness of the conflict. This seriousness is reflected by the recurrent use of the cultural aspect, mainly the bullfighting source, where there is blood and death involved. Finally, there is another call made to the European Union somehow, as they are depicted as an ignoring observer, whereas they should be acting and advocating for a peaceful resolution of the situation.

The previous explanations of the metaphor choice are based on the persuasive power of metaphors and on the objectives pursued by the cartoonists, journalists, and newspapers in general. However, there is yet another part to be considered in this communication process: the audience. It is important to tackle the matter of what the implications are with each metaphor choice, in line with Semino's (2008) aforementioned words. If the audience is constantly presented with the same scenario and a source becomes dominant, this will end up being the norm for the listeners and readers. In other words, if a person always sees (for example) Catalonia as a rebel, naïve, and delusional child who is asking for something impossible, this will be the conventionalised idea for him/her. On the contrary, if another viewer always sees this community as the suffering part of an oppressing force, being this

Spain, then he/she will develop the idea that Catalonia is helpless and needs to be understood and helped, to mention an example. It is precisely these potential implications on the audience's minds and their reactions that have not been faced in previous works so much, and this study has tried to address them. I shall not stop at the "why" a metaphor creator chooses one source, but continue with the perception within the receiver.

To begin with the Spanish outcomes and the more passive source choice, the Spanish readers or viewers can develop the idea that Catalans are just dreamers and they are to be left dreaming, hoping for something that is not going to happen. Also, they can also feel that there is nothing to do about it, as they are going to crash and fall after all; therefore, the implications of the metaphor choice is that Spanish people should leave the conflict apart and listen to the politicians' views. On the other hand, there is a major potential impact of the international cartoons; by showing Catalonia as the victim, this can develop a feeling of compassion and understanding on the viewers, who may be led to think that Spanish government is being very restrictive and authoritarian. The use of violence and cruelty can strongly shape the international audience's opinion against Rajoy and his followers, as well as against the European Union, who is doing nothing to solve the problem.

According to Deignan's (2005) view, public perception of issues and events can be very strongly shaped by the dominant metaphors, and this is why another step should be added to a critical multimodal metaphor analysis, as this study has tried to do. Figure 3 reflects all the steps, including the last one that shall be added to all critical approaches to multimodal metaphor analysis.

| IDENTIFICATION (Where?) | INTERPRETATION (Which?) | CLASSIFICATION (What?) | EXPLANATION (Why?) | IMPLICATIONS (So what?) |

Figure 3. Suggestions of steps in Critical Multimodal Metaphor Analysis

This study thus advocates for a revision of the existing approach of critical metaphor analysis in its multimodal version; in other words, I believe that it is necessary to add a fifth layer, as shown in Figure 3, in order to fully comprehend the implications of the previously identified, interpreted, classified, and explained metaphors.

7. Conclusions and further steps

The present chapter has presented a contrastive study of multimodal metaphors used in cartoons published by the Spanish national press and different international sources, all of them informing about the same political event: the independence process of Catalonia and, more specifically, the days surrounding the referendum held on October 1, 2017. This has been done following a systematic procedure that has combined various existing methods in order to retrieve, identify, and annotate metaphor, first, but also interpret and explain its use.

Although previous studies had already approached multimodal metaphor in different fields and critical metaphor studies are also widespread, the results obtained try to shed some more light on the combination of both branches, by performing a critical study of the multimodal metaphors found. Moreover, this study can contribute to the research on the potential implications that using a given metaphor can have on the audience. More specifically, the analysis has revealed that the impact on the audience is different depending on each source: national newspapers have proved to be more passive than international ones, which are more dramatic on the issue and seemed to attract people's attention to the conflict, while its counterpart is doing the opposite.

The use of the different source suggests that I shall not only look at ideology as one of the instigators of persuasive strategies through metaphor; apart from this, cultural motifs have been recurrent. To be more specific, sources like bullfighting, the Civil War, or cannibalism serve as powerful tools to persuade the viewers on the seriousness of the conflict and therefore draw their attention towards it.

However, there have been certain limitations during the study. To begin with, there is no previous literature, to the best of my knowledge, that addresses political cartoons from the perspective of the audience, and therefore there is no reference to the real response caused by the dominant metaphors. Future studies should focus the approach following the so-called "response-elicitation approach" (or REA) (Robins and Mayer 2000; Sopory 2008), a method that actually examines how people respond to a metaphorically framed issue. In fact, a combination of both CMA and REA would be the most reliable approach towards this kind of studies in order to first, explain why metaphor are used, and second, to understand how they affect the target audience.

As explained, the ideology of the newspapers was not originally taken as a selection criterion to retrieve the cartoons, as it was the origin that mattered. However, future studies of this nature should also look at this factor in order to compare not only international but also intranational differences. Moreover, Catalonia's independence is an on-going process that has been occurring for many years and it is still a reality in the country. In view of this, another motivation for future critical

studies of political cartoons on this topic would be to offer a diachronic comparison of the metaphors used alongside the entire process.

Finally, another common limitation of critical metaphor studies performed by one researcher is that, even if a well-known and widely tested method like visMIP is applied, the last interpretation depends mainly on the researcher's intuition and this, regardless of the background and expertise, may differ from another researcher's viewpoint. Thus, an ideal future extension of this project or any other of the like should be performed by a team of researchers so that inter-rater tests could be applied to obtain higher degrees of reliability and replicability.

In spite of such limitations and to conclude, this study has tried to extend the original method of critical metaphor studies of political cartoons by introducing a final step to the process, that of trying to understand the effect that dominant metaphors can have. Still, there can be other different approaches to this, and it is the responsibility of scholars to shed some more light to make such method as reliable as possible.

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Appendix 1. List of links to the Spanish cartoons

Cartoon 1:	http://danigove.com/portfolio-item/el-jueves/
Cartoon 2:	https://ctxt.es/es/20170920/Multimedia/15122/Ctxt-Pedripol-vi%C3%B1etas-Catalu%C3%B1a-1-O-PP-155.htm
Cartoon 3:	https://twitter.com/Dani_Gove/status/914463341833269249/photo/1?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E914463341833269249…ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fverne.elpais.com%2Fverne%2F2017%2F10%2F02%2Farticulo%2F1506937096_501156.html
Cartoon 4:	https://www.eldiario.es/clm/urna_10_693730621.html
Cartoon 5:	https://twitter.com/ferranmartin/status/914631167529426944/photo/1?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E914631167529426944…ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fverne.elpais.com%2Fverne%2F2017%2F10%2F02%2Farticulo%2F1506937096_501156.html
Cartoon 6:	https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/13/opinion/1507907715_257196.html
Cartoon 7:	https://abcblogs.abc.es/el-sacapuntas/otros-temas/vineta-del-dia-201017.html
Cartoon 8:	http://vinetaspararareirypensar.blogspot.com/2017/10/carles-puigdemont-se-creyo-que-podia.html
Cartoon 9:	https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-debe-hacer-gobierno-para-frenar-independentistas-columnistas-abc-responden-201710050338_noticia.html
Cartoon 10:	https://abcblogs.abc.es/fe-de-ratas/vinetas/pagina/36/
Cartoon 11:	https://abcblogs.abc.es/fe-de-ratas/vinetas/jueves-14-de-septiembre.html
Cartoon 12:	https://www.20minutos.es/opiniones/malagon-vineta-choque-trenes-3141095/
Cartoon 13:	https://www.20minutos.es/opiniones/vineta-superantipatico-choque-trenes-cataluna-3093236/
Cartoon 14:	https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/01/21/vinetas/1390320174_187050.html
Cartoon 15:	https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/05/opinion/1507214973_413043.html
Cartoon 16:	http://www.cazarabet.com/exposiciones/enriqueflores/enriqueflores(5).jpg
Cartoon 17:	http://www.gurbrevista.com/2017/09/directos-al-precipicio/

Appendix 2. Links to the international cartoons

Cartoon 18:   http://cuestionatelotodo.blogspot.com/2018/04/seleccion-de-vinetas-criticas-contra-la.html

Cartoon 19:   https://www.elnacional.cat/en/news/cartoon-telegraph-catalonia-sagrada-familia_203793_102.html

Cartoon 20:   http://www.tjeerdroyaards.com/duel

Cartoon 21:   https://www.facebook.com/tedharrisonartist/

Cartoon 22:   https://www.cagle.com/jos-collignon/2017/10/cataluna-libre

Cartoon 23:   https://www.cagle.com/schot/2017/10/referendum-spain

Cartoon 24:   http://beyondthepale-dvora.blogspot.com/2017/10/

Cartoon 25:   https://www.politico.eu/interactive/catalonia-independence-referendum-afd-germany-elections-angela-merkel-far-right-emmanuel-macron-european-union-cartoon/

Cartoon 26:   https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/cartoon/cartoon-for-october-5-2017-1.664158

Cartoon 27:   http://trinitynews.ie/2017/10/fc-barcelona-in-an-independent-catalonia/

Cartoon 28:   https://www.afr.com/opinion/in-spain-another-painful-lesson-in-political-risk-20171002-gysr6s

Cartoon 29:   https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/opinion/catalonia-spain-independence.html

Cartoon 30:   https://voxeurop.eu/en/2017/europe-and-catalan-referendum-5121462

Cartoon 31:   https://www.cagle.com/schot/2017/10/catalonia-independence-2

Cartoon 32:   https://saltimbanquiclicclic.blogspot.com/2017/10/asi-ha-visto-telegraph-el-referendum-de.html

Cartoon 33:   https://twitter.com/rloppenheimer/status/914602569485492224

Cartoon 34:   https://www.toonpool.com/cartoons/Catalonia%20and%20Europe_300883

Cartoon 35:   https://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon_if/43379

Cartoon 36:   https://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/43673

Cartoon 37:   https://www.toonpool.com/cartoons/Madrid%20Versus%20Catalonia_299711

A corpus-assisted qualitative approach to political discourse in Spanish print and digital press

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News discourse nowadays is generally regarded as a means for the transmission of ideology and other predefined ideas, usually related to political viewpoints and, therefore, political discourses. From this standpoint (widely discussed by van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak, among others), I intend to achieve an adequate qualitative description of conceptual networks and some general patterns of persuasive communicative goals throughout data obtained from written pieces of discourse in Spanish media, focusing my attention on a series of key words, frequently used by politicians and reproduced by the media, previously gathered from Spanish main parties' electoral programs. My assumption is that, being involved with political ideology, patterns found within news discourse support the idea that a positive or a negative position is defended regarding those contents represented by said key words.

Keywords: news discourse, ideology, polarisation, political discourse, political key words

1. Introduction

News discourse has emerged during the past decades as a powerful means for the transmission of political messages. Such statement is supported by a huge amount of investigations and findings in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in which scholars and specialists have widely proved how closely-related both ambits are, in terms of power, ideology, and social cognition (van Dijk 1991, 2003). This, itself, is a state of affairs that could be taken for granted (see, for instance, Bell 1998: 59), but that must also be confronted to real data by means of scientific

observation. Fairclough, Wodak, and van Dijk, among others, have done so, as a result of which we can count on a number of investigations in which discourse topics, discourse genres, communicative ambits, and different sets of relationships between social groups are meticulously analysed and described, and in which conclusions are drawn to demonstrate that the social cognition of reality is influenced to a high degree by discourses produced through public communication in general, and through mass media in particular. Particularly, besides the seminal works by van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough (1995), more recent critical discourse studies support the relationship between the press and social dominance in a range of issues such as ideology (van Dijk 2014; Fairclough 2017), methodological matters (Krzyżanowski 2016; Reisigl 2018), the language and discourses of politicians (Wodak 2011; Crespo-Fernández 2018; Wodak and Forchtner 2018), power and discourse (van Dijk 2010), and so on.

Following this idea, based in mere pragmatic principles, a quick overview of the different ways in which text types take form through discourse genres clearly shows that communicative intentions, from a pragmatic perspective, do not always coincide with communicative goals pursued in actual discourse, especially if we focus our attention in certain social contexts, regarded or identified as specific communicative situations (e.g., journalism, politics, advertising, etc.). That is the key aspect involved in what many name as "linguistic manipulation" that in my opinion bottoms down to the pragmatic principle of indirect speech.

In fact, also from a pragmatic point of view, Fuentes Rodríguez (2016: 42–43) stresses the argumentative characteristic of political discourse, as well as its persuasive goals, while Casado Velarde (2008: 71–72), with regard to journalistic discourse, believes that the so called "news discourse" ('géneros informativos' in Spanish) is even more dependent on editorial policies and ideological premises than interpretative genres, concluding that "[t]odo en la prensa es argumentación, persuasion" 'everything in press, is argumentation, persuasion'.

From this standpoint, I have conducted an analysis of a set of given key words or symbolic words (and their variants) obtained from written pieces of discourse in Spanish media found in newspapers, mostly in their digital issues. These key words originally proceed from political discourse, as it has also been verified after a previous scouting through written pieces of political discourse, specifically electoral programs, in search of said vocabulary. From a methodological point of view, a quantitative analysis of the data gathered was carried out to account for words' frequency, which allowed me to achieve my main objective, to identify and to describe the configuration of conceptual networks and patterns of persuasive communication through the qualitative analysis of the co-occurrences and combinations of these key words with other words (see Biber, Connor, and Upton 2007 and Breeze, this volume, on similar methodological aspects).

My previous assumption was that, being involved with political ideology, we should be able to find recognisable patterns within lexical selections in news discourses, as a means of the transmission of these ideological conceptual frames or "macrostructures" (van Dijk 1980). Such patterns must support the idea that a positive or a negative position is defended regarding those contents represented by the corresponding lexical selections, or key words as I have named them. This said assumption is closely related to recent trends in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) by which analysis of discourses are "dominated by concepts and conceptualization processes", as Krzyżanowski (2016: 310) explains. Within the analytical framework of the history of concepts, *Begriffsgeschichte*, key words[1] here can be therefore considered as representations, within "semantic fields" (Krzyżanowski 2016: 313), of those contents, that is, as lexical variants used as a means for the recontextualisation of ideas and the reconstruction of society in a conceptually-oriented building of discourses.

2. Theoretical background: Discourse analysis, pragmatics, and lexical semantics

With regard to the theoretical foundations of our investigation, I am strongly influenced by the findings and advances recalled previously in the field of CDA. Among others, van Dijk (1999: 24–25, 2001: 353), following Fairclough and Wodak's proposal, summarises the basic principles of CDA. These pinpoint the relations in which power, ideology, and society are engaged, particularly by means of discourse.

Although all of those principles must be present and are, therefore, compulsory for an adequate critical analysis of discourse in the context of public communication, I will focus my discussion now in the so called Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which, in Reisigl's (2018: 49) words, "puts weight on historical subjects and on the historical anchoring". However, other principles regarding the fact that the link between society and discourse is mediated, i.e., through public communication and news discourse, or that discourse is a means for the support and fostering of ideology, will be certainly taken into account, mainly in order to sustain my

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1.   There is also a very interesting computational methodological model, described in Biber, Connor, and Upton (2007: 155–173), suitable for bottom-up corpus analysis of discourse, supported by the notion of "vocabulary-based discourse units" (VBDUs). These are considered to be "topically-coherent units", and they are actually associated to the linguistic notion of "content words". VBDUs are obtained from texts according to their frequency of use and to their combinations with other words, ideally within a set of texts belonging to the same genre. Said units are said to be useful for tracing shifts in topic so that "the shift in vocabulary associated with VBDUs corresponds to the textual shift in topic and purpose" (Biber, Connor, and Upton 2007: 159).

own conclusions, precisely because, and this is another CDA principle, critical discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. DHA, initiated in the 1980's within the framework of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), was developed, among others by Wodak and her collaborators (see Wodak 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Reisigl and Wodak 2001). In Reisigl's (2018: 48) words: "The Discourse-Historical Approach considers discourse analysis not just to be a method of language analysis, but a multidimensional project incorporating theory, methods, methodology and empirically based research practices that yield concrete social applications". Given its problem-oriented interests and contribution to research in the field of CDA by means of triangulation as a fundamental methodological principle based on a variety of data, methods, and theories (Wodak 2011; Reisigl 2018), DHA seems particularly relevant for the purposes of this study.

With regard to other CDA principles, although equally relevant to my purposes, as already mentioned, I cannot afford deepening into their implications due to the self-imposed limits for this investigation. Particularly, I will not take into account the relationship between "power" and "discourse" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), but I will consider it as a potentially valid assumption, since press and media are believed to be ideal speakers for political messages, mainly because of their economic dependence, as Fairclough (1995: 43) has stressed:[2]

> Ownership is increasingly in the hands of large conglomerates whose business is the culture industry, so that the media become more fully integrated with ownership interests in the national and international economy, intensifying their association with capitalist class interests. This manifests itself in various ways, including the manner in which media organizations are structured to ensure that the dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment.

Even more, it is relevant to pinpoint the fact that media groups maintain a more or less consistent editorial policy that necessarily implies proximity to given ideological conceptions. For instance, in Spain *ABC* newspaper has always declared itself in favour of monarchy, so that republicanism is definitely not an ideal within their political positions. These ideological premises obviously have a consequence in the way they treat any information regarding the Spanish royal house.

Considering that the actual pragmatic notion of "context" represents a very complex object in many fields of Linguistics, and that much scholarly literature has been written about it, I believe Coseriu's (1955–56) proposal to be most useful, despite the time passed since its publication. In his taxonomy and description, the

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2.   As an anonymous reviewer correctly notes, the media ecology has changed significantly since the mid-1990s, as demonstrated by recent works on the subject like Díaz Noci and Salaverría Aliaga (2003), Bradshaw (2017), and Strate (2017), among others.

general notion of "context" is named as *entorno* 'surroundings',[3] that he defines as the circumstances of speaking. Context analysis is crucial in any possible form of discourse analysis, even more in my attempt to carry out a CDA-based approach (van Dijk 2001: 357). Consequently, context arises as a very relevant foundation for my qualitative approach to news discourse. In this framework, the *contexto histórico* 'historical context' is one of the possible surroundings proposed by Coseriu (1955–56: 49–50) within the *contexto extraverbal* 'extra-verbal context'. Although this concept is clearly regarded as actual history, and "history" is understood both in a general and a particular viewpoint, as in the history of a nation or in the history of someone's own family, we happen to be dealing with those states of affairs that elite or dominant groups are trying to present as real or desirable. It should not be a surprise at all that said states of affairs would perfectly include the appropriate historical facts needed to reinforce whichever idea is intended to make believe (Laborda Gil 2011: 66–68). There is, however, a long path from here to actual discourse, but it is undeniable that these facts walk along with the times, and that a certain vocabulary becomes intentionally trendy under given historical contexts.

Concerning political discourse, Fernández Lagunilla (2002: 68) defines political language as follows: "[U]na variedad o uso especial de la lengua general, cuya finalidad fundamental es persuadir al receptor" 'a variety or special use of language, aimed to persuade hearers'. In order to accomplish this objective, political discourse is strongly devoted to novelty. Much has been said and written about lexical and semantic neologisms in political discourse, so that scholars and researchers have given enough proof of this idea, which is also noticeable by the public. In Spanish, as Fernández Lagunilla (2002: 72–75) describes them, words like *decantarse* 'to opt for' instead of *decidirse* 'to make a decision' or *geografía* 'geography', instead of *territorio* or *país* 'territory' or 'country', are examples of semantic neologism, while *consensuar* 'agree', *competencial* 'related to legal capacity and responsibility for political issues', and *publicitar* 'advertise', are lexical neologisms, i.e., new words (usually unnecessary) created *ad hoc* by political subjects or groups in order to provide them, and therefore to the whole discourse as well, with a layer of pseudo-technicity aimed, among other goals, to impress their hearers. Such procedures should be regarded as means of obscurity and confusion usually carried out through euphemistic or dysphemistic uses of language as available tools, therefore pragmatic strategies, for its manipulation (Crespo-Fernández 2013, 2016, 2018; Fernández Smith and Casas Gómez 2018).

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3.   I prefer to translate *entorno* as 'surroundings', rather than as 'environment', since the latter is also a type of *entorno de región* 'region', called *ambiente*, along with *zona* 'zone' and *ámbito* 'ambit'. These are the limited space in which a linguistic sign functions as a part of one or more different meaning systems (lexical fields, professional lexis, and terminologies, or other socio-culturally established groups and entities) (Coseriu 1955–56: 46–47).

3.   Methodological aspects

In order to achieve the objectives pursued, I have proceeded, from a methodological point of view, by selecting a set of lexical units, usually heard or read in today's political discourses in Spain. These have been chosen due to a series of reasons, but they represent only a small example of what is certainly a larger list of vocabulary that is favoured in political discourse nowadays, in which denoted concepts are obviously not only limited to the means of Spanish language. Despite the fact that word tokens and slogans certainly arise in political discourse as a result of an inductive process, due to their frequency of use, many of the terms involved have yet other interesting features regarding the role these play in more complex linguistic patterns supporting those entailed ideas. Said lexical units are *empoderamiento* 'empowering' and *empoderar* 'to empower'; *sostenibilidad* 'sustainability' and *sostenible/-s* 'sustainable'; and *violencia de género* 'gender violence'. Particularly, *sostenible* and its derivates are somehow used as a wild card when it comes to ecological worries and also economic issues. On the other hand, *empoderamiento* and its derivates have recently burst into Spanish political discourse, mainly used in left-wing parties' discourse closely related to gender issues, while *violencia de género* is also interesting regarding the latter, and because of its opposition, mainly due to political confrontation in Spain today, to alternative terms such as *violencia doméstica* 'domestic abuse'. Said key words could then be considered totemic, because of their symbolism and relevance in the actual evolution of political situation. In fact, these could be considered as good examples of "politically correct language" (henceforth PCL)[4] used by politicians today, which is meant to maintain their dominant position and to uphold a given state of affairs in order to prevail upon people to believe this to be true. These lexical units have been obtained from a previous scouting through the electoral programs of the main Spanish parties, as these texts represent the official source of standards and preferences in the way messages must be built up in order to achieve communicative goals and consequently political profit. As already stated, lexical creativity is a very powerful means of yielding such a persuasive discourse,

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4.   Regarding PCL, see Cameron (1995), Allan and Burridge (2006: Ch 4), and Fairclough (2003) from a discourse construction perspective, along with other more specifically linguistic approaches, focused on lexical aspects such as Casado Velarde (2011) and Casas Gómez (2012). From these standpoints, my own view on PCL, not at all opposed to the abovementioned scholars, is also closely related to previous findings within the field of language policy and planning, since my position is that the instruments of institutional intervention on languages have surpassed its theoretical limits, which can be observed in the way language selections (mainly lexical) are fostered today in order to align a set of previous ideas, implied in all sorts of discourses in the public field, with political and social viewpoints, which are considered to be "proper" and "acceptable" according to said prejudices. This I have named *las otras políticas lingüísticas* 'the other language policies' (Fernández Smith 2015: 37).

in the framework of political discourse. Consequently, it could be argued that *sostenibilidad* and *sostenible/-s* are clear examples of semantic neologisms while *empoderamiento* and *empoderar* are lexical neologisms, and so is *violencia de género*. In any case, for a proper description of the objects of study, it should be useful to acknowledge the meaning of these words in common Spanish, taking into account that some of the semantic substance added within the political context is nowadays present in the Spanish speakers' minds. Indeed, the Real Academia Española's normative dictionary of Spanish (DRAE), defines these words as follows:

Empoderamiento: m. Acción y efecto de empoderar (hacer poderoso a un desfavorecido) 'the act and effect of empowering (making the unfavoured to be powerful)'.

Empoderar: De *en-*y *poder*2. 1. tr. Hacer poderoso o fuerte a un individuo o grupo social desfavorecido. U. t. c. prnl. 'Make an unfavoured individual or social group to be strong or powerful'. 2. tr. Dar a alguien autoridad, influencia o conocimiento para hacer algo. U. t. c. prnl. 'Give someone the authority, the influence or the knowledge to do something'.

Sostenible: 1. adj. Que se puede sostener. Opinión, situación sostenible. 'That can be sustained. Sustainable opinion or situation'. 2. adj. Especialmente en ecología y economía, que se puede mantener durante largo tiempo sin agotar los recursos o causar grave daño al medioambiente. Desarrollo, economía sostenible 'Specially in Ecology and Economics, that can be maintained during a long time without running out of resources o causing damage to the natural environment. Sustainable development, economy'.

Sostenibilidad: 1.f. Cualidad de sostenible 'The quality of being sustainable'.

In order to fulfil my objectives, I have firstly accounted for the appearance of these key words in the main Spanish parties' electoral programs, during the period 2011–2019. This type of written political discourse is indeed a relevant option when it comes to verify how political ideas are intentionally expressed. Electoral programs are authored by a collectivity of people and they are pieces of public communication (see Escoriza Morera, this volume). They play a very important role in political campaigns and even beyond those, since they are means for the support of the parties' past achievements and future goals, always presented in a positive way and intentionally persuasive. Also, although this aspect will mostly remain out of my scope, electoral programs are a tool for political dialectics, or confrontation, which is one of the main characteristics of political discourse, as scholars have thoroughly proved.

As it is known, Spanish citizens have been called to vote several times within the last decade, which allows me to count with different versions of said programs in a rather short period of time. Because of their relevance, also due to the two-party predominance that could be seen ever since democracy was reestablished in Spain, I have focused both in the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* 'Spanish Socialist Workers' Party' (henceforth PSOE) and the *Partido Popular* 'Popular Party' (henceforth PP) as the main sources for the gathering of data.[5] It can be easily inferred that both parties hold large shares of the political information published in the Spanish media, because of their undeniable influence. Newspapers such as *Público* or *El País* and those belonging to the media group Prisa, are related to left-wing ideology and therefore closer to PSOE, while editorial policies of *La Razón* or *El Mundo* and their respective media enterprises, place these closer to right-wing parties such as PP.

Let us consider now the CDA theoretical principles that establish that the relationship between text and society is mediate and that discourse is a form of social action. Based on my proof that the selected lexical items are relevant for ideological purposes, as they are frequently used in political discourses, it should be an outcome that mass media, and particularly news discourse, would reproduce them since these are relevant agents of the spreading of said ideology. From this standpoint, I have then proceeded to analyse these words, from a qualitative point of view, inside their context, within connected utterances and speech acts and within different instances of discourse genres pertaining to journalistic practice, namely "news discourse". In this initial stage of research, I have focused my attention in the lexical configurations, in other words, in the combinations of lexical units found in the nearest context of occurrence for each key word, so that interpretation will be subject to the level of utterances and speech acts, not of discourses as whole products. However, even to do so, a quantitative analysis is necessary, in order to gather a sufficient number of these key words and to account for their concurrency with those other lexical units within structural patterns (noun-adjective, noun[subject]-verb, verb-noun[object], positive adjectives, affirmative sentences, etc.). AntConc software (Anthony 2019) has been an essential tool for this purpose, because it provides all contexts needed surrounding a given token word, and it does so in a very convenient display. AntConc also allows the user to decide how separate are tokens from words combined with them both along the precedent and subsequent chains, by calculating clusters and collocations, which are the basis or my qualitative interpretation.[6]

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5.   For practical purposes I will refer to these documents as (PSOE/PP, year of publication). All documents can be found in the Appendix.

6.   However, other useful tools are available, such as Sketch Engine (https://www.sketchengine.eu) (see Breeze, this volume).

For the process of gathering the necessary data within pieces of written news discourse, I have used two different linguistic corpora available for the Spanish language, compiled by the Real Academia Española (the Spanish Academy of Language). These corpora are the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) 'Reference Corpus for Current Spanish' and the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI) '21st Century Spanish Corpus'. The former is an older corpus in which texts can be found from 1975 to 2004, adding up to nearly 160,000,000 forms, while the latter, a much modern and state-of-the-art corpus, collects texts starting out in 2000 and comprises up to 25,000,000 forms per year. Both resources – funded and maintained by the Spanish Academy of Language and freely available in the Academy's web page (http://www.rae.es) – include linguistic data from everywhere in the world where Spanish is spoken as a mother tongue. The said corpora provided me with all the linguistic contexts in which I could find key words, according to previously set parameters, logically centred in pieces of public communication through print and digital press and media.

Let us explain now that CREA only allows the categorisation of texts by "Media", "Country", and "Topic", while CORPES XXI provides a more powerful categorisation tool which allows researchers to obtain finer results. However, in this case, the categories chosen, along with "written text" as the "Form" and "non-fiction" as the "Group", were "Spain" as "Country of origin" and "Linguistic area", "press" as "Format", and all "Topics" and "Discourse types" in these categories, in order to keep the integrity of data.

Therefore, so as to refine results and hence support these adequately, I have discarded all pieces of public communication contained in specialised journals of any kind, such as *Comunidad Escolar, Artez, El Socialista, Diario Médico*, or in official documents published by the Government or by regional and local public organisations. Thus, I have focused my attention in digital or print press and newspapers, as those are the ones in which genuine news discourse, in a variety of genres, can be found.

3. Findings and results: News discourse as a means for spreading ideology

3.1 Previous selection of key words in political discourse

After a close look at Spanish main parties' electoral programs (see Table 1), only one case of *empoderamiento* was found in PSOE's document in 2011: "Desplegaremos planes específicamente orientados hacia el empoderamiento de la ciudadanía" 'We will lay plans specifically oriented to the empowering of citizenship' (PSOE 2011: 140). Equally, there is only one case in the electoral program of PP: "Impulsaremos el

enfoque de desarrollo humano, participativo y de empoderamiento" 'We will encourage a focus on a human, participative, and of empowering development' (PP, 2011: 208). After 2011 the use of this key word is slightly increased in PSOE's programs while it disappears from PP's in 2019.

   With regard to *sostenibilidad* and *sostenible/-s*, the account of cases proves that this is a settled term in political discourse today, since it shows a high frequency in both parties' programs. On the one hand, PSOE's programs register 37 cases of *sostenibilidad*, 45 cases of *sostenible*, and 5 cases of *sostenibles* in 2011 (PSOE, 2011), highly increasing in their 2016 program, in which 54 cases of *sostenibilidad*, 78 of *sostenible*, and 12 of *sostenibles* can be found (PSOE, 2016). On the other hand, PP's programs in 2011 and 2016 show the same tendency although with lower frequency values: 19 cases of *sostenibilidad*, 23 of *sostenible*, and 1 of *sostenibles* (PP, 2011), and 17 cases of *sostenibilidad*, 26 of *sostenible*, and 4 of *sostenibles* (PP, 2016). These frequency values drop down in both parties' 2019 programs, especially in the case of PSOE: *sostenibilidad* (23), *sostenible* (40), *sostenibles* (3) (PSOE, 2019) and *sostenibilidad* (19), *sostenible* (17), *sostenibles* (3) (PP, 2019).

Table 1. No. of cases in Spanish parties' electoral programs

	PSOE			PP		
	2011	**2016**	**2019**	**2011**	**2016**	**2019**
empoderamiento, empoderar, empoderado/-s, empoderador/-es	1	5	8	1	1	0
sostenibilidad, sostenible/-s	87	134	66	43	47	39
violencia de género	13	41	32	3	19	13

Finally, the uses of *violencia de género* register a clear increase in both parties' electoral programs, although with a higher frequency in the case of PSOE, since it can be found in 13 cases (PSOE, 2011), 41 cases (PSOE, 2016), and 32 cases (PSOE, 2019), while it is registered in 3 cases (PP, 2011), 19 cases (PP, 2016), and 13 cases (PP, 2019).

   Consequently, the fact that political discourse exercises a strong influence in public communication through mass media should be supported by the analysis of large corpora of the Spanish language, the already mentioned CREA and CORPES XXI. In order to prove this, I accounted for the frequency of use of these key words by querying my reference corpora.

3.2   Quantitative analysis of key words in news discourse

As seen in Figure 1, which suits up to a certain point CDA's claim that discourse is historic, the analysed key words show a different behaviour along time span, in which *sostenibilidad* (and its derivatives) has penetrated more in public communication and news discourse, probably due to its sooner acceptance as a valuable term,[7] while *empoderamiento* is still in the process of gaining approval (or not) within public communication.[8] Other aspects of discourse in context will have to be considered to give a finer explanation of what the future of this term can be. Further, from a qualitative point of view, these issues will be discussed in the following section as examples of recontextualisation (Wodak 2000; Krzyżanowski 2016).
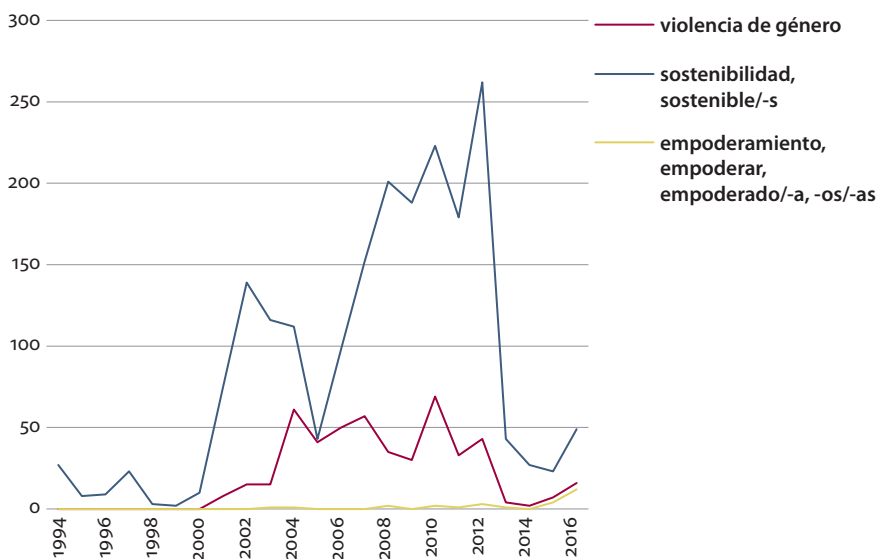
Figure 1. No. of cases found in CREA and CORPES

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7.   The phrase *sustainable development* is said to have been used for the first time in 1987 as a part of the *Brundtland Report*, delivered to the United Nations by the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by the Norwegian Prime Minister at that time, Gro Harlem Brundtland. This report is available online at: http://worldinbalance.net/pdf/1987-brundtland.pdf.

8.   *Empowering*, as a term applied to feminism and gender studies, probably appeared also during the 1980's, although its origin in English goes back many centuries ago with its usual meaning. In the case of Spanish, my belief is that it is a very recent neologism and its generalisation among the public is somehow restrained because it is an ideologically "loaded word", as Deutscher (2011: 197) names heavily connoted words.

From the account of the sources, that is, the different newspapers and media in which CREA and CORPES corpora show appearances of the key words analysed, a list of the different publications can be seen in Table 2. This information will be especially relevant in order to ascribe political points of view and ideological arguments to the mass media producers, so that their role as agents of social action through discourse can be confirmed adequately.

Table 2. Sources from Spanish written media

empoderamiento, empoderar, empoderado/-a,-os/-as

Eldiario.es
El País
El Mundo
Diario de León
ABC
El Confidencial

sostenibilidad, sostenible/-es

ABC	El Mundo
Canarias 7	El Norte de Castilla
El Adelanto	El País
El Confidencial	El Periódico Mediterráneo
El Cultural	El Periódico Popular
El Diario de Arousa	Estrella Digital
El Diario de Burgos	La Razón
El Diario de León	La Opinión
El Diario de Málaga-Costa del Sol	La Vanguardia
El Diario de Navarra	La Voz de Asturias
El Diario Vasco	La Voz de Galicia
El Faro de Vigo	Melilla Hoy
El Heraldo de Aragón	Público

violencia de género

20 Minutos	El Mundo
ABC	El Norte de Castilla
Canarias 7	El País
Diario de Ibiza	El Periódico de Aragón
Diario de Jerez	El Periódico Mediterráneo
Diario de León	Estrella Digital
Diario Sur	La Opinión
El Cultural	La Razón
El Diario Vasco	La Voz de Galicia
El Español	Metro Directo
El Heraldo de Soria	Público

I am aware of the fact that in the spreading of news by means of modern media groups, news agencies play an important role, so that the textual content of a piece of news is usually reproduced as-it-is in different newspapers as well as in local editions of the same ones, besides other significant aspects of how information is managed nowadays in these rapidly changing contexts (see Fairclough 1995: 48–49 on sources and processes involved, Fernández Smith 2017: 106–110 on digital press, and Fernández Smith 2019: 246–251 on news discourse genres). However, the heterogeneity of these results should prove consistently enough that these key words embrace concepts that are nowadays accepted by all elite groups as the expression of political correctness. For instance, consider the following numbers: *violencia de género* registers over 90 hits in *El País*, 190 in *El Mundo*, 46 in *Público*, and 120 in *ABC*, which are known to be representative of either one or another pole of the ideological scale, supporting the idea that these are completely accepted denominations in our actual social and cultural context.

3.3 Qualitative approach: The interpretation of lexical selections within news discourse

At this stage of research, AntConc software (Anthony 2019) arises as a very useful tool for the processing of this data, as I already stated, since it allows users to retrieve clusters of words found within data contexts, as well as collocates, being able to choose the appropriate range or words to be considered rightwards or leftwards from the target. In Table 3 I have summarised the most frequent combinations of words with each of the tokens in order to draft what kind of belief is actually associated with them.

Table 3. Most frequent clusters of words

empoderamiento, empoderar, empoderado/-a,-os/-as				
mujer/-es	*género*	*ciudadanos*	*sociedad*	*gente*
9	4	3	2	2
sostenible				
desarrollo	*economía*	*uso*	*energía*	*turismo*
514	97	55	33	33
sostenibilidad				
ambiental	*financiera*	*económica*	*ecológica*	*medioambiental*
42	10	9	8	8
violencia de género				
contra	*víctima/-s*	*mujer/-es*	*delito*	*prevención*
175	70	34	16	16

Considering the definitions given previously of the normative dictionary of Spanish, *sostenible* could be regarded as a euphemistic substitute for *ecológico* 'ecological', probably due to novelty, which is also a remarkable characteristic of journalistic discourse (Guerrero Salazar 2007). It would be yet to be seen if said euphemistic use belongs to the kind of *eufemismos de megalomania* 'uplifting euphemisms' as Casas Gómez (2012: 72) defines these,[9] since it somehow evokes the idea of "technicality" already mentioned in relation with political discourse, which could be interpreted as an indirect enhancement of this kind of key words. In any case, context analysis easily proves that the concept represented by this key word is positive. Although not as frequently used as expected, because it may be too soon yet for it to have been settled as a part of social cognition, the same could be argued about *empoderamiento*, which may also imply an unnecessary magnification of reality through a euphemistic use, just as *violencia de género* has been imposed as a technical-like substitute for other terms that refer more directly and crudely to this nasty piece of reality. This last case suits in a much more predictable way the usual goals pursued by the creation of euphemisms (Sánchez García 2018).

Regarding their co-occurrences, the first key word, *sostenible*, which is an adjective, is outstandingly used as a modifier of the noun *desarrollo* 'development', as expected, since this combination is really an accepted syntagmatic compound, or a complex word, in Spanish. Given that *sostenible* and *sostenibilidad* are regarded as positive concepts in the political and social mainstream, I also find combinations with *crecimiento* 'growth', *futuro* 'future', *en favor* 'in favour of', and *convergencia* 'convergence'. The noun *sostenibilidad* and the compound noun *desarrollo sostenible* are also either subjects or objects in syntactic structures with the following verbs: *permiten* 'allow', *entraña* 'entails', *garantizar* 'to guarantee', *fomentar* 'to encourage', *adaptar* 'to adapt', *potenciar* 'to strengthen', *alcanzar* 'to achieve', *rescatar* 'to save', all of them generally used in a positive sense. On the contrary, when being part of a negative viewpoint, the forms combined are a*tentan contra* 'attack' or *pone en peligro* 'puts in danger', which actually stresses the idea of an undesirable peril or jeopardy.

Finally, with regard to *violencia de género*, common combinations and associated lexical units found were *víctimas* 'victims', *eliminación* 'elimination', *lacra*

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9.   Uplifting euphemisms are the means of an enhancement expression that implies the ennoblement of concepts denoted by certain words referred to professional duties, jobs, and other activities, so as to suggest social climbing. More recently, Casas Gómez (2018: 27) has pinpointed its connection to PCL, which, from my point of view, supports the idea that this is a useful pragmatic strategy for those persuasive communicative goals pursued by politicians, as demonstrated by Crespo-Fernández (2016, 2018) in his studies on British and US local and regional political discourse.

'scourge', *problemática*[10] and *problema* 'problem', *repulsión* 'repulsion', *fenómeno* 'phenomenon', *temor* 'fear', and *rechazo* 'repudiation'. Additionally, *violencia de género* appeared as the object of verbs like *prevenir* 'to prevent' and also as a part of constructions like *plan de choque contra* 'shock plan against', *reivindicativa contra* 'protesting against', and *medidas urgentes contra* 'urgent measures against'. These groupings, combinations, and clusters reinforce how negative is the concept represented by this lexical unit in the actual context. As an interesting outcome of data processing, it is very relevant that within the same contexts gathered where *violencia de género* was found, there were 25 cases of *violencia machista* 'macho violence' and 18 of *violencia doméstica* 'domestic violence' (also 'domestic abuse') simultaneously, which are textual synonyms, or variants, related to sister-concepts or *Nebenbegriffe* (Krzyżanowski 2016: 312) that are usually considered as a means of the cohesive mechanism of "substitution" by maintaining referential identity.

Ecology, and being ecological and therefore sustainable, is regarded as a desirable state of affairs, accepted by both sides of the political debate, as it was able to see after the account of its use in their electoral programs and newspapers. On the other hand, sexism and violence against women pose an absolutely execrable behaviour that must be eradicated, so that it is conceptualised as a negative aspect of reality against which any decent person should stand, as political groups coincide to affirm, despite their ideological confrontation. Broadly speaking, I believe each one of my previous statements regarding this matter to be proof of the existence of a category of "political euphemisms", as Crespo-Fernández (2016: 12) describes them.

4.   Conclusions

As a general conclusion, the present research demonstrates that media and press reproduce the discourses and the words of politicians, not only in terms of the transmission of news but also as being a part of an establishment that promotes and defends a particular way of thinking which is believed to be the actual state of affairs. My claim is that discourses are built up as conceptual networks that are materialised through lexical combinations of key words – including their sister-and counter-concepts, as Krzyżanowski (2016: 313) names them – and other patterns (aimed to emphasise either pole of a positive-negative scale of the subject's point of view), that may change through time due to recontextualisation within the moving scope of social cognitions and communicative purposes.

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10. This is one good example of lexical creation of new words within political discourse by an automatic process of derivation which Fernández Lagunilla (2002: 73) considers as a form of pedantry.

Certainly, news discourse also plays a role in political confrontation, but my analysis of a small set of key words has pinpointed the fact that there is a common ground of interests chaired by what is politically correct with regard to current history. Thus, key words as *sostenibilidad, sostenible/-es*, and *violencia de género* in Spanish, rather euphemistic, and probably because of this, seem to be appropriate selections within PCL that can be found in the press companies owned by, or somehow related to them, different ideological groups, despite their antagonistic beliefs. These issues will probably depend on the historical circumstances of each time, in accordance to the Discourse Historical Approach within the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis, since they can be best interpreted through recontextualisation (Wodak 2000; Krzyżanowski 2016), and therefore as powerful instances of how the notion of "context", understood in a broad social sense (see van Dijk 1999: 25–26), plays a role in discourse analysis.

As I have said, political discourse is highly subject to polarisation because of the dialectical confrontation of ideological points of view (Fernández Smith 2017), but there are also other instances of polarisation regarding positive or negative views about certain matters which are equally accepted and shared by opposed political ideologies, properly manipulated by political correctness filters. These opinions, beliefs, or statements are laid throughout more or less recognisable patterns and structures, basically configured by the selection of an appropriate lexis and its combinations inside speech acts. Although I have limited my analysis to a small set of examples from Spanish language, I believe to have clearly settled the idea that, as a result of said discursive operations, pieces of news published in the press can easily be identified in occasions as sets of PCL. In order to achieve this, a mixed methodology, combining quantitative corpus-driven and qualitative analysis, has proven to be a useful tool to select appropriate key words and to compare their account through time span. As a consequence, such procedure has also allowed me to elucidate, through combinations and patterns, what the real senses (rather than meanings) of these key words are, and which associated communicative purposes are aimed by those responsible for the construction of news discourses in a given historical context. In fact, to my knowledge, there is not much research done on Spanish-language data, incorporating triangulation methods based on key words and corpus-driven quantitative and qualitative analysis, although the implementation of mixed methodologies is clearly growing within the scope of discourse analysis (see, for instance, Gutiérrez Vidrio 2010; Flores Treviño 2016; Guerrero Salazar 2019). Further and deeper analysis of contexts within a larger set of data will definitely produce a more precise and robust proof of these conclusions.

As a final remark, I must also underline the idea that I do not intend to demonise mass media as the only ones to be blamed for carrying out such forms of linguistic manipulation intended to adequate discourse to an ideal reality that

common people should accept as true (Fernández Smith 2019: 241). It is the political subjects and their advisors who trigger these lexical creations and discursive formulae, in order to achieve their own goals, so that news discourse as well as other discursive genres and in other communicative contexts act as the loudspeakers of elite groups and the powerful.

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Appendix

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CHAPTER 5

Persuasive discourse in Daniel Defoe's political essays

Boosting and hedging

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The main concern of this paper is to gain an insight into two of the most common rhetorical strategies used by Daniel Defoe as a political journalist in the first decades of eighteenth-century Britain: boosting and hedging. I draw attention to these two different persuasive verbal devices employed by the writer in a sample of Defoe's political essays published in 1709 excerpted from *The Review* (1704–1713), one of the leading journals during the reign of Anne Stuart, when political propaganda relied heavily on pamphlets and periodicals. The results obtained reveal that Defoe used language as a political weapon, resorting to boosting, on the one hand, to make his stance clear, add emphasis, confer certainty to his arguments, and convince the readership of the evidence of his statements; and to hedging, on the other, to soften potential conflicts produced by his assertions, connect with the readers, and attain persuasion.

Keywords: hedges, boosters, persuasive discourse, political language, Daniel Defoe

1.   Introduction

Many were the questions of principle that divided and confronted Whigs and Tories during the War of Spanish Succession in the reign of Anne Stuart (1702–1714). Matters of political, religious, social, economic, and military nature combined forming a set of complex issues of utmost significance, which focused the intense national debate pervading the whole period. With the exception of the English Civil Wars and Interregnum (see Peacey 2004), this was the first example in Britain of an indoors and out-of-doors public debate with full media participation, as Müllenbrock

(1997: 11) notes.[1] The favourable conditions prevailing in early eighteenth-century England allowed the birth of a public political culture that would gradually develop and become a permanent feature in British society. The unprecedented amount of electoral activity owing to the passing of the *Triennial Act* in 1694 – which increased the number of General Elections held and consequently the partisanship and rivalry in Parliament –, followed by the lapsing of the *Licensing Act* in 1695 – which in practical terms can be said to have ended state censorship –, led to a massive output of printed propaganda which government and opposition alike employed to fuel the political paper war. Though these printed political weapons were directed to a minority of the population (i.e., the governing and the middling sort), the rapid proliferation of new social centres such as coffee houses attracted clients from the whole social spectrum, who read or learned about and discussed the information printed in the newspapers and periodicals available in these establishments.

Although newspapers and periodicals originated in the seventeenth century, it was not until after the turn of the century that they played a major role in forming public opinion owing to the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695. As party rivalries quickened and rose to new heights in the reign of Queen Anne, the press was used increasingly to influence the electorate. Although newspaper readers seemed to comprise a tiny percentage of the total population in England, newspaper readership was probably much higher. As Barker (2000: 63) explains, "neither the inability to read nor the high cost of newspapers necessarily prevented the bulk of the population from discovering their contents." Different testimonies provided by some of Defoe's contemporaries appear to support this claim. For example, Charles Leslie (1750), author of the rival Tory periodical, *The Rehearsal*, in 1704 argued that "the greatest Part of the *People* do not Read *Books*, Most of them do not *Read* at all. But they will gather together about one that can *Read*, and Listen to an *Observator* or *Review*." A few years later in 1711, Joseph Addison (1711), in essay no. 10 of *The Spectator*, estimated that over twenty people read each copy of his periodical: "My Publisher tells me, that there are already Three Thousand of them distributed every Day: So that if I allow Twenty Readers to every Paper, which I look upon as a modest Computation, I may reckon about Threescore thousand Disciples in London and Westminster (…)."

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1.   Mullenbrock (1997: 123–163, 115–121) argued that the War of the Spanish Succession was conducted with full media participation because the prospective declaration of war in the prelude of the military conflict raised a considerable body of polemical printed material (e.g., pamphlets, political essays, newspapers, broadsides, sermons, (peace) poems) in the heat of the debate between the two factions (López-Campillo 2015). Though to a lesser degree, the stage became an excellent channel for political propaganda as well at the time, especially for the Whigs (Speck 1970: 93).

As can be seen, although estimates made by commentators of the degree of multiple readership may have varied substantially, there was no division concerning the frequency with which newspapers were shared in general. The vast number of tracts published and their widespread circulation undoubtedly helped to carry party divisions beyond the Parliamentary arena and the confines of London into provincial society and politics, and contributed to shaping public opinion. In this respect, the circulation of the press not only in London but also in the provinces was unquestionably a relevant matter to be considered. Triweekly newspapers began in the early eighteenth century, which may be suspected to aim at the provincial market as well, as they "were invariably published on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, to coincide with the dispatch of mails from the capital" (Barker 2000: 42).

Alongside the whims and decisions of monarchs and Parliament, the eighteenth century was to witness the gradual emergence of a further power: public opinion, the "fourth estate". As Downie (1979) proved quite convincingly, the public political debate became an indispensable element for the political Establishment in the early eighteenth century. This was evident for Robert Harley, a very influential politician who pulled the strings from the Ministry to fulfil his designs and planned the birth of *The Review*, among other periodicals and publications. Harley achieved the irreversible integration of public political controversy by subjecting every significant political issue to the scrutiny of public opinion, divided along Whig and Tory party lines (Müllenbrock 1997: 15; López-Campillo 2015). Pioneered by Harley, the Ministry developed its own propaganda machine and propaganda agency. His aim was to "provide a continuous parade of ministerial (or Harleyite) propaganda" (Downie 1979: 98). He would hire the services of the most prominent and effective authors of his age such as Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe to keep his artillery always ready to attack adversary political policies. Thus, in 1704, still a secretary of state, Harley projected and sponsored the first unofficial government press organ: Defoe's *Review*, to "state facts right" (*The Review*, I, No. 1) and to counter the influence of political opponents. As already appointed above, not only would Defoe produce political tracts and pamphlets, but also establish bases for their regular dissemination throughout the British Isles and found an intelligence network throughout the country following Harley's instructions (Downie 1979: 69).

The importance of the debate generated by an antagonistic two-party system and the provision of a profitable source of income for authors of otherwise modest proceeds attracted a wide range of writers from petty scribblers of Grub Street to renowned authors. Both political parties would hire their services and finance the publication of numerous pamphlets, essays, newspapers, and broadsides to defend their policies and remain in power, especially of those who excelled in rhetorical skill and could play the game as persuasive propagandists. It goes without saying

that to meet these ends, writers will resort to a wide range of verbal persuasive devices as political weapons.

Both the Ministry and Opposition employed a recurrent stock of linguistic devices to influence public opinion. Their respective ideologies led the two factions to espouse a specific terminology and exploit a particular use of imagery which in the context of public controversy could identify and define their political orientation beyond doubt, even "much more clearly than was consistent with political reality, where the dividing lines were often less distinct." (Müllenbrock 1997: 168).[2] At home the Whigs were the party that defended a liberal constitution and had welcomed the Revolution of 1688–89, and abroad they were the party of European commitment. As a Whig and a Dissenter, it stands to reason that Defoe should advocate domestic and foreign freedom in a fairly broad sense and eulogise the passing of the 1709 Naturalization Act, an indispensable prelude to immigration.

In the pages of *The Review*,[3] Defoe touched on different topics in which he tried hard to defend the policies of the succeeding ministries and shape public opinion (López-Campillo 2015). From 21 June to 24 December 1709, one of his main concerns was defending the immigration of "10.000 poor refugee Germans come over hither from the Palatinate, and which we find our common people begin already to quarrel at" (*Review*, VI, 34:136); who were pouring into London fleeing from ravaging war and extreme hunger conditions; an issue that rapidly turned in a matter of utmost public concern. London was understandably not ready to attend such an inflow, created by the deplorable conditions suffered by a large part of the Palatine refugees because of the then raging War of the Spanish Succession, which threatened to affect the social order. Determined to support the Whig policy, which coincided with his own personal views, Mr Review would employ an array of verbal discourse devices to attain his purpose. Two of them have become the focus of our present study due to their frequency and very relevant strategic use to influence on public opinion: boosting and hedging.

Following Fairclough's social-theoretical approach to discourse within the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (1992) and face theory as developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), the main concern of this paper is to gain an insight into two of the most common rhetorical strategies used by Daniel Defoe as a political journalist

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2.   Müllenbrock asserts it is possible to distinguish between Whig and Tory rhetoric at the time. The differences lie in three aspects, namely argumentative strategy, key terminology, and imagery, irrespective of individual literary genres. According to this scholar (1997: 165–182), these linguistic devices are employed recurrently in different degree, although they are not necessarily verifiable in each work.

3.   *Defoe's Review*, A. W. Secord (ed.) New York, 1938. Subsequent references to this and others of Defoe's works cited more than once will appear in parentheses in the text.

in the first decades of eighteenth-century Britain: boosting and hedging. These persuasive strategies reflect various degrees of involvement to the message: whereas *boosting* is used to reinforce "group membership and direct engagement with readers", *hedging* conveys "deference, humility and respect" (Hyland 1998: 350–351). To this end, I will take a close look at a sample of Defoe's essays excerpted from the political journal *The Review* and analyse the reinforcement and attenuation devices he resorted to in an attempt to shape belief and defend his views. This seems to be a worthy enterprise, because although there is substantial body of literature on persuasive discourse, including recent studies devoted to manipulative discourse in the field of politics (e.g., Hellín García 2009; Waddell and McKenna 2009; Charteris-Black 2011), and only a few studies devoted to analysing the persuasive nature of Defoe's political writings in Stuart England (McKim 2008; Alker and Nelson 2011; Pritchard 2011), to my knowledge no study up to now has been devoted to the boosting and hedging devices as used by Mr Review in particular. In this regard, the present chapter complements other studies on rhetorical techniques and strategies in contemporary political debate and constitutes an illustrative example of how persuasion can be exerted in political discourse, considered here as a particular form of public communication in line with other contributions to this volume such as those by Escoriza Morera and Fernández Smith.

This study is structured as follows. First, I am devoted to contextualising the Palatine refugee issue in 1709 England and explaining Defoe's particular standpoint on the immigration problem. After briefly presenting the theoretical framework this study is embedded into, the methodology used and the corpus data which it is based on, I move on to analyse the different purposes for which the boosting and hedging devices encountered in the corpus of Defoe's political essays are used for, which constitutes the main aim of this paper. A summary of the conclusions reached and some final remarks will bring this study to an end.

2.   The Palatine emigration of 1709: Sociopolitical context

One of the main causes of partisan controversy was foreign policy. The Tories, of a conservative, insular, and isolationist stance, advocated a cautious foreign policy and were against involvement in continental affairs. The Whigs, more liberal and open-minded, felt firmly committed to the continental alliance and the preservation of the balance of power, and considered a mistake to stand aside (Harris 1993: 159). So it was no surprise that soon after their success in the general election of 1708 and ample majority in Parliament, the Whigs should manage to carry through a long-cherished general naturalization act to allow foreign protestants the privilege of full citizenship provided they swore allegiance to the government, received the

sacrament in any Protestant church and paid a token fee of one shilling. Within weeks of the passing of the act on 23 March 1709, thousands of poor German immigrants, commonly referred to as "the poor Palatine refugees", suddenly began to enter England in an endless flood that continued throughout the whole summer, bringing attitudes to foreigners to a head.

As expected, the Whig and Tory positions on the immigration issue were almost diametrically opposed from the very beginning. While the Tories voiced their concerns in Parliament about the "conflux of aliens that would be invited over", the Whigs would counter argue and support the idea that "the increase of people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of a nation", which would obviously encompass the poor Palatines. At the time emigration was not applauded, as the number of labourers was considered essential for economic well-being and national prosperity. Immigration was regarded as quite a different matter and subjected to considerable political debate. Since the Restoration in 1660 it had been subjected to parliamentary debate on over a dozen occasions, becoming the focus of a heated partisan dispute. The question was whether foreigners should be offered or not a cheap and convenient way to allow them to acquire the legal rights of native-born subjects. Whigs and Tories held opposite views and transferred their convictions to the pamphlets, essays, newspapers, and broadsides published giving the issue an important place in their pages and thus fueling the controversy. For the Whigs, following the dominant mercantilist views of the time, the increase in population was desirable because it promoted national well-being and strength and therefore found it necessary to attract immigrants from foreign nations, particularly Protestants in the broadest sense of the word. The Tory opponents, on the other hand, questioned the benefits and social consequences of immigration and looked on immigrants as foreign parasites, who threatened Englishness, citizenship, and order (Hoppit 2000), even mistrusting Protestants who were not Anglicans. The sudden mass influx of 13,000 poor German refugees in England in 1709 would fully stoke the flames of contention and, as expected, Defoe would not shy away from the heated public controversy.

3.   Daniel Defoe and immigration

Primarily known to posterity for his works of fiction *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders*, among his contemporaries, though, Daniel Defoe was best known as a renowned essayist and pamphleteer. As a man of his time, he was interested in any topical political, social, economic, or religious matter concerning Britain and other countries, and liked to express his views in print and participate in any public controversy generated. "Writing on trade was the whore I really doted upon"

(*The Review*, IX, No. 106), would say Defoe; a claim evidenced by the voluminous output he published on economic matters. Where does Defoe stand in the history of economic history? Although he was essentially a journalist, it is generally agreed that Defoe was an acute analyst of the economic issues of his time. His polemical and topical rather than expository treatment of the topic accounts for the inconsistency present in his works at times (Statt 1991: 294). For other scholars, Defoe was not contradictory but represents a transition from the mercantilist views prevailing at the time to the coming *laissez faire* philosophy (Payne 1947: 91–92). Where Defoe was undoubtedly consistent, however, was on the issue of immigration (Statt 1991: 295).

Defoe was always a supporter of populousness and of schemes to encourage foreigners to settle in England. Convinced that Britain could benefit immensely from the influx of foreign labourers from Europe, he would consistently advocate the encouragement of immigration to Britain, a firm belief he held in the works published throughout his life such as, for instance, *An Essay upon Projects* (1697), *Giving Alms no Charity* (1704), or *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728), among others. Over the centuries England had received wave after wave of immigrants to the extent that "a true-born Englishman's a contradiction; in speech an irony, in fact a fiction." Conscious of his countrymen's and his own family's foreign origin, the new public controversy generated by the sudden massive influx of the Palatine refugees would powerfully attract his attention and Mr Review, in heart and soul, would put his pen to the service of the Whigs, then in power.

4. Theoretical framework, data, and methods

This study takes a critical perspective to political language and, by doing so, falls within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an approach to discourse primarily concerned with the discursive construction of social and political knowledge as well as with how power, manipulation, and ideology are asserted through language in public discourse (see Fairclough 2005; Wodak 2009; Krzyżanowski and Forchtner 2016). In Wodak and Meyer's (2015: 7) words, the goal of CDA is to "gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power". As politics is "a struggle for power" (Chilton 2004: 3), power to control other people's behaviors and their thoughts and beliefs, CDA seems especially suited to explore how the relationship between discursive practices and the social and cultural background contributes to securing power and hegemony.

From this perspective, Defoe's essays are conceived as a form of social and political action which performs a range of communicative functions such as exerting

social control; legitimating power; and ultimately influencing people's behavior. More precisely, I depart here from van Dijk's (2006) assumption that the relationship between power, persuasion, and discourse is linked to the structural properties of political texts such as, in our case, the use of boosters and hedges. In this regard, a critical analysis of these persuasive verbal devices in Defoe's political essays seems necessary to explore the way political power and persuasion was exerted in eighteenth-century England.[4]

The present study also makes use of Brown and Levinson's face theory. The notion of face, initially defined by Goffman (1955: 213) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself", was later redefined by Brown and Levinson (1987: 13) as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself." These authors decomposed face into two coexisting and complementary dimensions or "face wants": negative face, i.e., "the desire to be un-impeded in one's actions"; and positive face, i.e., "the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face)." From this point of view, boosting and hedging devices are closely tied to conventions of politeness and tact through the notion of face.

In this vein, starting from a micro-level of language, I relate the details of linguistic behavior detected in Defoe's political writings to political behaviour, trying to analyse which strategic functions boosting and hedging fulfil. I consider here the political periodical as a text (i.e., "the written – or spoken – language produced in a discursive event" (Fairclough 1992: 138) with a social and political purpose, as an instance of functional language, i.e., language that is doing some job in some context (Halliday and Hasan 1991). Indeed, some of the verbal devices detected in our corpus perform a particular function, and their purpose can be deciphered by exploring their elements and patterns. From this perspective, the political journal can be considered as a "socially-oriented" practice.

The corpus comprises 28 essays extracted from volume VI of *The Review* published between 21 June (No. 34) and 24 December (No. 113), 1709, where for six months, practically single-handed, will he staunchly defend giving shelter to the "poor Palatine refugees", as he pleased to call them. This triweekly political journal edited on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays was founded by Daniel Defoe in London in 1704 and ended in 1713. Its main aim was to support the policies and interests of the alternate succeeding ministries of different political sign, i.e., Tory (1704–1708), Whig (1708–1710), and Tory (1710–1714), although he also defended his idiosyncratic social, political, economic, and religious views.

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4.   Contemporary Whig writers of Daniel Defoe such as George Ridpath or John Tutchin also used boosters and hedges in their essays with dialogue format as effective persuasive devices to influence public opinion during Queen Anne's age. See Crespo-Fernández and López-Campillo (2011: 43–66) and López-Campillo (2018: 77–10).

As for the linguistic methods employed to analyse the samples, I manually searched the texts selected in their entirety for boosting and hedging devices and analysed the different functions they performed in the text as linguistic resources of persuasion and verbal manipulation. To facilitate my study, boosters and hedges were firstly classified according to their linguistic nature as they can differ considerably from one text to another. Then the functions performed by each lexico-grammatical group were analysed and the linguistic items were redistributed according to the specific function performed in order to obtain a general taxonomy reflecting the main uses of the attenuating and reinforcing devices as used by Defoe in his political essays.

The texts taken as examples from the sixth volume of *The Review* were purposefully selected as examples of the different pragmatic functions Defoe employs boosters and hedges for, and although it was not the purpose of the present study, the excerpts extracted cover a wide range of the lexico-grammatical devices used by the writer. In both cases the linguistic devices range from single words of different grammatical categories, e.g., modal verbs (*must* vs *might*), lexical verbs (*I affirm* vs I doubt), nouns (*evidence*/doubt), adjectives (*obvious* vs *possible*), or adverbs (*indeed* vs *perhaps*) to phrases (*without doubt* vs *in my opinion*), clauses (*´tis well-known that…* vs *it seems to me that…*), or whole sentences (*The reason is plain* vs *Pray, tell me, if this is not a general Maxim*). These boosters and hedges will be used for different purposes either in isolation or, most commonly, combined with other boosters and/or hedges to attain maximum persuasive effect. After a thorough revision of different models used in the field of discourse analysis to specifically study the pragmatic functions of boosting and hedging devices (e.g., Salager-Meyer 1994, 1997; Urbanová 2003; Kozubíková Šandová 2014), I believe that there is no proposal that entirely satisfies the particularities of my corpus. As a consequence, I have incorporated different contributions from previous studies and made further additions, when necessary, developing my own framework adapted to the characteristics of Defoe's persuasive political discourse.

It is essential to bear in mind that many linguistic items are context-sensitive and may be considered either as a boosting or as a hedging device. Assigning a boosting or hedging function to discreet linguistic items is problematic, as different grammatical categories are capable of performing more than one function in different contexts. Typical examples cited by different authors are *I think* or *I mean*, which may be either intensifying or attenuating devices depending on the placement of the sentence stress and the intonation contour (e.g., Urbanová 2003: 58–59). Sometimes it is necessary to go beyond the boundaries of a sentence for the sake of disambiguation, as seen in (1):

(1)   When Money is given with them to the Parishes, <u>it is not that they</u>[5] *should* be starv'd with Cold or Hunger, and live of Charity; <u>it is not that they</u> *should* become Alms-People in the Parish, and live on the meer Help they get as a Pension; but <u>it is that they</u> *may* be put into a Method of living free and independent by their own Labour and Industry, and <u>that the said Parishes</u> *may* so plant them on the Terra firma <u>that they</u> *may* no more be found asking Charity in the Streets.   (*Review*, VI, 68:271–272)

In this passage, the hedges *should* and *may* combined with repetition – a strong boosting device – function actually as boosters that clearly and effectively enforce the content of the utterance.

For the sake of clarity, the functions performed by boosting and hedging devices will be dealt with separately. However, it must be borne in mind that it is the combined effect of various linguistic devices that is most effective in political texts. These do not act in isolation but in combination with one another in a rich and varied range of rhetorical features. The overlapping of different rhetorical strategies creates a powerful interplay that ensures persuasive political communication, because it conceals the contribution of any single stratagem, though I often isolate them for the sole purpose of analysing their efficiency as communication strategies (Charteris-Black 2011: 9).

5.   Analysis

Let us now look at the different pragmatic functions boosters and hedges fulfil in the political periodicals analysed. As we will see in the course of the analysis, these complementary devices modify the illocutionary force of utterances influencing the relative weight of the proposition by intensifying or attenuating it respectively, establishing what may be called an "illocutionary force gradation" (Urbanová 2003: 66–67). I will start my analysis by examining the role that boosters fulfil in the corpus consulted.

5.1   Boosters

Boosting devices are used in discourse for different purposes. Content-oriented emphasis is the most frequent function performed by boosters in the periodicals analysed. These accentuation markers serve the purpose of highligthing specific items of information in an utterance. By making specific parts of the utterance

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5.   Henceforth the words or expressions that I want to highlight in the examples from the corpus will appear underlined.

more prominent than others, the message becomes more clearly structured and, therefore, more accessible to addressees. Discourse-oriented boosters like *first(ly), second(ly), on the one hand, on the other, the question is*, or *I am upon the subject of* make it easier for readers to know what information to concentrate on, which enhances comprehension. Thus, Mr Review often uses enumerators *1, 2, 3, 4* to order and underline his views and better orient the readers as, for instance, when he puts forward his arguments one by one to support the pressing need for more and more people to increase the wealth and strength of the British nation:

(2)   I believe the following heads will appear capable of undoubted Demonstration:
   1.   That the Wealth or Poverty of Nations may in most Places be determin'd by the Numbers of Inhabitants.
   2.   That, generally speaking, Nations, Kingdoms or Governments, are more or less great, rich and strong, or poor, weak and contemptible, as their Number of People make the Difference; (…).
   3.   That as any Nation has from a few People increas'd in Number of Inhabitants, it has always increas'd in Wealth and Strength.
   4.   That as any Nation has decreas'd in its Inhabitants, so that Nation has always grown poor, decay'd in Strength, and become contemptible in the World.   (*Review*, VI, 37:145)

Subjectivity constitutes a major boosting strategy in political discourse, where the aim is to present the writer/speaker's opinions and attitudes as correct and positive ones in order to influence the audience. Marks of subjectivity aim at sounding honest and trustworthy, because they intend to influence people's opinions. For the sake of veracity and credibility, writers need to show at the same time a varying degree of commitment to the propositions through the use of boosters (strong) and hedges (weak) to convince their addressees. Subjectivity of the writer/speaker's stance or opinion is expressed by first person pronouns accompanied by verbs such as *know, think, conceive*; phrases like *in my view, in my opinion*; or longer phrases like *As I said, I believe that*, among others.

   In the Preface to volume VI of *The Review*, Defoe informs the audience of his intentions when writing the political essays collected there. He explicitly declares that his aim is to inform the readership of "my own thoughts, and their being, then as well as now, regular and just to the Subject (…) and yet say now what is true, and to the Purpose" (Review, VI, 34:134). Truthfulness, which means credibility, is his unwavering commitment. At the same time, the reference to his personal experience creates a sense of engagement with the audience. The very frequent use of first person pronoun *I*, combined with verbs such as *know* or *say* in Examples (3) and (4) indicates that he takes full responsibility for the claims made and therefore reflects strong assertion:

(3) <u>I know</u> of several Gentlemen that are both able and willing to set many Hundreds of them immediately to work; but till then, it is impossible.

(*Review*, VI, 50:199–200)

(4) And for this Reason, <u>I say</u>, it is an Addition to the publick Wealth to have the Price of Labour dear; of which hereafter.   (*Review*, VI, 35:138)

Defoe uses self-mention markers such as pronouns *I/me* and possessives *my/mine* to show strong personal authority, which contributes to transmitting conviction and certainty on the part of the writer and instills trust and confidence to the audience. At other times *we/us/our(s)* are used as self-mentions instead of first person singular pronouns and possessives, involving the readership in the discussion and fulfilling the function of what I have coined as addresse-involvement emphasis:

(5) I think, ´tis very needful to examine a Little, *what <u>we</u> mean* when <u>we</u> say, that People are a Treasure, and that the Strength and Riches of a Nation consists in the Numbers of its Inhabitants.   (*Review*, VI, 35:137)

Combined with hedging, these self-mention markers transmit a tone of warmth, friendship, and solidarity and contribute to the achievement of credible appeal and engagement even more effectively:

(6) <u>We</u> may answer the great present Question now pretty much upon <u>our</u> Hands, what shall <u>we</u> do with a Matter of ----- poor Refugee Germans come over hither from the Palatinette, and which <u>we</u> find our common People begin already to quarrel at.   (*Review*, VI, 34:136)

The use of *our* in reference to the Tory opponents is very infrequent in the corpus, but quite interesting, as it can be used ironically as a straightforward attack against the faction (*our Party Friends*) in contrast with their genuine Friends (*our Brethren the Dissenters*):

(7) <u>We</u> know the Good Will of <u>our</u> Party Friends here to <u>our</u> Brethren the Dissenters, and that they would very gladly be rid of them *the shortest way*, or any way.

(*Review*, VI, 44:175–176)

The opponents are referred to through third person plurals *they/them(selves)/their(s)* – and sometimes through hedges *some* or *some people* – as opposed to first person plurals, which helps transmit the idea of the existence of an opposition group clearly detached from the writer and his supporters:

(8) And now <u>they</u> alledge, here is the Experiment made, and that in Time <u>we</u> shall drain all Germany of their Poor.   (*Review*, VI, 35:137)

(9) (…) and <u>some People</u> thought <u>themselves</u> witty upon the Subject, in saying, that all the Beggars of Europe would come over hither.   (*Review*, VI, 35:137)

In addition to *we/us/our(s)*, to involve the readership Mr Review will often address them directly by using the pronoun *you* – as well as *your(s)/your(self-selves)* – or vocatives such as *Gentlemen*, as can be seen in the excerpt below where his countrymen are blamed for their religious intolerance and racist attitude towards the refugees:

(10)   If <u>you</u> are to feed and cloath your Enemies, <u>you</u> are doubly oblig'd to feed and relieve those that fly to <u>you</u> for Refuge, without enquiring into their Principles, as to Religion.   (*Review*, VI, 62:246)

(11)   But have a Care, <u>Gentlemen</u>, how <u>you</u> send them into Scotland – For this ugly Sort of People call'd Dissenters have two Faculties (…): I. They are rich. 2. They are industrious.   (*Review*, VI, 44:176)

Assurance constitutes one of the major functions of boosters. Writers/speakers will resort to intensifying devices to show certainty and confidence about their claims. Defoe, in particular, will use several types of boosting devices to present his personal views and certainty about his assertions. Typical assurance boosters used in the corpus are *certain(ly), evident, really, clear(ly), obvious(ly), no doubt*, and *without doubt*, or the use of modals such as *must*, which allows writers to bring the reader into the text by strategically drawing on shared knowledge. Consider the following examples:

(12)   It is <u>evident</u> they do not come, because their Country won't keep them, or the Earth supply the Families with Necessaries.   (*Review*, VI, 52:208)

(13)   It is <u>clear</u> (…) that it is our Advantage to receive them, or any other Strangers, Protestants, were they ten times as many. (…) <u>No doubt</u>, the Palatines may be made a Plague to us.   (*Review*, VI, 43: 169–170)

(14)   Therefore this <u>must</u> be plain, what ever Value we can put upon our Labour, which we can make our Neighbours pay, <u>must</u> be clearly our Gain.
                                                     (*Review*, VI, 35:138)

When expressing assurance, Mr Review will also resort to different phrases to stress the certainty about his propositions:

(15)   <u>This is a full Proof</u>, that no Nation, that has a rich Produce, can have too many People.   (*Review*, VI, 47:186–187)

(16)   <u>It is an old and often demonstrated Argument</u>, and I need say but Little to it.
                                                     (*Review*, VI, 35:138)

(17)   Nay, some will have it that they are all Papists. <u>One Word of which is not true</u>.
                                                     (*Review*, VI, 62:246)

A most powerful boosting device frequently employed by Defoe in the issues of the journal to stress certainty about his assertions is the use of rhetorical questions. These biased questions which do not require or expect a reply encourage the reader to think about the obvious answers. Far from seeking information, they assert or deny a proposition in a convincing way. For this reason, rhetorical questions have the force of a strong assertion as can be seen, for instance, in Example (18). Defoe ironically counterargues the Tories' pretended disident design imputed to the Palatine refugees for seeking refuge in England:

(18)   But are there no Causes in the World, that make People fly from their Habitations but Religion? Tyranny is equally inconsistent with the Ease and Possibility of Living, whether it be religious or civil Tyranny; and People fly from the Impositions of their Task-masters, whether it be on their Liberties or on their Consciences.   (*Review*, VI, 57:226)

Rhetorical questions are used in political discourse for their persuasive effect. They tend to reinforce the emotive nuances of the message: they obviously do not leave the reader indifferent to what the answer is and to what the writer means. The force of this persuasive device is more evident in the vehement appeal that follows where a succession of rhetorical questions combine with structural and prepositional repetitions to persuade his compatriots to succour the refugees irrespective of their religion as a mere matter of charity and compassion:

(19)   Are they Strangers? Are they in Want? Are they destitute of Abode, and without Necessaries, without Shelter, and without Bread? – Are they come hither, fled for Succour, from Tyranny, and from Oppression (…)?   (*Review*, VI, 62:246)

Maximising/minimising degree, quantity, frequency, and time is another frequent function expressed by boosting devices showing the attitude of the writer/speaker towards the proposition expressed and usually performed by adverbs or adverbial expressions. The most frequent boosting adverb employed by Mr Review is *very*, which can emphasise, for instance, either positive or negative qualities, but many others such as *too, perfectly*, and *particularly* can be used as well, as seen in the examples below:

(20)   Sir, we were told in our Country, that the English were a very sober, religious People, and above all, that they were very strict Observers of the Lord's Day.
                                                                              (*Review*, VI, 61:242)

(21)   That it is so, is but too evident.   (*Review*, VI, 40:157–158)

(22)   Feeding our Friends, our Neighbours, our Brethren, this seems so natural that a command to it, looks as if it were perfectly needless.   (*Review*, VI, 62:245)

Superlatives, whether positive or negative, may emphasise the degree of a certain quality as well and therefore reinforce propositions as can be seen in the instance below where Defoe argues in favor of the unquestionable benefits of being generous and charitible with the Palatine using the superlative structures *the most + adjective* and adj+est; which is stressed by the double booster *undeniable demonstration*:

(23) Now is the Time to retrieve your Honour. Now gentlemen, you may secure *about ten Thousand* Witnesses to testifie, to the Ages to come, your Generosity; that may prove by the Force of <u>un</u>deniable Demonstration, that you are chang'd, and from the <u>most surly unhospitable</u> People in the World, are become the kindest, <u>most charitable</u>, and open-handed Nation in the World.

(*Review*, VI, 56:222)

Other common maximising and minimising boosters are *all, whatever* or *every*, as seen in the three quotations that follow:

(24) Some People thought themselves witty upon the Subject, in saying, that <u>all</u> the Beggars of Europe would come over hither – And now they alledge, here is the Experiment made, and that in Time we shall drain <u>all</u> Germany of their Poor.

(*Review*, VI, 35:137)

(25) I think therefore this must be plain, <u>what ever</u> Value we can put upon our Labour, which we can make our Neighbours pay, must be clearly our Gain.

(*Review*, VI, 35:138)

(26) <u>Every</u> labouring Man is an Encrease to the Publick Wealth, by how much, what he gains by his Labour, amounts to more than He or his Family eats or consumes.   (*Review*, VI, 35:138)

Another frequent aim of boosting is to show agreement or disagreement. This is indicated by the use of a variety of different speaker-oriented boosters. Apart from lexical verbs such as *agree* or *grant* (27) which show obvious compliance, an adverb like *readily* (28) fulfils and/or reinforces this function:

(27) People are <u>indeed</u> the Essential of Commerce.   (*Review*, VI, 34:135)

(28) I <u>readily grant</u>, if you were to bring over a hundred Thousand Butchers or Shoemakers – They would be ready to butcher one another for Work, and the Shoemakers would ruin those we have already, and themselves.

(*Review*, VI, 42:165)

Other common agreement boosters present in the corpus are, for instance, content- oriented *yes, yeah, it is true, that is right, right(ly), exact(ly), absolutely*, or *totally*. Conversely, content-oriented disagreement is expressed through negative expressions such as *no, not* (29), *nothing* (30), *or neither*, that is reinforced by an adverbial expression such as *at all* in (31):

(29)   <u>No, no</u>, Gentlemen, our Poor are <u>no</u> such tame Creatures.

(*Review*, VI, 43:171)

(30)   To say they were Beggars, and are come over for Bread, is to say <u>nothing</u>.

(*Review*, VI, 57:227)

(31)   The necessity of our Circumstances drives us so, yet it is <u>not</u> the way that those People might have been made most useful to us, <u>neither</u> will I say, that they will be <u>at all</u> serviceable to us this way (…).   (*Review*, VI, 61:243)

Intensification by repetition is another pragmatic function fulfilled by boosters. Repetition of linguistic forms contributes to placing stronger emphasis on the claims made by the writer/speaker (Urbanová 2003: 100–102). Both discourse-oriented and speaker-oriented boosters will consist in the repetition from single words to particular structures. By repeating the content-oriented booster *full of*, the speaker idealises the country of origin of the Palatine refugees stressing the idea that the reason for their immigration does not lie in the lack of prosperity of the German country but other reasons:

(32)   The Palatinate is known to be one of the finest, most fruitful, rich, pleasant and healthful Countries in Europe. The Land rich, Provisions plentiful, <u>full of</u> great Cities and Trading Towns, <u>full of</u> People, <u>full of</u> Commerce, and <u>full of</u> Manufactures.   (*Review*, VI, 57:227)

By repeating the speaker-oriented structures *your + noun* and *not + verb*, up to three or four times respectively, the writer emphasises his attitude towards the idea of undeniable bondage between the refugees and the English countrymen and manages to attain a boosting effect:

(33)   These poor People are <u>your Friends</u>, <u>your Neighbours</u>, and <u>your Brethren</u> – and yet, I am sorry to say it, we are not without some that are willing to see them hunger, and <u>not feed</u> them, to see them starve in their cool Camp in Black Heath, and not only <u>not plant</u> them, and <u>not settle</u> them, (…) but <u>not relieve</u> them, in order to help them to feed themselves.   (*Review*, VI, 62:246)

In the following passage, one of Mr Review's last attempts to convince the readership of the benefits that the planting of the German refugees would produce in Britain, the intensification is maximised through repetition. The repeated use of the booster *shall*, the presence of different negative forms, and the repetition of *more + noun* form a complex network of repetitive elements that transmits an amazingly strong categorical stance and, consequently, the impression of unquestionable and persuasive truthfulness or veracity:

(34)   On the other Hand, Proposals may be made, and Ways may be propos'd for the settling these People, and as many more as you please – In this island, upon such Employments, and in such Places; and so duly proportion'd to themselves, That <u>they shall</u> employ Land that was <u>never</u> employ'd <u>before</u>.
<u>They shall</u> raise and produce Provisions <u>never</u> rais'd or produc'd here <u>before</u>.
<u>They shall</u> make Manufactures, and a Vent for them, in Proportion, which was <u>never</u> made <u>before</u> (…).   (*Review*, VI, 43:170–171)

The combination of clauses of proportion plus repetition places an even stronger emphasis on the utterance, as in (35) where Defoe demonstrates his firm conviction of the benefits of populousness:

(35)   (…) <u>the more</u> People, <u>the more</u> Trade; <u>the more</u> Trade, <u>the more</u> Money; <u>the more</u> Money, <u>the more</u> Strength; and <u>the more</u> Strength, <u>the greater</u> a Nation.
                                                     (*Review*, VI, 34:135)

Intensification through emphatic devices may be also added to the taxonomy proposed by Urbanová (2003) and by Kozubíková Šandová (2014). Here I would basically include emphatic auxiliaries (i.e., *do, does, did*) and emphatic stress, expressed through italicisation in written discourse, as seen in the examples that follow:

(36)   Foreign Nations, such as the Dutch Gueldre, the Saxons, (…) <u>*do*</u> now plant so much Tobacco of their own, and so fully supply their Neighbours with it – That our Export to the Baltick sensibly declines and in a Little Time more will be quite lost.   (*Review*, VI, 46:181–182)

(37)   My answer is short, Poor and Industrious <u>*are*</u> Poor, and Slothful or Begging <u>*are not*</u>.   (*Review*, VI, 35:139)

Let us now consider the purposes for which the hedges are employed by Mr Review, providing whole sentences or a wider linguistic framework where hedges are inserted and, when considered necessary or helpful, making reference to the sociopolitical context at the time.

5.2   Hedging

Hedging is a communicative strategy motivated by politeness as a sociocultural phenomenon and related to the writer's desire to maintain social relationships and gain the confidence of the readership. Hedges have a lowering effect on the illocutionary force of the statement and by doing so, contribute to preserve the social prestige (i.e., *face*) of the interlocutor. Hedging responds to the speaker's need to soften potential social conflicts derived from his assertions which may alter his

or her prestige, preserving thus the speaker's positive face. In fact, the presence of hedges in political discourse is motivated by conventions of tact and politeness and, from this viewpoint, hedging can be considered as an effective euphemistic strategy to maintain the harmony in communicative exchanges (Crespo-Fernández 2005: 77–86).

Hedges may be used for different purposes. Attenuation of the forthcoming message is by far one of the most frequent functions performed by hedges in my corpus, particularly when Defoe puts forward his economic and political views and proposals. As an expert in economic policies, Mr Review would make different proposals to the government to settle down the poor Palatines. Obviously he could not impose his views on the Ministry. To seduce the readers and avoid upsetting those in power it was necessary to reflect modesty and soften his categorical stand-point, and hedging devices were just the tools that could "be used to manage the tone, attitude and information within a discourse" (Getkham 2011). Therefore, he resorted to hedging devices – often combined with other hedges within the same utterance – to present his views offering a moderate stance and distancing himself from any image that might be interpreted as authoritarian or imposing in order to prevent conflict.

One of the few consistent principles of the mercantilist theory was the extended conviction that the key to economic power or supremacy was populousness. For him the increase in population was a long-sought target that could be attained through immigration, and his countrymen needed instruction on economic matters to understand how the Palatine refugees could be useful to the English nation. Although Defoe generally defended this idea vehemently in the corpus, as a skilled political propagandist, he was aware of the fact that it was necessary to minimise the imposition of his views on the readership, so he would resort to the use of hedges *think, a little, hope, methinks*, and *might* to soften his stance and confer an image of humility and deference to readers as can be seen in the passage below:

> (38)   I think, ´tis very needful to examine a Little, *what we mean* when **we** say, that People are a Treasure, and that the Strength and Riches of a Nation consists in the Numbers of its Inhabitants (…). It remains to enquire in what our Want of People appears, and I hope to make it clear to you all, tho' methinks any that have view'd the Face of England, might be able to satisfie themselves – Without my Help.   (*Review*, VI, 35:139)

At the same time, hedging devices helped authors to present unproven propositions with caution and precision, and prevent potential objections or conflicts (Hyland 1998). Here is an example of one of his proposals for a large-scale settlement in England, where different hedges are combined to express tentativeness:

(39) My Proposal is in short, thus –
      That the Palatine Strangers <u>may be planted</u> in small Townships, like Little
      Colonies, in the several Forrests and Wastes of England (…) These Little
      Colonies, I propose, <u>should</u> consist of <u>about</u> 50 or 100 Families each (…).
                                                            (*Review*, VI, 39:154)

The importance of hedges as a persuasive resource is out of doubt, as hedging con-
tributes to assuring a positive interaction with readers, which is of key relevance in
order to convince and persuade them. As the persuader does not dare or want to
take full responsibility for the truth of the proposition, hedges convey an image of
truthfulness, reflect the persuader's self-effacement, and confer deference to readers,
as can be seen in the following examples which contain a variety of linguistic forms:
find, perhaps (40), *or at least, might, should* (41), and *would think, could hardly* (42):

(40) I have said a great Deal in this Paper about the settling the poor Refugees among
      us, and many people, <u>I find</u>, begin to think it feasible – <u>Perhaps</u> in time too our
      native Aversions <u>may</u> cease or wear out.   (*Review*, VI, 52:207)

(41) But we have infinite Numbers of Acres we do not use at all, <u>or at least</u> not as it
      <u>might</u>, or <u>should</u> be us'd; and it is apparent, this is for Want of People.
                                                            (*Review*, VI, 52:208)

(42) A man in his Senses <u>would think</u>, the worst natur'd Wretch in the Town, <u>could
      hardly</u> find out an Argument to make Use of, against collecting Charity for the
      poor Strangers now among us.   (*Review*, VI, 57:225)

The use of hedging is not always closely connected with tact, modesty, or generosity,
though. Sometimes the writer does not want to make a firm assertion about the
views expressed but gain detachment from his assertions as a way of being more
precise. The writer may not know something for sure and finds it necessary to stress
his uncertainty. As Rounds, cited in Salager-Meyer (1994: 151), argues, hedges are
not used just to protect oneself and make things fuzzy but can also be employed to
negotiate the right representation of the state of the knowledge under discussion.
This is the case in the following examples where he takes for granted the ideal
conditions, first in Barbadoes and secondly in England, to plant the refugees, thus
possibly greatly improving their living conditions:

(43) Barbadoes is one of the richest and most fertile Soils now in the World, <u>if I may
      venture upon the Accounts given of it</u>, and of other Places, compared.
                                                        (*Review*, VI, 47:186–187)

(44) In this, <u>I believe</u>, <u>I speak within compass</u>, when I say, there are 3 Millions of
      Acres of Land in England capable of Improvement, and capable of being made
      Use of to greater Advantage than it now is.   (*Review*, VI, 52:208)

It must be noted that, from a pragmatic approach, these hedges indicate how the Maxim of Quality[6] proposed by Grice (1975) is maintained. Quality hedges, as Brown and Levinson (1987: 164) maintain, provide sincerity conditions: by using the hedges *I am sorry to say* and *kind of*, the writer does not totally commit himself to the truth of his statement and, in this way, he does not transmit information that might lead to false inferences. This function of assumption contributes to creating an impression of objectivity attached to the writer's statements. It goes without saying that this objectivity transmits a feeling of truthfulness or veracity, which is an important factor in the discourse of persuasion.

Hedging devices, as softeners of the illocutionary force of utterances, are often associated with expressing politeness, either positive or negative, because they enable interlocutors to minimise the imposition, authoritativeness, or directness of the utterances. Very frequently they are used to express negative politeness, which means choosing the right words to express a statement which might be felt as face-threatening for the addressee to avoid potential conflict and therefore maintain harmony (Wilamová 2005: 85). According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 129), "[n]egative politeness is redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded." They are intended to avoid giving offense by showing deference. According to Holmes (1984: 11–14), negative politeness relates to social distance and solidarity. Thus, in the following excerpt, modal verbal hedges *may* and *might*, are used to downtone the criticism against those who reject the idea of accommodating the poor German immigrants in the country to their own loss, and towards whom he feels socially detached:

> (45)   I <u>might</u> also tell you from my own Knowledge, that your Clamour at the Difficulty and Impossibility of planting these People in England, without Injury to the Country, is a meer Chimera form'd in the Notions of some People (…) And to them it <u>may</u> be said, that they stand in the light of their own Countries Good.   (*Review*, VI, 67:268)

Another instance of negative politeness can be seen in (46) where he calls upon the whole nation to relieve, feed, clothe, and assist the poor people by all the laws that God has made to practise charity with no exceptions, irrespective of their religious creed. This time, by using *may*, the writer offers partial compensation for the threat to the addressee's negative face, and manages to downtone the strong criticism

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6.   Grice put forward four Conversational Maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner) that language users are supposed to adhere to in the attempt to achieve a successful communication. The Maxim of Quality was formulated as follows: "Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (1975: 6).

levelled against the opponents and transmitted through the use of the boosters *the least, any, no, not if*, and *can never*:

> (46) (…) nor is there the least Room to excuse yourselves for any of them being Popish, no not if they were Mahometan; it <u>may</u> argue against your settling and planting such of them among you – but it can never be a reason why you should not relieve them.   (*Review*, VI, 62:246)

Defoe's ambitious schemes were submitted to the Ministry but they were never implemented, most probably for financial and political reasons. Mr Review's disenchantment was more than justified. He had exposed sound arguments and proposed realistic solutions. The problem was his countrymen's racism, a harsh indictment he would have to qualify by using the speaker-oriented hedge *I am sorry to say it* to attenuate potential conflict, attenuation that is later reinforced by the hedge *kind of*, as happens in (47):

> (47) I find your Mouths full of Objections, and I could spend a great Deal of Time in confuting those Objections; but <u>I am sorry to say it</u>, the Difficulty is in your Tempers, not in your Reasons – There is a <u>kind of</u> native National Aversion rooted among us, tho' we were all Strangers our selves.   (*Review*, VI, 41:161)

The failure was not Defoe's fault, who felt his proposals would have succeeded in planting the German immigrants in England, as he confessed, projecting a self-effacing and truthful image through hedges like *I confess, I could wish*, and *I think*, which prepares the ground for putting the blame on his country fellows for the sake of persuasion. Those responsible for such a resounding failure were no other than his own countrymen, a daring statement softened by the use of the hedging device *Pray, Gentlemen*, as can be observed in the following example:

> (48) <u>I confess I could</u> wish the Project of planting them had succeeded, as what I <u>think</u> had conduced much better to their encouragement, and to our Advantage (…) But <u>pray Gentlemen</u>, blame yourselves for this, don't blame the poor People.   (*Review*, VI, 61:243)

In the two quotations above, the writer builds upon Leech's (1983) politeness maxims, in particular the Tact Maxim, which states "minimize cost to other". Although there is a violation of face because the Tact Maxim is flouted, the hedge mitigates the criticism by admitting openly that it follows Grice's maxim of Quality, i.e., that the proposition is "true despite the awareness of the fact that truthfulness may be felt by the addressee to be impolite" (Wilamová 2005: 92). The idea this type of hedge seems to express is that "what is said on record might more properly have been said off record or not at all" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 172).

Finally, it is also worthwhile to point out that attenuation may be used for one more function: to give a tinge of irony, sarcasm, or contradiction to negative meanings expressed in utterances (Urbanová 2003: 60), as is manifest in the final paradoxical reflection in the passage that follows:

(49)   It <u>seems</u> therefore necessary, that the particular Circumstances of every Parish that takes them, be consider'd; and that the Parish Officers be capitulated with, as to what they will do for them, and what they will do with them; and that Care be also taken, that those Capitulations be made good; <u>otherwise the poor People may find but a sorry Sanctuary in our Parochial Generosity</u>.

<div align="right">(Review, VI, 68: 272)</div>

6.   Concluding remarks

The object of this article has been to shed some light on the boosting and hedging devices used by Daniel Defoe in his political essays to produce effective political propaganda. For space limitations, it has centred on just one topic: the issue of immigration; a timeless but topical theme the readership may find appealing because of the apparent connections to be drawn with present-day political debates within and beyond British frontiers. From my findings, I may conclude that boosting is by far the most frequent of the two persuasive strategies used by Mr Review in the corpus studied. In spite of being a pervasive feature to make his stance clear, Defoe avoids sounding too strong or foolhardy and resorts to hedging to tone down his argumentation and disagree with his opponents in a civil way.

Single or multiple hedges and boosters fulfil a diversity of pragmatic functions in the corpus. Boosters and hedges are intertwined purposely to attain the maximum degree of persuasion and both undeniably contribute to creating his rhetorical style as a political propagandist As the corpus under study is limited to *The Review* and the Palatine immigration, to confirm my conclusions it would be interesting to extend the research on hedging and boosting to other non-fiction works produced by Defoe, and to analyse more essays from the Review dealing with other topical issues.

There is a growing number of studies that explore hedging and boosting devices in political discourse, some of them even dealing with the topic of immigration, then as now, a controversial issue. Indeed, although four centuries separate us, discovering how and why rhetorical strategies such as hedging or boosting were used in early eighteenth century political propaganda may still be of interest to the prospective linguistic and/or history reasearchers at present. Furthermore, many of the themes dealt with in this research are universal and timeless such as the

immigration issue; and although the War of the Spanish Succession is historically timebound, there is no doubt that its consequences and those of the Treaty of Utrecht (1714), which put the finishing touch on the conflict, are still pertinent nowadays.

The analysis presented here does not exhaust the topic of the persuasive techniques used by political propagandists in eighteenth-century England to influence on people's minds and feelings. It would be interesting to check whether boosters and hedges are used for the same or other purposes when dealing with other controversial topics not only in his periodicals but in the political pamphlets the writer produced at the time. Finally, it would be relevant to discover whether the reinforcement and attenuation devices employed by the propagandists at the service of the Whig and Tory factions coincide and if they are made use of in the same spirit and fashion. Hopefully this article will inspire other researchers to deal with these somehow neglected aspects.

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Politics beyond death?

An analysis of the obituaries of Belgian politicians

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Obituaries constitute interesting research material. Amongst other functions, they indicate how a society copes with death and the fear of dying. Obituaries reflect which personal and professional qualities the members of a particular culture or group in society consider important or relevant enough to be remembered in texts celebrating a deceased person. In this paper, we present the results of a bottom-up discourse analysis of the obituaries of one hundred Belgian politicians. The material comprises both obituaries published in the media and obituaries issued by the political party the deceased politician represented. On a content level, we focus on two aspects: the qualities mentioned and the presence of political orientation in the description of the deceased. On a linguistic level, we determine whether the metaphors used are politically inspired. The analysis carried out demonstrates that the obituaries of political figures – in which the political discourse and the discourse about the personal qualities of the deceased coexist – often turn into political propaganda.

Keywords: obituaries, political discourse, death discourse, discourse analysis, euphemistic language, metaphors

1. Introduction

Texts written after a person's death, such as obituaries, eulogies, and epitaphs, provide interesting material to determine how a society copes with fear of death and death itself. Although death is still a taboo, recent evolutions (death cafés, death dinners, etc.) give the impression that death is becoming easier to talk about. Unsurprisingly, death discourse is analysed within different scientific domains (e.g., (applied) linguistics, gender studies, intercultural studies, medicine, psychology, religious sciences, and sociology) and with different quantitative and qualitative methods. A search of online databases reveals numerous studies on death discourse. Most of them focus on a particular text type: death notices, epitaphs, eulogies,

obituaries, online commemorations. These texts are considered a genre because of their predictable structure and distinct moves.

Researchers have analysed texts dealing with death to examine different societal issues. Several (intercultural) studies compare obituaries from different countries or in different languages to pinpoint differences between cultures. Some compare related languages: English vs. German (Fries 1990), German vs. Australian English (Josephi, Müller, and Friske 2006), Dutch vs. German (Barth, van Hoof, and Beldad 2014). Others focus on non-related languages: Arabic vs. English (Galal 2014). Studies that compare obituaries from different religions have a similar perspective to those opposing different cultures/languages: Christian vs. Muslim (Issa and Abuhakema 2011; ElShiekh 2012; Samalweh 2019).

The present study is specifically devoted to obituaries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines an obituary as a "published announcement of a death, often accompanied by a short biography of the dead person." Obituaries, as Crespo-Fernández (2006: 104) notes, "go beyond the limit of a mere announcement of a demise"; rather, they are a complex and heterogeneous discourse type; and it is precisely in their variety where much of their interest lies. The presence of a biography, that often includes the personal and professional qualities of the deceased, sets it apart from a death notice or death announcement. Fowler (2004) describes five types of obituaries: the positive traditional obituary, the negative obituary, the ironic obituary, the tragic genre of obituary and the celebratory, untraditional obituary. Our earlier research has indicated that the majority of obituaries belong to the first type. Negative obituaries and even negative information in obituaries are rare.

Researchers often define particular groups of deceased while collecting their material. A frequently made distinction is gender based: obituaries of males and females are contrasted. Within that group of studies several subgroups can be identified. Kirchler (1992), Walenta, Kirchler, and Hölzl (2001), Curşeu and Boroş (2011), and Zehnter, Olsen, and Kirchler (2018) all discuss management and leadership aspects. Obituaries are also used as material to demonstrate gender (in)equality (e.g., Kastenbaum, Peyton, and Kastenbaum 1976; Spilka, Lacey, and Gelb 1979; Eid 1994, 2000, 2002; Moremen and Cradduck 1998; Moses and Marelli 2004; Ogletree, Figueroa, and Pena 2005; Hartl, Kirchler, and Muehlbacher 2013). Anderson and Han (2008) use obituary photographs to explore ageism and sexism.

Several studies are similar to the present one in the fact that they analyse the obituaries of members of a specific (professional) group. Most of them do not aim at describing the particular group but have another objective. Obituaries are for example used to analyse mortality or life expectancy. Remarkably, the deceased in those studies often belong to the medical field themselves: anesthesiologists (Katz and Slade 2006), physicians (Hermann 1989; Wright and Roberts 1996), and veterinarians (Blair and Hayes 1982). Other researchers select obituaries of people

in hazardous jobs or with stressful occupations that could be harmful for one's health: artists (Miller, Blair, and McCann 1985), attorneys (Vieweg, Dougherty, and Barfield 2003), factory workers (Walrath, Decouflé, and Thomas 1987), and soldiers (Askildson 2007). Content-based studies of obituaries of particular professions list the professional and personal qualities that are considered important enough to be mentioned in an obituary: academics (Tight 2008), librarians (Dilevko and Gottlieb 2004), psychologists (Kinnier et al. 1994), and staff members of organisations (Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2016). Finally, Heynderickx, Dieltjens, and Oosterhof (2017) analyse obituaries of professional athletes to determine if the metaphors used are inspired by the sport played by the particular athlete.

This paper presents the results of a discourse-analytical bottom-up analysis of obituaries of politicians from the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium and Brussels. The research material comprises both obituaries published in the media, and obituaries issued by the political party the deceased politician represented. On a content level, we focus on two aspects: the qualities mentioned and the presence of political orientation in the description of the deceased. On a linguistic level, we offer a lexical analysis of some keywords found in the obituaries and attempt to determine whether the metaphors used are politically inspired.

The present study is structured as follows. First, the research material and the methodology are described. Secondly, I proceed to offer the results of the analysis divided into two parts: a content analysis and a linguistic analysis. The results are followed by the discussion and conclusion section.

2. Theoretical considerations

Defining politics is at the same time complex and difficult. As stated by Chilton (2004: 3):

> On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like.

Miller (1991) states that the political process typically involves persuasion and bargaining. In this context it is interesting to look at the role of language when authority, legitimacy, and consensus are aimed at. What could be more normal than a strong presence of references to politics and political institutions when referring to the curriculum of a deceased politician? In this context, not only the individual

elements must be taken into consideration, but also and in fact above all the accumulation and combination of such political terms. Obituaries are, as said earlier, a genre of discourse, and, as such, it benefits from the analytical framework of discourse analysis.

In discourse analysis language is considered a social activity. Discourse analysis describes language in real-life situations and focuses on the relationship between the communication participants. It describes language not as a formal system but analyses language use. As Brown and Yule (1983: 1) claim: "While some linguists may concentrate on determining the formal properties of a language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for." These authors distinguish between two types of functions in discourse: an interactional function that expresses personal attitudes and social relationships, and a transactional function that gives expression to the content. According to Gee (1990), language is used in discourse to establish or confirm group membership:

> A socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group … or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'.
> (Gee 1990: 143, in Murray 1998: 1)

The group identification through language use can be linked to the concept of discourse communities. According to Swales (1990), a group of people constitutes a discourse community if common goals, participative mechanisms, information exchange, specific genres, specific terminology, and specialised expertise are present. Politics in general and political parties in particular meet several of those conditions and can be considered a discourse community of which membership can be established through for example language.

The theoretical frame we follow to examine the metaphors found in the corpus is Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in which a metaphor is defined as "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system" (Lakoff 1993: 293). A conceptual metaphor is a metaphor in which one idea (from the source domain) is understood in terms of another (the target domain). By structuring the conceptual system metaphors determine how people understand the world and their own experiences. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain that metaphors are fundamental mechanisms of our thinking: we use our experiences to understand other events and things.

Before moving to presenting the corpus and methodology, it seems necessary to make it clear that although the language data that make up the corpus are related to politics, this study is not based on critical discourse analysis, as CDA is, in essence, normative. In this regard, as Waugh et al. (2016: 72) claim, "CDA typically is 'normative' in that it judges what is right and what is wrong" and, as Fairclough (2010: 11) argues, "addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of

righting or mitigating them." This paper, however, discusses content and language aspects of the obituaries without evaluating or judging them; it takes a descriptive rather than a normative perspective to explore the language of obituaries. In this sense, it is worth noting that the study presented here, although not supported by the analytical framework of CDA, falls under the scope of public communication insofar as the discourse of obituaries is considered here as a form of communication directed at the general public for a variety of purposes; in fact, as stated in the introduction to this volume, discourse analysis and public communication is not exclusively the domain of critical discourse studies.

3. Research material and method

We collected 100 obituaries of politicians from the six most important political parties in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (and Brussels): CD&V, Groen, N-VA, Open VLD, sp.a, and Vlaams Belang. Table 1 contains a small overview of the parties that constitute the research material for the present study. In the political spectrum they are situated as follows (going from left to right wing): Groen – sp.a – CD&V – Open VLD – N-VA – Vlaams Belang.

Table 1. The political parties of which obituaries were analysed

Party	Ideology	Website
CD&V	Christian Democratic	https://www.cdenv.be/
Groen	Ecologist	http://www.groen.be/
N-VA	Flemish-nationalistic	https://www.n-va.be/
Open VLD	Liberal	http://www.openvld.be/
sp.a	Social-democratic	https://www.s-p-a.be
Vlaams Belang	Flemish-nationalistic	https://www.vlaamsbelang.org/

The obituaries were collected from the websites of the parties (see Table 1). The quantitative analyses (e.g., average length) were done using the word counting function of Word and the frequency and collocation software WordSmith. To analyse the content of the obituaries, the topics and their occurrences were put together in an Excel-file. The researchers discussed the ambiguous passages until consensus was reached. The metaphors were detected and analysed by a close reading of the texts. To be precise, in order to detect metaphors in the corpus of obituaries consulted, we have followed the well-known Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), a method for metaphor detection in naturally-occurring discourse first developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). This method can be summarised as follows: first, we read the text and understand the general context; second, we establish the

contextual meaning for the lexical unit in question and determine if it has a more basic meaning in other contexts; and fourth, we decide whether there is a contrast between the contextual meaning and a more basic meaning. In this case, the lexical unit is identified as metaphorically used.

The composition of the corpus is shown in Table 2. The average length of the obituaries is almost 310 words, although that result is somewhat tainted by the obituaries of Open VLD (and sp.a) which are considerably longer than those of the other political parties.

Table 2. Composition of the research material

Political party	Number of obituaries	Number of words	% of total number of words	Average length
CD&V	29	6,603	21.30	227.69
Groen	14	3,776	12.18	269.71
N-VA	13	3,415	11.02	262.69
Open VLD	13	5,940	19.16	456.92
sp.a	18	7,131	23.00	396.17
Vlaams Belang	14	4,133	13.33	295.21
TOTAL	100	30,998	100%	309.98

4.   Analysis and results

In what follows we will present the analysis of the obituaries that constitute the corpus for the present research. We will start by examining the content of the obituaries.

4.1   Content analysis

Concerning the contents of the obituaries, we will start by saying that negative information is seldom included in obituaries: the writers almost exclusively praise the deceased. One way in which they do that is by listing positive characteristics of the deceased. In our research material there are 7 obituaries that consist exclusively of objective data and thus do not contain a single characteristic. In this material overtly negative information is absent. There is one telling instance. In an obituary of Vlaams Belang a characteristic is included that in most situations might be considered negative but in the context of an extremist party is introduced as an asset as is indicated by the use of the verb *danken* ('to thank').

(1)   … bleef hij altijd *weigerachtig tegenover compromissen*. Die *onbuigzame mentaliteit* die onze partij nog steeds onderscheidt van de anderen, hebben we aan niemand anders dan hem *te danken*.

> 'He always remained *reluctant to compromise*. He is the only one we have to *thank* for the *unrelenting mind-set* that is still putting our party apart from others'.

A content analysis reveals which traits are considered important enough to be mentioned in obituaries. We divided the characteristics in three categories: professional, political, and personal. Since a large number of the deceased in the research material are local (and therefore not fulltime) politicians or people who were not politically active throughout their entire adult life, the professional qualities refer to their non-political jobs. The distinction between political and personal qualities is not always clear since personal characteristics such as enthusiasm, empathy, and sincerity are undoubtedly relevant to political life. If clear indications (e.g., in (2) and (3)) are absent, the categorisation was based on the broader context.

(2) Ontzettend charismatisch *politiek* figuur.
'An extremely charismatic *political* figure'.

(3) M., die in de eerste plaats een minzame *echtgenote* was voor Y., een bekommerde *mama* voor haar *zonen* J. en Y., een lieve *dochter* voor F. en B., een begrijpende *zus* voor C., een *schoondochter* en een *vrouw* die alle andere familierelaties invulde als geen andere.
'M., who was in the first place a loving *wife* to Y., a concerned *mummy* to her sons J. and Y., a sweet *daughter* to F. and B., an understanding *sister* to C., a *daughter-in-law* and a *woman* who filled in all other family relations as no one else'.

The non-political function of the deceased seems hardly relevant to the political parties: a minority of the obituaries (9/100) contains a professional quality. Example (4) refers to a job as educational adviser. In (5) the professional quality is combined with a political one.

(4) W. startte zijn carrière als studiemeester in het Provinciaal Technisch Instituut in E.. Daar inspireerde hij begin jaren zeventig al heel wat leerlingen met zijn progressief gedachtegoed.
'W. started his career as educational adviser at the Provinciaal Technisch Instituut in E.. There he inspired many students with his progressive ideas from the early seventies onwards'.

(5) Zijn vakkennis als notaris en zijn ervaring als burgemeester kwamen volledig tot hun recht tijdens zijn Vlaams ministerschap in de tweede helft van de jaren '80.
'His expertise as a notary public and his experience as mayor came to the fore during his time as Flemish minister in the second half of the eighties'.

Table 3 shows the most frequently mentioned political qualities for each political party.

Table 3. Political qualities of the deceased

Party	Quality 1	Quality 2	Quality 3
CD&V	geliefd/gewaardeerd 'loved/valued'	engagement	veel gerealiseerd 'a lot of accomplishments'
Groen	inzet 'commitment'	bedrijvig/actief 'active'	respect
N-VA	warme/echte Vlaams-nationalist 'a real Flemish nationalist'	echte kracht 'a real force'	inzicht/kennis 'insight/knowledge'
Open VLD	engagement	gedreven/werklust/ doorzettingsvermogen 'driven/ diligence/persistence'	passie 'passion'
sp.a	trouw 'loyalty'	gedreven 'driven'	overtuiging/ enthousiasme 'conviction/ enthusiasm'
Vlaams Belang	inzet/gedrevenheid 'commitment'	onbuigzaam/ compromisloos 'unrelenting/ uncompromising'	onbaatzuchtig 'selfless'

The characteristics in Table 3 are unspecific and are similar for all parties. Politicians are praised for their enthusiasm, their loyalty, and their efforts. There is only one characteristic in the table that is linked to the political programme: N-VA praises three politicians for being a true Flemish nationalist.

4.2   Linguistic analysis

4.2.1   *Lexical analysis*

Table 4 contains the ten most frequently used words in the material (after deleting function words such as articles, prepositions, and conjunctions). A small majority of the words in the top 10 have to do with the text topic. Four of them (*Flemish, politics/political, president, elections*) are linked to the political life of the deceased. The second place of *Flemish* is explained by the inclusion in the material of the obituaries of two political parties that strive for Flemish independence.

We quantitatively analysed some key terms in the domain of politics to determine how politicised the obituaries are. In Table 5 and Figure 1 the use of words referring to political institutions is shown. That *partij* ('party') has the highest frequency is self-evident, since the obituaries are published by the parties the deceased belonged to. *Gemeente* ('municipality') has a high score due to the large number of obituaries of local politicians. *Senaat* ('Senate') has a low score, because the Belgian Senate has only sixty members, who are not elected but appointed by the different regions.

Table 4. Top 10 of the most frequently used content words

		Frequency	‰ (total: 30,998)
1	jaar/jaren 'year(s)'	139	4.48
2	Vlaams(e) 'Flemish'	122	3.93
3	politiek(e) 'politics/political'	108	3.84
4	overleden/overlijden 'deceased'	103	3.32
5	voorzitter 'chairman'	70	2.26
6	man 'man'	56	1.81
7	familie 'family'	55	1.77
8	samen 'together'	47	1.52
9	afscheid 'goodbye'	44	1.42
10	verkiezing 'elections'	42	1.35

Table 5. Frequency of words referring to political institutions

Institutions	Frequency	‰ (total: 30,998)
gemeente 'municipality'	57	1.84
kamer 'chamber'	22	0.71
parlement 'parliament'	50	1.61
partij 'party'	307	9.9
provincie 'province'	22	0.71
regering 'government'	26	0.84
senaat 'senate'	9	0.29
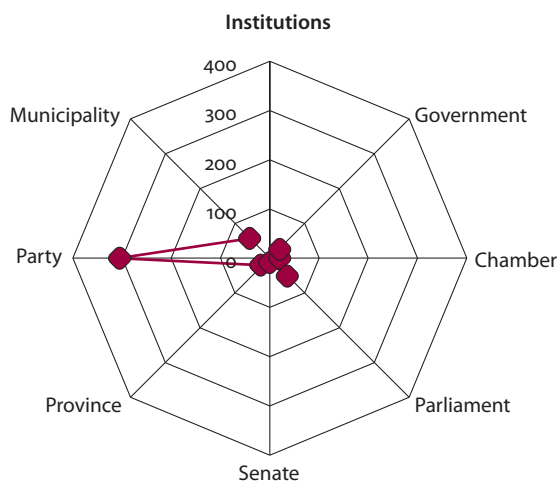
Figure 1. Words referring to political institutions

Political parties can also promote themselves in obituaries for their deceased representatives. Table 5 shows the occurrence of the (current and previous) names of the parties and words related to their ideology (e.g., Open VLD: liberal, sp.a: socialist). Groen has the most references to itself, Vlaams Belang the fewest.

Table 6. Frequency of words referring to the political parties

Political party	Frequency	‰ (total: 30,998)	‰ (total: sub-corpus of specific party)
CD&V/CVP/Christian Democratic/ Christian Democrat(s)	79	2.58	11.96
Groen(en)/Agalev	71	2.29	18.8
N-VA/Volksunie	53	1.71	15.52
Open VLD/VLD/PVV/ liberal(s)	78	2.52	12.13
sp.a/SP/socialist/social-democratic	52	1.68	7.29
Vlaams Belang/Vlaams Blok	24	0.77	5.81

In the obituaries consulted the deceased are described by mentioning their function, title, or job. Table 7 and Figure 2 give an overview of the functions included in the material. Since there are 364 functions included in 100 obituaries, we can conclude that most of the deceased held several functions consecutively or simultaneously.[1] As was to be expected, most of the deceased were rather high up on the (political, organisational) ladder. The exception is the function of *schepen* ('alderman'), which mainly appears in the obituaries of locally active politicians.

As a final element of our lexical analysis, we had a detailed look at the use of the (personal, possessive, reflexive) first person plural pronouns (*wij/we* 'we', *ons* 'us', *ons/onze* 'our', *onszelf* 'ourselves'). We selected the we-form because it is a strategically used pronoun in political discourse to create a group feeling and to set the we-group apart from the they-group (e.g., De Fina 1995; Skarzynska 2002; Bull and Fetzer 2006). Table 8 shows that 78.02% of all we-forms refer to the political party. The pronoun is clearly used to create a group feeling. The frequency of the general we-form is explained by the occurrence of the collocation *ons land* ('our country').

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1.   In Belgium it is not unusual that politicians hold several (paid) mandates (sometimes more than 40) at the same time. Because this system of *cumul* is being publicly criticised, sp.a, for example, decided in 2016 that their members cannot combine a seat in Parliament with the function of mayor or city councillor.

Table 7. Functions of the deceased in the research material

Function	Frequency	‰ (total: 30,998)
burgemeester 'mayor'	29	0.94
departementshoofd 'head of department'	16	0.52
directeur 'director'	50	1.61
gouverneur 'governor'	19	0.61
kabinetschef 'head of cabinet'	2	0.06
kabinetssecretaris 'cabinet secretary'	1	0.03
(eerste) minister '(prime) minister'	60	1.94
provincieraadslid 'member of the provincial council'	5	0.16
schepen 'alderman'	43	1.39
senator 'senator'	9	0.29
verkozene 'elected representative'	8	0.26
(vice-)voorzitter '(vice-) chairman'	122	3.94
TOTAL	**364**	**11.74**
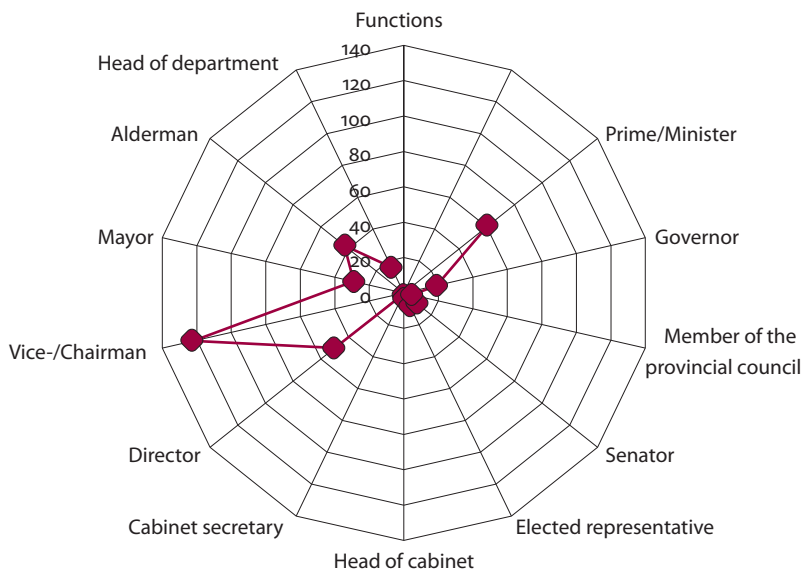
Figure 2. Functions of the deceased in the research material

Table 8. Analysis of the we-forms in the research material

Political party	Number of we-forms	Reference to party (local or national level)	We = everyone	We = you + I	Other meanings
CD&V	71 (10.75 ‰)	41	23	4	3
Groen	52 (13.77 ‰)	43	6	2	/
N-VA	34 (9.96 ‰)	29	/	/	6
Open VLD	47 (7.91 ‰)	35	11	/	1
sp. a	72 (10.1 ‰)	64	3	1	4
Vlaams Belang	47 (11.37 ‰)	39	5	2	1
TOTAL	323 (10.42 ‰) (100%)	251 (78.02%)	48 (14.86%)	9 (2.79%)	15 (6.64%)

In the examples that follow, the different meanings of the we-form observed in the corpus are illustrated:

(6) (we = the party). *Wij*, N-VA Borgloon, zijn J. zeer dankbaar, want zonder zijn steun zou het *ons* waarschijnlijk niet gelukt zijn om *onze* partij definitief in Borgloon op de kaart te zetten en goed te verankeren.
'*We*, NV-A Borgloon, are very grateful to J., because without his help *we* probably would not have managed to put our party on the map in Borgloon once and for all and to embed it firmly'.

(7) (we = everyone). Lisa was iemand met een warm hart voor *onze* samenleving.
'Lisa was someone with a warm heart for *our* society'.

(8) (we = you + I). Na een politieke raad of partijbestuur reden *we* vaak samen richting Deurne.
'After a political or party meeting *we* often drove to Deurne together'.

(9) (other meaning). Laat *ons* in Limburg die horde nemen.
'Let *us* in Limburg take that hurdle'.

4.2.2   *Metaphor analysis*

Since death is still a taboo topic in contemporary society (e.g., Tenzek and Nickels 2017; Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2019), a direct mentioning of death is often avoided. A frequently used technique to do so is the use of metaphors. Crespo-Fernández

(2011) and Galal (2014), among others, developed frameworks to categorise death metaphors. Using those frameworks as a starting point, we identified all death metaphors in the research material, paying particular attention to metaphors related to the domain of politics.

In our analysis of obituaries in staff magazines (Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2016), we made a distinction between two subcategories of obituaries: traditional and non-traditional ones. They differ on different levels: format, structure, content, and language use. In the traditional obituaries the metaphors used are those that are described in several studies on metaphor use in death discourse (e.g., Crespo-Fernández 2011; Galal 2014) and that we therefore gave the label traditional metaphors. The non-traditional obituaries, however, use more original, creative metaphors, for example to connect the metaphor with the function or the pastimes of the deceased. Unsurprisingly, some of those traditional metaphors of death are present: DEATH IS A LOSS (10), DEATH IS A JOURNEY/DEPARTURE (11), DEATH IS THE END (12), and DEATH IS A REST (13). However, except for words such as *verlies/ verliezen* ('loss'/'to lose'), *leegte* ('emptiness'), and *afscheid* ('goodbyes'), they are infrequent. A possible explanation is that the obituaries give far more attention to the life of the deceased than to the demise itself.

(10)   Izegem *verliest* gemeenteraadslid na slepende ziekte.'
       'Izegem *loses* a councillor after a lingering disease'.

(11)   RvM heeft ons afgelopen maandag *verlaten* na een moedige strijd.
       'RvM *left* us last Monday after a brave fight'.

(12)   We weten allen hoe het *eindigde*.
       'We all know how it *ended*.'

(13)   We wensen je de *rust* die je hebt verdiend.
       'We wish you all the rest you have earned'.

There are only a few original death metaphors encountered in the obituaries consulted which appear in the following quotations:

(14)   … we vernamen dat op maandag, 16 maart laatstleden, J.O. heel plots die bewuste morgen uit dit leven werd geplukt.
       'We heard that on the morning of Monday, 16 March last, J.O. was very suddenly plucked from this life'.

(15)   Een roos in de knop gebroken.
       'A rose nipped in the bud'.

(16)   Het doet pijn om je contactgegevens te moeten schrappen.
       'It hurts to have to delete your contact details'.

In the corpus consulted only one death metaphor has a link with the political life of the deceased (17). It is a variant on the metaphors DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS A BETTER LIFE: the destination of the journey is a reference to a Belgian (local) level of government but the place the deceased is going to is bigger and better than in real life.

(17)   *Op naar grotere gemeenten* waar objectiviteit hoog in het vaandel wordt gedragen.
'*On your way to bigger municipalities* where objectivity is highly valued'.

One death metaphor (18) refers to the childhood dream of the deceased to become a professional cyclist.

(18)   De Flandrien is niet meer, *die laatste col werd hem te veel.*
'The Flandrien is no more. *That last climb proved too much for him*'.

The search for other metaphors in the obituaries did not offer many significant results. The only element for which the obituary writers make frequent use of metaphors is the description of the significance of the deceased for their political party or the government. However, there is again very little variety: *monument* (10x), *boegbeeld* (9x, 'figurehead'), *steunpilaar* (3x, 'pillar'), *bruggenbouwer* (2x, 'bridge builder'), *hoeksteen* (1x, 'cornerstone'), and *wervelwind* (1x, 'whirlwind').

(19)   De socialistische beweging verliest in hem een warm, bewogen en bezield *monument.*
'With him the socialist movement looses a warm, eventful, and inspired *monument*'.

(20)   Opnieuw moesten we afscheid nemen van een liberaal *boegbeeld.*
'Once again we have to say goodbye to a liberal *figurehead*'.

(21)   een *steunpilaar* als kabinetschef
'a *pillar* as head of the Cabinet'

(22)   Hij ontpopte zich in het hoofdstedelijk gewest als een echte *bruggenbouwer.*
'He emerged in the capital region as a real *bridge builder*'.

(23)   Vooral het verenigingsleven beschouwde hij als een *hoeksteen* van onze samenleving.
'In his opinion the voluntary sector in particular was a *cornerstone* of our society'.

(24)   Als een *wervelwind* trok hij door zowel de Vlaamse Beweging, als de academische wereld.
'As a *whirlwind* he dashed through the Flemish Movement and the academic world'.

There is only one instance in which a metaphorical description is in line with another element in the context. In (25) the deceased is characterised as *smaakmaker* (literal translation 'taste-maker', meaning 'someone who creates a pleasant atmosphere, who spices things up') and the sentence contains a reference to beer:

(25)   Bij al wie hem in welke rol ook kende, was hij in dat opzicht berucht en bij pot en Stella een heerlijk *smaakmaker*.
'With everyone who knew him in whatever role he was notorious in that way and between pint and Stella he was a wonderful *tastemaker*'.

It is interesting to note that one of the metaphorical items encountered in the obituaries consulted embeds the political ideology of the deceased, who was a member of the ecologist party Groen.

(26)   … hoe W. vanaf 1991 zijn politiek verhaal met *groene* inkt begon te schrijven.
'… how W. began to write his political story in 1991 with *green* ink'.

Finally, one obituary uses the political dream of the deceased person to encourage and convince his fellow party members:

(27)   J. is van ons heengegaan zonder dat hij zijn grote droom van een onafhankelijke Vlaamse staat werkelijkheid heeft zien worden. Het Vlaams Belang kan zijn nagedachtenis niet beter eren dan door zijn strijd met ongebroken moed verder te zetten.
'J. passed away from us without seeing his great dream of an independent Flemish state come true. Vlaams Belang cannot honour his memory better than by continuing his struggle with unbroken courage'.

5.   Discussion and concluding remarks

Once again obituaries reveal themselves as a predictable text type: they present objective and subjective information on the deceased, they avoid a direct mentioning of death by describing it metaphorically, and the qualities mentioned are unspecific. In this study we selected obituaries of politicians to determine whether the political ideology or party would trickle down into the obituaries. As was to be expected, the obituaries contain the name of the political party and words referring to the ideology. The first person plural pronouns refer in a large majority of the occurrences to the party. But the political qualities are rarely linked to the party or the ideology and the death metaphors are only exceptionally linked to politics.
     Just like the obituaries of business people, sportsmen, and actors in show business we have analysed in our own contributions to the topic, the obituaries of

politicians can be considered a specific sub-genre of the general obituary genre. Nevertheless, one of the main characteristics of the obituaries of political figures is the coexistence of two discourses, namely the political discourse and the discourse about the personal qualities of the deceased. Given the difficult, sometimes even aggressive political context in Belgium,[2] it is not surprising that the obituary discourse quite often turns into political propaganda. The personal and political qualities and the political career of the deceased are used to rekindle the cohesion, enthusiasm, and fighting spirit of the party members. The death discourse, which is addressed primarily to the family of the deceased, in the first place the widow(er) and children, undeniably tends to turn the funeral into a political event. At the same time, the use of an inclusive *we* (the speaker and all the members of the party) undoubtedly proves the ambiguity of the political statement.

As the examples in the analysis carried out demonstrate, a farewell to a deceased colleague-politician is undoubtedly – at least partially – a political speech. As Jones (1994: 5) explains, a political discourse is situated at two clearly distinct levels, a macro and a micro level. The macro level refers to a discourse on district, state, or federal level. In this sense, our analysis has also revealed that the better known and meritorious the deceased is, the more important the political representative of the party will be. At the highest level, the deceased will be given a state funeral. In the Belgian context, the speaker or author of the obituary is often the leader of the party. At the micro level, the political discourse can use different persuasive and rhetorical techniques, rational or irrational strategies, and proselytising or demagogical manipulations to achieve its goals. It is not unusual for the speaker to put not only the deceased but also himself and eventually the party in the spotlight by quoting personal reminiscences. In our research material the micro level refers mainly to the use of formal and informal power (taking the merits of the deceased as an example) to achieve different goals in the political organisation.

In follow-up research it could be interesting to determine which other linguistic strategies the political parties implement to create enthusiasm and a group feeling: the use of extreme case formulations, boosters, enumerations of positive words, strategic use of negations, perspective, hyperbolic expressions, etc. Although such formulations are typically used to evoke a feel-good atmosphere and seem to be in contrast with the topic, they are present in the research material. Heynderickx and Dieltjens (2016) call that the happiness-sadness paradox.

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2.   Belgium is a federal constitutional monarchy with a complex institutional organisation based on linguistic and regional differences. The oppositions between the two main linguistic groups (Dutch- and French-speaking) are reflected in the complex system of governance with six different governments.

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Gender and sexuality discourse studies

It all comes down to sex

Metaphorical animalisation in reggaeton discourse

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This chapter investigates how sex functions as the main conductive thread in reggaeton musical discourse. By doing so, it explores how metaphorical animalisation frames the male perception of women. Following the Lakoffian conceptual basis that PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, it shows how genders are perceived as predators and prey and, subsequently, how this metaphorical animalisation conveys relations of power and control such as domesticity, taming, submission, and servility. The analysis reveals that whereas both are deliberately animalised, female animalisation operates at the service of men. In this regard, women animalisation is intrinsically related to being sexually objectified, dehumanised, and even physically abused, with certain tints of sadomasochism. The corpus analyses one hundred eighteen songs of twenty-five male reggaeton singers. The analysis unveils that sexual desire, pleasure, behaviour, and performance is intentionally animal-rooted.

Keywords: musical discourse, metaphor, animalisation, reggaeton, sex, gender

1. Introduction

This article focuses on music as a mode of social discourse to articulate public communication. Music falls in the lenses of public sphere as it is intentionally deliberated and contextually molded by social and cultural factors (see Introduction in this volume). As a cultural product and as a social practice it is produced and consumed by the public, which makes it inextricably part of the public domain. Music is a powerful means of communication (Miell, MacDonald, and Hargreaves 2015) as it can articulate emotions, attitudes, values, intentions, ideologies, and identities among others (Hesmondhalgh 2013; Morris 2013; Way 2019). In this respect, scholars (Moore 2012; van Leeuwen 2012; Way and Mckerrell 2017) have argued for the need of analysing musical discourse as it contributes to the understanding of social meaning. Music is ubiquitous today and widely transmitted in social media

through a variety of streaming music platforms (You Tube, Apple Music, Amazon Music, Spotify, Pandora, etc.) for a global audience. The popularity of streaming services has made music more accessible through hundreds of customised playlists and collections, for all ages and preferences. In addition, streaming platforms promote low-cost services that make new emerging artists more marketable, with unlimited tracks that are affordable and easily accessible to listeners.

Studies have pointed out that mass media and popular music perpetuate women as models of sexual imagery and behaviour. Even though our modern era advocates for gender equality, achievement still seems far-fetched; sexist attitudes and behaviours still prevail. Mainstream music predominantly depicts women as seductive, provocative, erotic, and driven by sexual appetite (Hunter and Soto 2009; Karsay et al. 2018). Relevant to this study is that the content of reggaeton song lyrics, dominated by the male gaze, sustains sexist stereotypes under a false veil of sexual openness and freedom. Reggaeton is an appealing genre to young listeners for its catchy beats, rhythms, and its trendy urban inspired culture. As Resto-Montero (2016) explains in "The Unstoppable Rise of Reggaeton", this genre has truly evolved from its niche to its well-established mainstream status since Don Omar launched "Reggaeton Latino" and Latin Grammys acknowledged reggaeton as a music award category in 2005. The increasing Hispanic population in the USA has increased the consumption with a larger audience. In addition, the collaboration of reggaeton artists with well-established Hispanic (Enrique Iglesias, Shakira) and American (Justin Bieber) pop artists have also helped to build its popularity in the music industry. In addition, the fact that Hispanic hits blend their English version in the music market – like Luis Fonsi's *Despacito* with Justin Bieber – helps to embrace a more global audience. Reggaeton' s increasing popularity is exemplified in streaming platforms such as "Baila Reggaeton", the most streamed Spanish playlist worldwide (Spotify flagship playlist) with over ten million followers.[1] Reggaeton's fame is beyond the Latino community (USA) and reaches a more global audience (Nadal-Ramos and Smith Silva 2016). Rocío Guerrero, experienced head of Latin music in Spotify, Amazon, and Warner Music Group, indicates that Reggaeton music has displaced other Latin genres and the Reggaeton playlists are popular globally, such as in places like London and Singapore.[2]

Reggaeton has been mostly male dominated, though new female[3] voices are recently emerging and fighting the so-called stereotypical "bedroom culture." This

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1. https://floridadailypost.com/baila-reggaeton-spotify-fourth-followed-playlist/

2. https://splinternews.com/the-unstoppable-rise-of-reggaeton-1793854249

3. Some female artists like Ivy Queen, Becky G, Carol G., Natty Natasha, Leslie Grace, Annita, Sofia Reyes, Lali Esposito, Brisa Fenoy, Ms Nina, and Tremenda Jauría are trying to break in the

genre has millions of followers through diverse media streaming, and some songs have hit the top charts like *Despacito* by Fonsi, Bieber, and Daddy Yankee or *Mi Gente* by Balvin. Its rapidly popularising success and presence in nightlife, dancing clubs is of serious concern as some lyrics illustrate heavy, explicit sexist content with aggressive language and misogynistic messages. Martínez Noriega (2014) argues that reggaeton promotes gender asymmetry by favouring men's dominant role over women and promoting a chauvinistic ideology. As Urdaneta García (2010) suggests, it is a direct invitation for sex as its lyrics draw from sexual content. The sexual appeal is perceived not only through the lyrics, but also in the suggestive clothing that women often wear in musical videos and in the gestures and dancing movements that they perform.

Sex seems to be omnipresent. We live in highly sexualised society where sex sells, and we are bombarded with sexual images and content. At the same time, there is a call to embrace sexuality, sexual openness, liberation, and self-expression. Reggaeton's doggy dancing, also known as '*perreo*', '*sandungueo*', or twerking, seems to be in the fine line between sexual, sexist, and sexualised. This dance that simulates canine sexual intercourse may be understood either as emancipation or as offensively sexist (Carballo Villagra 2010; Lira-Beltrán 2010; López Castilla 2018). As Martínez Noriega (2014: 63) points out, there is a fascination with sexuality in our society; however, the problem is not the allure or the seduction implied in sexuality but what causes that persuasion, since the audience might not reflect on the messages that those songs communicate, especially young adults. Calzadilla Waldann claims (2006) that this genre might be "a non identified cultural object" as some might find its content offensive and vulgar.

Some studies have analysed reggaeton lyrics with the attempt to account for the role of women in this genre. Galluci (2008) postulates that women, as depicted by artists like Daddy Yankee or Don Omar, are highly sexualised and denigrated. This author (2008: 97) further states that their lyrics present women in four ways: first, sexy, suggestive, and seductive; second, unfaithful to their partners; third, men's victims; and fourth, the desired loving partner. She goes on to say that these four types entail an ideological representation of the woman. Benavides Murillo (2007) also asserts that reggaeton promotes stereotyped images of women (beautiful, thin, sexy, and provocative) as sexual objects advertising male sexual fantasies and therefore favouring their sexual consumption. On these lines, Ramírez-Noreña's (2012) contends that reggaeton focuses mainly on two topics, women and sex, where women are treated as sexual, disposable objects to please men. She further

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reggaeton scene, fighting back their counter partners' sexism through their lyrics. The new rising "Feminist reggaeton" embraces new understanding of heterosexual but also gay practices as the ones advocated by Chocolate Remix.

indicates that this genre promotes unsafe and unprotected sexual practices without taking precautions and might have consequences for the reggaeton audience. Urdaneta García (2010) argues than reggaeton lyrics mostly incite sexual activity but also sexually violent relations. Male domination in reggaeton is the result of a cultural product that has emerged from that chauvinistic society. Gender construction and roles are embedded in the linguistic strategies of the genre. Martínez Vizcarrondo (2011) explains that reggaeton artists employ (over)relexification to create new meanings and frame sexual performance in terms of animal behaviour, recalling the rooted African courtship and mating dances. As these studies demonstrate, women in reggaeton are sexualised and dehumanised. While these studies have explored reggaeton songs, more in-depth research is needed to understand how male perceptions of women interweave with the notion of sexualisation and dehumanisation through metaphorical animalisation.

Following Koller and Wodak's definition (2008), this chapter contends that reggaeton music is a mode of public communication. In an attempt to research more thoroughly how women are metaphorically perceived in reggaeton, this study builds on the conceptual grounds that HUMANS ARE ANIMALS (Goatly 2006) and investigates the role of metaphorical female and male animalisation in reggaeton communication. In particular, this study examines how sexist and chauvinistic attitudes still strongly dominate current Spanish music and the social impact on the public, especially on the young generation. By doing so, it explores how animal metaphors serve as a discursive device to (hyper)sexualise women and convey relations of power and control with women as domestic, submissive, and servile. The analysis reveals how the animalisation of women is intrinsically related to being sexually objectified and physically dehumanised.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section 2 presents relevant studies related to metaphorical animalisation; Section 3 briefly describes the methodological approach and outlines the main conceptual metaphors that frame male's perception of women in reggaeton; Section 4 displays a thorough analysis about the findings. This section first examines women as animals (4.1) and explores men as animals (4.2). Finally, Section 5 closes with the concluding remarks of this study and possible openings for future research.

2. Metaphorical animalisation

Metaphorical animalisation is a productive source domain as it allows us to understand people as having animal properties (Kövecses 2002a: 19; Crespo-Fernández 2015: 135–150). Thus HUMANS ARE ANIMALS[4] might have originated from personifying animals, which resulted in animalising people. As Kövecses states, "animals were personified first, and then the 'human-based animal characteristics' were used to understand human behaviour" (2002a:152). It is interesting to consider that animals have been ontologically ranked in a lower position than human beings as Lakoff and Turner's GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (1989) suggests. Even within the same category, animals are ranked hierarchically, as some possess higher or lower-order attributes than others. In spite of humans being classified in a higher order, they are framed as animals since conceptual mappings can be drawn from top to bottom along the chain.

In addition, metaphorical animalisation reveals not only important conceptual insights, but also cultural and social ones, as they construct and reproduce ideologies (Goatly 2006). More precisely, female animalisation has been reported in several studies (Hines 1999; De la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez 2006; Morris and Goldenberg 2015; Morris, Goldenberg, and Boyd 2018). López Rodríguez (2009: 96) posits, "animal metaphors offer a window on the construction of social identities as well as paving the way for gendered discourse." Her study shows that the metaphorical framing of women as pets, farmyard, and wild animals in Spanish conveys a social perception of being subordinated and dependent on men. This dependency and dominance comes often attached to sexual power relationships, creating an imbalance between the *sexualiser* and the *sexualised*. This relationship is communicated through the predator and prey schema to indicate the imbalanced power among genders. As Crespo-Fernández (2015: 137) claims, the animal metaphor is "a powerful dysphemistic means to conceptualise what the male heterosexual dominant ideology considers 'marginal' groups, namely male homosexuals and, above all, women." In fact, Tipler and Rusher (2019) suggest that animalistic metaphors serve as a device to frame hostile, sexist attitudes. They declare that women-as-prey evokes their docility and submissiveness whereas women-as-predators elicits them as beasts, whose power and control should be usurped. It is important to note that animal imagery is not, however, used exclusively to portray women as inferior to men. Men perceive women as predators, as mere sexual objects, or as some lyrics specifically state, sexmaniacs. Men frame women mainly as wolves,

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4. I follow Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) convention of expressing conceptual metaphors in small capitals.

though there are also infrequent associations to lionesses, tigresses, and panthers. Using a wild animal as source domain in words like *lioness, tigress*, or *cougar* implies that females are not seen as objects under man's control; rather, they are considered dangerous creatures likely to kill their prey (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 144–148). Additionally, considering that metaphors vary cross-culturally and within cultures (Kövecses 2010), animal metaphors might also do so. Even within a socio-cultural context dimension, men and women perceive each other differently. To add to that, culture-specific metaphors may be attitude-specific as well, as Deignan (2003: 257) informs, "a particular culture holds a particular attitude toward a particular animal."

Also, within this metaphorical framing, this study will also consider Haslam's (2006) dual dimension of humanness, which states that women's objectification can be realised in two forms: first, it can be the result of highlighting sexual features and lacking uniquely human attributes (sexual objectification), and second, by emphasising beauty and physical appearance and, consequently, ignoring human nature (appearance-focused objectification). At the same time, this author further indicates that these types of objectification go hand-in-hand with animalistic and mechanistic dehumanisation respectively. It is worth noticing that although these two categories of dehumanisation are different, they are not mutually exclusive (Haslam et al. 2007).

3. Methodology

This study follows a corpus-based approach to metaphor. The corpus of investigation consists of consists of 118 recent, popular reggaeton songs in Spanish dating from the millennium to the present moment, 2020 (see Appendix with the list of songs). The songs are performed from a variety of male artists (Alkapo and Falkon; Alexis and Fido; Alvarez; Arcangel; Bad Bunny; Balvin; Daddy Yankee; De la Ghetto; Don Omar; Elliluminari; Farruko; Héctor and Tito; Jiggy Drama; Killatonez; Loyzz; Nicky Jam; Nio García; Nova and Jory; Tito; and Wisin and Yandel (with Romeo Santos). The majority of these musicians are from Latin America. More than half of the artists come from Puerto Rico, though some of them are originally from Colombia and the Dominican Republic, and few of them were born in the US with Hispanic heritage.

I analysed only metaphorical language related to the source domain of ANIMALS. This study considers a cognitive view of metaphor based on the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor – CMT (Lakoff and Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1993) and a pragmatic perspective based on Critical Metaphor of Analysis – CMA (Charteris-Black 2004). This view of metaphor helps to understand the conceptual domain of ANIMAL in its social and cultural dimension (Kövecses 2010; Shariffian 2011). CMT

postulates that the way we perceive and think about the world is metaphorically embodied in our conceptual system. It posits that human thought processes are metaphorically structured, and therefore, so does language. It contends that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). Thus, metaphor is conceived as a thought or a concept by which we understand abstract concepts in terms of concrete ones. In this study, aspects related to the concept of animal (source domain) are used to frame men's perception and attitude towards women (target domain). While the Lakoffian theory contributes greatly to understanding metaphor as the embodied experience of the individual, there is some criticism to it. Some scholars have indicated that the cognitive view of metaphor is not based on natural discourse, that is, linguistic metaphors occurring in a real context (Heywood, Semino, and Short 2000; Crisp 2002; Steen 2002); but rather in invented linguistic examples. As Kövecses (2002b: 76) indicates, the cognitive view is grounded on decontextualised and largely conventionalised expressions found in dictionaries or thesauri instead of naturally occurring discourse. This author (2002: 289) adds that CMT does not account for creativity, as it perceives metaphor as static conceptual structures. In addition, this perspective does not consider the socio-cultural context in which metaphors emerge. For this reason, I will also follow the pragmatic view of metaphor claimed by CMA. This allows me to analyse how animal metaphors are not only cognitively used but also culturally and socially motivated, as they communicate social attitudes and behaviours that might influence the public.

In this regard, animalisation frames male social attitudes and behaviours towards women (domesticity, servility, ferocity, promiscuity, aggressiveness, etc.), which are mostly considered objects of desire for mere fornication. The conceptual basis, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, is also evidence that HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (Charteris-Black 2007: 149), A LUSTFUL PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (Lakoff 1987: 40), SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS (Kövecses 2002a: 152), MEN/WOMEN ARE PREDATORS/PREY, and SEX IS KILLING/HUNTING/EATING/VIOLENCE (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 144–151). In addition, the corpus unveils that the reggaeton male perception of women is captured mainly through these novel conceptual frames: (VIOLENT) SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR; SEXUAL AROUSAL IS (FEMALE) BAD BEHAVIOR; SEXUAL PLEASURE IS CANINE COPULATION/HOWLING/BARKING; FEMALE GAZING/WALKING IS HUNTING; SEXUAL ORGANS ARE ANIMALS; SEXUAL DESIRE IS CANNIBALISM; and WOMEN SADOMASOCHISM IS ANIMAL TAMING. The conceptualisation of women and men as animals will share a common grouping of conceptual metaphors (predators, prey); but at the same time, both differ notoriously as highlighted attributes for each, defining a specific perception respectively. The next sections invite a discussion of how women and men are perceived as animals.

4. Analysis

4.1 Women as animals

In reggaeton, animalisation portrays women mostly as predators or pets. Several titles of albums and songs both explicitly and implicitly reference animal names and behaviours. The analysis indicates that animalistic features are mostly captured through references to types of animals: cat/kitten ('*gata*'/'*gatita*'), female dog/bitch ('*perra*'), wolf ('*loba*'/'*lobita*'), panther ('*pantera*'), bird ('*pájara*'), spider ('*araña*'), big horse ('*caballota*'), young horse ('*potra*'), and snake ('*serpiente*'). Although less frequent, women are compared to animal-like creatures like vampires ('*vampira*') and mermaids ('*sirena*'). Women are also metaphorically categorised as felines ('*felina*') and canines ('*canina*'). Furthermore, allusions to women as prey ('*presa*') contribute to predatory and domestic animal-states. Hence, women might behave as predators (*cat, wolf, panther*), but at the same time, they become domesticated, playful (*cat*), or submissive (*dog*) pets. Verbs also furnish female animalistic vocalisation through actions like howling ('*aullar*'), barking ('*ladrar*'), or meowing ('*maullar*'). Other verbs accentuate women's animal behaviour like devouring ('*devorar*'), hunting ('*cazar*'), or climbing ('*trepar*').

WOMEN ARE WOLVES, a metaphor which derives from the more general conceptualisation WOMEN ARE WILD ANIMALS (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 144), is undeniably recurrent in reggaeton lyrics as it characterises the individual's disinhibited and sexual desires. Even the titles of albums and songs explicitly portray women as she-wolves. Examples of this include *Loba* (Miguelito), *Loba* (Anuel AA), *Loba* (Yandel), *Loba* (Alvarez), *Loba Salvaje* (Renex L.E.D), *Ella es mi loba* (La Konducta), *Loba* (Nio García), and *Aullando como loba* (Wisin, Yandel, and Romeo Santos). In fact, she-wolf is the prominent predator used for depicting women, and this assertion is overtly and repeatedly stated in many lyrics:

(1)　*porque ella es mi loba*
　　'because she is my wolf'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Loba*,Yandel, 2015)

This conceptualisation of women as wolves implies an interesting symbolism. Wolves stand out as being beautiful and majestic animals for their fluffy fur and deep eyes. These wild, natural animals are epitomes of intelligent, gregarious creatures with a strong sense of territory, possession, dominance, instinct, and intuition. They are also known for their survival and hunting skills. Women as canids feature them as sexual hunters and predators. In this scenario, women are presented as carnivorous creatures who need to consume the flesh of another animal (men). Animal traits like ferocity and savagery are concealed in terms of sexual desire (SEXUAL DESIRE IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR). Because wolves prefer targets that are ungulate and

large, predator-women are viewed as daring and fearless, and therefore not being intimidated by the size of their catch, their prey-man, who is also metaphorically perceived as a predator (of women). Furthermore, women as wolves represent a state of wildness far from being tamed, domesticated, and human-attached. This translates them into beings with no owners or schedules:

(2) Loba *sin dueño, no tiene horario*
'Wolf without owner, without schedule'

(*Loba*, Wisin, Yandel and Romeo Santos, 2018)

The strong sense of female ownership and objectification implied in *dueño* deserves attention since it frequently defines the men's role in the sexual relationship. Ownership is explicitly and openly stated to claim control and right over the property (women); by doing so, male singers voice their ideological position to women:

(3) *Yo soy tu dueño*
'I am your owner'   (*Tu dueño*, Alvarez, 2016)

Moreover, wolves live freely in a natural environment, whose well-developed survival instincts make them independent, fearless, and strong. The wolf imagery highlights her pure, uninhibited, and primitive sexual instincts. The call for sex and the actual sexual moaning and groaning take the shape of a howl (SEXUAL PLEASURE IS HOWLING). The howling of a woman elucidates her sexual satisfaction for her packmate:

(4) *aullando como loba*
'howling like a wolf'   (*Aullando*, Wisin and Yandel, 2018)

The female howling scenario usually comes accompanied by the appearance of the full moon at midnight. This lunatic phase is believed to impact women's hormones and libido by reaching their peak sexual drive:

(5) *tú eres mi loba/La que aúlla debajo de la luna…aúllame, tú solo grítame …y en la luna llena hacerte solo mía*
'you are my wolf/The one that howls under the moon…howl to me, just scream at me…and make you only mine under the full moon'

(*Aullando como loba*, Nio García, 2017)

Women as wolves entail the conceptualisation of women as hunters (*loba cazadora*) by virtue of the metaphor SEX IS HUNTING (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 150). Considering that wolves are primarily crepuscular animals that prefer hunting in the absence of heat and light, the nocturnal full moon scenario supports and highlights women's nightly hunting activity:

(6)   *Hoy hay luna llena/Mi lobita se revela/ Sale de noche a cazar…mi gatita sale loba,*
      loba, loba…esa gata ya me la como toa…el reloj marca las doce y se convierte
      en loba
      'Today there is full moon/My little wolf reveals herself/she goes out hunting…
      my kitten becomes wolf, wolf, wolf…I am going to eat all that kitten…the clock
      strikes twelve, and she becomes a wolf'   (*Loba*, Alvarez, 2012)

The previous excerpt depicts the metamorphosis of the woman triggered by the
nocturnal environment where she transforms from cat into wolf. The role of playful
animal that provides sexual entertainment changes to one of a predator in search
of its prey. This animal transmutation shows a deliberate change in the woman's
attitude at midnight marked by *revelarse* 'disclosing her hidden sexual motivations'.
The gaze of a man also triggers her animal shift:

(7)   *cuando me ve se canina*
      'when she sees me, she becomes a canine'   (*Felina*, Héctor and Tito, 2002)

The female hunting method, framed through her gazing and walking, reveals
the conceptual metaphors FEMALE GAZING/FEMALE WALKING IS HUNTING. Thus,
the power of female eye-contact and her way of moving become her man-trap
techniques:

(8)   Vas *mirándome, cazándome, como felina rabiosa, desplazándose*
      'you keep gazing me, hunting me, as an enraged feline'
                                                    (*Cazadora*, Killatonez, 2016)

Related to this, wolves are opportunistic animals when hunting. This means that
women as wolves observe, choose thoroughly, and test prey of its weaknesses. They
select their prey deliberately, not randomly; therefore, women as wolves exhibit
selective, aggressive, and dominating traits. Besides wolves, women are also concep-
tualised through two other predators: lionesses and tigresses. Although instances
are less frequent, these felines emphasise women's sexual, wild nature and hunting
skills when it comes to satisfying her necessities. Women as lionesses and tigresses
reaffirms them as nocturnal hunters since most of their sexual hunting activity
occurs at night. Animalisation allows the metaphorical framing of the nightclub
activity and nocturnal lifestyle that enables/promotes/fosters sexual encounter in
young people. Interestingly, these predators exceed their male counterparts in that
they not only do most of the hunting, but they are also considered better hunters:

(9)   Vamos *leona/Cázame que esta noche estoy bien fácil*
      'Come lioness/Hunt me that tonight I am easy'   (*Leona*, Don Omar, 2004)

(10)   Tigresa, *azótalo/Pásale la mano por el cuerpo, aruñalo…Y si te seduce en la pista mátalo, mátalo*
'Tigress, hit him/Pass your hand through his body, scratch him…and if he seduces you on the dance floor, kill him'   (*Tigresa*, Héctor and Tito, 2002)

Evidence also claims that women are often metaphorically formulated as domestic animals, specifically cats, kittens, and dogs. WOMEN ARE PETS illustrates that women provide service, company, and entertainment. Female animal domestication denotes that women are tamed and owned. The implied ownership establishes a social hierarchy and a gradual dependency on its guardian. Each pet type uncovers female traits that reassert the male's perception about women. WOMEN ARE CATS/KITTENS highlights female characteristics such as beauty, independence, playful, and skillful. Cat is the most recurrent animal metaphor. *Gata* is part of the actual title of many songs such as Don Omar's *Gata ganster, Gata suelta* and *Gata fiera*, Daddy Yankee's *Mi gatita y yo*, and *Gata salvaje*. Cats are known for their beautiful, distinctive furs, wide range of eye colors, and majestic way of walking. *Gata* and *gatita* reference a sexy, young woman, which is realised as SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS (Kövecses 2002a: 152; Crespo-Fernández 2015: 137–138). The most common collocations are: *gata salvaje* ('wild'), *gata maliciosa* ('malicious'), *gata justiciera* ('judicious'), *gata sensual* ('sensual'), *gata fiera* ('ferocious'), *gata celosa* ('jealous'), and *gata en celo* ('in heat'). In addition to this, it is also highly common to find explicit mention to women as felines ('*felinas*'). This animalisation frames the prototypical young beautiful girl portrayed in reggaeton lyrics and musical videos wearing sensual clothes.

Framing women as kittens implies their lack of maturity and their highly playful nature. As López Rodríguez (2009) indicates, the stereotypical image of the baby animal playing with a ball of wool reduces women to the category of sexual playthings. Women are presented as mere sexual objects of entertainment and pleasure, that is, as sex givers and sex receivers. Cats and kittens are animals of double-edge as they can be adopted as playful pets but remain predators by nature. When kittens (women) play, they exhibit predatory actions like aggressive chasing and hunting. Women as sex chasers and sex hunters are triggered by a constant, inherent need for sex, which is metaphorically framed as a state of being in heat ('*gata en celo*'). Thus, sex-calling is cat-calling. Moreover, cat-calling through howling, roaring, and purring captures the need and desire for women to attract and seduce men. Also, actions performed by cats like *gatear* ('crawl'), *trepar* ('climb'), and *arañar* ('scratch') imply sexual flirting, insinuation, and provocation. Consider the following example:

(11) *Gatea satea/Trepáteme encima/Haz lo que sea /Pónteme agresiva /Pa' que vea /
Aquí pierda el control*
'Crawl, flirt, climb on me/Do what you want/Be aggressive/So I can see/To lose
control'   (*5 letras*, Alexis and Fido, 2007)

The above excerpt illustrates that these artists promote a woman whose sexuality is
understood in terms of felinity. Being sexually gruff, aggressive, and out of control
are the qualities embraced and valued by men.

(12) *A ella le gusta agresivo…Dale más latigo/Yo tengo una gata que le gusta bien
duro*
'She likes aggressive/ Whip her more/ I have a cat that likes very hard stuff'
                    (*Agresivo*, Arcangel, 2015)

An interesting observation is that while cats and kittens are mostly used explicitly,
female dog occurrences remain contextually implicit. Although less frequent than
cat and wolf usages, women are also animalised as female dogs/bitches ('*perra*'). The
mainstream usage of this slang word still carries a strong derogative and offensive
semantic force in Spanish. Male singers use it more often than female ones. In fact,
Elilluminari's *Perra* counts with fifteen million YouTube followers:

(13) *perra arrastrándote por el suelo…gritando como gata en celo*
'bitch dragging yourself on the floor…screaming like cat in heat'
                    (*Lento, lento, lento*, Alexis and Fido, 2007)

Women are presented as bitches, barking and crawling for sex, chasing bones, be-
ing mounted and dominated. Similarly as howling, SEXUAL PLEASURE IS BARKING.
Sex-calling also takes the form of barking to communicate women's desire for hav-
ing sex.

(14) *Tu mujer es una perra diabla/Mira como me ladra y me dice guau guau*
'Your wife is an evil bitch/Look how she barks and tells me wow wow'
                    (*Perra,* Elilluminari, 2018)

(15) *Menea, menea la forma que tú sabes de eso/ **Perra**, lo que tengo pa ti es un hueso/
Llegó el perro retravieso*
'move it, move it, that you know about it/What I have for you is a bone/The
super naughty dog has arrived'   (*Perra*, Alkapo and Falkon, 2012)

Female objectification entailed in the bitch metaphor reduces women to use-and-
throw sexual objects that are not only used, but also abused and, ultimately, dis-
missed and replaced:

(16) *Darte como una perra, como una cualquiera/Jalarte por el pelo, agarrarte por el suelo/Usarte como escoba, aúlla como loba*
       'Hit it like a bitch, like a whore/grab from the hair/Grab you from the floor/Use you like a broom, howl like a wolf'   (*La Groupie,* De la Ghetto Ft Ñejo, Lui G 21 Plus, Nicky Jam and Ñengo Flow, 2015)

Male and female perceptions about the use of *perra* differ. Female reggaeton singers make their feelings towards this term clear in their songs:

(17) Algunos *no entienden eso/que las mujeres tengamos sexo/Tan libre como los hombres/Anda pa'l carajo, deja el machismo/ No me digas perra, si somos lo mismo*
       'Some people do not understand that/ That women want to have sex/ As free as men's / Fuck off, don't call me bitch if we are equal'
                                                                                      (*Mala Mía,* Becky G., 2018)

Adams and Fuller (2006) point out these differences in meaning in their own article titled, "The words have changed but the ideology remains the same." The same truth could also be held for reggaeton male voices, though new female artists are gradually emerging to subvert sexualised female perceptions. This is the case of reggaeton Spanish singers like Brisa Fenoy, Ms. Nina, and Tremenda Jauría (Araüna, Tortajada, and Figueras-Maz 2020).

Women are continuously defined by animal behaviour. Women's libido and sexual effects on men are expressed through adjectives that carry negative connotations. SEXUAL AROUSAL IS (FEMALE) BAD BEHAVIOR conceptualises women as being rabid, malicious, abusive, perverse, and murderers (*rabiosas, maliciosas, abusadoras, perversas, asesinas*). Women's bad behaviour is what men praise and stimulates them sexually. Enraged women are depicted as rabid animals to emphasise a state of irrationality (*rabiosas*). Considering that rabies causes brain damage leading to madness, aggressive and violent behaviour like biting and attacking, women described as *rabiosas* connote their innate, uncontrollable sexual drive over men. At the same time, this implies that women as infected animals can transmit such diseases to others (men).

Women are also presented as venomous animals, mostly spiders and snakes (WOMEN ARE SPIDERS/SNAKES). More important than the type of animal is their implied dangerous nature that reveals their harmful and life-threating effects over their male prey.

(18) *Tramposa, araña venenosa/ Envuelve a los hombres con su piel olorosa*
       'Deceitful venomous spider/She surrounds me with her fragrant skin'
                                                                                      (*La trampa*, Alexis and Fido, 2011)

(19)   *Serpiente que quiere envenenarme…te rodea porque eres una presa perfecta…*
       yo bebo de ese boquita envenenada… y de ella no escapé, de ese veneno que te
       mata lento
       'Snake that wants to poison me…it surrounds you because you are her perfect
       prey…I drink from that poisonous mouth…and I could not escape from that
       poison that kills you slowly'   (*Serpiente*, Loyzz, 2013)

This section has provided evidence that male reggaeton music repeatedly animal-
ises women when framing male sexual drive and desire. In this context, animal
metaphors serve as a means to operationalise men's perceptions of women as mere
sexual objects. This section has showed how and why male singers use female ani-
malisation in reggaeton. Animalisation highlights women's physical attributes such
as beauty, sexual appeal, and sensual movements. Animalisation also captures their
instinctual nature as animals with innate sexual drives envisioned in their predatory
and dominating behaviour. Animalisation shows the strong primitive sexual drive
and the erotic skillful capacity to captivate the male, the prey. At the same time,
this animal instinct communicates the lack of reasoning, emotion, and morality,
when it comes to fulfilling the sexual urges. In addition, animalisation suggests the
nocturnal activity that alludes to the nightlife of young people. Finally, animalisa-
tion also highlights that women can play both roles, of a dominant predator and a
docile prey, to satisfy all range of male sexual preferences.

4.2   Men as animals

Male singers also picture men, including themselves, as animals. Male animalisa-
tion includes references to cat ('*gato*'), dog ('*perro*'), eagle ('*águila*'), lion ('*león*'),
wolf ('*lobo*'), pup ('*cachorro*'), horse ('*caballo*'), foal ('*potro*'), tiger ('*tigre*'), shark
('*tiburón*'), bear ('*oso*'), ostrich ('*avestruz*'), beast ('*bestia*'), wild animal ('*fiera*'), and
vampire ('*vampiro*'). Animal-based metaphors are not limited to animal names but
also account for animal behaviour like being a carnivore ('*carnívoro*'), a cannibal
('*caníbal*'), or a caveman ('*cavernícola*'). Other references denote types of animals,
like being a mammal ('*mamífero*'), and frame sexual organs as animal-like ('*zo-*
ológico'). Men overtly recognise their strong sex drives, and their cognitive basis
starts from the assertion itself of being an animal. *Como un animal* ('As an animal'),
as Balvin and Daddy Yankee title one of their songs, features males whose human
attributes are overtaken by their inherent sexual instincts. A metaphor such as this
one is used as a categorical assertion (Glucksberg 2003) that exercises a deliberate
statement of stating position, authority, and intention. Hart and Long (2011) in-
dicate that animal metaphors serve as powerful tools for framing our relationship
with the environment and that "they can be best understood in the context of

humans as evolved animals." Similarly, to women, men also suffer transformations into animals. The excerpt below illustrates the feeling of becoming an animal:

(20) *Mi lenguaje corporal me convierte en animal*
       'My body language converts me into an animal'

(Deja ver, Alexis and Fido, 2011)

Analogous to women, men also experience an animal metamorphosis after midnight under the full moon, mutating them into beastly, wild animals:

(21) *Soy una fiera después de las 12*
       'I am a wild animal after 12'   *(La cazadora o asesina*, Tito, 2005)

To the same extent as women, the most common metaphor that captures males is MEN ARE PREDATORS, seen through animals like lions and tigers, but mostly wolves. Contrasting with the she-wolf, both young and adult men are depicted as pups and wolves respectively (MEN ARE WOLVES). The nocturnal search for sexual activity implies the release of she-wolves that wander unleashed to be caught by the male-wolf:

(22) *Son las 12, ya hay luna llena…mujeres solteras están sueltas…ya es hora que salga el lobo*
       'It is 12, it is full moon…single women are loose…it is time for the wolf to go out'

(El lobo, Alexis and Fido, 2005)

The metaphorical usage of wolves place men in the role of cinegetic activity as expert chasers and hunters. Looking for sex is metaphorically equated to hunting. In addition, a group of young men manifests as a pack of wolves ('*manada*') getting ready for their sexual pursuit:

(23) *Que se acicalen los cachorros/ Que yo ando con los lobos míos, prepárate/ Que hoy me voy con la manada de cacería*
       'Pups should get dressed up/That I am walking with my wolves, get ready/today I am going hunting with the pack'   *(Loba*, Don Omar, 1998)[5]

The hunting metaphor is repeatedly exploited to frame both genders, although mainly men. In fact, the concept of hunt has been reported to be a salient and productive source domain (see Crespo-Fernández 2015: 150–152). López Maestre (2015: 109) postulates that hunt-based metaphors "construct and reinforce patriarchal discourses about masculinity and feminity which mostly privilege the male over the female and sustain gender inequality." The animalisation of men as wolves

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5. This song is prior to the millennium; however, it is representative as it shows that the hunting metaphor and its ideology behind still prevail with time.

emphasises their ability for hunting (how, when, how often, and how much). Noun keywords like *manada* ('wolf pack') and *cacería* ('hunting') illustrate their chase for women, and by doing so, reaffirm the predator or prey roles respectively:

(24) *Yo soy su cazador ahora…llegó tu matador que se va a fuego cuando acecha su presa/Ponte perversa.*
'I am a hunter now…your killer arrived, that goes on fire when chasing his prey/Get perverse'   (*Cazadora*, Killatonez, 2016)

(25) *Como un animal/El sale a cazar/Para irla a matar/La quiero atacar…como un animal, salvaje y letal/ Le voy pa' encima a mi presa*
'As an animal/ He goes hunting/ To kill her/ I want to attack her/ as a lethal and savage animal/ I am going to catch my prey'
(*Animal*, Daddy Yankee, 2015)

(26) *La mato de noche como cazador…Soy tu matador…Y yo voy tras de ti, como un cazador/ Ready pa' partirla su presa, tu piel va a ser mi recompensa*
'I kill her at night…I am your hunter…And I am going after you, as a hunter/ Ready to catch his prey, your skin is my reward'
(*Cazador*, Nova and Jory, 2011)

Hunting symbolises the quest for sexual pleasure. This previous excerpt indicates that the woman is an animal's skin that is the hunter's reward. It deliberately implies searching and selecting prey, catching, killing, and, ultimately, eating it. The metaphor SEX IS HUNTING (Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito 2000) expands in the realisation of other conceptual metaphors like SEX IS KILLING and SEX IS EATING. Both genders are portrayed as hunters; however, discursively, man's explicitness contrasts with woman's implicitness. The *yo* male voice creates assertiveness by stating clearly his position in his discourse in reference to the female figure. Dissimilar to men that are explicitly presented as hunters and killers ('*Yo soy un cazador*', '*Yo soy un matador*'), women's hunting skills are denoted mostly with adjectives ('*loba cazadora*') and verbs ('*cazar*') through the male's voice. This differentiation marks a social-status, hierarchical distinction between them. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that not only do both genders hunt, but they hunt each other sexually, inverting their respective predator and prey roles. Predators become prey and viceversa:

(27) *Pa' los cazadores que se convierten en presa*
'For the hunters that become prey'   (*No es culpa mía*, Daddy Yankee, 2008)

Interestingly, the prey metaphor is mostly used explicitly with the keyword '*presa*', whereas the implicit usage of predator is suggested by the choice of animal and action verbs ('*cazar*', '*atacar*', '*acechar*'):

(28) *Yo ya divisé mi presa…tras de ti voy al acecho*
      'I spied already my prey…I am going after you, chasing you'
                                           (*Zombie*, Alexis and Fido, 2011)

Men undertake the metaphorical shape of other predators like lions and tigers as evidence of their ferocity, dominance, and hegemony. Men are illustrated as tigers, hiding behind bushes, stalking their prey or as voracious and starving lions, dying to devour their victim:

(29) *Me dice que puedo hacer lo que yo quiera/ Hoy el león se va comer la pantera*
      'She tells me that I can do whatever I want/ Today the lion is going to eat the panther'   (*A ti te encanta*, Alexis and Fido, 2014)

(30) Los tigres más bravos por ella se enfrentan a un duelo…Este león está hambriento, ya se quiere comer su presa
      'The bravest tigers fight in a duel for her…This lion is starving, he wants to eat his prey'   (*Me descontrola*, Alexis and Fido, 2017)

The men predator metaphor also gives prominence to their animal behaviour as being carnivores and cannibals as the next examples indicate. Men as animal-eaters entail the feeding on flesh in the shape of a woman to satisfy their sexual appetite. Besides being denigrated as animals and prey, women praise men as if they were idols, which is an indicator of women's anticipated submission to men:

(31) *Llegó tu ídolo, tu carnívoro…Yo sé que estás loca por pegarte a mi mamífero… Quiero tocarte, comerte en mi cama encadenarte/Dominarte, darte, castigarte*
      'Your idol arrived, your carnivore…I know you are crazy to get closer to my mammal…I want to touch you, eat you in my bed, chain you/Dominate you, screw you, punish you'   (*Bailando la encontré*, Alexis and Fido, 2011)

The male sexual organ also acquires an animalistic characteristic by being a mammal. The penis as a mammal highlights its function of providing nourishment (for the woman) as well as promoting sexual sucking. Correspondingly, men also cannibalise women sexually. The metaphor of cannibals is contextually associated to men, not women. Cannibalism not only advertises women as objects of consumption but also professes their uncontrollable sexual drive towards them, resulting conceptually in SEXUAL DESIRE IS CANNIBALISM:

(32) *Y como un caníbal te voy a chupar hasta el hueso*
      'And as a cannibal, I am going to suck you to your bones'
                                           (*Ella le gusta*, Alexis and Fido, 2014)

The male body is projected as a zoo, allowing him to animalistically compare his sexual organs with a variety of creatures like birds or ostriches:

(33) *Vente pa' darte una vueltita por mi zoológico/Pa' que de una vez conozcas a mi pajarita exótico…Yo quiero darte con el avestruz de cuello biónico*
'Come to go for a walk to my zoo/ To know my exotic bird…I want to screw you with the bionic necked ostrich'

(*Agárrale el pantalón*, Alexis and Fido, 2005)

Sexual drive and pleasure is latent through the metaphorical implicitness incited through twerking, ordinarily referred to as doggy-dancing ('*perreo*'), the most typical reggaeton dancing move (SEXUAL PLEASURE IS ANIMAL/CANINE COPULATION). *Perreo* imitates canine sexual reproduction of males mounting females from the rear. This is recurrently used in many lyrics and musical videos. Way and McKerrell (2017) argue that the power of music lies in its multimodal communication of lyrics, images, rhythm, and tonality that are an important part of its social semiotics. Explicit references to *perreo* appear in names of albums like *Perreología* by Fido and Alex, songs like Wisin and Yandel's *Perreo*, and countless reggaeton lyrics and musical videos. The repeated enunciation to *perrear* attests that sex is central in men's lives, and consequently, this persistency reinforces male gender power over females as the normalised tendency. Twerking certainly reduces women to mere sexual objects:

(34) *el perreo es su profesión/Siempre puesta pa' su misión*
'twerking is her profession/She is always ready for her mission'

(*Callaíta*, Bad Bunny, 2019)

The dog metaphor embodies mainly men's call for sexual copulation. However, other canine characteristics are transferred into human behaviour when it comes to receiving sexual pleasure. Men as dogs accentuate their deliberate submissiveness, domesticity, docility, and servility while they are willing to receive sex from a woman. As case in point, their playful attitude towards sex is portrayed as chasing bones (women), which can be chewed and sucked. Interestingly, men describe themselves often as stray dogs ('*perro sato*') and stray cats ('*gato sato*') to underscore their independent street life, taking the reins on their own ownership and freedom, being away from responsibilities and ties:

(35) *Hey gato, buen gato/ Si no me mata te mato/ Tan perro, tan sato/ Y si no me mata te mato*
'Hey cat, good cat/If that does not kill me, I will (kill) you/ So doggy, so stray/ And if that does not kill me/ I kill you'

(*Yo sé lo que tú das*, Alexis and Fido, 2007)

Sexual domination and mounting is also connected to horses and foals. The conceptual metaphor sex is riding pictures the woman-on-top sexual position, resembling wild riding of the equine animal (man) and controlling the reins. Equally noteworthy is that not only are men represented as equines, but their sexual organs are described in the form of a horse neighing to convey sexual satisfaction.

(36) *Vaquera, este potro no mikea …tú quieres ver como relincha mi proyectil*
      'Cowboy girl, this foal does not monkey around …you want to see how my
      projectile neighs'   (*La cazadora o a*sesina, Tito, 2015)

Furthermore, men's sexual desire is communicated through feeding habits. Animal appetite is conceptualised as sexual drive through verbs like to eat ('*comer*') and especially devour ('*devorar*'). Sex as hunger and sexual appetite as animal appetite emphasise the intensity, eagerness, and arduous desire for sex. *Devorar* has a positive connotation, and its semantic meaning reinforces the bidirectional sexual desire from both sides, the giver and the receiver, that is, the voracious feeding and the ravenous ingesting. In addition, male sexual interests also show a lack of rational behaviour and empathy for women when they promote high-risk sexual practices like not using a condom, as suggested in Wisin's *Escápate conmigo* (2017): "*Sin condón, contigo yo me voy acape*" ('I am going to escape with you without a condom').

   Of major concern is the fact that reggaeton lyrics draw substantially from aggressive language, and they reveal that men perceive sex in relation to violence. As Kövecses (2010: 152) argues, violent human behavior is animal behaviour. Sexual pleasure is understood in terms of animal violence: sex is violence and sex is killing. Women are often rendered in sexual scenarios as animals, enjoying aggressiveness and savagery. Furthermore, this permissiveness of violence is conceived positively as it correlates proportionally with sex; the more violence that is present, the greater the eroticism, which translates into higher sexual arousal and gratification. To illustrate some references:

(37) *Esto es perreo a lo bruto, a lo cavernícola/Dándote hasta joderte[6] la vesícula…*
      voy a hacerte una llave[7] con un perreo agresivo
      'This is rough twerking, caverman-like/Screwing you until I fuck your vesicle…
      I am going to make you a key with an aggressive twerking'
                                          (*Daga adicta*, Alvarez and Luigi 21, 2012)

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6. The verb *joder* in colloquial language can refer to have sex, but also to annoy or hurt someone.

7. The expression *hacer una llave* evokes the meaning of 'making a (judo/karate) key' which immobilises the opponent, keeping one under control.

(38) *Yo tengo una gata que le gusta el castigo/Ella se vuelve loca cuando le meto agresivo / Cuando la cojo por el pelo la pego a la pared y le digo / Que la voy a mandar pa intensivo…Le encanta que me ponga como un animal /Que le tape los ojos y la comienza a torturar…No hay quien la dome*
'I have a cat that likes punishment/ She goes crazy when I become aggressive/ when I grab her by the hair and push her against the wall and I tell her / that I am going to send her to intensive care…she loves me behaving like an animal/ that I cover her eyes and I start torturing her…nobody can tame her'
(*Mala conducta,* Alexis and Fido, 2011)

Reggaeton lyrics make use of strong, aggressive language to refer to sexual behaviour and copulation. This can be captured in expressions like slow-burning flame ('*quemar a fuego lento*'), whipping/hitting ('*azotar*'), hostile or rough hitting ('*pegar*', '*darle duro*', '*agresivo*'), and punishing ('*castigar*'). The recurrent elicitation of animal taming and domestication defines women's attitudes and their sexual relationships with men. The above excerpt shows that violence is justified as a need for taming an animal (women). Taming ('*doma*', '*domar*') pictures women as wild animals that are difficult to control and enjoy being physically domesticated and mastered. This bad behaviour ('*mala conducta*'), indicated in the title, suggests that sadomasochism is an attitude that men praise in women:

(39) *Yo quiero azotarte, domarte /Pero lo malo es que te gusta /Castigarte por tu mala conducta…ponte salvaje/Esa es la actitud*
'I want to hit you/ tame you/ But the worst thing is that you like (it)/ Punish you for your bad behaviour…get wild/That's the attitude'
(*Mala conducta*, Alexis and Fido, 2011)

Whipping, hitting, domesticating, and punishing signal that WOMEN SADOMASO-CHISM IS ANIMAL TAMING. Moreover, each gender's role is specifically defined in that men tame women, and conversely, women like being tamed by men. Male sexual perceptions of women promote sexual objectification through animalistic dehumanisation, and animal derogation conceptually bridges with physical aggression. As the examples manifest, these lyrics promote hostile sexism and can impact a young audience in the way they perceive others. As Tipler and Ruscher (2019: 109) defend, "repeated exposure to a particular metaphor increases the accessibility of the associations and speeds their utilization." They argue that the more often women are labelled as animals, the more the connection between women and sexual violence becomes normalised.

This section has presented the importance of animalisation while framing male reggaeton singers' attitudes towards sex and women in their music. First, animalisation serves as a metaphorical means to communicate openly that men are driven mainly by sex. Second, animalisation also articulates the assertion of men

as animals, as lyrics in the corpus exemplify. The lyrics indicate that men behave driven by strong sexual instinct, exhibiting a constant search for sexual pleasure, as they can mate anytime. Third, as the lyrics show, animalisation also portrays men as predators and preys, which unveils their ideological power relations with women and their perceptions. Fourth, male animalisation endorses men as nocturnal predatory animals that are skillful hunters. Additionally, they may hunt in packs to assert their common goal with dominance and authority. Lastly, the lyrics suggest that male predation promotes high-risk sexual practices, aggressiveness, savagery, and permissiveness of violence. As Section 4.1 and 4.2 present, animalisation acts as a powerful discursive device in reggaeton music. This form of current and popular public discourse, prevalent in social media, promotes a strong sexist hegemonic culture.

5.   Conclusions

This analysis shows that in male reggaeton music, it all comes down to sex. Male artists disclose their compulsions for sex; love and affection become secondary or even irrelevant. Matters of betrayal, cheating, infidelity, dissatisfaction, and unrequited love emerge somehow from applying animal behaviours to human. Animalisation serves several fronts in the discourse. Animal metaphors conceptualise and communicate tendencies of the male sexual drive and, consequently, the male perception of women. Whereas both genders are deliberately animalised, female animalisation operates at the service of men. Animal instances portray woman's multilayered and multifaceted functionality. Animal metaphors sexify women by praising excessively beautiful and attractive physical appearance, arousing outfits, suggestive dancing, and provocative attitudes. In addition, female animalisation strives to create a modern woman who advocates for sexual openness, freedom, and disinhibition. This combination of attractiveness and sex promotes an empowering model of idealised, desired, and perfect woman in reggaeton. However, as Karsay et al. (2018: 9) point out, "the boundaries of female empowerment and sexual objectification are blurred, leading to ambiguous presentations, including both *feminist* and *sexist*." Interestingly, animalisation serves a means of ambivalence as women perform different behaviours towards men. Female sexual openness seems to discursively and deliberately overlap with men's (hyper)sexualised perceptions of women. Hence, sexual objectification goes beyond the implication of being sexualised to becoming eroticised. Women are constantly presented with high sexual libidos but also as seductive sex chasers and sex maniacs who desperately need to satisfy their sexual drive; they are men's sexual pleasers. Women's sexual openness seems to work at the service of men, not women. Both genders are animalised as predators and

prey of each other, which implies their capacity for adaptability and modifiability. However, the male gaze still remains the beneficiary in this dichotomy. Women are men's prey, and since women symbolise sex for men, then men are prey to sex. This inversion of gender roles does not advocate for gender equality, but to satisfy men's sexual libidos. Furthermore, this claim for sexual openness also promotes unsafe sex practices by not using condoms; after all, animals do not employ safe sex habits.

Addedly, animalisation not only implies sexualisation but also aggressive, sado-masochist behaviour, blurring the fine line of bestiality that defines the conduct of humans and animals. This suggests that reggaeton centres its lyrics on aggressive sex. Men's sexual satisfaction is at the expense of women's physical denigration. In this sense, animalisation acts as a discursive device to frame hostile sexism in the shape of taming, domesticating, whipping, hitting, and punishing. These findings confirm that current, trendy reggaeton, listened to by thousands and widely streamed on radio stations, animalises, (hyper)sexualises, and denigrates women. Considering that reggaeton, as a cultural product, normalises and integrates these chauvinist, aggressive, and neosexist precepts as its canon makes us reflect on the serious social repercussions that this public communication might have, especially in the minds of young fans.

Music is now a global public communication platform with deep socio-cultural roots. This study has contributed to analyse male artists' musical discourse in the reggaeton genre, a relatively new research area. Future research can explore how female reggaeton singers frame and influence musical discourse. It would be also interesting to tackle the difference, overlap, and similarity of the animalisation in contrast to other types of popular music. Another window of opportunity is to investigate different musical genres in other socio-cultural, political, and linguistic settings.

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Appendix. Corpus, 118 songs

Alkapon and Falkon: Bellaquiado (2012); En la disco (2012); El deseo me traisiona (2012); Perra (2012); Tres tragos (2012).

Alexis and Fido: 5 letras (2007); Agárrale el pantalón (2005); A ti te encanta (2014); Bailando la encontré (2011); Deja ver (2011); El lobo (2005); Ella le gusta (2014); Juiciosa (2014); La trampa (2011); Lento, lento, lento (2007); Mala conducta (2011); Me descontrola (2017); Piden perreo (2006); Yo sé lo que tú das (2007); Zombie (2011).

Alvarez: Daga adicta (with Luigi 21, 2012); Loba (2012); Quiero experimentar (2015); Rico suave (2016); Sexo, sudor y calor (2011); Tu dueño (2016); Tumba el Piquete (2009).

Arcangel: Agresivo (2015); Flow violento (2012); Po' encima (2017); Te la meto yo (2017)

Bad Bunny: Bichiyal (2020); Callaíta (2019); La Difícil (2020); La Santa (2020); Sigues con él (2019).

Balvin: Como un animal (2018); Contra la pared (2019); Guinza (2015).

Daddy Yankee: Adictiva (2018); Animal (2015); Con calma (2019); Gasolina (2010); Gata Ganster (2003); No es culpa mía (2008); Llegamos a la disco (2012); Muévelo (2020); Soltera (2019).

De la Ghetto: *Ahí ahí ahí (2013); Grosero (2019); La Groupie* (2015) (with Ñejo, Lui G 21 Plus, Nicky Jam and Ñengo Flow); Mírala (2013); Punto G (2017)

Don Omar: Dale Don dale (2003); Hasta abajo (2010); Leona (2004); Loba (1998); Pobre diabla (2003).

Elliluminari: Lorito (2019); Marcando (2018); Melocotón (2018); Perra (2018); Sin condón (2018); Weke weke (2020).

Farruko: Caliente (2019); Diabla (2018); Perreo intenso (2020); Pikete (2012); Ponle (2018); Rebota (2018).

Héctor and Tito: Felina (2002); Gata celosa (2002); Gata salvaje (2002); Guata gatas (2005); Noche de loba (2002); Tigresa (2002).

Jiggy Drama: Contra la pared (2011); Desnúdate (2009); El lobo (2011); Eres tú (2011); Sexo que sana (2013).

Killatonez: Cazadora (2016); Ese culo es mío (2017); Zona del perreo (2014).

Loyzz: Guata, gata, gato (2016); Serpiente (2013).

Nicky Jam: Date la vuelta (2019), Despacio (2017); La Diabla (2018); Muévelo (2020); Rebota (2018); Que le de (2019).

Nio García: Aullando como loba (2017); Bandida (2020); La detective (2016); Nocturna (2019);

Nova and Jory: Cazador (2011); Cómo lo menea (2011); La falda (2010); El remeneo (2011); Matador (2011); Sexo (2011); Yo sé qué quieres (2011).

Tito: La cazadora o asesina (2005); Adicta al sexo (2014); Controlando (2014); La calle lo pidió (2014); Bailame así (2019); No le bajes (2019).

Wisin and Yandel: Aullando (2018); Besos mojados (2009); Hipnotizame (2012); Loba (2015) (only Yandel); Loba (2018) (with Romeo Santos); Noche de sexo (2005); Me estás tentando (2008); Mi favorita (2019); Reggaeton en lo oscuro (2018).

Cyberbullying and gender

Exploring socially deviant behavioural practices among teenagers on Twitter

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Over the last two decades, there is a growing body of feminist studies that discusses both the psychological and social benefits and the negative effects of social media use among teenagers. Using threads taken from Twitter, understood as a blend of social media, blogging, and texting, the present study aims to explore, from a gender-based approach, the discursive strategies and self-presentation strategies both male and female teenagers deploy and the impressions that they exhibit when they verbally abuse and victimise others in their own threads or somebody else's. The study of male and female interpersonal socially deviant practices on Twitter not only provides a number of preliminary answers to why gender matters in the study of cyberbullying, but also casts light on a gender-sensitive construction of the used gendered strategies in verbal cyberbullying. Furthermore, the study makes it possible to address essential linkages between the micro-level (i.e., the individual) and the macro-level (i.e., the social action in this public sphere).

Keywords: public discourse, Twitter, cyberbullying, discourse analysis, gender

1. Introduction

There is a wealth of literature that calls attention to the types of things teenagers can do online (Anderson 2002; Lenhart, Madden, and Hitlin 2005; Livingstone and Bober 2005; Rainie and Hitlin 2005; Ringrose 2008; Thurlow 2014, among others). Over the last two decades, there is a growing body of work that discusses both the psychological and social benefits and the negative effects of social media use among teenagers (Galambos 2004; Ringrose 2010; Dobson 2014a). In fact, most research on youth and information technology has focused on the ways social media help teenagers maintain social ties (Nurmi 2004) and explore their own (sexual) identity online (Archibald, Graber, and Brooks-Gunn 2003).

Especially, authors such as Brown (2004) and Kumar et al. (2005) have attempted to throw further light on the interpersonal dimensions that characterise these peer networks. However, insufficient attention has been paid to the implications of exposing people's in general and teenagers' in particular private lives in a public forum. In particular, the amount of personal information teenagers disclose in their social networks (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, personal weblogs, and Twitter) for their friends, but that is also available for any other visitor (i.e., sexual offenders.) A glance through the literature and current linguistic studies in the field of social media and blogging will suffice to show that the dangers of publicly exposing teenagers' private lives still remains by and large silent (i.e., sexual predators, sexual harassment, sexting, sextortion, etc.). For instance, Finkelhor, Jones, and Shattuck (2010a) and Finkelhor et al. (2010b) claim in their studies that one in five teenage Internet users have some time received a sexual solicitation, most of which were never reported to their parents or the authorities.[1] One of the most serious problems facing young people today is that of "cyberbullying". In this study, cyberbullying is defined as negative verbal actions online that "have hostile intent, cause distress to victims, are repeated over time, and involve a power differential between bullies and their victims" (Craig and Pepler 2003: 577).

Among the different tools available on the Internet, *Twitter* – understood as a blend of social media, blogging, and texting – has become a very popular space where people express themselves and interact with others by creating engaging content that is publicly available unless the user makes his or her account private. Since 2006, Twitter allows its users to send and receive up to 140 characters long posts called tweets. By following other users that share similar personal or professional interests, people can see the tweets these people post chronologically displayed in their twitter "timeline". Furthermore, Twitter users can interact with each other since they can comment on other users' posts, retweet a particular post of interest, send a Direct Message or, simply, post their own tweets on the topic (Russell 2011). Zappavigna (2012: 3–4) distinguishes two dimensions on Twitter: from a technical perspective, it is a large database that stores the tweets posted by individual users; from the point of view of its users, Twitter consists of an interface that allows them to post tweets, manage their list of followers, or search Twitter data. In sum, this microblogging site makes it possible to share information efficiently with a large number of people all over the world (Canter 2015) and, as demonstrated by Page et al. (2014), it constitutes a fascinating storehouse for researchers interested in language in social media contexts.

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1. For a detailed discussion see also Finkelhor, Kimberly, and Wolak (2000) and Finkelhor et al. (2005).

This chapter outlines two assumptions and attempts to present a consistent self-expression and impression management in-depth analysis of cyberbullying among male and female British teenagers on *Twitter*. First, this study focuses on the topics and the type of information these teenagers post in their public accounts in this social macro-blogging platform. Second, it discusses the characteristics of social images and the relational behavioural processes these male and female teenage Twitter users exhibit when cyberbullying some other person of the same gender. All in all, this gender-specific investigation of cyberbullying attempts to draw attention to the need for meaningful and systematic approaches to addressing the problems of teens exposing their private lives on the Internet (Huffaker 2006; Christofferson 2016).

2. Disclosure of personal information, impression management, and cyberbullying

In general terms, disclosure of personal information and impression management on the Internet has been thoroughly studied by psychologists, sociologists, and discourse analysts (Sigelman 2001; Silvester et al. 2002; Maíz-Arévalo 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018). More specifically, leading-edge scholars such as Smith (1998), Marwick and Boyd (2011), and Dobson (2015), among others, have explored the different self-presentation strategies and techniques of audience management which people use online in order to depict themselves, attract audience to visit their blogs and social media profiles, and turn these visitors into followers.

Although there is a stated recognition of the complexity of the problem, research on disclosure of personal information and impression management in social networking sites has just begun. In particular, personal tweets (i.e., Posts to *Twitter*) are "primarily low-tech devices with a self-serving focus of personal information disclosure and featuring spontaneous forms of expression the type of information individuals seeks to conceal in diaries" (Keshelahvili 2005: 4). In this sense, posting comments regularly on your own and somebody else's Twitter accounts can be regarded as the twenty-first century diaries people in general and young people in particular used to keep in past. In making their private lives public on the Internet, the boundaries between what it is "public" and "private", what is virtual reality and real life have therefore become a grey area (McNeill 2003).

Previous studies have shown that disclosure of personal information goes hand in hand with impression management in both online and offline contexts (Cummings, Butler, and Kraut 2002; Nurmi 2004; Huffaker 2006). In the case of Twitter, teenagers prefer discussing themes that are relevant in their daily lives (i.e., life in school, friend and sexual relationships, hobbies, problems at home, etc.). It goes without saying that when teenagers discuss their own real life problems, they

not only make their life public (Java et al. 2007) but they also depict themselves as social beings (Mischaud 2007). This makes Twitter the perfect environment to study the discursive strategies and self-presentation strategies teenagers use to represent themselves and the impressions that they exhibit when they verbally abuse and victimise others in their own threads or somebody else's. In this study, impression construction in exploring cyberbullying behaviour is then associated with "not only choosing the kind of impression to create, but deciding how they will go out it" (Leary and Kowalski 1990: 36).

The most influential work on presentation of self and impression management is Goffman's (1959) psychological and sociological research on the different ways individuals attempt to control the impression others receive of the speaker himself or herself in a given social context (Serpa and Ferreira 2018). In particular, he differentiates between the expression the individual gives (i.e., the controlled expression that an individual conveys via verbal communication) and the expression the individual gives off (i.e., an interpretation on the part of the hearer in terms of what the other does or restrains to do). Furthermore, Goffman draws on the theatrical metaphor in order to develop an analytical framework in which individuals are actors that perform distinct roles on the front stage. By acting, individuals can keep their real selves on the backstage from other individuals (Bute 2016; Mueller 2018). Researchers have already applied this analytical framework to posting personal comments on social networks and have discussed whether or not it is possible to see the author's backstage to some extent (Keshelahvili 2005).

Of particular interest here is Jones' (1990) attempt to extend Goffman's conceptual framework. Jones provided an extension into the different ways an individual may approach strategies of self-presentation and, in so doing, he argued that there are two major strategies of impression management used for attainment of power: ingratiation and self-promotion. Ingratiation, on the one hand, refers to the need to be liked by others that does not necessarily require conscious awareness of deliberate planning (Solomon and Theiss 2013). Similar to Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive politeness strategies, individuals usually try to minimise the distance between them and their social context by expressing interest in the addressee's need to be respected (i.e., expressing agreement, compliments, favour, or compassion.) Self-promotion, on the other hand, aims to prove that the individual is skilled; that is, it is common to include descriptions of the glowing accomplishments and qualifications that particular individual has (Halldorsson, Thorlindsson, and Katovich 2017).

Given that cyberbullying is a significant public health concern, the study of ingratiation and self-promotion on Twitter threads can be revealing to understand not only the ways female and male teenagers manage their online identity, but also to shed light on this socially deviant behaviour. Building on Goffman's and Jones'

self-presentation strategies, I attempt to explore interpersonal behavioural practices in cyberbullying episodes on *Twitter*. In so doing, the present chapter attempts to contribute to the standing literature by (i) identifying the gender-specific impression management strategies British teenagers deploy when they disclose personal information; and (ii) exploring whether or not violence is the result of purely individual motivation or generated by a particular configuration of each gender.

3. Engendering[2] cyberbullying on *Twitter*

As Beran, Mishna, and McInroy (2015) and Hinduja and Patchin (2015) suggest, physical, verbal and social bullying can be considered one of the most prevalent destructive social practices in any so-called civilised society. At teenage, this is particularly more relevant as adolescents start a period of selection, adjustment and reflection where they attempt to figure who they are in their transition to adulthood (Erikson 1963). Aggressive behavioural practices in general and bullying in particular have traditionally been associated with masculinity (Kimmel and Mahler 2003; Myrttinen 2003; Dorias 2004; among many others); however, a growing body of work has provided enough evidence of a "ladette culture" on the increase where school girls are gradually adopting a laddish behaviour (Jackson 2006; Smith 2011). Female and male teenagers seem to have found in this laddish behaviour, as Mishna et al. (2010) point out, their own code of communication, socialisation, and maintenance of social hierarchies. As a result, cyberbullying can be understood as an evolution of certain social and verbal bullying behaviours that found impunity in the liberty teenagers have to expose, freely but unaware of the potential dangers, their private lives on the Internet (Vergel, Martínez, and Zafra 2016). Even though someone may wonder why gender matters in cyberbullying, the intriguing question is why it has not been a matter of study. Research examining the persistent gender-blindness in bullying in general and cyberbullying in particular casts a mixed picture regarding conflict management reasons on the one hand (Navarro, Yubero, and Larrañaga 2016) and more feminism-related reasons on the other hand (Bernstein and Reimann 2001). Among the most significant reasons, the following gender-blind spots can be pointed out:

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2. The term *engendering* refers to "the *deconstruction* of gender-biased knowledge claims (i.e., revealing androcentrism in fundamental categories, in empirical studies and in theoretical perspectives, locating "invisible" women, and incorporating women's activities, experience and understanding) and the *reconstruction* of a gender-sensitive theory and practice (i.e., exploring theoretical implications of taking gender seriously)" (Reinmann 2001: 22).

a. *Specific research agenda of verbal bullying and relational aggression*. In general terms, relational aggression is far from being a new social problem, it is just becoming more widely recognised (Pipher 1994). Research on verbal bullying has mainly centred upon the analysis of conflict management at an interpersonal level (Rigby 2003). More specifically, there are different studies on the role of the mediator and conflict triggers that may lead to an episode of verbal intimidation (Higson 2005). The very little feminist empirical research focuses on the type of social practices which are usually related to relational aggression (i.e., the way adolescent girls victimise other girls) (García-Gómez 2013). These social practices may include slandering, ridiculing, rumour spreading, ignoring, excluding from social groups and activities, and using hostile body language (Dellasega and Nixon 2003; Kuhlmann 2005). As Wiseman (2002) points out, girls have been considered to be less aggressive than boys because they are more subtle in their use of verbal and physical aggression. In spite of the seriousness of the matter, there are scarce gender-specific studies that explicitly focus on differences and similarities in verbal and social bullying (Álvarez-García, Barreiro-Collazo, and Núñez 2017). Owing to the difficulty in collecting real data where teenagers report on the misconduct of their school mates, the present study uses real examples of verbal and social aggressive behaviour on *Twitter*.[3] In collecting examples of cyberbullying on this social medium, spontaneity and veracity are therefore guaranteed insofar as teenagers voluntarily decide to expose their private lives.

b. *Gender as women's issues*. This gender-blindness is also due to a common misconception in society of the term "gender". Although most people associate this concept with the feminine world, gender is but a social construction of social relations that should be of as much interest and concern to men as it is to women (Litosseliti 2006). More precisely, there seems to be a lack of gender-neutral understanding of bullying behaviours. This lack of understanding, as Connell (2011) points out, may also be due to male superiority in the public arena as there is still an existent disciplinary paternalism and hence a reluctance to delve into the micro-structuring of twenty-first century masculinities (Delgado Domenech and Escortell Sánchez 2018).

In casting light on the type of socially deviant behavioural practices British teenagers take part in their Twitter threads, the present student aims to contribute to

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3.   Although, as an anonymous reviewer correctly points out, it would be interesting to provide a link to dataset, such a link would go against the anonymisation standards. In addition to the fact that participants in the study are under 18, links to Twitter accounts would reveal real names and pictures.

the debate by offering a systematic discourse analysis of the differentiated strategies these female and male teenagers deploy when cyberbullying others. Such analysis will not only give a number of preliminary answers to why gender matters in the study of cyberbullying, but also will provide an indication of possible future directions for research into this area.

4.   Method

4.1   Cyberbullying sample

Discourse analysis of impression management strategies was performed on a selection of Twitter threads created by female and male adolescents between the ages of fourteen and seventeen (mean age for female teenagers = 16.43, *SD* = 1.24 and mean for male teenagers: 16.37, *SD* = 1.28). The sample is based on 415 Twitter threads (comprising a total of 54,000 tweets) posted by 219 teenagers (113 female teenagers and 106 male teenagers). These 415 Twitter threads were clear examples of online aggressive verbal behaviour. This sample was compiled as part of a conflict-mediation programme in ten different high schools in England that aimed to study students' online behaviour to prevent and deal with reported bullying behaviour. After explaining the aim of the project both to parents and their sons and daughters, parents signed the informed consent form for the research after their sons/daughters had also agreed to take part in the study. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the catchment for the ten schools is predominantly white lower-middle class and the population has low socioeconomic status.

4.2   Measures and coding process

In accordance with DiMaggio at al. (2001) and Meyer (2003), my analytical and ethical position is on the implications of cyberbullying for social change. Even though microblogging in social network platforms is an opportunity for reflection and for identity work, I have decided to adopt a social constructionist orientation. Consistent with this orientation, tweets provide a context in which to engage in relationship talk, and tell us something about the cultural norms and possibly to community of practice norms – in this peer group of female and male teenagers that share information in social networks – which are attended to or challenged.

   With regard to the disclosure of personal information and topics under discussion, a careful examination of the amount of personal information posted in each Twitter thread was done. Although names and photographs were freely shared by

the participants in the study, the analysis restricts to the actual tweets they posted. Interrater reliability was assessed as follows: first name (87%); full name (81%); age (95%); and location (93%). However, the study guarantees the privacy of their users as the analysis does not reveal any personal detail. After a thorough analysis of the topics male and female participants in the study discuss in their Twitter accounts (see Table 2 and Table 3), threads were selected in terms of three main content areas: school, family, and friend relationships.

Following Gottman (1979), these transcripts were first coded by dividing each person's tweet, as if they were a speaking turn, into communication acts. As Taylor and Donald (2003: 218) suggest, a communication act is a thought unit that represents a pragmatic intention any speaker wishes to express in a given context. Second, all the communication acts were classified into a taxonomy of nine behavioural types of communication behaviour in crisis negotiation which were adapted from Taylor's (2002) classification. These behavioural types are shown in Table 1. This classification characterises interpersonal behaviour during conflict and identifies the three main motivational goals that people can pursue during a negotiation.

Table 1. Coding categories and transcript examples. Adapted from Taylor's (2002) classification of interpersonal behaviour in crisis negotiation

Coding category	Transcript example
Avoidance-Identity	"You were the one who betrayed me"
Avoidance-Instrumental	"Everybody wants me to tell you this…"
Avoidance-Relational	"People like you make me puke"
Distributive-Identity	"You couldn't hold a candle to Mary"
Distributive-Instrumental	"I said enough is enough"
Distributive- Relational	"I can't trust you any more"
Segregated-Identity	"We all know what kind of person you are"
Segregated-Instrumental	"Let me tell you what your parents should've told long ago"
Segregated-Relational	"Poor stupid, you grew up thinking the world owes you their living"

Indebted to Hammer (2001) and Taylor and Donald (2003), I classified the 415 Twitter threads (i.e., instances of online aggressive verbal behaviour) into Identity, Instrumental, or Relational depending on the degree of affiliation or independence that the participants in the study displayed in their online conflictual episodes. In order to avoid any possible inconsistencies in the nine coding categories, all the utterances were coded taking into account its beginning and end (Olekalns and Smith 2000). In doing so, the analysis could reveal not only the way teenagers organise their own tweets but also the degree of (in-)dependence they display in the interaction.

4.3 Analysis of sequences

By analysing the first communication act, it was possible to consider "first behaviour as key to understanding an utterance, with subsequent behaviours working only to elaborate and refine the message provided in the first unit" (Taylor and Donald 2003: 220). Furthermore, the analysis of the final communication act or thought unit was understood as the teenagers cue for the other party. The Intercoder reliability was established throughout the compilation process based on over 10% ($n = 21$) of randomly selected items from the sample. Intercoder reliability was tested using the following variables: *Avoidance-Identity* (.98); *Avoidance-Instrumental* (.99); Avoidance-Relational (.98); *Distributive-Identity* (.99); *Distributive-Instrumental* (.98); *Distributive-Relational* (.99); *Segregated-Identity* (.99); and *Segregated-Instrumental* (.98). The average number of communication acts per utterance was 3.11 (*SD* = 3.33, Range 1–85) for female teenagers' tweets and 2.79 (*SD* = 3.01, Range 1–67) for male teenagers' tweets.

5. Analysis

5.1 Public communication: Topics discussed and disclosure of personal information

In line with Hentschel, Heilman, and Peus (2019), the analysis of the topics discussed makes it possible to argue that the stereotypical beliefs about gender differences still persist and remain strong. More specifically, the analysis shows that there are different degrees of self-involvement that are connected with the nature of the topics posted in female and male teenagers' threads. Table 2 shows the mean number of topics discussed in Twitter threads initiated by male teenagers.

Table 2. Topics discussed by male teenagers in the Twitter sample

Topics	All items (*n* = 523)
Experiences at school with a teacher	93.1%
Friendship discussion	92.9%
Experiences at school with a classmate	85.2%
Experiences at home with his relatives	67.6%
Expression of feelings and thoughts	65.8%
Love relationships	64.2%
Interest / hobbies	59.7%
Gossips / rumour spreading	54.4%
Other issues	12.1%

As Table 2 shows, male teenagers tend to focus on the global and the public rather than on the personal and the private. Topicality present in male tweets suggests that they use knowledge as a device for distinction and the establishment of authority (Niedenthal and Ric 2017); that is to say, knowledge can be regarded as a way of identifying themselves and establishing their own community (i.e., those followers who can discuss these particular topics).

Even though female teenagers discuss the same topics in their threads, two significant differences were identified. As shown in Table 3, the first most significant difference lies in the treatment of information since it was common to find, in almost any topic, a pejorative judgement of an absent other who was not supposed to read the contents of their tweets. The second main difference is that female teenagers post extensively about personal matters and feelings (Niedenthal and Ric 2017). However, events at school with a teacher and technology are discussed in less than half of the tweets posted by male teenagers. Interestingly, much more attention is paid to love relationships and narrations of conversations kept at school with some other classmates.

Table 3. Topics discussed by female teenagers in the Twitter sample

Topics	All items (n = 523)
Love relationships	94.6%
Experiences at school with a classmate	91.2%
Expression of feelings and thoughts	90.8%
Gossips / rumour spreading	88.5%
Friendship discussion	82.3%
Experiences at home with his relatives	74.6%
Experiences at school with a teacher	66.3%
Interest / hobbies	28.3%
Other issues	16.8%

For current research purposes, three main content areas were selected to proceed to analyse potential cases of cyberbullying: experiences at school, experiences at home, and friendship relationships. These three content areas share the following characteristics: participants are defined as holding the same power. Initially, none of them is expected to exert power over the other or is allowed to impose a particular course on action unless an instance of verbal abused is activated. The quantitative analysis of the type of information disclosed reveals that male and female teenagers enjoy discussing different topics. Therefore, this differentiated treatment of information is likely to be connected with the kind of male or female self-expression each gender wishes to make on the Internet. This, in turn, will shed light on whether cyberbullying may be the result of purely individual motivation or it may be generated by a particular social configuration of each gender.

5.2   Interpersonal behavioural practices: Exploring male self-presentation strategies

Consistent with a gender-specific analysis and within the three content areas specified above, instances of male teenagers cyberbullying other male teenagers were coded according to the proposed nine interpersonal behavioural practices. Figure 1 plots the mean proportion of the nine interpersonal relational behaviours which were exploited by male teenagers cyberbullying other male teenagers: *Avoidance-Identity* (39,27%); *Avoidance-Instrumental* (17,28%); *Avoidance-Relational* (95,53%); *Distributive-Identity* (89,93%); *Distributive-Instrumental* (77,12%); *Distributive-Relational* (26,22%); *Segregated-Identity* (45,32%); and *Segregated-Instrumental* (49,56%) and *Segregated-Relational* (56,71%).
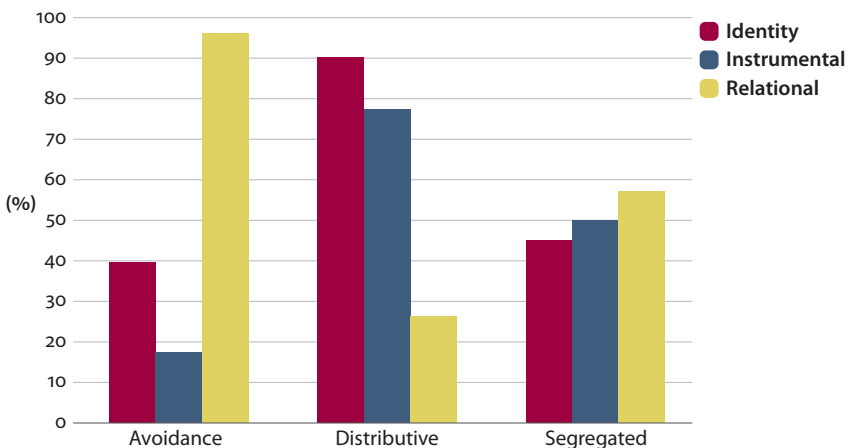
Figure 1. Interpersonal behavioural practices found in male teenagers' tweets

Inspection of the interpersonal behavioural practices found in male teenagers' tweets makes it possible to argue that male teenagers seem to be cued into adopting a framework of verbal abusive language that can be understood as a form of social control. Such framework aims to establish and reinforce group membership as they exclude those that do not follow the established requirements. The following extract illustrates the self-presentation strategies male teenagers deploy to bully other male teenagers:

(1)   A (16 years old): Happiest man in the world! She said yes! Yes, yes yes!
       B (16 years old): Happiest nerd in the world.
       C (15 years old): Someone is envious. She said yes to him and fuck off to you.
       B: I fucked her twice in a row yesterday after she said yes.
       C: fuck off.

A: Shed never touch you.

C: She asked be, practically begged me o fuck her right then and there but I wasn't in the mood haha I just fucked her twice.

A: You're a fucking bastard.

B: The first time we fucked, was crazy, I fucked her ass for about an hour she's a whore.

C: Don't believe a word he says.

B: Everybody knows I'm a hammer. You've a tiny cock, you can't make Anna moan the way I do.

Extract (1) illustrates how these teenagers construct their identity as men in terms of their ability to get women contented in bed. Teenager A has posted a comment to let others know he is starting a relationship. A schoolmate reads the comment and expresses his anger by attacking (A) directly. Teenager C also takes part in the thread to defend his friend (A). The strategy employed reveals two key aspects. One might think that this is an in-group strategy to establish boundaries and normative behaviour (i.e., in-group vs out-group), but the meaning attached to his words by teenager B gives evidence that there is an obvious process of self-categorisation (Turner et al. 1987) that leads to the construction of both the social identity and group behaviour of these teenagers. Of particular interest here is the fact that this process of self-categorisation produces in-group normative behaviour (i.e., real men who can satisfy women's sexual needs) but, at the same time, it is clearly connected with a process of *deindividuation* (Hogg and Vaughan 2010: 415). In other words, this self-categorisation process reveals that these teenagers' impulsive, irrational, and uninhibited behaviour is not under the usual social and personal control (i.e., I'm the only one who can satisfy her the way I do). When being relationally aggressive, teenager B exploits the avoidance-relational identity strategy in order to establish clear boundaries between himself and others (e.g., "Everybody knows I'm a hammer"). The inner characteristics of this avoidance-identity strategy do not allow any other member to be part of the group insofar as the effectiveness of this evaluative behaviour is based on the claim that "I am the only one who can do this stuff." In addition to this, this avoidance-relational strategy also involves the use of insults strengthen their independence and show their lack of connection. Therefore, the principle that governs this self-presentation strategy seems to hinge on the need of these teenagers not only to reduce uncertainty about themselves but also to feel positive about themselves.

5.3   Interpersonal behavioural practices: Exploring female
self-presentation strategies

By examining the ways in which these female teenagers self-present in their tweets,
it was possible to derive a detailed analysis of how they conceptualise cyber-
bullying. The strategies are used as follows: *Avoidance-Identity* (46,34%); *Avoid-
ance-Instrumental* (83,45%); *Avoidance-Relational* (89,93%); *Distributive-Identity*
(85,87%); *Distributive-Instrumental* (31,63%); *Distributive-Relational* (29,34%);
Segregated-Identity (89,23%); and *Segregated-Instrumental* (86,73%) and *Segre-
gated-Relational* (96,87%). As Figure 2 shows, an inspection of these nine rela-
tional behavioural practices gives evidence of the interdependence present in the
self-presentation strategies (i.e., different degrees of affiliation and competition).
This, in turn, reveals how an episode of cyberbullying is managed in interaction.
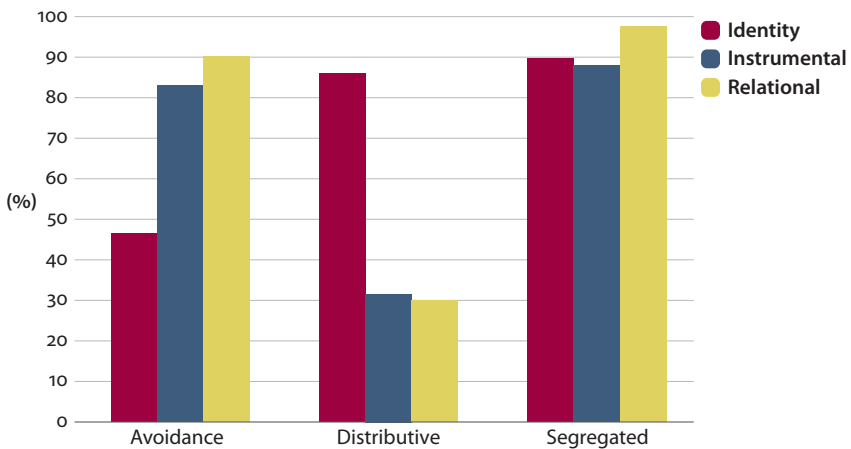
Figure 2.   Interpersonal behavioural practices found in female teenagers' blogs

Even though female teenagers share with male teenagers the exploitation of *Avoid-
ance-Relational* and *Distributive-Identity* interpersonal behavioural practices to
self-present, one of the most striking findings to emerge when examining the
connection between these female teenagers' self-presentation strategies and their
interpersonal behavioural practices is how often they tend to use segregated inter-
personal behavioural practices. The following extract illustrates the self-presenta-
tion strategies female teenagers deploy to bully other female teenagers:

(2)   A (15 years old):   Love is not love if it alters….
   B (15 years old):   Sex is not love you whore.
   A: Love is not love if alters.
   B: You've got very small vocabulary you whore.

A: Oh well look at you hahaha.

C (15 years old):   girls, girls!

B: Someone has to tell this fucking bitch she can't do whatever she wants.

C: We can talk about it later.

B: She was the one who posted the other day how many time you cum when you fuck?

A: Many more than you'll ever cum in your entire life.

B: Everybody knows you're fucking the Scottish rugby team.

A: Go and fuck yourself.

As extract (2) illustrates, the use of hypersexualised language is connected with the notion of the constitutive embodiment of sexed subjects (Dobson 2014b), which shows that identification for these female subjects is circumscribed by an identification with an inscribed sexed body that defines them as female or male (Dobson 2015). Interestingly, the effectiveness of the strategies lies in the fact that these female teenagers use expressions that are usually connected with sexual pleasure in order to express their anger and annoyance (García-Gómez 2013). Discursively speaking, this particular sexualised subject position aims to devalue the servicing of girls and women's sexual pleasure (see Chapter 10, this volume). Furthermore, these female teenagers rely on an avoidance-relational strategy in order to address the other girl(s) directly and use the second-person pronoun *you*. The bad relationship between these girls makes teenagers A and B express their negative attitude towards each other. They end up expressing violent emotions (i.e., insults and threats). It can therefore be argued that these expressions not only involve a socially negative evaluation of the other girls' behaviour but also a threat which regulates these teenagers' social behaviour.

6.   Discussion

It is already a fact that male and female teenagers now make use of ICT space to have their say and engage in dialogue with others (Keshelashvili 2005). One cyberspace which is particularly popular among teenagers is *Twitter*. This public social macro-blogging platform gives both female and male teenagers the opportunity of dealing with the conflicting identity scenarios they encounter in their daily lives. As Leppänen (2008: 156) rightly notes in her study of gender and identity in cyberspace, female and male teenagers' relationships to family, friends, sexual patterns, and their bodies seem far freer than for previous generations. However, the analysis of the different Twitter threads has shown that the empowering strategies used by these male and female British teenagers go hand in hand with trouble and questions that remain unanswered about the use of information and communication

technologies to support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behaviour by these individuals that has no other intention but to harm others (Dobson 2014a).

Cyberbullying is, without any doubt, one of the most worrying dangers both male and female teenagers may face by disclosing personal information on the Internet. The goal of the current study was to provide a detailed picture of self-presentation strategies associated with these male and female interpersonal behavioural practices in cyberbullying episodes. In so doing, the present chapter purported to discover whether or not this twenty-first century behaviour responds to gender specific characteristics. Theoretically, this article considers Goffman's (1959) analytical framework in order to understand the different ways both male and female teenager self-present and manage impression in social media. In applying such a framework, the article suggests that the motivation behind the self-presentation strategies both these male and female teenagers used in these episodes of (cyber-)violence responds to a different (social) need. In other words, this study demonstrates consequential relationships between the self-presentation strategies selected by each gender and the type of behavioural practices exhibited in the communication acts analysed.

Empirically, this chapter suggests that cyberbullying is a multidimensional social construct that comprises several phenomena. On the surface, the findings reported in this study clearly reveal that both male and female teenagers' self-presentation in their tweets involves attempts to foster impressions in the eyes of the other teenagers (Schlenker 1980). Nevertheless, each gender seems to rely on two different components when self-presenting and managing impression: impression construction and impression motivation. As for impression construction, both genders choose a similar type of impression to create: they are assertive, verbally abusive, and want to impose a course on action on the others for their own benefit.

In addition, the quantitative analysis provides an estimate of the type of interpersonal behavioural practices which makes it possible to argue that the main difference when constructing each gender's identity lies in the different motivation these male and female teenagers have. Therefore, the results indicate that male self-presentation and impression management strategies can be conceptualised at the level of individual behaviour rather than at the level of social behaviour. Self-presentation strategies are mainly associated with four main interpersonal behavioural practices that attempt to guarantee the teenager's self-promotion and independence as an individual.

More specifically, male instances of cyberbullying rely on depictions that, on the one hand, differentiate the self from the others (i.e., self-presentation by exploiting avoidance-relational behavioural practices) and that assert both these male Tweeters' physical (i.e., self-presentation based on distributive instrumental behavioural practices) and intellectual superiority (i.e., self-presentation constructed

upon distributive-identity and distributive-relational behavioural practices). In light of this, male teenagers seem to be motivated by a need to project a self-concept of an individual who acts independently and wants things to be done their way. The low degree of affiliation refers to these male teenagers' motivation to be perceived as independent, tough and able to do whatever they want without the need of anybody's consent. Interestingly, this self-promotion strategy is not just based on expressions of verbal abuse but a constant presence of threats of future negative actions on the person that is being cyberbullied.

Conversely, the findings reported in this study show that these female teenagers' impression motivation is based on an ingratiation strategy insofar as verbal abuse is always supported by the in-group the cyberbully belongs to. In particular, self-presentation and impression management used by female teenagers in their tweets make it possible to argue that, contrarily to male teenagers, cyberbullying cannot be conceptualised at the level of individual behaviour but, rather, at the level of social behaviour. The common characteristics, as reflected in the use of avoidance-instrumental and avoidance-identity behavioural practices, are to tell the other what the in-group the bully represents thinks about this other female teen.

The verbal abuse, on the one hand, ridicules the one being bullied and, on the other hand, maintains and reaffirms social relationships with the in-group. That is to say, the cyberbully does not tend to impose a course of action on the girl that is being (cyber-) bullied, but tends to insult the out-group this other female teen represents (i.e., exploitation of distributive-identity behavioural practices). This is why these female teenagers' strategies involve sharing opinions and judgements about this person's behaviour or physical attributes. In so doing, they tend to use in-group identity makers that explicitly and implicitly assert social unity and are aimed at exploring similarity and shared values which define the cyberbully as a socially acceptable member of a group (i.e., exploitation of segregated interpersonal behavioural practices). This, in turn, regulates this other teen's social behaviour since she is required to act in a particular manner in order to be accepted.

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A visual critical discourse analysis of women representation in Dolce & Gabbana advertising

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The role of visuals in meaning making is essential to communicate and establish a dialogue with society. The aim of this chapter is to uncover the visual discursive representation of women in a sample of advertisements from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Data was collected via the Internet from the advertisements by Dolce & Gabbana from January 2016 to December 2018. The data was quantitatively analysed following van Leeuwen's model of social actors and Kress and van Leewen's visual grammar within the general frame of visual critical discourse analysis. This chapter critically studies the advertisements used by Dolce & Gabbana for their products and examines whether visual choices used by the publicist to portray the woman in the corpus contribute to perpetuating gender stereotypes. The findings indicate that women are represented as stereotyped, following traditional canons of beauty and foregrounding their bodies as objects of desire.

Keywords: visual critical discourse analysis, gender studies, advertising, stereotypes

1. Introduction

The role of mass media in the distribution of information is essential. Media can shape public opinion, influence people's beliefs and ideology, and reinforce cultural stereotypes. Media language is not random but consciously chosen, taking into consideration the audience that needs to be persuaded, following Fairclough (1995: 4): "In any representation, you have to decide what to include and what to exclude, and what to 'foreground' and what to 'background'." Consequently, the role of language in the media is essential to establish a dialogue with society through marketing communication, to connect with what people need and desire. Indeed, media in

general and advertising in particular take into consideration societal values in order to make their message persuasive and effective. As Sato (2011: 145–146) argues:

> An advertisement is often considered a mirror reflecting the societal values of a society. This may sound rather passive; in fact, the role of advertisements is pervasive, as they cumulatively penetrate our everyday life. An advertisement is a discursive practice. Among the abundance of advertising images in late-modern consumer culture, one of the most frequent stimuli we encounter is the figure of a young female. They are everywhere enticing to sell us conveniences, sexual fantasies, the good life of aesthetic pleasures of everyday life.

The main aim of advertising is to persuade people to the purchase of a product or a particular service. Therefore, it is necessary that publicists find strategies that persuade the audience to buy products, taking into consideration some cultural values. Of all the potential consumers, women are the preferred audience for beauty and cleaning products, which contributes to perpetuating the idea that women need to please men through their physical appearance and their association with cleaning and caring roles.

This study focuses on advertisements by Dolce & Gabbana, a luxury Italian fashion house founded by Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana in 1985. I have selected this house first, because it is popular worldwide; and second, because of the variety of products that they advertise: clothes, glasses, accessories, perfumes, cell phones, and restaurants, among others. In fact, I have chosen a company that advertises different types of products in order to observe examples of stereotypes no matter what product is being advertised.

This chapter examines the visual representation of women in advertisements in order to discover if the traditional stereotypes associated with women are still valid in the twenty-first century. In this sense, the purpose of analysing the representation of women in Dolce & Gabbana advertisements is to unveil stereotypes associated with female bodies. To do so, we will deconstruct the texts used by Dolce & Gabbana to publicise their products in the newsletter that the company publishes online and examine the main characteristics of the bodies represented. Consequently, the analysis will contribute to deconstruct the main visual characteristics that contribute to the stereotypical representation of women.

The main research questions of this paper are the following: What are the main visual characteristics of the texts analysed? What are the main visual choices used for the representation of women in a stereotypical way in a sample from advertising discourse?

In spite of the scholarly works devoted to analysing media representation of women (see Section 3), the present study seems to be justified, as the analysis of discursive gender stereotyping in such a worldwide known company as Dolce &

Gabanna contributes to become aware of the process through which gender roles are perpetuated in the twenty-first century. This implies an asymmetrical vision and representation of women and men in advertising and society and an unequal distribution of power. Following Rodríguez and Cucklanz (2014: 29): "Gender analyses of media aim to understand how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality and oppression. In the same manner in which media are involved in constructing our representations of reality, media are actively involved in producing gender conceptualizations." In this sense, this study ultimately demonstrates that there is still unequal distribution of power between women and men, which becomes evident in media representation, even in a recent sample of advertisements primarily addressed to women.

The article is organised into the following sections: after presenting the theoretical assumptions on which this study relies and a review of the literature for the topic under research, I will look at the methodology followed and the corpus data. Then, I will analyse the corpus and discuss the results. Finally, I will arrive at some conclusions based on the analysis carried out.

2. Theoretical frameworks

This study benefits from the theoretical assumptions of different frameworks, namely feminist media studies, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and, more specifically visual critical discourse analysis. To begin with, this study is framed in feminist media studies as one of the key ideas foregrounded in this chapter is that media perpetuate gender stereotypes in the twenty-first century, as demonstrated in different studies (Buonanno 2014; Fernández Fernández, Baños González, and García García 2014; Sharda 2014). In this regard, feminist critical discourse analysis is used as a way to portray and denounce the differences in the representation between women and men in the media and to highlight the way women are represented as sexual objects by the media (Lazar 2005; Sprague 2005).

The perspective of CDA is also crucial for the analysis in this study because it offers some tools to uncover ideology and power relations in discourse. One of the main interests of CDA lies in "(…) de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken, and visual)" (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 3). We should bear in mind that discourse is never neutral; rather, it can be used to perpetuate gender or race discrimination. In fact, it is through discourse that people create social meanings and re-create social realities. As Wodak (2011: 39) argues: "Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people." In this sense, a

critical approach to the discourse of advertising allows to observe patterns of gender and race discrimination because advertising makes use of persuasive strategies in order to persuade the audience into buying a product or contract a service.

Understanding advertising discourse is essential because discourse reproduces power relations in society and therefore reproduces social roles of women and men as socially constructed. In this sense, some of the principles of CDA will be useful in order to observe how language and society are interrelated (van Leeuwen 2014). As CDA offers certain tools to undertake research on social topics, this analytical framework facilitates the study of the discursive strategies that can be used for manipulation or legitimation of certain groups in society, such as women in advertising in this study. From this perspective, CDA may help observe gender differences and possible unequal situations between women and men (see Coates 2012).

We must specify that there is hardly any written language in the texts analysed, which implies that we will mainly concentrate on visuals, i.e., only on one type of modality. The nature of the corpus used in this study requires referring to visual critical discourse analysis (van Leuween 2008) as an analytical framework to analyse the visual representation of social actors. This analytical framework – considered by Pennington (2017: 243–244) as a method of "non-text analysis" influenced by social understandings – pays attention to social distance, social relation, and social interaction in order to better understand how people are depicted in the photographs and to observe how interpersonal relationships are established. As van Leeuwen (2008: 138) argues, "[i]n all three cases, the relation is, of course, symbolic, imaginary: we are made to see the people depicted as though they are strangers or friends, as though they are 'below' us or 'above' us, as though they are in interaction with us or not, and so on." This author (2008: 5) argues that "all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices." Consequently, the main goal of critical discourse analysis is to uncover the social practices that are represented in the context in which they appear, which involves looking at different features of the representations, namely the people represented, the actions involved or the way the actions are performed, among others (van Leeuwen 2008: 7–12). At the same time, Kress and van Leeuwen's model (2006) of visual social semiotics will be used to analyse information value, i.e., the place where the different visual elements in the texts are located (at the top, at the bottom, in the centre, or in the margins), salience, i.e., if the different elements are highlighted by size, colour, colour, contrast, etc. Finally, frames will also be analysed in order to observe if the different elements appear connected or not.

There are many different visual choices available to create meaning (Kress 2010), because each choice belongs to a network of interrelated choices within the different semiotic systems embedded in a context. The various visual choices

construct a particular view of the world and a specific view of a social reality or a so-cial group, in this case of women in advertising. In other words, the different choices are not random, but their selection is motivated by or serves a particular purpose (to persuade, criticise, judge, etc.). The decisions taken by the authors reveal who is communicating with whom, because the creator of the text possesses authority, in this case, the journalists who have created the texts which are the object of study. These journalists belong to the majority group. As a result, these choices determine the construction and constitution of the social world, which will be observed in the analysis. Visual critical discourse analysis therefore contributes to develop visual literacies that may help to deconstruct the way in which women are still stereotyped in advertising and therefore unveil the main ways of visual discrimination they suffer. This is a way of unveiling the power of the patriarchal system that frames our society and the ideology connected with it (Sarkar 2014; Sharda 2014).

3. Literature review

The presence of gender-role stereotypes and their effectiveness in advertising have been extensively studied. Many studies have concentrated on gender perspective in the mass media in Spain and on the challenges of the field (Espinar-Ruiz and González-Díaz 2012; Buonanno 2014; Velandia-Morales and Rincón 2014, among others). In the last decade, there have also been several international studies that concentrate on gender and advertising (Ross and Byerly 2004; Carilli and Campbell 2005; Byerly and Ross 2006). These studies point out patriarchal hegemony in me-dia texts and the recurrent use of traditional gender roles and female stereotypes in advertising. Following Mora (2014: 141): "Patriarchal hegemony is an indicator of reproduction and establishment of power relations as communicative action over women by means of language."

Most studies also show that women and men are represented in advertising in different ways (Conradie 2011a, 2011b; Giaccardi et al. 2016). As a general rule, women tend to be objectivised (Aubrey 2006; Calogero 2013; Kroon van Diest and Pérez 2013; McKay, 2013). Different studies concentrate on the way women are represented in some magazines (Ford 2008; Buonnano 2014), others focus on product advertisements (Kaur, Arumugam, and Yunus 2013) and a few analyse stereotypes and gender roles transmitted through television (Valls-Fernández and Martínez-Vicente 2007; Velandia-Morales and Rincón 2014; Shaikh, Ali Bughio, and Ali Kadri 2016).

The aforementioned studies coincide in the reproduction of patriarcal hegem-ony in media text, because women and men are not represented in an equal and egalitarian way. In general, the ideal image of a woman is "stereotyped through visual

and textual aspects of the advertisements" (Kaur, Arumugam, and Yunus 2013: 62), and many times sexual objectification is predominant when women are represented in advertising, i.e., they are widely seen as sex objects for male sexual pleasure.

Moreover, there are studies that point out that men's and women's behaviours are clearly different due to cultural differences, which can be observed in studies done in Great Britain (Furnham and Paltzer 2011; Ball 2012), Brasil (Magalhães and Caetano 2012), Turkey (Uray and Burnaz 2003), and Spain (Hernández Ruiz, Martín Llaguno, and Beléndez Vázquez 2012; Martínez, Nicolás, and Salas 2013).

In addition, a few studies pay attention not only to gender but also to race as another category that helps to construct people's identity. These studies concentrate on the interracial relationships between the people represented in the advertisements (Merskin 2008; Doubenmier 2014) and especially to the relationship between women of different races (Brooks and Hebert 2006; Magalhães and Caetano 2012). These studies make clear that minorities are underrepresented in proportion to the main group of the population, and the general tendency is to represent society as fragmented, which does not contribute to the integration of people from different races.

I am especially interested in uncovering the semiotic representation of women in media from a critical discourse analysis perspective. This will help uncover the hidden ideology behind the different resources that publicists use (Najafian 2011) because advertising discourse always has a persuasive purpose. In this sense, it builds an image of the audience the product is intended for.

4.   Data and methodology

The data for the present research was obtained by compiling all the advertisements used by Dolce & Gabbana in the newsletter the company sends regularly through the web.[1] All texts that appeared in that newsletter from January 2016 until December 2018 were analysed, 233 in total. The selection of the corpus is justified by the variety of products it advertises (perfume, clothes, accessories, etc.) and for its popularity, as already noted. Moreover, the corpus is worthy of attention because of the common use of the female body to advertise (there is a tendency to eroticisation and to using women's bodies as a claim) and because of the originality of the different products advertised.

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1.   The advertisements are available at: https://store.dolcegabbana.com/es/?utm_source=bing&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=ES_Pure%20Brand&utm_term=dolce%20and%20gabbana&utm_content=Brand%20-%20HP_Exact&gclid=CPSFvcWij-UCFRRhGwodNxIPnA&gclsrc=ds

The texts selected are representative of the main characteristics found in the corpus, i.e., women's bodies are used as an advertisement claim, there are different products being advertised, and they can be considered sexist advertisements due to the way women are represented, as the analysis will make clear.

Following the tradition of critical discourse analysis, this study will be mainly qualitative-descriptive. Due to the logical space limitations, this paper will concentrate on the main visual characteristics of three texts that are characteristic of the stereotypical representation of women found in the corpus. A quantitative analysis of the main characteristics of the corpus analysed will also be offered.

In order to analyse the texts selected, the principles of Kress and van Leeuwen's model (2006) of visual grammar and van Leeuwen's (2008) characterisation of social actors are applied to the analysis of women in Dolce & Gabbana advertising discourse. Both approaches are suitable to analyse visual texts and to deconstruct the ideology associated with them. On the one hand, following visual grammar, attention was given to the visual elements used to represent women, in order to discover whether discourse reproduces social domination. Consequently, the visual analysis concentrated on the place of the women in the visuals (information value), highlighted elements (salience), and the presence or absence of frames. Once the analysis was made, I concentrated on the texts where gender stereotypes and symbolic values were associated with women. On the other hand, van Leeuwen's (2008) characterisation of social actors is used in order to observe how women are portrayed, the consequences of each of the visual characteristics and their contribution to gender stereotypes. The representation of social actors pays attention to the way the participants are portrayed as individuals or as groups. Moreover, the categories of social distance, social relation, and social interaction will also be taken into consideration in the analysis.

5. Analysis

Section 5.1 offers some quantitative data related to the main characteristics of the texts analysed. Next, Section 5.2 offers a detailed analysis of three texts in order to deconstruct the main gender stereotypes observed in the corpus.

5.1 Quantitative analysis

The data in Section 5.1 shows that the bodies of women are hypervisible, because the total number of texts in which only one woman appears exceeds the number of texts in which several people appear. This contrasts clearly with the limited number of texts in which only one man appears. Table 1 illustrates the percentage of texts

Table 1. Analysis of the social actors in the analysed texts

Year	Number of texts	Only a woman represented	Only a man represented	No human representation	More than one person represented
2016	34	36.36%	0%	18.18%	45.46%
2017	79	44.41%	2.53%	32.91%	20.25%
2018	120	32.52%	4.16%	41.66%	21.66%
Total	**233**			**100%**	

in which women, men and several people are observed. It also shows the number of texts in which there are no human beings.

With respect to the appearance of people in the texts analysed, the preference for the presence of women versus men in the three years covered is clearly observed, a fact that contributes to using women as advertising claims. For example, in 2017 women appear in almost half the texts, specifically 44.41%, compared to 2.53% of texts in which only one man appears. Both in 2016 and 2018, the female presence is also remarkable because it exceeds one third of the texts, specifically 36.36% in the first case compared to 0% in which only a man appears and is almost one third in 2018, compared to 4.16% of texts in which a man appears. In other cases, several people appear to advertise the Dolce & Gabbana products. This strategy allows the company to have more people to advertise their products; that is, in a single text you can advertise more than one thing. In 2016 it is almost 50% of the texts, specifically, 45.46% of texts in which several people appear, usually women and men.

The percentage is lower in 2017 and 2018, 20.25% and 21.66% respectively, a fact that is related to another pattern observed in the advertisements under analysis: there are texts in which no one appears. This implies that the object advertised is the only one represented element and therefore the outstanding one in the text. The highest percentage of this type of texts is observed in 2018, 41.66%. This is related to the fact that in this year fewer texts appear only with women. In 2017, around a third of the corpus, 32.91%, does not use people in their representation, a percentage that is halfway between those in which only a woman appears and texts in which several people are observed. Finally, in 2016, the percentage of texts in which only the product appears is low, 18.18%, as this is the year in which there are more texts with several people.

The masculine presence is rare although some men appear in the texts in which several people are represented. Therefore, the audience is faced with clearly sexist texts because women are represented asymmetrically with respect to men. This is further emphasised because women often wear provocative clothing that marks body shapes. These are hyper-sexualised bodies through: low necklines, tight tops that show or suggest part of the chest, short and tight skirts. That is, attractive clothes are used to attract attention.

The texts contribute to the exploitation of the sensual image of the woman through her physical image, her posture and her wardrobe; that is, the woman insinuates and provokes to sell products. It focuses everything on the woman's body, not on her moral, intellectual qualities, on her interaction or social capacities, for example. Table 2 shows the analysis of the position of the product that is advertised in order to see if it appears in the place of the predominant information.

Table 2. Position of the product in the advertising of Dolce & Gabbana

Year	Number of texts	Product on the right	Product in the centre	Product on the left
2016	34	90.91%	9.09%	0
2017	79	21.51%	59.51%	18.98%
2018	120	13.33%	84.17%	2.5%
Total	**233**			

The position of the products in the texts mostly appears in the centre although in 2016 the vast majority place the product on the right, in the most important position, in 90.91% of the cases. Thus, readers will focus on the product and will grant it importance. This high percentage contrasts with the 9.09% in which the product appears in the centre and especially with the fact that in no case it appears on the left. However, in 2017 and 2018, a firm preference is observed for placing the product in the centre, 59.51% and 84.17%, respectively. This mode of representation also serves to highlight the advertised product. It is remarkable that in 2017 the number of texts in which the product appears on the right (21.51%) and on the left (18.98%) is similar. Nevertheless, in 2018, although the central position is predominant, few texts appear on the left (2.5%) if they are contrasted with those on the right (13.33%).

Table 3 offers the percentages of the texts in which the people represented appear showing only part of their bodies. The interaction that the social actors show with the audience is also analysed.

Table 3. Representation of bodies and interaction of social actors

Year	Number of texts	Partial body is shown	Demand	Offer
2016	34	54.54%	63.63%	36.36%
2017	79	49.36%	34.17%	65.83%
2018	120	42.5%	62.5%	37.5%
Total	**233**			

When analysing the bodies of the people represented, we see many examples in which the bodies appear partially shown, that is, the people and especially women

(they appear more frequently in the texts collected) are not represented with complete bodies, which suggests that they are not full human beings. The partial bodies observed in many advertisements fulfil the objective of framing the products; that is, the body appears as an advertising claim. Presenting a part of the women's body at the same level as the product, framing the product or highlighting it contributes to perpetuate the idea that the women's body persuades for the consumption of beauty products or accessories. Moreover, the partial body representation contributes to eroticise the part of the body represented, which is used for a seductive purpose. This contributes to link women's bodies with eroticism and seduction.

With regard to the relationship established between the people represented and the audience, a tendency to interaction is observed as direct contact is established. Consequently, the social actors represented are looking for a response from the people who read the texts: 63.63% in 2016 and 62.5% in 2018. This contrasts with the 34.17% in 2017, when the preference is the representation of people as an offer, that is, without establishing visual contact with the audience, so that the idea is suggested that they are just to be observed, specifically 65.83% in 2017.

Finally, an analysis of the race of the people represented in the texts is offered. There is a clear preference for the white race in the three years analysed: 90.91% in 2016, 94.94% in 2017 and 90.84% in 2018. This contrasts with the low number of texts in which there is a racial mix: 9.09% in 2016, 5.06% in 2017 and 7.5% in 2018 and especially with almost no representation in the texts of black people alone; they only appear in 2018 with the low percentage of 1,66%. The fact that most of the women represented are white, young, and slender contributes to building a beauty canon related to these characteristics. Table 4 presents the data clearly.

Table 4. Racial representation in social actors

Year	Number of texts	Caucasians	Racial mixture	People from other races (black)
2016	34	90.91%	9.09%	0%
2017	79	94.94%	5.06%	0%
2018	120	90.84%	7.5%	1.66%
Total	233			

The majority representation of the white race in the texts clearly shows the ethnocentrism and eurocentrism of the analysed texts. There are very few examples in which a racial mix is observed that reproduces the multicultural reality of today's societies. Furthermore, the almost non-existent presence of black people in the texts suggests that we are dealing with texts for white women, as they are the predominant social group and are attributed the economic power to buy the products that are advertised.

5.2   Qualitative analysis

This section offers a detailed analysis of three texts that are representative of the main ways in which Dolce & Gabbana employs the bodies of women to publicise their products in a stereotyped manner.

5.2.1   *Analysis of Text 1*[2]

In the first text, a Dolce & Gabbana advertising of 2016, there is a clear example of eroticisation of the female body that is used as advertising to sell the product. This 2016 text presents the head, neck, and hands of a woman in a sensual posture that contributes to the eroticisation of the female body. The movement and the nakedness of woman help to give dynamism to the text. With respect to information value, the product appears on the right, in the most important position. It is related through vectors to the woman who appears in the centre and to the left, with the exception of her hair that appears on the right, clearly framing the product. The main vectors are found in the eyes and eyebrows, in the neck, and in the fingers. They all point to the product, especially those that hold the chain and cross that the woman wears, because they point clearly to the right.

Although we do not see all of the woman, the parts we see become the most outstanding element. Her hair, the right side of her face, and her right shoulder act as frames that serve to surround the product and highlight it. In addition, the silver colour used in the product and in the text "New passioneyes waterproof mascara" serves to highlight it. This appears in the foreground, as with the text written with the name of the product, and that the woman appears in the background, so there is no doubt that the woman is used as an advertising claim.

There is a distance between the woman and the audience, placing her in the background behind the advertised product. The analysis of the social relationship shows that the person appears frontally, if attention is paid to the horizontal angle, a fact that contributes to fully involve the woman in the process of persuasion to sell the product. The vertical angle shows that the person is seen at eye level, which contributes to the interaction with the audience. The analysis of the social interaction observed in the image allows us to point out that this is an example of demand because the woman looks directly at the audience and her lips are parted, asking for an answer that implies the purchase of the product to be as beautiful as the woman.

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2.   The image is available at: https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=50kYxVFt&id=4E40C7E7F2F88B8F2B2F0D165CA3CEC1B83A7C64&thid=OIP.50kYxVFtPpE_MsvB3p_-HAHaDF&mediaurl=http%3a%2f%2fwww.el-style.com%2fblog%2farticles%2f499-dolce-amp-amp-gabbana-new-passioneyes-waterproof-mascara%2fimg_1.jpg&exph=487&expw=1170&q=images+of+dolce+gabbana+2017+%22new+passioneyes+waterproof+mascara%22&simid=608038678172733019&selectedIndex=0&ajaxhist=0

That is, there is a clear and direct relationship between the woman and the audience despite the distance established by representing her behind the written text.

This is a case of eroticisation of the female body by the position of the woman charged with sensuality, by the suggestive way in which she looks at the audience, and by the presentation of her almost naked body; only the left strap of her bra is observed in the image. A black cross appears to the right, in the place of the other strap, on the bare shoulder that points to the product. The use of black together with the position of the woman and the way in which the forehead and hair are held together contributes to the eroticisation. It is an example of objectification of the body, which appears partially represented, because it is used to frame the product in order to highlight it by presenting it in the foreground, on the right and in a bright colour.

5.2.2   *Analysis of Text 2*[3]

A recurring pattern is observed in the Text 2, an advertising of 2017 that will be called "feminine showcase bodies". In this case, in addition to presenting the product, a part of the female body (in this case the chest) is presented together with the product.

As in the previous example, the products to be sold (in this case they are different cosmetic products) appear on the right and in the foreground. These are clearly connected to the woman's chest; she presents herself as a showcase in which both the female breast and the products that are advertised are presented. In this sense, it is suggested that both the products and the woman's breast can be consumed. This could be considered an example of symbolic violence because a part of the woman's body is used at the same level as the products, so it is suggested that both can be consumed.

Here, three planes are observed because the product is on the body of a man who appears on the right, in the background and joined by vectors with the woman who appears on the left on that plane. A man is talking playing the tuba in the third plane between these two people. The building that is seen at the end frames the image on the outside.

It is remarkable that, although women's products are advertised, the woman appears on the left, in the place of known and less important information. However, she is clearly the element that stands out because of the size she occupies in the image and because she is taller than the man whose neck her arm is around.

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3.   The image is available at: https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=AKCJWPlH&id=C1791EC46AFBA339260FB8010E9A037296B7474F&thid=OIP.AKCJWPlH bkgm_dSDIQk6CwHaF7&mediaurl=http%3a%2f%2f1beautynews.ru%2fwp-content%2fup loads%2f2017%2f11%2fDolce-Gabbana-Christmas-Holiday-2017-Royal-Parade-Makeup-Collection-1.jpg&exph=800&expw=1000&q=images+of+dolce+gabbana+of+2017+royal+parade&simid=608005911838130813&selectedIndex=0&ajaxhist=0

Presenting the different cosmetic products at the same level as the woman's breast, clearly related by vectors with the breast and the black bra, highlights the product and suggests an erotic content, as the woman is showing her body and the only article of clothing that she is wearing is the bra. In addition, the words Royal Parade ('real parade') that appear under the cosmetic products and pointing to the loop that serves to untie the bra contributes to eroticise the product. If we add to this that the woman wears a pendant that also points to this bond, it is clearly seen that the chest is linked to the product; that is, that the body is used as an advertising claim.

It is suggested that in the "royal parade" that frames the image, the woman is a queen because of the crown she wears and the staff she carries in her right hand, the index finger pointing to the product. The nails are painted the same colour as the nail polish that is advertised. In addition, the woman is wearing blue eyeshadow, which is the shade of blue in the text. In short, the woman's body is shown as embellished thanks to Dolce & Gabbana's beauty products; that is, the body is used both to frame the products and to carry them. The beauty of the woman is linked with the use of cosmetic products of the company.

We can see that the people represented have a certain distance with the audience when presenting the product in the foreground. In this sense, the audience is invited to observe more than to participate in the parade that is represented. When analysing the social relationships projected in the text by means of the angles, it is observed that the vertical angle represents people at eye level, a fact that is reinforced by the horizontal angle that presents people frontally, so the distance suggested by the previous variable is shortened.

Finally, the social interaction observed in the text is not consistent because both the woman and the man who appears in the third plane look at the audience, and therefore there is a "symbolic request", or symbolic demand, as van Leeuwen (2008: 141) puts it, to participate in the parade. This contrasts with the man on the right as he looks far away and does not interact with the audience.

5.2.3 *Analysis of Text 3*[4]

In Text 3 there is a visual strategy that consists of using the body to frame the product, placing the product in the foreground, so that the body is used as an advertising claim. We can see that the body of the woman is used to frame the product in this advertisement by Dolce & Gabbana in 2018. Although the woman is outstanding

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4. The image is available at: https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid= giYDw%2fyH&id=D766E57CE16025A9C8A5A9A7C47B89A9718B9D9B&thid=OIP.giYDw_ yHVZq5QacAbvhFWgHaEy&mediaurl=https%3a%2f%2fwww.dutyfreehunter.com%2fblog% 2fwp-content%2fuploads%2f2018%2f07%2ff7-1.jpg&exph=785&expw=1213&q=images+dolce+ gabbana+of+2018+sicily+rubber+descubre+la+colecci%c3%b3n&simid=608036547874525154 &selectedIndex=23&ajaxhist=0

for its size, the foreground gives importance to the product. The size of the bag is similar to that of the women's abdomen and the part of the breast that we can see; that is, the black dress that covers part of the woman's body also serves to highlight the product both by occupying a similar space in the text and because the garnet colour contrasts with the black colour of the dress. Both colours are associated with sensuality and eroticism.

The woman's posture is erotic and relaxed, because in the background there is a pool and she is reclining on a lounge chair. The black colour of the dress and the jewelry on her finger and hands contribute to presenting her as an elegant and tasteful woman, something that is also associated with the Dolce & Gabbana brand. The framing both of the bag and the woman's body with the lounge chair and the pool in the background emphasise both the body and the product and suggest to the readers the idea of relaxation and glamour that is observed in the text.

The bag advertised stands out not only because of its position but also because the woman's hand and her pelvis are connected to the bag through vectors, clearly indicating that the most important thing is there. In addition, placing the bag in front of the women's thighs also contribute to highlight the product even more.

A look at social distance highlights the fact that presenting the bag in the fore-ground contributes both to highlight the product and present a distance between the woman and the audience. With regard to social relationship, the woman exercises no power over the audience due to the fact that her head has been cut and we cannot see her facial expression. This suggests that the body is just used to frame the product. Consequently, the body can be perceived as a showcase and as an advertising claim. Both the vertical and the horizontal angles contribute to highlight the product by representing it at eye level.

Although in Text 3 there is no direct interaction between the woman and the audience, the woman relaxed posture and the elegance suggested by her jewelry can be understood as a symbolic request: you can be as beautiful as her, you can have her beauty secrets when acquiring Dolce & Gabbana products. As already mentioned in the analysis of Text 1, the use of black for the woman's clothes and her posture contribute to eroticisation. This text can also be considered an example of objectification of the body as we cannot see the complete body but just parts of it.

6.   Discussion

The analysis in the previous section shows that advertising discourse contributes to perpetuate gender stereotypes because the women represented follow the tra-ditional canons of beauty: they are young and slim, their postures are sexy, their clothes are tight, etc. Therefore, the stereotypical portrayal of women observed

in the analysis involves the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes connected with gender. The body plays a crucial role in the said stereotypes because the intellectual qualities of women are not portrayed in any sense, which contributes to highlight the importance of the body and to diminish the fact that human beings are a unity of body and mind. In addition, different types of body are not promoted, which means that the female body has to be homogeneous in order to be socially accepted. In fact, the construction of femininity is clearly associated with giving importance to the body. Women's bodies are essential in advertising campaigns, i.e., advertising has power over women's bodies and they are the showcase for the different products to be sold. The body needs to accomplish canons and be skinny and beautiful, i.e., cultural ideals of female beauty are highlighted. Women's appearance is considered a marker of their social value and their intellectual capacities are backgrounded or ignored.

The critical discourse perspective used in this paper allows emphasis of the stereotypical gender roles and the ideology transmitted by the texts analysed. The analysis demonstrates that traditional models of women's beauty appear in the visuals, which reinforces the dominant role of women as sexual or decorative objects. These findings about beauty are associated with evolutionary based deterministic theories of beauty features such as the one presented by Prum (2017). Beauty is considered desirable because it signals true adaptive benefits such as health, vigour, and good genes. The author is bothered by the consensus view that beauty in sexual display can be explained as an indicator of health and high performance to prospective mates. In this sense, Prum claims that aesthetic preferences have no function, and that beautiful traits can evolve only by runaway selection of arbitrary traits. In fact, some individuals are considered beautiful based on the perception and subjective evaluations by other individuals.

The ideology associated with the representation of the female body as perfect in the texts analysed can be associated with oppression in a double sense: due to the social pressure that women have to meet the socially accepted standards of beauty; due to the exclusion that female bodies that do not meet the said standards suffer. All the visuals analysed foreground youthfulness and thinness, i.e., women who do not fit into these standards are excluded from advertising. In this sense, the stereotype of objectifying the body is dangerous because it has an effect on women's self-esteem; the perfect bodies presented in advertising suggest that these are the bodies that women should have and they are invited to imitate.

The representation of the bodies in the texts examined has an erotic and sensual component that contributes to the objectification. When talking about reification, the identification between the woman and the product advertised must be highlighted, a fact that leads to dehumanisation. There is a combination of exoticism and eroticism in the texts, which makes them desirable women, clearly related to

the desire to own the products that are advertised by a luxury brand such as Dolce & Gabbana. The elegance and glamour granted to these products is also granted to the women who own them.

There are many examples in which the bodies appear represented only partially. This suggests that there is no interest in the entire person but that a part of the body is used to frame the product. Linking certain parts of the female body (mainly the breast and the genitals) to cosmetic products, accessories, or clothing to be sold in each advertisement promotes the reification of the bodies because they are used for commercial purposes. They are white, thin, and beautiful bodies that serve as a showcase for the products.

Women are represented as passive subjects in the three texts examined, which contributes to the reification of bodies as they are presented as objects to be observed and to be imitated. In fact, the idea is to persuade women into buying the products that are advertised and improve their physical image. Dolce & Gabbana tends to use erogenous parts of women's bodies (mainly the breast or the genitals, as seen in Texts 2 and 3) to highlight the products for sale, a fact that helps to reify the bodies. Two out of the three texts present women with chains or necklaces on their necks highlighting this part of the body as a natural border (Gil Calvo 2000) pointing towards the product (Text 1) or towards the woman's chest (Text 2). The bracelets and the ring on Text 3 contribute to frame the product and the woman's pelvis at the same time.

The fact that the advertising rhetoric is based on sexist stereotypes such as the ones mentioned implies that it is necessary to continue working to claim more human and egalitarian advertising, where the bodies are not reified or used systematically as a claim. This will put an end to the constant use of women as merchandise that can be modified or that can be used for utilitarian purposes, such as persuading to buy products, which is a fundamental idea in the advertising discourse.

7.   Conclusion

The purpose of the analysis in this paper is to observe the main characteristics of the visuals used by Dolce & Gabbana and to deconstruct the visual resources that contribute to reproduce gender stereotypes. The findings indicate that women are represented as stereotyped, following traditional canons of beauty and foregrounding their bodies as objects of desire. Consequently, the deconstruction of women's bodies in the texts analysed shows that the body is a symbol with a clear persuasive burden: the slim, young, and beautiful bodies have to be imitated because they accomplish the cultural canons that are generally accepted.

The study presented here has shown that although the social situation of women has improved in the last decades, there are still traditional gender stereotypes associated with them. The visual representation of women in the corpus under analysis shows that the main stereotypes are associated with the reification and eroticisation of women's bodies to sell products. The fact that women appear systematically represented following the canons of beauty contributes to the representation of women as objects, and therefore society is faced with patriarchal gender stereotypes that need to be deconstructed.

The visuals analysed are created and organised in order to portray certain meanings that are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged. Visuals intend to transmit a specific image of women, whose main characteristic is to present them with a perfect body in order to perpetuate gender stereotypes. In fact, women's bodies reproduce the values accepted by the community, i.e., they are framed in their social context and re-create the social values accepted by a particular culture. Consequently, in order to overcome classical stereotypes, it is necessary to move towards a new ethic of beauty in which there is no canon that dominates but that takes into account personal tastes and the diversity of the bodies.

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Let's talk about sex in high school

The TV series *Sex Education*

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Although sex has always been a controversial topic, in the last years the taboo surrounding sex and sexuality has progressively relaxed, which has led to the appearance of TV series in which sex plays a fundamental role. A good case in point is *Sex Education*, a comedy-drama series about teenagers' sexual issues in the setting of sex-therapy sessions. This chapter's main aim is to analyse how high school students talk about and conceptualise sexual topics in eight episodes of the series, considered here an instance of telecinematic discourse. The results reveal that the X-phemistic (i.e., euphemistic and dysphemistic) units teenagers use to talk about sex provide good evidence of their beliefs and value judgements related to sexuality.

Keywords: euphemism, dysphemism, metaphor, sexual taboo, sex education

1.   Introduction

Sex is a multifaceted taboo in which different interdictions coexist (Crespo-Fernández 2015). It is precisely that taboo nature of sex that makes it so attractive for everybody, but especially for teenagers, since "adolescence is a time of sexual and romantic awakening" (Regan and Joshi 2003: 13) and so they start feeling interested in (and attracted towards) sex. This is even more evident nowadays, as, following Hellín García (this volume), "there is a fascination with sexuality in our society."

Due to the taboos surrounding sex and sexuality, how to educate teenagers in sexual matters has always been a controversial topic (Irvine 2002; Kendall 2013). In the last years, however, the taboo of sex has progressively relaxed leading to the appearance of TV series in which sex plays a fundamental role, such as *Harlots* (Binns, Carpenter, and Till 2017) or *Love Death + Robots* (Donen et al. 2019), or specifically addressed to adolescents like *Élite* (Ramos 2018), *Euphoria* (Romani 2019), or *Skam* (Furevold-Boland 2015), among others. A case that deserves to be

highlighted is *Sex Education* (Jennings 2019), a comedy-drama series in which the two protagonists found a sex clinic to deal with teenagers' sexual issues in their own high school.

The topic of sex in high school has been addressed from different perspectives: mainly through a social prism by examining patterns of sexual intercourse (Palen et al. 2008); from the viewpoint of health, especially to avoid STD (Thanavanh et al. 2013) or regarding birth control and reproductive health care (Ethier et al. 2011); or by establishing relationships between TV exposure and adolescent sexual behaviour (Gottfried et al. 2011), just to mention a few examples. Nevertheless, the increasing social interest in sex, supported by streaming platforms and reflected in the growing number of TV series addressing this issue, has not had the same correlation, at least at the same pace, in the academic world. Despite some studies concerning sex and media dealing with taboo and homosexual-related vocabulary at university (López Cirugeda 2018) or focused on the dubbing of gay-themed TV series in Italy (Sandrelli 2016), to the best of my knowledge, there has been no study so far on the way teenagers conceptualise sex in the context of telecinematic discourse (Piazza, Bednarek, and Rossi 2011: 8).

Under these premises, and considering language a social practice of ideological reproduction (Woolard 1998: 4), my aim in this paper is to examine how teenagers use language, especially X-phemism and figurative language, to talk about sex in the context of a high school in a small town in Great Britain. More specifically, I explore the ideologies shared by the characters and how they are spread throughout the script. The corpus of investigation comprises the eight episodes of the first season of the TV series *Sex Education*. This will allow identifying and analysing adolescents' concerns about sex and sexuality as well as their beliefs and value judgements related to this taboo.

2. Theoretical framework

As Crespo-Fernández claims in the Introduction to this volume, discourse can be defined as "an instance of language in use; and (…) as a social practice including both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communication". For this author, discourse analysis allows deciphering communication and comprehending the particular choices made in different social contexts. Since discourse analysis "investigates real-life discourse in different domains to portray social reality", the discourse-analytic approach is not homogeneous or unified, but applies different approaches or methods depending on the language data to be examined. This connects to Unger's (2016) conception of critical discourse studies, understood as "a group of approaches to the analysis of texts in their social contexts",

in which interdisciplinarity is key in the analysis of complex political, social, or cultural issues.

Considering the above, this study is more specifically framed within telecinematic discourse analysis, i.e., the study of the language employed in film and television in its relation to real life and the role it plays in the fictional narrative (Piazza, Bednarek, and Rossi 2011: 1). According to these authors (2011: 9), this discourse re-presents and re-creates "the specific socio-cultural conventions of the society in which telecinematic texts are produced." In this regard, telecinematic instances must be understood as a reflection of real life because of two main reasons: first, this discourse type follows specific conventions to both adjust to real-life and current society and to fulfil viewers' expectations; second, it reproduces and challenges the established norms, beliefs, and value systems of a real society represented in a particular moment, in this case today's high school settings and teenagers' speech.

Discourse is a powerful tool in film and television that serves two relevant purposes: the first one is to fulfil a number of functions, like defining narrative genres, contributing to the comprehension of the visual discourse, engaging viewers, and establishing relationships between represented and interactive participants and reproducing ideologies;[1] and the second one is to challenge "established beliefs, norms and value systems" (Piazza, Bednarek, and Rossi 2011: 5, 9–10). Telecinematic discourse thus reflects and construes social change and cultural aspects in terms of ideology and, by doing so, assists the reproduction of ideologies:

> If a sympathetic character, a protagonist who is clearly portrayed positively and invites identification, embodies a certain ideology we can assume that we are also invited to share this particular ideology (…). On the other hand, if a character is portrayed negatively and embodies a certain ideology, we can assume that we are not invited to share this ideology. (Bednarek 2010: 189)

Telecinematic discourse includes the three types of discourse suggested by Williams (1977: 121–127): dominant or contemporary values accepted by most; residual or past values accepted by some in the present; and emergent or new meanings and values continually being created and gradually accepted by society (Bednarek 2010: 181, 183).

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1. Ideology is understood here as "a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups" (van Dijk 1998: 8). Ideology, along with power and manipulation, are the main tenets of critical discourse studies, which primarily focus on how the three of them are reproduced in real communicative situations and, as Crespo-Fernández (2018a: 793) notes, how social and political knowledge is discursively constructed in contemporary public discourse.

Now, I move on to explain the devices used in the analysis for the present research: euphemism and dysphemism, considered here verbal tools that speakers resort to in order to conceptualise an interdictive reality and thus produce "an enhanced or motivated communication act (dysphemistic speech or language), or else an attenuated one (euphemistic speech or language)" (Fernández Smith and Casas Gómez 2018: 30–31). Following these authors (2018: 25, 31), euphemism could be defined as a communication instrument employed to mask, hide, or even cover, ennoble, or embellish the negative or unpleasant aspects of reality whereas dysphemism would serve to reinforce, intensify, or evocatively motivate an interdictive reality. As Casas Gómez (1986: 35–36) concluded, there are no euphemisms or dysphemisms *per se*, but euphemistic or dysphemistic *uses* in specific communicative situations because of the affective ambivalence and the contextually dependent nature of these phenomena. In consequence, Allan and Burridge (2006) coined the cover term X-phemism, including euphemism, dysphemism, orthophemism, dysphemistic euphemism, and euphemistic dysphemism, to account for the communicative force of taboo-related terms and expressions. In this vein, Crespo-Fernández (2018b: 10) defines *euphemism* or "sweet talking" as a way of eliminating offensive overtones in polite conversation, *dysphemism* or "offensive talking" as a way of highlighting the offensive and pejorative traits of taboo, and *orthophemism* or "straight talking" as a way to refer to the taboo concept neutrally. For instance, in the series a real sex-therapist uses different words and expressions with particular emotive and expressive values to refer to the same concept, from the orthophemistic term *ejaculation* to the dysphemistic *spunk*, *man milk*, or the euphemistic *finish*. To these modalities of taboo naming, Crespo-Fernández adds *quasi-euphemism* as a way to display friendship, ingroup identity, or intimacy through an *a priori* dysphemistic unit, and *quasi-dysphemism* as a way to intentionally offend through an *a priori* euphemistic unit.

The phenomenon of X-phemism, especially euphemism, is linked to both verbal politeness and facework (Crespo-Fernández 2005): the use of discursive, mitigating, or intensifying strategies has the aim of providing communication with social harmony by reducing conflict, not threatening someone's public self-image – maintaining one's positive *face* – or, on the contrary, feeling free from imposition – negative face – or showing solidarity within the ingroup.

Finally, figurative language, especially metaphor, is a prolific linguistic device to refer to delicate matters, like sex, as it helps to mitigate (euphemism) or highlight (dysphemism) a taboo concept due to its lexical creativity, as well as to identify how we conceive the world and express our experience through language (Kövecses 2003; Crespo-Fernández 2015). Metaphor is closely connected to discourse and ideology, as the former both reflects the latter and influences recipients inasmuch as it can shape and even change their judgements (see Muelas-Gil, this

volume). For the analysis of this device, I have followed Lakoff's (1993) contemporary theory of metaphor, which, broadly speaking, understands metaphor as a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, make sense of our experience, and permeate our daily experiences. In this regard, Lakoff (1993: 203) defines metaphor as "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system", that is, a mapping or set of conceptual correspondences from a source domain (the more concrete reality) to a target domain (the more abstract entity), sex in this case. More specifically, I have followed Steen's (2011) discourse-analytical model, a redefinition of Lakoff's theory, and Charteris-Black's (2004, 2014) critical metaphor analysis aligned with the three dimensions (social, textual, and cognitive/mental) of critical discourse studies (Unger 2016: 2) whereby metaphor is not only interpreted from a cognitive-linguistic view but includes a psychological and a social perspective. In order to explain the purposeful use of metaphors, Steen proposes a three-dimensional model of metaphor in discourse: metaphor in thought, or the conceptual structures of metaphors; metaphor in language, or the linguistic forms of metaphors; and metaphor in communication, or the communicative functions of metaphors in context. These analytical models account for the rhetorical impact of metaphors in real contexts of use and help to critically explain the underlying intentions and uncover the value judgements which are more or less explicitly transmitted through metaphor in discourse (see Crespo-Fernández 2018b: 802).

3. Corpus and methodology

Sex Education (Jennings 2019) is a British, Netflix original dramedy. The first season, composed of eight episodes constituting the corpus of this study, premiered in January 2019. The second season was released in January 2020 and the platform has also confirmed a third season. The series portrays the life of different families and teenagers, especially focusing on sex issues, in the context of a Secondary Education High School, Moordale High, in a small town in Great Britain.

In the series, different roles, ideas, and attitudes to life and especially to sex as well as controversial topics, like abortion or peer and family pressure, among others, are observed and challenged by people with differing views. On the one hand, the protagonists can be divided into adults (Jean Milburn, Otis's mother, a real sex-therapist; and Mr Groff, Adam's father, the strict headmaster of Moordale High) and teenagers (Otis Milburn, Maeve Wiley, Eric Effiong, Otis's gay best friend; Adam Groff and Jackson Marchetti, Moordale High's athletic star). Otis is an introvert, 16-year-old student who has never had sex and cannot masturbate, which does not prevent him from founding the sex clinic with Maeve, a smart, strong, feminist student who is used to finding creative ways to pay the rent for the

caravan where she lives alone. On the other hand, there are secondary characters who are equally important to depict the social problems and trends the series aims to address. The most important adults in this category are Jakob Nyman and Ola's father, Mr Effiong and Jackson's mothers, Sofia and Roz Marchetti; and the most relevant teenagers are Aimee Gibbs, Ola Nyman, Lily Iglehart, Tanya and Ruthie, and The – popular and mean – Untouchables (Anwar, Olivia, and Ruby).

These characters re-present and re-create specific sociocultural conventions of today's society so analysing their discourse and their use of language seems to be a worthy enterprise to reveal both their idiosyncrasy and the ideologies they reproduce as well as if they are socially acceptable (Piazza, Bednarek, and Rossi 2011: 9).

Regarding the methodology employed and considering that "taboo and taboo naming are complex phenomena that cannot be easily addressed from a single perspective", as Crespo-Fernández (2018b: 11) argues, I have followed an interdisciplinary, sociolinguistic, cognitive-pragmatic approach to discourse. This means that linguistic units were appraised and classified according to their positive (euphemism, quasi-euphemism) or negative (dysphemism, quasi-dysphemism) emotive and affective values while considering their communicative and pragmatic context, along with cultural and personal differences mainly based on social status, age, or education, among others. It also means that the phenomena have not been analysed from the point of lexical substitution, but considering what the taboo concept entails, that is, how the forbidden contents, the forbidden reality, and the forbidden meaning create particular contextual or emotional effects to attenuate or reinforce such taboos (Crespo-Fernández 2018b: 13). This approach aligns with qualitative discourse analysis, as my main concern is to examine teenage use of sex-related language on the basis of an incomplete (yet representative) set of naturally occurring language data.

I have also followed a bottom-up approach to analyse and describe the studied X-phemistic units. In this inductive approach, first, language data are excerpted, and then, general assumptions are made. For the selection of figurative language, I have followed Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), a method for metaphor detection in naturally-occurring discourse developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) which can be summarised as follows: first, reading the text and understanding the general context; second, establishing the contextual meaning for the lexical unit in question and determining if it has a more basic meaning in other contexts; and fourth, deciding whether there exists a contrast between the contextual meaning and a more basic meaning. If this happens, the lexical unit is identified as an instance of metaphor.[2]

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2. Charteris-Black (2014) adopts this three-stage procedure of metaphor identification in his critical metaphor analysis in which metaphorical units are first identified, then classified and interpreted, and finally their contextual implications are explained.

4. Analysis

Regarding the X-phemistic units selected, the teenagers and adults of the series seem to be worried about these sex-related topics: abortion, arousal, parts of the body and effluvia, sexual acts, and sexual disorders. Sex-related concepts are also employed to name people. These constitute the subsections for the analysis, within which these topics are going to be dealt with per X-phemistic device. The following formula has been used to code the examples: (season x number of episode); moreover, the alluded expressions have been marked, so the italics within the quotations given are mine.

4.1 Abortion

Abortion is a relevant topic not only in the series – since the whole episode three revolves around it – but also for teenagers, as it is one of the main sexual problems for them. Misconceptions, lack of information, or carelessness around sex often leads to undesired pregnancies and so abortion. Despite its relevance, the term to name this concept only appears once, when a boy outside a clinic shouts at Maeve: "Life begins at conception. *Termination* is murder" (1x03). As the boy wants to persuade her not to do it, he softens his speech by using the euphemistic word *termination* to avoid the linguistic taboo *abortion* or any reference to death; in fact, he emphasises his message by starting with a positive idea and relating it to life. This branches with Bednarek's notion (2010: 184) that different characters represent conflicting ideologies and so television programmes use characters to present "ideological oppositions between different lifestyles."

4.2 Arousal

In the first episode, Adam takes Viagra, as he is having problems to be aroused because he usually consumes drugs. As his erection is longer than expected, he goes to the sex clinic for advice, where several expressions to describe his problem are found. For instance, Adam relates sounds to having an erection: "Heard it gives you *a good buzz*" (1x01). Then, Maeve mocks Adam with a quasi-dysphemistic expression: "He's having *dick problems*" (1x01). In Maeve's words, Adam is a clodpole. When he goes to the clinic he would like to be able to talk about his problems through orthophemism; however, he does not have enough vocabulary for that and so has to use colloquial expressions like *get hard* for having an erection – which is also used in this same episode by Aimee –, *shag* for performing sexual activities, *blow one's load* for ejaculating, and *one's jizz face* for his facial expression when

having an orgasm. Maeve also refers to the Viagra episode later when she asks Adam: "No *chemically induced hard-on* today?" (1x04); to which he replies with a dysphemistic expression: "You're so funny, you make my *dick hurt*."

In another episode, Otis confesses to Eric that he had "a creepy sex dream" (1x03), which worries him very much. Then Eric asks: "Was it *ALS challenge* or just your basic *dick sneeze*?" (1x03). The former may refer to the ice-bucket challenge, occurred years ago to raise money for people with Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis and went viral; or, more probably, All Ladies Shaved, regarding female pubic hair. Eric's second expression is a resemblance-metaphorical personification, since, as Ortiz (2014: 6) claims, the same quality (the capacity of sneezing) is perceived in two different entities (humans and a specific part of the body). Despite the crudity of the expressions, Eric feels comfortable speaking about sex with his best friend and, although he wants to shock his virginal friend to lighten the atmosphere, it has not an offensive intention, indeed it somehow intends to show solidarity. In fact, when Otis starts feeling anxious and guilty about it, Eric tries to reassure him with: "Chill out. You *jazzed your pants*, you're not Hannibal Lecter" (1x03). Therefore, all of them are cases of quasi-euphemism.

4.3   Parts of the body and effluvia

The very first scene of the series shows Aimee and Adam having sex and this topic is mentioned in the first sentence as she says: "Do you like my *tits*?" She continues asking him, by using the source-path-goal or journey metaphor: "Do you wanna *come* on them?" (1x01). The SEX-AS-A-JOURNEY metaphor is a common way to conceptualise sex by transferring attributes of the source domain JOURNEY onto the target domain of SEX as a consequence of "using the knowledge we have about journeys to talk about sex: first, the sexual encounter corresponds to the journey; second, the lovers are the travellers; and third, the final destination of the journey is reaching orgasm" (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 97). So, the central topic of sex is clearly defined from the beginning, as well as the use of metaphors and X-phemism. The scene ends when Aimee asks Adam if he had just faked "it" and so avoiding the words *ejaculation* or *orgasm* to finish with dysphemism to show her anger: "Show me the condom (…) Where's the *spunk*, Adam?" (1x01). This problem arises later when Jean recommends Adam not to smoke for he could have problems with sexual performance like her clients, especially with "*finishing… ejaculation*" (1x01). She starts with euphemism to introduce the topic, orthophemism to talk about it naturally and finishes with dysphemism (for his son, as he feels completely shocked and appalled by her statement) or quasi-euphemism (for her) to show solidarity with a teenager: "*Jizz, spunk… man milk*!" (1x01).

A precise part of Adam's body is mentioned since the very beginning from different points of view. Maeve says in high school some people know "He's got a *big massive elephant's cock*", which Otis softens during their therapy in the clinic by euphemistically calling it "a *large appendage*" (1x01). Eric also asks Otis if he believes Adam's "brain is so small 'cause his *dick* is so big" to what the latter replies that is a myth and Eric confirms it is not because "A friend of a friend saw it once. She said it was the size of two Coke cans. One on top of the other. Length and width" (1x01). When Adam takes Viagra, Maeve apologises for staring at it, but she says it is "like a *third leg*", with which he "could *besiege a castle*" (1x01). Even students wonder if that has been inherited, as when Ruby asks Aimee: "Do you think Headmaster Groff is *well hung* too?" (1x01), so using a quasi-dysphemistic expression to mock him.

Male parts of the body also appear when Adam goes to Otis's house, sees a TV scene of a woman rolling a testicle and says "There's a *ball bag* on the TV" (1x01), again using a colloquial metaphorical expression. When Otis tries to downplay the scene and divert attention by claiming that is his porn, Adam recommends him to go to Pornhub for its diversity, as there are even CGI demons "fucking" horses and so showing his sex education is based on porn and the language used there. This metaphor, which could be postulated as TESTICLES ARE BALLS, is also mentioned when Maeve goes after Tom to check if he sent a photo to hurt Ruby and he defends himself by saying he does not have a mobile phone because the radiation they emit can cause "*a cancer of the balls*" and he does not want "*mutant sperm*" (1x05).

Female parts of the body find their space here too. For one thing, Aimee refers to her breasts as "tits" (1x01) and a jock tries to mock feminist Maeve by falsely praising that part of her body: "Nice *rack*, Wiley" (1x01). For another, a student asks Otis for advice about her "pubes", since she believes they "are out of control" to finish the sentence by comparing her genitalia, through a correlation metaphor – those in which two entities are likened (Ortiz 2014: 10) – to Wolverine (1x03). This precise part is a matter of concern for other girls as well. In episode five, a picture of a vagina is sent to all the students of Moordale High and so everybody talks about it. Anwar describes it as "one *rank-looking vagina*", Olivia as a "*Chewbacca vag*", a student girl as "big *beef curtains*" and Ruby says that "if my *labia* looked like that, I'd, uh, kill myself"; in fact, they are and rumours point in her direction. Finally and despite admitting he feels sorry for whoever it is on the photo, Jackson says "It looked like a *guinea pig with a bit of ham on it*."

On another occasion, Kyle admits to receive images constantly ("*tits… minges… the occasional butthole*") and when Maeve asks if he sent the picture spread in high school, he confesses he keeps the pictures for his own collection as "a *connoisseur of amateur erotica*" (1x05). This example shows how the use of borrowings from

another language, in this case French, softens his speech and so turns the concept euphemistic.[3]

Continuing with female genitalia, Otis tells Maeve that his mother has no boundaries and is forever talking about sex; in fact, she has a workshop called "My Yoni, Myself", in which *yoni*, both the Sanskrit word for female genitalia and a euphemistic phonetic alteration (Fernández Smith and Casas Gómez 2018: 31), means 'vagina' (1x03). Later, Aimee asks Maeve, by using explicit language, if drugs alter a certain part of the body by making one's asshole really relaxed, as she "could feel it *inching out my bumhole*" (1x03).

Finally, women's menstruation seems to be an issue for Mr Groff, as he even uses what he believes is a euphemism "that *special time of the month* for women" (1x03) although it is actually a quasi-dysphemism, as men's discomfort of/when talking about female natural processes like menstruation, even the corresponding attenuating expressions, seem offensive for some women. He wants to give a talk about raising money for Ugandan[4] schools and he is struggling for a good word to refer to "*sanitary towels*. No. Um… *period pads*. Hm. *Lady things. Sanitary products*", for which Maeve recommends "sanitary products", which he finally uses (1x03).

4.4 People

Euphemism used to describe people is first employed to define the two teenage protagonists. For one thing, Eric mocks Otis when he says Maeve is "basically a *nympho*" (1x01) to attenuate, through a quasi-euphemistic exaggeration and clipping, the rumours spread in Moordale High. Here Eric resorts to hyperbole to transmit an exaggerated view of reality, used with a specific evaluative and ideological aim, which suits his communicative intentions.[5] Jackson also employs quasi-euphemism to describe Maeve: he depicts her as "*head-fuck*, man. Like a Rubik's Cube", because he sees her as a complex woman who he cannot keep up with; but also, basing on their sexual activity, he defines her as "some *sexy merry-go-round*", which Otis

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3. This branches with Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García's findings (2018) on the euphemistic force of anglicism in Spanish. These authors demonstrate that the use of a foreign language decisively contributes to veiling sex-related taboos in computer-mediated communication.

4. It is worth noting that the choice of Uganda here may be intentional, as the expression *discuss Uganda* "appeared in the late 1970s as a way to refer implicitly (and humorously) to an illicit sexual encounter" (Crespo-Fernández 2011: 60).

5. As Herrero Ruiz (2009: 50) argues, hyperbole is a powerful X-phemistic device and a useful strategy of evaluative naming insofar as "it brings the listener into the perspective of the speaker in a powerful way."

reprimands for treating her like an inanimate object instead of a person (1x04). For another thing, Maeve describes Otis in the clinic as "some sort of… strange *sex savant*", to which she adds that is weird, but impressive (1x02). In this same vein, Maeve tells Otis that Aimee calls him "the *Pleasure Master*" (1x06); and, although with no intention of offending, Ruby refers to Otis as "that *weird sex kid who looks like a Victorian ghost*" (1x05). Even Otis's mother writes a book about him and entitles it "raising a sexually repressed 16-year-old boy" (1x08); therefore, using a quasi-dysphemistic expression for him.

Otis's sophisticated way of talking about sex is also shown when he tells Ruthie that he is "not particularly *well-versed in the intricacies of lesbian sexual relations*" (1x04). In this same scene, there are two other cases worth mentioning. The first is when Ruthie argues, she and Tanya do not have any problem in their relationship, but they are "just *inexperienced*." And the second is when Ruthie tells Otis: "So have you got any ideas, *Kinsey*? I'd like to have an orgasm sometime this century." This refers to Alfred C. Kinsey, one of the first North Americans to study human sexuality and sexual behaviour. Maeve also uses quasi-euphemistic expressions to call Otis's attention, as when she calls him "piss-flaps" (1x02). Eric also tries to open Otis's eyes on several occasions as when he compares him with "a *pimp*. And not the *cool Snoop Dogg kind*" (1x04) or when he defines him as "my *sexually repressed friend*" (1x01). Eric employs quasi-euphemism as well to praise Jean's boyfriend's good attributes ("Your mum's new boyfriend is a *big hot sticky wet dream*" (1x01)). The HEAT metaphor, highly pervasive in the language used to talk about sex and related matters (see, e.g., Kövecses 2003), metonymically refers to sexual desire as the increase of body temperature – a characteristic physiological effect of sexual excitement.

Otis also uses X-phemism to clarify Ola that his "mum doesn't really do boy-friends. She's a *man-eater*", which she observes as a weird way to describe one's mum (1x06). This provocative euphemistic use is based on the conceptual metaphor SEX IS EATING, as FOOD is a common source domain for naming sexual acts due to the close association between the alimentary and the sexual, as Allan and Burridge (2006: 190) maintain. Adam uses quasi-euphemism too, for instance, when he apologises to Otis for sending a video of Jean explaining a sexual act on TV; however, he defines her as "some kind of… *sexy witch*" (1x01). He also utilises it to show solidarity among friends as when he calls Steve "ass bandit" (1x02). However, Adam is left confused when his friend describes him in his mother's words as a "sex pervert" (1x02).

When Otis helps Jackson to court Maeve, Eric reprimands him, again through the HEAT metaphor, for having "made the hottest guy in school even hotter" and pinpoints that the fact that Otis is "all *woke and shit*. Kind of counters the whole *lame virgin thing*" (1x04). Therefore, the word *shit* here is positive as it reinforces

Otis's popular status now whereas being a virgin is practically an insult. This is also felt by other students like Lily, who, in Otis's own words, seems desperate to have sex. She explains that she wants to have sex to enter university and not be behind other students and feels that no one wants to have sex with her because she is "just the *weird virgin girl*" and so this is clearly negative for her. On other occasions, *virgins* are just another clique in high school and so the word functions as an orthophemism, for example when, at Anwar's party, Maeve tells Otis to "scope out the *sober virgins*" while she will take the hockey team (1x02).

One of the most fruitful cases of the analysis of this topic is using dysphemism or quasi-dysphemism to insult or put people to shame. Particularly Maeve is a frequent target. Adam urges Maeve not to be "such a *JOI fucker*" (1x01), where *JOI* means 'Jerk Off Instructions', i.e., a kind of porn videos explaining how to masturbate for pleasure. It is interesting to note that initialism, an abbreviation whose initials substitute an expression, functions as an X-phemistic disguise that presents the taboo topic (masturbation) in a direct way (Crespo-Fernández 2011: 75). Ruby also usually refers to her as "cock biter" (1x03); however, Maeve tries to save her insults by pretending she does not care "Nothing. Gotta go. Cocks to bite." This insult has the origin in a rumour spread in Moordale High. People started saying she bit Simon Furthassle's scrote. She explains it to Otis when she is trying to help Ruby as she believes no one deserves to be shamed for sex-related reasons. She starts saying she has been called "cock biter" for four years, even by people she never met. There are several rumours actually: she bit Simon Furthassle's scrote, she had sex with four guys at the same time, she fucked her second cousin, and she would give a hand job for a fiver. She finally claims that she refused to kiss Simon at a birthday party and so he spread the rumour she had given him a blow job and bitten his dick (1x05). Sex is again used as a weapon to hurt people and their public image.

The Untouchables are usually mean to people and so use many dysphemistic expressions to refer to the other students at school, as when Anwar uses hyperbole as an evaluative resource to insult Aimee's "*whale-dick* boyfriend", Adam (1x01). Adam also names Eric 'Tromboner' (1x06), as he plays actually the French horn and had a public erection in high school some time ago. However, the former is also insulted by Maeve when she asks Aimee how things are "going with *Knobzilla*", to what she replies that she is "losing my shit" because "he can't come" (1x01). In this conversation, Maeve uses two euphemistic metaphors to refer to ejaculation: one through the abovementioned source-path-goal, SEX-IS-A-JOURNEY metaphor "reaches the summit" and a resemblance metaphor "slipped and dropped the yogurt", as both yogurt and semen have a similar appearance; and a dysphemistic compound (*dickheads*) to refer to The Untouchables.

The Great Chain of Being (Lakoff and Turner 1989), a cultural model of the organisation of the surrounding reality which locates the different entities in a

hierarchy ranked from the lowest entities (physical things) to those occupying the highest levels (humans), explains how the source domain of animals can be used to pejoratively refer to human beings or their actions or characteristics (see Kiełtyka 2000: 314). This is the case when Otis tries to explain to Ola why Maeve will never date him. He starts saying that "Maeve is considerably *higher on the food chain* that I am. You know, I'm like a *kangaroo* or an *armadillo*. Whereas Maeve's like a *panther*, or a *lion*, even" (1x07). Ola then asks Otis what she is on that chain and he replies that she could be a *goat*. When she shows her surprise and annoyance, he tries to save the situation, but finishes making it worse: "You don't look like a goat. You could be, like, a *house cat*, if you don't like *goats*". Given this situation, she finally claims that Otis is not a kangaroo, but an arsehole. The ontological metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is mainly attributive when applied to sex (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 28). In this case, Maeve is seen both as fierce and a predator able to choose the boys she dates or "preys"; contrariwise, Otis sees himself as a prey waiting for a hunter; and by comparing Ola to a "prey, weak" animal she feels derogated and so offended.[6]

4.5   Sexual acts

This is by far the most fruitful topic in the analysis. For instance, Otis uses euphemism and so avoids Dan's – one of his mother's conquests – being offended by the question of being "*sleeping with*" his mother (1x01) in one of the very first scenes.

The frequent expression "have sex" can be included in the different facets of the complex phenomenon of X-phemism. It can be orthophemism, as when Eric tells Otis "everyone has *had sex* over the summer", except them (1x01), as it is a natural and neutral way for him to refer to sexual intercourse. As mentioned before, sex can be a weapon and even a measure within a ranking, for instance of popularity, as when a boy goes to the sex clinic because he wants "people to think I've *had sex*" (1x03). Later in the conversation, the reason of this visit is discovered: "I just wanted Molly Bell to see me coming in here so she thinks I've *had sex*." Although not clarified, this may read either he wants to use sex as a weapon for vengeance or jealousy or as a tool to appear more attractive to start a relationship. Sex can also have labels like "*goodbye sex*" (1x01) or "*penetrative sex*", which a girl considers a horrible way to cheat on Jesus if you do not wait until marriage (1x03). Regarding this last point, a very interesting debate is raised here concerning the evasion of a certain religious

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6.   For more information on the predator-prey schema and gender roles, as well as its connection to dependency and dominance attached to sexual power relationships between the *sexualiser* and the *sexualised*, see Hellín García (this volume), who studies "the role of metaphorical female and male animalisation in reggaeton communication."

rule. At first, Otis understands this girl is offended by her boyfriend's previous sexual history due to her religious beliefs and compared to her lack of her experience. However, she confesses she has experience; in fact, an extensive one: "*hand jobs*, *fingering*, *oral*, *69ing*, a bit of *anal stuff*", but she does not consider this sex, as "that's sacred, between a man and woman on their wedding night" (1x03).

When Lily goes to Eric's house to do a project, the reality is that she wants to have sex with him, so after being rejected, she feels a bit annoyed. She says that she only wants to know how it feels and it is then that he confesses, through a euphemistic SEX-IS-A-JOURNEY metaphor, he has not done it *all the way*, but watches a lot of porn, gay porn actually (1x03). Then different X-phemistic uses are found. Eric claims he mainly watches porn as self sex education, especially regarding "*rimmin*'", i.e., stimulation of someone's anus with one's tongue. And Lily complains she just wants to "*feel a dick in* my *vagina*". Lily's obsession with sex can also be observed in her fondness for drawing hentai. In her comics, she uses both euphemism (*abdominal sex cavity*) and dysphemism (*fuck*), sometimes combined (*giant penis*, *phallus grew limp*, *dick to deflower her*) as when she writes about her experience after the episode with Eric (1x03).

Lily and Otis use many euphemistic expressions regarding sexual intercourse for the first time. Lily argues she wants to speak about his "virginal status" and then she utters up to four euphemistic expressions for that: "your cherry[7] remains unpopped", "deflowering the maiden", "breaking the lawn chair", and "skinning the fish" just to propose to him to lose their virginity together or in Lili's words: to put his "dick in my vagina" (1x04), which he politely declines. The metaphors SEX IS EATING and WOMEN ARE FLOWERS are common to deal with sex, since both allude to the attractive senses of sight and smell plus flowers represent beauty and softness (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 173). Later he changes his mind and wants to have sex with her but needs "to *take things* slow". To break the ice, Otis intends to play music, but a whale song plays, so she tries to set the mood by saying that "whales only *have sex* for 35 seconds" and continues saying that "their *penises* are seven feet long. I reckon you could *drown in their come*" (1x06), which seems both disgusting by the exaggerated measures and may add some pressure. Otis's sexual status is also a matter of concern for Eric. It surprises him so much that he asks Otis if he can "get a *hard-on*", to what he replies by swearing he is "not a *fucking eunuch*" (1x01). Eric's surprise is also present when Otis says Maeve wants him to be a sex-therapist when he neither has any experience nor can even "wank" (1x02).

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7.   Tabooed body parts are usually veiled under the metaphorical euphemism of fruits, as in this case *cherry* meaning 'hymen' and, by extension, 'virginity' (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 158).

Eric uses the word *shag*, a British slang term for sexual intercourse,[8] up to three times in the same sentence (1x01). Jackson describes his sexual relationship with Maeve as "crazy amazing *sex* (…) like *transcendental-level shagging*" (1x04). Another euphemism to refer to this is "*sleeping together*" (1x02), which Maeve uses to refer to her relationship with Jackson.

Eric also uses euphemistic expressions for other aspects of sex apart from intercourse, like *hand jobs* (1x01) 'masturbation'; WORK is a common source domain projected onto the target domain of SEX, as they both require time and dedication along with "some degree of mastery and technique" (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 73). He also employs quasi-dysphemism ("at least I can *touch my own penis*") and euphemism ("You can't even *jack your beanstalk*" (1x01)), to reprimand Otis about his attitude to sex. Euphemistic uses of masturbation are also applied to women, as when Maeve tells Otis that Tanya is afraid of her lesbian relationship, because "she believes that *flicking the bean* might make her *clit drop off*" (1x01); Maeve uses euphemism to introduce the topic, but ends with dysphemism to highlight the fact that Tanya "can't stop *wanking*."

Obviously, a professional sex-therapist normally uses orthophemism to talk about sex, as when Jean asks Otis if he wants to talk about being "pretending to *masturbate*" (1x01). She also used euphemistic metaphors in a video she recorded years ago to explain how to masturbate a man, like "*stimulate* it with your fingers in a circular motion", and "*throbbing in your hand* like a *volcano about to erupt*" (1x01); this last hyperbolic simile relating sex to heat is intentional to remark desire and trigger arousal. When Maeve tries to comfort Otis about this mortifying video, she says it "could have been a lot worse. She could have been *stroking an actual penis*" (1x01). On another occasion, Jean explains to Otis in a reverie what sex is: "[W]hen a man *puts his penis inside a woman's vagina*" and he asks if it hurts. She teaches him that "*intercourse* can… be wonderful, but it can also cause tremendous pain. And if you're not careful, *sex can destroy lives*" (1x06); thus, sex is again seen as a weapon.

When Olivia attends the sex clinic, two topics merge: sexual acts and sexual disorders. Maeve explains to Otis that Olivia has "gag reflex problems" and that made her "*vommed* on her boyfriend's penis" (1x02). As usual, euphemism introduces the topic; then, Otis uses the medical term or orthophemism "experience a bout of *emesis*" and, finally, to show her anger about her problem the own Olivia uses dysphemism "I *puked on his dick*". As this happened during, in Otis's words, *fellatio*, other euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions are used to refer to this practice, such as "give *BJs*", "*go down on him*", "give *blow jobs*", and "*suck a dick*". The euphemistic expression "go down on someone" (1x04) appears in another episode

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8.   According to the online Urban Dictionary (https://www.urbandictionary.com/), *shag* is "used by people who think the term 'making love' is too innocent and 'fuck' is too coarse."

when Tanya offers Ruthie to do that. These two girls seem to have problems in their sexual relationship and, when they go to the clinic, many euphemistic uses occur, like *touching* 'masturbating', *intertwine our bodies* 'have penetration', and *physical intimacy* 'sexual intercourse' (1x04).

Dysphemism is also employed from the beginning. First, Eric tells Otis that he "heard she [Maeve] *bit* Simon Furthassle on the *scrote*" to continue the rumour that "she *sucked off* 12 guys in ten minutes for a dare", so now many people, like The Untouchables, call her "slag" (1x01). Some students also mock Maeve for funding the sex clinic, this is why a jock employs dysphemism out loud: "Hey, Maeve! I wanna *fuck a chinchilla*. Can you help me?" (1x02). As Maeve does not want to commit with her relationship with Jackson, she also uses the previous verb and sex as a weapon to discourage him: "We're just *fucking*, Jackson. We don't need to know each other's postcodes" (1x01). This dysphemistic verb is used by a student telling Otis his problem in the clinic: "I *fucked a warm melon*, and now it stings when I pee" (1x03). Contrariwise, other quasi-euphemistic expressions to refer to sexual intercourse, like "hooking up" (1x02 and 1x04), "humping" (1x04), or "boning" (1x04) – including between lesbians, such as "*scissoring*" (1x04) –, and masturbation, like "wank each other off" (1x03), also appear in the series. It must be noted here that Aimee believes masturbation is gross and justifies she always had a boyfriend for not doing that. Then Otis explains that "women do tend to feel more shame surrounding *masturbation* than men. Feeling that it's… it's short of taboo, or *dirty*. Which it isn't" (1x06). This is ironic, because Otis cannot do that either because of his remorse.

STD also appears when Maeve catches two people kissing on a sofa, and so asks them to "go *get herpes* somewhere else" (1x04). She is usually that coarse and so this must be understood as a way of socialising in a quasi-euphemistic way and part of her characterisation.

Here two concepts already explained appear again. First, Adam dubbed Eric "Tromboner". Although this term is usually dysphemistic, when Eric speaks to Jackson for the first time, he introduces himself as "Tromboner" as a way of flirting. And second, sex is often used as a way of measuring popularity among teenagers and boasting: "If I had a limousine, I would totally *have sex in it and film it*" (1x07).

Quasi-dysphemistic uses are also given to this topic. For instance, when Otis tries to convince Eric that boys and girls can be friends, Eric assures that "[t]heir *genitals can be friends*" (1x04). He continues mocking Otis by affirming Maeve and Jackson are "having *super-hot, athletic, sweaty intercourse*". Eventually, Otis concedes they are having "casual sex", to what Eric replies that friends share things "like *bodily fluids*" (1x04).

Finally, Lily ends the season having two sexual experiences. One with Otis, which she describes as "an *appalling awkward sexual experience*" (1x08), because he

had a panic attack before anything happened and she had to call his mother. And another with Octoboy, but things did not go as expected. She explains, through dysphemism, that her "*vagina* has *betrayed*" her. She continues explaining that when she finally found someone who was DTF, he could not "get his *average-sized dick in my stupid vagina*"; in fact, she says she "couldn't even *get my finger in there. It's like my vag has lockjaw*" (1x08). As observed in the examples, there are two euphemisms: one based on initialism, meaning 'down to fuck'; and another based on clipping, such as *vag* instead of vagina.

4.6   Sexual disorders

In the context of a sex clinic and sex therapy, this topic is more than justified. In one of the very first scenes, orthophemism is used when Otis asks Dan – one of his mother's conquests – if he has "an *Oedipal complex*". He is appalled by the question and confirms he does not want to "*have sex with my mum*". Then Jean reprimands Otis and claims "it's perfectly normal for a younger man to be *sexually attracted to a mature woman*. In fact, when you stigmatise this choice, then you feed into an unhealthy narrative on masculinity in middle age." When Dan tries to lighten up the atmosphere by encouraging Otis to never date a "shrink", she calmly and indirectly indicates she prefers a less dysphemistic and more politically correct description like "sex and relationship therapist, thank you very much" (1x01).

   In her therapy sessions, Jean treats a patient with "scrotal anxiety" (1x04). For their part, in their sex clinic, Otis and Maeve deal with "bedroom problems" – a "location metonymy for sex, euphemistically used with connotation of sexual intercourse" (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 90) – between Aimee and Steve (1x06). Otis also diagnoses Lily with "vaginismus", that is, "the body's automatic reaction to a fear of vaginal penetration" (1x08). When she complains that she really wants to have sex, Otis explains that she is not afraid of having sex, but to let go. To solve her problem, he encourages her to ride her bike down a hill and so face her fears. She shows her surprise through dysphemism: "I don't wanna *fuck a hill*", but finally accepts the challenge.

5.   Conclusions

The analysis has revealed that in telecinematic discourse, characters' use of language helps the viewer to understand the relationships between the represented participants and their implications for challenging real-life beliefs, norms, and values, and characterises each person by building their personality. That is why the frequent use of orthophemism and euphemism to mitigate the impact of delicate aspects

of sex turns speakers into experts, like Jean or Otis; the use of quasi-dysphemism can be seen as a smart strategy to insult and reprimand in a veiled way, like Maeve; the lack of vocabulary regarding the realm of sex and so the constant recurrence to colloquial expressions – even if they are dysphemistic in an inappropriate context – can be interpreted as a sign of ignorance or lack of education, like Adam; and the use of X-phemism at one's convenience may reveal, apart from the ability to adapt to the context and recipient, one's easiness to talk about sex, like Eric.

The present study has also shown that borrowings from other languages like French and abbreviations in the form of clippings and initialisms function as euphemistic devices to talk about sex and related matters. For its part, quasi-euphemism is frequently employed to show solidarity within an ingroup or for adults to make themselves closer to teenagers and create a comfortable atmosphere to talk about delicate matters through their same way of speaking.

It is worth noting that a particular structure combining the previous devices has been found to deal with a delicate matter or controversial issue in the series: first, euphemism to introduce the topic; then, orthophemism to talk about it in a natural and neutral way; and finally, dysphemism to show surprise, anger, or solidarity towards the recipient. Regarding the latter, dysphemistic sex-related words are mainly used to mock or insult people. This is because sex has proven to be a weapon to offend or mock people, especially when they are different to the mainstream group, as well as to hurt others in vengeance or damage their public image. However, sex can also be used to measure matters of concern for teenagers, like their parts of the body – especially for girls – or being inexperienced, or even as a benchmark for popularity. In this vein, being a "virgin" can either be one of the many cliques in high school or a source of shame or a reason to be mocked or insulted for. On the contrary, in the series, having a fixation with sex does not only apply to boys but also to girls.

In the series, the use of metaphorical language is frequent, as shown in Table 1, which presents the key metaphors covered in the paper.

Table 1. Summary of analysed metaphors

Topic	Metaphorical expression	Meaning/implications
Arousal	A good buzz	Erection
	Dick problems	
	Getting hard	
	Getting a hard-on	
	Blowing one's load	Ejaculation
	Dick sneeze	
	Jazzing one's pants	
	Finishing	

Table 1. (*continued*)

Topic	Metaphorical expression	Meaning/implications
Parts of the body and effluvia	Man milk	Semen
	A large appendage	Penis
	A third leg	
	A ball bag	Testicles
	Balls	
	Rack	Breasts
	Wolverine	Pubic hair
	Chewbacca	
	Big beef curtains	Labia
	Guinea pig with a bit of ham on it	
	Piss flaps	
	Special time of the month	Menstruation
People	Head-fuck	A person somebody fancies/loves
	Sexy merry-go-round	
	Pleasure master	A sex therapist
	Big hot sticky wet dream	A handsome man
	The hottest guy in school	
	Man-eater	A woman who has sexual intercourse with different partners
	Sexy witch	A beautiful woman
	Being a panther or a lion	
	Being woke and shit	Being popular
	Cock-biter	An insult for women
	Being well hung	A man with a big penis
	A whale-dick boyfriend	
	Knobzilla	
	Tromboner	A music student who had an erection in public
Sexual acts	Flicking someone's bean	Masturbation
	Hand job	
	Jacking someone's beanstalk	
	Jerk off instructions (JOI)	
	Sexual gratification	
	Touching [someone's penis]	
	Coming	Sex is a journey where lovers are travellers and the destination, orgasm
	Doing it all the way	
	Reaching the summit	
	Slipping and dropping the yogurt	Ejaculating before the woman has had an orgasm

(*continued*)

Table 1. (*continued*)

Topic	Metaphorical expression	Meaning/implications
	Sleeping with/together	Having sexual intercourse
		Hooking up
		Humping
		Boning
		Going get herpes
	Being deflowered	Stopping being a virgin
	Breaking the lawn chair	
	Skinning the finish	
	Someone's cherry remains unpopped	Being a virgin
	A volcano about to erupt	Orgasm
	Giving BJs	Fellatio
	Going down on someone	
	Sucking someone's dick	
	Intertwining two bodies	Penetration
	Physical intimacy	
Sexual disorders	Bedroom problems	Problems with sexual intercourse
	Vagina betrayal	Vaginismus
	Someone's vagina has lockjaw	

Therefore, the analysis demonstrates that metaphorical language plays a key role in how teenagers cope with the taboo topic of sex. Metaphors like WOMEN ARE FLOWERS, SEX IS EATING, SEX IS A JOURNEY, or SEX IS HEAT are often used to mitigate the impact or even shame of talking about parts of the body, orgasm and ejaculation, and especially masturbation. The Great Chain of Being is quasi-dysphemistically employed in the corpus and, along with the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, serves to conceptualise people's attitude to sex and their building of relationships by comparing them to the chosen animals' behaviour or characteristics. Contrariwise, teenagers sometimes prefer using dysphemism and quasi-dysphemism to talk about sex in casual conversation, as they do not want to show sensitiveness or weakness. Thus, their discourse and use of language are a matter of concern which could affect their popularity or public image.

Language use also challenges beliefs, norms, and values, as when controversial topics arise in the series. This is the case of abortion, a central topic for the whole episode three. Despite being one of teenagers' main problems regarding sex, its surrounding taboo and controversial nature, as in many countries it is even illegal, make that only one single and euphemistic expression refers to this directly and so shows that it is still a taboo. Other taboos are also revealed: first, sex education, from which teenagers are deprived, as is not taught in formal school, and so they seek to solve their doubts, learn or simply satisfy their curiosity in porn. Second,

masturbation, considered disgusting by some girls and just reserved for those who do not have a boyfriend or directly for boys, which again evidences the lack of or misconceptions regarding sex education. Third, menstruation, about which even the headmaster of an educational institution feels uncomfortable to talk. And fourth, being gay seems to be in line with Williams's three types of discourse (1977): (a) dominant or people who respect or somehow tolerate other people's sexual choices despite their own, like Mr Effiong; (b) residual or conservative people, like Mr Groff, who prefer traditional values; and (c) emergent, people who are openly gay or tolerate all kinds of choices and consider sexuality as an emerging spectrum, like Maeve.

To conclude, given the shared attitudes and the different characters' ideas, the message of the series may be summarised in these four precepts: families and schools should be able to openly talk about sex so that teenagers receive a good and healthy sex education; it is normal to have doubts about sex, because, as the series shows, many people share the same fears and face the same problems regarding sex, especially for the first time; people's conscious or unconscious use of the language should not stigmatise sexual or relationship choices according to traditional, outdated beliefs in our current society; and absolutely no one deserves to be shamed by using sex as a weapon.

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Business and academic discourse studies

CHAPTER 11

Paralinguistic resources in persuasive business communication in English and Spanish

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This study presents the results of research carried out to unveil how nonverbal paralinguistic signs are used in persuasive business communication in two parallel Spanish/British English corpora of TV entrepreneurial pitches. A specific analytic method has been developed to identify discrete nonverbal signs together with their function in the communicative acts studied, to ascertain frequency of sign use and the influence L1 and gender may exert on the quantity, type, and function of such devices. Results show that of all devices (i.e., volume, tone, speed, sound-lengthening, emotional reactions, quasi-lexical elements, and pauses), pauses are the most profusely used (65% of the cases), although both variables (L1 and gender) have a bearing on the socio-communicative variations of paralinguistic devices among different subjects.

Keywords: nonverbal communication, paralanguage, persuasion, variation, socio-communicative patterns, business communication

1. Introduction

Human communication allows us to construct and maintain social networks, since it is the means to socialise naturally and routinely. In our social environment, we frequently experience different realities that are negotiated through communicative interaction. As a result, persuasion is part and parcel of these communicative negotiations, since our aim is to present our reality as a better option than that of our interlocutors, obliging them to reassess their vision of the world (De Santiago Guervós 2005). Thus, in any persuasive expression there seems to be an underlying emotional-evaluative process through which we analyse the reality of others (their beliefs and attitudes, their perceptions) with the objective of reinterpreting that reality in such a way that we can impose our vision.

According to Pullman (2013: xx), "[p]ersuasion is any process that creates a new belief or changes your level of commitment to an existing one." Persuasion is the result of a message that is powerful enough to alter the audience's views or actions in unexpected ways (Alexander, Buehl, and Sperl 2001: 651) and has been the object of study since the ancient times of Classical Rhetoric until these days. Aristotle postulated that there were three modes of persuasion: appealing to the credibility and behaviour of the writer or orator in a way that inspires audiences to trust them (*ethos*), appealing to the reader's or audience's emotions (*pathos*), or appealing to logical reason (*logos*). The expression of emotion is therefore one of the basic strategic pillars of persuasion, a resource we use frequently to influence others to make them accept our way of conceiving reality, in other words, to convince them. In fact, classical rhetoric claimed that persuasion attempts to stir emotions (Goleman 1995, 2006) and possessing sufficient techniques for the portrayal of one-self and one's own ideas directly impacts communicative and persuasive efficacy. However, the expression of emotion is only one of the three mechanisms of per-suasion and, if abused, the persuader can be viewed as manipulative (De Santiago Guervós 2005), which would impede communicative efficacy.

The investigation presented here is part of a larger project (see Acknowledge-ments) that attempts to identify what linguistic and nonverbal resources are used in persuasive communication, keeping in mind the pragmatic mechanisms appealing to *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. The focus of study is business or corporate oral discourse, a sphere where persuasion is fundamental. Business discourse is rife with persua-sive devices; in a sense, it can be equated to advertising, since an idea or product is being sold to an audience. That is the case of the *elevator pitch*, the discourse genre studied: the pitch advertises one's product or idea in order to persuade investors to invest (Bamford and Salvi 2007). The *elevator pitch* is a brief oral presentation (from seconds to 2/3 m.) whose purpose is to present a project, idea, product, service, or organisation usually by entrepreneurs to obtain financial aid or support to develop their business or idea. It can also be used to impress a prospective employer or job seeker to be later interviewed. Entrepreneurs should present their "unique value proposition", or UVP, defending "why you are different and worth buying" (*Scale my Business* webpage).[1] Since the entrepreneurs' purpose is to obtain investment to launch their product or idea, they must attempt to be as persuasive as possible.

The present study focuses on nonverbal communication used in this type of communicative encounters; hence, we deal with the use of nonverbal resources in oral discourse in presentations of businesses and products. Until now, to the best

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1.   http://scalemybusiness.com/16-steps-to-an-irresistible-sales-pitch/ (last accessed September 25, 2019).

of our knowledge, such resources have not been carefully studied or analysed in depth in this type of genre. Rigorous and empirically-based nonverbal communication studies are much needed in business communication training (Daly and Davy 2016b) and, particularly, in business encounters in English as business lingua franca or BELF (Birlik and Kaur 2020: 12). Even if a plethora of studies have addressed the issue of nonverbal communication from a wide array of disciplines (i.e., mainly psychology but also business communication or multimodal discourse analysis, see, for example, Matsumoto, Hwang, and Frank 2016; Burgoon, Guerrero, and Floyd 2016), little attention has been devoted to observing empirically and systematically the real use speakers do of nonverbal signs in business encounters. Furthermore, to our knowledge, there have been no studies focused on the use of paralinguistic devices from a cross-cultural and gendered perspective in this context. The present study attempts for fill this gap by shedding further light on the array of different paralinguistic devices that accompany verbal language. Adopting an inferential methodology and an open-ended categorisation, we explore the nonverbal signs employed by native speakers of English and Spanish, together with the communicative functions these devices may fulfil, to uncover their respective L1 nonverbal communication strategies (or, so to say, their L1 *nonverbal communicative competence*), by focusing on paralinguistic devices. The results gathered will inform future cross-sociolinguistic studies that aim to contrast nonverbal communication strategies in English and Spanish and potential communicative interference when using the L2 (i.e., Spanish or English as second or foreign languages) as well as be of use for language instruction.

Poyatos (1993) explains that verbal language does not operate as an autonomous system but in co-construction with *paralanguage* (i.e., nonverbal voice quality, modifiers, independent sounds, and silences) and *kinesics* (i.e., gestures, manners, and postures), forming the so-called "basic triple structure" of language. Of all nonverbal devices, the aim here are signs related to paralanguage. The nonverbal paralinguistic system is made up of phonetic qualities and modifiers, sound indicators of physiological and emotional reactions, quasi-lexical elements and pauses, and silences that, apart from their meaning or one of their inferential components, communicate or nuance the meaning of the verbal enunciations or communicate acts (Poyatos 1993, 1994; Cestero Mancera 2016). Such signs, as will be seen, show emotions or express attitudes and states, capture attention, and highlight or organise discourse in such a way that, while not adding semantic content, are very effective persuasive resources (Knapp 1980; Cestero Mancera, 2014, 2017, 2018).

In persuasion, as in any communicative act, nonverbal signs are used strategically in different degrees and with diverse illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. Pease (2000) distributes communication impact as follows: words represent

between a 7% and a 10%; vocalisation, between 20% and 30%; and body language, around 60% to 80%. This amply justifies the relevance of studying nonverbal devices when attempting to convince someone. Thus, the research questions to be answered in this paper are the following:

1. Which paralinguistic devices are used in persuasive discourse and what functions do they (seem to) fulfil?
2. Do English and Spanish speakers use the same/different paralinguistic devices when trying to persuade their audience and with different/the same functions?
3. Are there any gender differences?
4. Which variable, gender or L1, seems more prevalent when determining the type and frequency of the nonverbal signs used?

In the next sections we present the theoretical and methodological frameworks developed *ad hoc* for the analysis of the nonverbal communication in the business encounters at hand, within the aforementioned project. We then present and interpret the results of a qualitative and quantitative contrastive study carried out between pitches delivered in English and Spanish, dealing with each nonverbal device at a time. The last section addresses the main conclusions derived from the study.

2.   Theoretical framework: Persuasive communication

Classical rhetoric already paved the way to achieve communicative success: knowledge of human beings and their emotional responses is the key to dominating them. The classical works of Aristotle (1995) as well as ideas found in contemporary works (see Cestero Mancera 2018) are the basis of the theoretical framework of the research explained here. Ancient rhetoric examined the reasons why certain discourse was successful and convincing for the audience, engaging in a reflection on the concepts, arguments, terms, and behaviours of discourse efficacy. Rhetoricians studied the nature of humans, looking at what persuades them, and recorded common behaviours, categorising them as natural stereotypes, inherent in the human genetic response. Communication is a mechanism of stimuli (i.e., word, gesture, behaviour, situation, sound) that trigger an appropriate response; in turn, the natural tools of conviction have to do with signs perceptions and shared behaviours of human beings, and are related, as pointed out in De Santiago Guervós (2005), with "the slavery of image" – appeal to self-image –, "gregariousness" – appeal to collective manifestation –, "predictability" – appeal to normality and quality –, "submission" – appeal to authority –, for persuasive uses that fundamentally appeal to the emotions. To these stereotypes are added those of a *socio-cultural* nature, social ideas, and behaviours representative of each specific social and cultural group.

As indicated in De Santiago Guervós (2005), we are members of a social and cultural community, in which we acquire a set of norms of behaviour, among which are those related with appropriate verbal and nonverbal actions, which together with genetic information make up our encyclopedic knowledge and our communicative competence (Acarín Tussel 2001; De Santiago Guervós 2005). Therefore, we humans are the product of the same history and we confront life with the same brain to perceive, think and relate to each other, although one cannot lose sight of the fact that human development is, in addition to natural, sociocultural. Thus, as affirmed in De Santiago Guervós (2005), to convince or persuade, innate ideas must be stimulated, starting from knowledge of the sociocultural environment and paying heed to universally and socio-culturally accepted arguments. However, if we add an adequate lexical selection to stimulate certain schemata of interpretation (i.e., appeal to *pathos*) to the set of stereotypes that mark arguments as naturally and socially valid (i.e., appeal to *logos*), the outcome will no doubt be more effective. Finally, great persuasive efficacy will surely be accomplished if the discursive production also presents a positive identity of the speaker's behaviour (i.e., appeal to *ethos*), showing good character and personality, and high moral qualities that establish a degree of trust and credibility, such as a magnanimous and noble, frank, and honest behaviour (De Santiago Guervós 2005).

From the classical period until now, much has been said about persuasion and persuasive strategies – especially linguistic strategies. Nevertheless, a considerable number of the ideas found in texts, manuals, and monographs of diverse types arose more from the authors' intuition than data obtained from empirical research. Furthermore, this subject has been studied above all in relation to political and advertising discourse (see Díez Prados 2019 for further references on the topic) – no doubt because of its primarily persuasive character –, and, in general, it has been dealt with as if the sociocultural variation had no impact on the selection of argumentative, linguistic, and nonverbal strategies that the speaker uses or on the type of communicative activity itself.

Although the importance of nonverbal communication has been mentioned in the business and corporate world for quite some time now (Zhou and Zhang 2008; Olascoaga 2012; Gordillo León at al. 2014), "little is known of how nonverbal conduct contributes to facilitating understanding in the business context" (Birlik and Kaur 2020: 1). The latter study focuses on nonverbal communication strategies but addresses exclusively kinesic devices (i.e., head nods, hand gestures, eye contact, and gaze) to contextualise or enhance verbal communication. In the present study, however, we observe a more neglected aspect of nonverbal communication: paralinguistic devices (i.e., phonetic qualities, physiological and emotional reactions, quasi-lexical elements, and pauses and silences. All these devices are explained below).

In the business context, nonverbal communication can fulfil distinct functions: facilitating the understanding of the message, getting people's attention and, especially, expressing emotions, motivations, and attitudes; as it paves the way for persuasion, nonverbal signs make the interactants acquainted with the each other's reactions. For a complementary study on *verbal* business discourse, read Chapter 12 in the present volume, where the lexis employed in corporate texts in Spanish (neologisms, cognitive metaphors, and most frequent vocabulary) are analysed from a psycholinguistic perspective.

3.   Methodology

Our research methodology combines contributions from the analysis of discourse and conversation, pragmatics, nonverbal communication, and sociolinguistics. Over a decade devoted to the study of nonverbal communication, Cestero Mancera (2006, 2014, 2016) has developed a methodology for the identification and classification of nonverbal signs and their functioning, whose fundamental basis is a profound and detailed qualitative analysis, followed by quantitative analyses (i.e., descriptive statistics) that allow the generalisation and establishment of patterns in the form and use of nonverbal markers, and in their employment as socio-pragmatic strategies. The starting point was the performance of detailed, inductive-deductive qualitative analysis, and specific quantitative analysis to understand socio-pragmatic patterns and cultural and socio-communicative variations of the speech, focusing on the nonverbal paralinguistic devices employed by the entrepreneurs.

The corpus gathered for analysis is composed of 20 presentations, 10 of them made on a Spanish television program called *Tu Oportunidad* (Your Opportunity), broadcast in 2013 and 2014 in Spain by TVE1, and the other 10 on a similar program in the United Kingdom known as *Dragon's Den*, on UKTV. These encounters are instances of televised interaction whose communicative function is twofold: while program producers aim to entertain the audience, the business entrepreneurs attend the program with the goal of convincing a panel of business angels to receive investment for their business idea. Even if parts of the show may be edited, the pitches delivered and analysed are emitted without pauses and, thus, are samples of authentic communication with a clear persuasive intention. The fact that equivalent programs were found in English and Spanish made them a very appropriate corpus to control variables that may affect the results. This same corpus has been used in an array of studies (e.g., Daly and Davy 2016a, 2016b; García-Gómez 2018; De Santiago Guervós 2019; Fernández-Vázquez and Álvarez-Delgado 2019 and in our own previous studies). As García-Gómez (2018: 1) points out, this type of reality television program "is placed at the intersection between routine and cross-cultural

business practices on the one hand and reality based broadcast on the other" and, as such, this type of mediated discourse can be considered a new public forum (García-Gómez 2018: 8); consequently, the language produced in this context falls within the sphere of public discourse.

In order to include the variable of gender in the study, five of the pitches collected were delivered by men and five by women in each language; an attempt was made to obtain a diverse set of product types being offered and to maintain minimum criteria of validity: adult speakers. In Table 1 the pitches selected from each program are displayed, together with their length in time (measured in seconds) and the number of words (including all words, both content and function).

Table 1. Corpus

Tu Oportunidad (TVE1)					
Men	**Time (sec)**	**Ws**	**Women**	**Time (sec)**	**Words**
By-Hours.com	73	275	Matarrania cosmética natural	98	191
ImasD	61	191	Suproma	93	275
Vertical	39	100	Envase PET	134	266
Easy Key	41	111	PipiPop	91	219
Macetas Abril	91	219	Viseric	64	180
Subtotals	**305**	**896**	**Totals**	**480**	**1,131**
Total time Spanish	785 sec. (13.08 min.)		**Total words Spanish**	2,027	
Dragon's Den (UK TV)					
Men	**Time**	**Words**	**Women**	**Time**	**Words**
Accommodationforstudentes.com	59	192	Urban Coco Magazine	80	191
Baby Grippa	103	282	Skinny Tan	61	182
Fear	136	377	Treat for dogs	83	206
BodySculpure	74	257	Coffee Bag	66	216
Signs	137	456	Pop&Go Knickers	92	175
Subtotals	**509**	**1564**	**Totals**	**382**	**970**
Total time English	891 sec. (14.85 min.)		**Total words English**	2,534	

The corpus was transcribed for its codification and analysis; the transcription of linguistic signs was done in normal spelling, employing some conventions based on Jefferson' transcription system. For the recording and analysis of nonverbal signs, we used the ones proposed by Poyatos (1993, 1994: 47–48) and Cestero Mancera (2016), developing the rest *ad hoc* to capture and classify all nonverbal signs emitted during the pitches.

The research presented here contrasts with previous work (Cestero Mancera 2017, 2018; Díez Prados 2019) in that it focuses on the results of a contrastive study on the use of nonverbal signs by Spanish and English-speaking entrepreneurs as resources of persuasive communication, given the scarcity of information available on their impact on this type of communicative phenomena. We distinguish nonverbal signs of independent communicative functioning from discourse markers, without disregarding the fact that all of them are usually multifunctional.

Three methodological decisions were adopted. The first one relates to the chronology of the analyses conducted: the analysis of nonverbal communication was first tackled in the Spanish corpus in an inductive way, since typologies of signs were non-existent, and information on the functioning of nonverbal signs in persuasive communication in the corporate, commercial or business world was practically absent. To carry out this research, Cestero Mancera (2016, 2017, 2018) performed qualitative analyses to establish categories and valid significant and variable units, together with their functional values with respect to the use of paralanguage in their persuasive monologue discourse (i.e., business pitch). Once the categorisation was developed, this analysis was applied to the examination of the pitches in English, enlarging or adapting the categories to the peculiarities of the nonverbal signs that accompanied the words in this language. Since the typology of signs refers to universal human manifestations of body movement and vocal traits, the taxonomy developed for Spanish could be extrapolated for English. Adopting the same typology of signs was the only way possible to compare results for both languages; had different typologies of signs been adopted for each language, conclusions could not have been drawn regarding their similar or different use.

The second methodological decision affects the way paralinguistic devices were studied; instead of conducting a computer-assisted analysis for the detection of paralinguistic signs (e.g., a tool such as PRAAT, used by Valeiras-Jurado 2019), these were observed as speakers naturally perceive them in oral interactions (e.g., listeners do not strictly measure, for instance, the length of sounds uttered by the speaker, but can perceive if a vowel or consonant has been elongated for emphasis; the same is true for variations in pitch, volume, or speed, as well as for the use of pauses or quasi-lexical devices).

In order to identify a sign together with its use and function in the specific communicative act, it had to be decided first if a given sign was segmentable or non-segmentable and, simultaneously, if it was semantic or asemantic (Forgas and Herrera 2000). The signs dealt with are all asemantic. This qualitative analysis allowed us to establish formal and functional typologies of signs and to establish variables and variants of types of signs, formal and functional, to then code the materials to perform a quantitative analysis. This quantitative analysis has revealed

frequencies of appearance that allow us to start generalising and establishing patterns and strategies, as well as carrying out social and intercultural comparisons. The following categories of paralinguistic devices were established and identified in the corpus:

1. Phonetic qualities:
   - Tone and volume (upwards, downwards)
   - Speed of discourse (accelerate, reduce)
   - Sound lengthening
2. Physiological and emotional sound reactions:
   - Laughing
   - Swallowing
3. Quasi-lexical elements:
   - (a:), (e:), (m:), (hh) (ts)
4. Pauses and silences

For each sign documented, the function(s) fulfilled were determined, taking into account that there is not one-to-one correspondence between sign and function. The paralinguistic signs found did not contribute content in the persuasive discourses analysed, but fulfilled the following functions:

- Get the attention of the listener (highlighting and emphasising relevant information)
- Structure/organise the discourse or communicative act
- Show emotions and attitudes relevant to the communicative situation or/and to the information offered

The third methodological decision affects the statistics used for the quantitative study. Since the sample is somewhat small (10 pitches for each language, 5 for each gender) and the typology of signs so detailed (6 subtypes, with different manifestations in some cases), the results found cannot be subjected to inferential statistics; therefore, descriptive statistics of frequency counts were carried out to check the tendencies of use by each participant and the percentages by language and gender. In order to answer the fourth research question, which variable – L1 or gender – seemed more influential on the uses of signs, inferential statistics were carried out with the help of the software SPSS in search of statistically significant differences in the use of the general types of paralinguistic signs. Next, we present the most significant results obtained for the paralinguistic dimension studied.

4. Results for paralinguistic resources

In the present section, we will address the use of paralanguage to answer the first three research questions. The fourth question will be addressed in the following section, where the results of inferential statistics carried out will be commented. The functions of paralinguistic signs are not exclusively related to the expression of emotions, attitudes, and psychological states but primarily with the regulation of communication (i.e., capturing attention, emphasising, or structuring discourse). The paralinguistic system is constituted by voice qualities (tone, intensity, quantity, pitch, rhythm) and phonetic modifiers (or types of voice), sonorous indicators of emotional and physiological reactions (laughter, sobbing, sighing, clearing the throat, etc.), quasi-lexical elements (vocalisations, clicks, hissing sounds, hesitation sounds, onomatopoeias, and non-lexical interjections) and the pauses and silences that, from their meaning or from some of their inferential components, communicate or nuance the meaning of the verbal and nonverbal signs of other systems (Poyatos 1993, 1994; Cestero Mancera 2014, 2016).

In the two corpora analysed, we have identified a total of 1,084 paralinguistic signs, 472 meaningful uses in the Spanish corpus and 612 in the English one. The Spanish corpus lasts slightly over 13 minutes of monologal discourse (2,027 words), and the English one almost 15 minutes (2,534 words), which indicates that the use of nonverbal signs seems to be very productive in business and corporate persuasive oral presentations. However, if frequencies are normalised according to word count or time, the ratios do not seem so different: 23.28 every 100 words in Spanish and 24.15/100 words in English, and 36.3 signs per minute in Spanish versus 40.8 signs in English. Overall, English speakers seem to use more signs than Spanish speakers.

4.1 Phonetic qualities

The significant variation of tone and/or of volume is not very frequent in the Spanish discourse of business presentation, as only 22 cases (14 male, 8 female) have been documented (18.18% of all phonetic qualities, see Table 2): 12 rises, always for emphasis and 10 falls, 3 were employed to regulate discourse, separating some parts, and 7 were used to downplay what was being said (when it could be compromising). In these cases, variations captured the attention as well as positioned the speakers towards what they were saying; the main functions are to show modesty and empathy, in such a way that the fall in volume becomes a resource as productive and strategic as the rise. In the case of English speakers, tone and volume are much more prevalent (40% of all phonetic qualities): most of them involved a

rise in either tone or volume to highlight content (a total of 52 of the cases, 23 male and 29 female); some rises (6) and some falls (11) in tone or volume were used to regulate or structure discourse. Thus, in the case of the British corpus, a rise in tone seems to be a very productive resource to emphasise content. These results coincide with the fact that English is a stressed-timed language that uses intonation as a discursive tool to highlight information units while Spanish is a syllable-timed language which has a flatter intonation contour.

The other two phonetic qualities (see Table 2), accelerating/reducing speech rate and sound lengthening, seem to be used differently in Spanish and English as well: whereas Spanish persuaders resort to sound lengthening much more frequently than to speed (64.46% of all phonetic qualities vs. 17.36%), British entrepreneurs use both resources in a more even way (33.89% of sound lengthening and 26.11% of variations in speed). Both phenomena can fulfil the functions of highlighting or downplaying information; however, Spaniards used speed to downplay information more frequently than to highlight it (5 vs. 12 times), but English-speaking subjects used it more with a highlighting function (30 vs. 15 times). As regards sound lengthening, it is not only twice more frequent in Spanish than in English (64.46% vs. 33.89%), but there are also enlightening results in terms of their discursive function: while in both languages the most frequent function of sound lengthening was highlighting information (37 cases in Spanish and 41 in English), it is an indicator of hesitation in Spanish in 26 cases (33.33% of the uses of sound lengthening) while in English there were only 10 cases (16.39% of the total cases of sound lengthening). This may be indicating that Spanish entrepreneurial pitches were more spontaneous while British ones were more rehearsed.

Table 2. Results for phonetic qualities

Phonetic qualities					
Type		Spanish		British	
1. Tone/Volume		Male	Female	Male	Female
Down	Highlight	0	0	0	0
	Downplay	2	5	0	1
	Regulate	2	1	3	8
Up	Highlight	10	2	23	29
	Downplay	0	0	0	0
	Regulate	0	0	4	2
Maintained		0	0	1	1
Total		**14 (19.4%)**	**8 (16.3%)**	**31 (30.7%)**	**41 (51.9%)**
Total T-V/phonetic qualities		**22 (18.18%)**		**72 (40%)**	

(*continued*)

Table 2. (*continued*)

Phonetic qualities					
Type		Spanish		British	
2. Speed		Male	Female	Male	Female
Accelerate	Downplay	7	5	10	5
	Regulate	3	1	1	1
Reduce	Highlight	2	3	21	9
Total		12 (16.67%)	9 (18.37%)	32 (31.68%)	15 (18.99%)
Total speed/phonetic qualities		21 (17.36%)		47 (26.11%)	
3. Sound lengthening		Male	Female	Male	Female
Highlight		27	10	24	17
Regulate		6	8	7	2
Turn ending		1	0	0	1
Hesitation		12	14	7	3
Total		46 (63.89%)	32 (65.31%)	38 (37.62%)	23 (29.11%)
Total lengthening/phonetic qualities		78 (64.46%)		61 (33.89%)	
Total phonetic qualities/paralinguistic signs (per nationality)		121 (25.64%)		180 (29.41%)	
Total phonetic qualities/ paralinguistic signs			301 (27.77%)		

In both corpora studied (Spanish and English), there were significant gender variations in the frequency of use of the first phonetic quality, tone/volume, but with opposite tendencies. Spanish men used this paralinguistic sign more often than women (19.4% vs. 16.3%), while British women resorted to it more frequently than men (51.9% vs. 30.7%). Regarding their functional use, Spanish men usually raise their voices volume to call the audience's attention and, therefore, emphasise (10 cases, to 2 for the women), while their female country fellows preferred a lowered volume to downplay what they say, drawing attention to themselves and, simultaneously, seeking empathy and displaying a modest personality (5 cases vs. 2 in men's performances). Already a strategic difference begins to appear between the men's and women's presentations. Consider Examples (1) and (2):

(1)   (Raising volume to emphasise)
*Si os propusierais hacer una reserva de hotel / en cualquier ciudad / y llegarais a:- / a:- a la ciudad / a las ocho de la mañana / no encontraríais ninguna herramienta online que os permitiera entrar al hotel **a esa hora** / tendríais que entrar/ **a las doce / a la una a las dos del mediodía / ¿Por qué?***

'If you decide to book a hotel reservation / in any city / and you were arriving a:- / a:- in the city / at eight in the morning / you wouldn't find any online tool that would permit get you into a hotel *at that time of day* / you would have to enter/ *at twelve* / *at one or two o'clock midday* / *Why?* /' ByHours.com_Male[2]

(2) (Lowering volume to downplay)

*Y ahora paso a presentaros / lo que es **nuestra idea** Se trata de un envase / en forma de copa de vino /// que / está fabricado en PET // ¿vale? / que es reciclable // Entonces contiene / (e:) vino de calidad // Podéis ver tiene una tapa de plástico /// entonces se abre fácil /// ¿vale? /// se degusta /// **porque está muy bueno** // y se recicla // ((Inversores 1 y 2 asienten)) Tiene muchísimas posibilidades // por su: sistema de envasado / que es al vacío / queremos envasar también sangría /// por ejemplo / y hasta sopas /*

'And now I am going to present to you / what *our idea* is. It's a container / in the shape of a wine glass /// that / is made from PET // Ok? / that is recyclable // So it contains / (e:) quality wine // Can you see that it has a plastic top /// s it's easy to open /// Ok? /// you can try it /// *because it's very good* // and it's recyclable // ((Investors 1 and 2 nod in agreement)) It has a lot of possibilities // because of its: system of packaging / which is vacuum-packed / we also want to package sangria wine /// for example / and even soups /'   (Envases PET_Sp_Female)

In the case of the British corpus, highlighting is the most frequent function of raising volume or tone (mostly tone) both for females and males, although there are statistically significant differences in their use: females use both raising and lowering of either tone or volume to highlight and to regulate more than males. Here are some examples:

(3) (Raising tone to highlight)

My name is *C*arrie / and I'm the founder of a little coffee bag company // I'm here today to ask for 100,000 *pounds* in exchange for 25% of my business: //

(Coffee Bag_Br_Female).

(4) (Raising tone to highlight)

Most high chairs and seating environments for children are *slippery* (hh) / mostly for *cleaning* / cause they've got to be *smooth*/ (hh)

(Baby Grippa_Br_Male)

The variation in the speed of emission is a much less frequent resource in the Spanish corpus than in the British one: 21 cases were documented (16 of increasing speed and 5 of decreasing) versus 47 (17 accelerations and 30 decelerations).

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2. In the examples used to illustrate the analysis, discussed paralinguistic signs are highlighted (bold and/or italics). Pauses are signaled with oblique lines (1–3, depending on duration) and sound-lengthening is indicated with a colon. Information on the sample is included (program title, entrepreneur's gender, and language).

The decrease in speed is always used to capture the attention and emphasise, while an increase has either a regulating, structuring purpose (4 occasions in Spanish, 2 occasions in English) or, more frequently, serves to downplay (12 cases in Spanish and 15 cases in English); this is another way to grab attention and position the speaker. As for gender differences, all men (both Spanish and British) vary their speech speed more frequently than women (12 vs. 9 in Spanish and 32 vs. 15 in English). Within gender comparisons, Spanish men use increased speed more frequently than slowing it down to downplay what is being said (7 out of 10) or structure discourse (3 times), while British men reduce their speed more frequently (21 cases) to highlight information. Spanish women mainly increase their speech speed to downplay (5 cases) and, very infrequently, to regulate discourse (1 case); proportionally, they decelerate their speech to attract attention and emphasise. The following examples show this difference in strategies:

(5)   (Increase in speed combined with a lowering of the tone and volume as regulators: finalisers)
*Se trata de: / de un cuadro vivo / pero lo que realmente: / vertical es **un fabricante de ecosistemas verticales**↓ //*
'This is: / a living picture / but what it really: / vertical is *a manufacturer of vertical ecosystems*↓ //'   (Verdtical_Sp_Male)

(6)   (Decrease in speed as highlighting discourse marker)
*/ (hh) porque pensamos que eso es importante para apoyar: **a la economía rural: arraigada a la tierra** //*
'/ (hh) because we think that that is important to support: *the rural economy: rooted in the land* //'   (Matarrania cosmética natural_Sp_Female)

In the case of the British male and female informants, their preferred strategy is reducing speed to highlight (30 cases, 21 by men and 9 by women); these are some examples:

(7)   (Decrease in speed as highlighting discourse marker, together with pauses in between important words)
Billie & Margot / is the first company / in the UK / *to produce and sell* / iced / *treats* / for dogs //   (Treat for dogs_Br_Female)

(8)   (Decrease in speed, accompanied by pauses in a particularly fast speaker)
we are currently / *number 1* / in the UK /
                                           (Accommodationforstudents.com_Br_Male)

The most outstanding phonetic sign in Spanish is the use of sound lengthening (78 cases, 64.46% of all phonetic qualities), with the functions of attracting attention and emphasising, structuring, and displaying attitude – hesitation, nervousness, and insecurity. The most repeated use of sound lengthening in the corpus is to emphasise information considered important (37 cases, 27 in men and 10 in women). Also

common is the lengthening of sounds caused by stuttering or hesitation (26 cases, evenly used by men and women). Obviously, in these cases, the resource is not used strategically, but it is a somewhat spontaneous display of the entrepreneur's attitudes and emotions, which identifies them and may influence on the investors' perception of their personality and character; this may affect their persuasive potential negatively. Finally, lengthening of sounds serves the function of separating discourse parts and marking the end of discourse units (i.e., as structure marker, a total of 15 cases in Spanish, also evenly distributed between genders). Significantly, the Spanish men used sound lengthening more often than the women (46 cases to 32), and most often to emphasise (27 cases), while women's most frequent use of sound lengthening indicates doubt or lack of confidence, reflects emotions, hesitation, and stuttering (14 cases). With respect to its functional performance as regulator, the fact that men and women use them in almost the same proportion is worth mentioning (7 and 8 cases respectively). The socio-pragmatic patterns of men and women are, once more, different:

(9)   (Lengthening of sounds to emphasise)
      *el dispositivo esencial un dispositivo que compite con el producto asiático / **pero:** / **tiene:** / la calidad de un producto hecho en España //*
      'the apparatus is an apparatus that competes with the Asian product / *but:* / *it has:* / the quality of a product made in Spain //'   (ImasD_Sp_Male)

(10) (Lengthening of sounds as evidence of hesitation and nervousness)
      *Suproma // es una banda de presoterapia / que está **indicada:** / (e:) **para:** / **post-cirugía:** (e:) con **reconstrucción:** de mama / y es para: / inmovilizar las prótesis // La diferencia de otros productos / es que está cuidado cada detalle / con el fin **de:** evitar / molestias innecesarias //*
      'Suproma // is pressotherapy band / that is *right:* / (e:) *for:* / *postsurgery:* (e:) with *reconstruction:* of the breast / and it's for: / immobilizing the prosthesis // The difference with other products / is that every detail is cared for / in order *to:* avoid / unnecessary discomfort //'   (Suproma_Sp_Female)

In the case of the British entrepreneurs, sound lengthening is mainly a device to emphasise what they say, particularly in the case of men (24 and 17 cases, respectively). An example of sound lengthening in a female speaker can be seen in (3) above, when entrepreneur Carrie ends the presentation of her pitch with a consonant lengthening (*business:*). Following, we can see an example where the male entrepreneur first elongates the last consonant of his last name, then pauses, before presenting the product, and, then elongates the vowel sound of the function word *the*, which would be a *swa* /ə/ sound in regular streamed speech, but is pronounced as an elongated /iː/:

(11) (Consonant lengthening and vowel lengthening for emphasis)
      My name is Gavin Davis: / The: product that I'm presenting today is the Baby Grippa// (hh)   (BabyGrippa_Br_Male)

When contrasting all phonetic devices, British men make a quite balanced way of all resources (30.7% of tone/volume change, 31.68% of speed modifications and 37.62% of sound lengthening) while British women prefer changes in tone or volume (51.9% of these resources), then sound lengthening (29.11%), and, lastly, changes in speed (18.99%).

As for the socio-pragmatic functions of phonetic qualities in both corpora, the most prominent strategic use is highlighting information (177 out of 301 signs used, 58.80% of the cases), which is not surprising since the main purpose of the entrepreneurs is to persuade their audience and one way to achieve this is emphasising what they think are the strongest points of their presentation. Regulating discourse units is the second most frequent function found (51 cases, which represents 16.94% of the uses); downplaying and showing emotions (particularly hesitation) are evenly used (11.63% of downplaying, with 35 cases and 11.96% of hesitations/other emotions, with 36 cases); the main difference is that the former is used strategically while the latter is not controlled. Alterations in phonetic qualities (changes in volume, tone, speed, or sound length) is the second most productive type of sign in the populations studied (27.77%), only exceeded by pauses and silences that, as will be seen below, involve 65.3% of all paralinguistic signs.

4.2 Audible physiological or emotional reactions

There are only two audible signs that are the product of physiological or emotional reactions documented in the corpus; one is laughter and the other one a case of audible swallowing. The first one is found only once in each subcorpus (Spanish and English), despite the fact of being a type of sign that shows positive emotions (agreement, acceptance, harmony, and submission) and can be used to capture attention. In the Spanish case, laughter was used by a female entrepreneur to indicate submission and request of acceptance, which simultaneously had an emphatic function, showing emotion, and, consequently, grabbing the investors' attention. In the case of the British corpus, it was a male entrepreneur who used it at the end of his presentation, after inviting questions and humorously apologising for an "unorthodox beginning" (a theatrical presentation of his product). The audible swallow was done by a British female entrepreneur at the end of her introduction ("my name is Aurora ((swallows))") and was a sign of nervousness at the beginning of her pitch. This fact seems to indicate an absence of display of emotional reactions in this type of business genre, the elevator pitch, which may be a characteristic pattern in these monologue presentations, since the use of a multifunctional laughter, particularly as a sign of attitudes and positioning toward what is said, has been amply documented in the context of other business encounters (Bravo 1996). Physiological reactions represent a 0.28% of all paralinguistic devices in the whole corpus; this shows their

low impact and productivity in this type of business discourse genre. To illustrate the phenomenon of laughter the two examples found are included:

(12) *// Entonces bueno siempre he pensado que si algo te perjudica / (e:) no hay que conformarse / hay que cambiarlo // y eso es lo que hice (**risa**) hablé con cirujanos /* '//Then well I've always thought that if something damages you / (e:) you shouldn't settle for it / you have to change it // and that is what I did (**laughter**) I spoke to surgeons /' (*Suproma*_Sp_Female)

(13) *//* I'm happy to take questions / (*laughter*) and apologies / for the unorthodox (uh:) beginning/ (*Fear*_Br_Male)

4.3 Quasi-lexical elements

As can be seen in Table 3, quasi-lexical elements were used on 42 occasions in Spanish and 30 in English, most of them accompanied by lengthening of a sound (indicated by a colon), specifically the following: (a:), (e:), (m:/um:), (hh), and (ts). The quasi-lexical elements are considered peculiar of a language and culture in terms of form, function, or frequency of use, as shown in Table 3, where realisations not proper of the other language are coded as "non-applicable" (NA).

However, rather than their language-specific phonetic realisation, what is at stake here is the positions and functions these paralinguistic devices display: they are either found at the beginning of the discourse unit or in the middle; as for their functions, they either indicate psychological states, such as nervousness, hesitation, or word search, or are used strategically to highlight, regulate, or seek the attention of the listener. The most frequently quasi-lexical element found in Spanish was (e:) – 31 cases –, followed by (hh) – 6 cases –, (m:) – 2 cases –, (ts) – 2 cases –, and finally (a:) – 1 case. In English, the most frequent was (hh), with 20 cases, followed by (e:) and (uh:/um), with 4 cases each, and just 1 case of (ts).

In the Spanish subcorpus, most cases (31 out of 42) showed psychological states, attitudes, or aptitudes, and tended to appear at the beginning or the interior of the sequence reflecting nervousness, insecurity, and hesitation when searching for words; at times, these elements are used as regulators (6 cases) or even to highlight (11 cases); (ts) is used with an attenuating effect, while it is also a sign of nervousness and hesitation. Both (e:) and (m:) are also used to emphasise relevant information and, simultaneously, reflect emotions and provoke perceptions on personality, positioning, and even character. In English, the most frequent quasi-lexical element found was (hh), with 18 cases, and an ample function (regulate, highlight, and imply); nonetheless, these signs are more widely used in Spanish than in English (42 vs. 30 cases respectively).

These quasi-lexical signs occurred more frequently in the discourse of women, both Spanish and British (23 and 21 cases respectively), which seems to show once

Table 3. Results for quasi-lexical elements

Quasi-lexical elements		Nationality			
		Spanish		British	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Positions	(a:) intr_nerv	1	0	NA	NA
Introductory (intr)	(e:) inter_h	1	4	NA	NA
Interior (inter)	(e:) inter_hes_nerv_ wsearch	2	10	0	4
Functions	(e:) intr_nerv	3	11	NA	NA
Nervousness (nerv)	(hh) intr_Reg_nerv	1	0	0	0
Highlight (h)	(hh) intr_reg_h_impl	1	4	8	10
Word search (wsearch)	(m:)_Inter_reg	0	1	NA	NA
Hesitation (hes)	Sp: (m:) Eng: (uh:/um:) inter_hes_nerv_ wssearch	1	0	0	4
Regulate (reg)	(ts) inter_hes_nerv_atten	0	2	1	0
Attention seeker (att)	(m:)_inter_h	NA	NA	0	1
Imply (impl)	(hh) inhale_reg	NA	NA	0	2
Total quasi-lexical elements/ paralinguistic signs (per nationality and gender)		10 (23.8%)	32 (76.2%)	9 (30%)	21 (70%)
Total nationality		42 (8.90%)		30 (4.90%)	
Total quasi-lexical elements/ total paralanguage		72 (6.64%)			

more that female communication, including in the professional business world, is more permeable to the expression of emotion and psychological states than that of men. The elements with lengthening of sound ((e:) and, to a much smaller degree, (a:) and (m:) or uh:/um:), as well as audible aspiration, are used like the sound lengthening devices previously mentioned, to capture the attention and thus emphasise important information. Here is an example by women from each subcorpus:

(14) (Quasi-lexical signs indicating nervousness and insecurity, and regulators)
*Hemos hecho este: producto / **(e:)** acoplado / con: una prótesis de silicona // es blanda / es hipoalérgica / **(e:)** la idea de Pipipop cuando salió en el mercado / **(e:)** fue porque pensaba / en: la mujer que hace deporte / pero / una vez **(e:)** desarrollado el producto con una ingeniería / nos hemos dado cuenta que hemos tenido un target de mujer más mayor / hemos **(e:)** encontrado / mucha: / demanda para mujer de tercera edad / o como mujer que está / en una situación un poco / **(e:)** **(ts)** de sobrepeso / que tiene un poco de:- / de: poca movilidad // y:…*

'We have made this: product/ *(e:)* coupled / with: a silicon prosthesis // it is soft / it is hypoallergenic / *(e:)* the idea of Pipipop when it went on the market / *(e:)* was because it thought about / about: the woman who does sport / but / once *(e:)* the product was designed with engineering / we realized that we had a much older *target* woman / we have *(e:)* discovered / a lot of: / demand for older women / or a woman who is in a particular situation / in a situation a little / *(e:) (ts)* of overweight / that has little:- / de: little mobility // and:'

<div align="right">(PipiPop_Sp_Woman)</div>

(15) (Quasi-lexical signs indicating nervousness and insecurity, word search)
It started online as: *(e:)* an online magazine / and just a hobby really to write about fashion and events initially in Leeds / but then (soon) gained interest from all over the country in covering events and fashion in London / in Manchester *(hh) (e:) (m:)* to the point where in January last year I decided to quit my full-time job and turn my hobby into a business / /

<div align="right">(Urban Coco Magazine_Br_Woman)</div>

4.4   Pauses

Lastly, we must address the use the entrepreneurs make of more or less conspicuous pauses (308 cases in Spanish and 400 cases in English, around a 65% of all paralinguistic devices in both languages) in their presentations. It is the paralinguistic resource of greatest functional performance in the type of communicative activity analysed, the elevator pitch, and it is employed strategically to attract attention and highlight relevant information (452 occasions) or to structure or regulate discourse (222 occasions). Some pauses are due to hesitation or previous stuttering, that reflects, again, the psychological state, attitude, or emotion (34 cases).

In the corpus studied, regulating and highlighting pauses were used repeatedly to end statements considered important. By stopping their discursive production, the speakers capture attention and emphasise previous content. Pauses in the middle of a statement or sequence that highlight previous important content have the same function and are even more frequent. And it is also quite common that the entrepreneurs highlight specific content, framing it between pauses. Thus, pauses and silences are strategic resources of frequent use to call attention and emphasise relevant information. We have documented pauses as discourse regulators, separating (non-)main sequences, indicating the beginning or end of the sequence; by pausing, the speakers structure the intervention while they direct attention towards relevant points.

The results obtained for each gender indicate differences in strategies: Spanish women used pauses as an emphasising resource more than the men (106 cases to 85) and also as a regulator (56 cases to 43). In the case of British women, they

Table 4. Results for pauses

Type	Spanish		British	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Pauses/silences				
Highlight (between pauses)	30	20	74	28
Regulate/highlight (end of statement)	18	23	12	25
Highlight previous content (within sequence)	37	63	67	55
Regulate (beginning/end of main sequence)	27	30	8	10
Separate and regulate (beginning/end of main sequence)	16	26	84	21
Hesitation	10	8	16	0
Total pauses/paralinguistic signs (per nationality and gender)	**138** (44.8%)	**170** (55.2%)	**261** (65.3%)	**139** (34.8%)
Total nationality	**308 (65.3%)**		**400 (65.4%)**	
Total pauses/ total paralanguage	**708 (65.3%)**			

used statistically significant less pauses than men to both regulate (31 vs. 92) and hesitate (none vs. 16), but males and females are fairly equal in their highlighting function (153 vs. 108). In general, the pauses are a product of hesitation more in the discourse of the men from both nationalities (10 cases in Spanish and 16 in English) than in the women (8 cases and 0 respectively). We consider then that pauses reflect emotional and psychological states more in the presentations of men, while they constitute an emphasising strategy of more frequent use especially in the business discourse of the women.

(16)   (Pauses as indicators and consequence of hesitation)
// Vengo de Extremadura de Plasencia /// y:: / la pre:- / la empresa que pretendo: /// echar a andar con:- / a ser posible con vuestra ayuda /
'// I come from Extremadura from Plasencia /// and:: / the pre:- / the company that I want: /// to get going:- / if possible with your help /'

(Easy Key_Sp_Male)

(17)   (Pauses to structure, frame, and emphasise)
La función de Viseric es la de proteger // ojos / oídos / y rostro del agua y del jabón / mientras se efectúa el lavado del cabello // Es una fi- visera flexible // ligera / y 100% estanca / gracias a su diseño / y a su sistema de ajuste al contorno de la cabeza ///
'The function of Viseric is that of protecting // eyes / ears / and the face from water and soap / while washing your hair // It is a flexible fi- visor // light / and 100% waterproof / thanks to its design / and to its system of fitting the shape of the head ///'   (Viseric_Sp_Female)

(18)   (Pauses as indicators and consequence of hesitation)
Now I've owned this product / I've owed the patterns / for 14 years and I've done nothing with it // it's gathered dust and more dust in my dad's lock up and / so I've got no sales figures to talk to you about / no // no bookwork whatsoever / but what I do have / is a potential target market that I think / I think / is colossal // Because / who wouldn't want to look a little bit better for 20 pounds // Thank you // Any / questions?   (BodySculpture_Br_Male)

(19)   (Pauses to structure, frame, and emphasise)
(hh) Hello Dragons: / my name is Aurora ((swallows)) // I'm looking for 65,000 pound investment / for 20% stake in my business /// (hh) Pop&Go: is a brand of travel and outdoor clothing and equipment / and its launch product is a new concept of quick dry travel underwear / called pop and go knickers //
                                   (Pop&Go_Br_Female)

The use of pauses and silences are the most relevant, being the signs most produced by the system (308 cases in the Spanish corpus and 400 cases in English). The use of lengthening sounds can also be considered characteristic in this type of speech (78 cases in Spanish and 61 in English). Of less frequent use in Spanish, though strategic, were the raising and lowering of volume (22 cases) and the increase or decrease in the velocity of emission (21 cases); in English, these devices were much more prominent (72 cases of rising/lowering volume and 47 cases of accelerating/reducing speed, respectively). Contrariwise, quasi-lexical elements (e.g., m:, um:) are more prominent is Spanish (42 cases) than in English (30). Next, we will see in detail the functioning of each type of paralinguistic signs in Spanish and English pitches, together with the gender intra-lingual differences of use.

4.5   The effect of language and gender in the use of paralinguistic devices

In the present section the last research question will be addressed: *What variable is more relevant, L1 or gender?* In order to provide an answer, inferential statistics were carried out using the SPSS program comparing means and standard deviations for the main types of signs, as employed by the different populations: (a) Spanish entrepreneurs versus British entrepreneurs and (b) Male entrepreneurs versus female entrepreneurs. These were the only significant results found when the t-test was applied:

a.   Within gender differences, the higher use of pauses and silences by male entrepreneurs.
b.   Within language differences, the higher use of tone and volume by British entrepreneurs.

Due to the sample size, the non-parametric chi-square test was also carried out with the SPSS to check if there were other statistically significant differences, but only gender added one more. Apart from corroborating a higher use of pauses and silences by males, a new significant difference was found: females used more quasi-lexical elements than males. Thus, according to this second test, the language variable does not seem relevant.

Despite the fact that more significant differences have not been found, due to sample size and the number of different signs observed, absolute and relative frequencies of use provide evidence of the influence of the language variable, evidencing that more, and different, paralinguistic signs are used in English than in Spanish. This is particularly patent when the gender variable is taken into account, as can be seen in Tables 5 and 6 and Figures 1 and 2 which display the overall results.

Table 5. Results per nationality and gender

	Spanish male	Spanish female	British male	British female
Totals/gender	220	252	372	240
Male vs. female	46.61%	53.39%	70.16%	57.92%
Totals/nationality		472		612
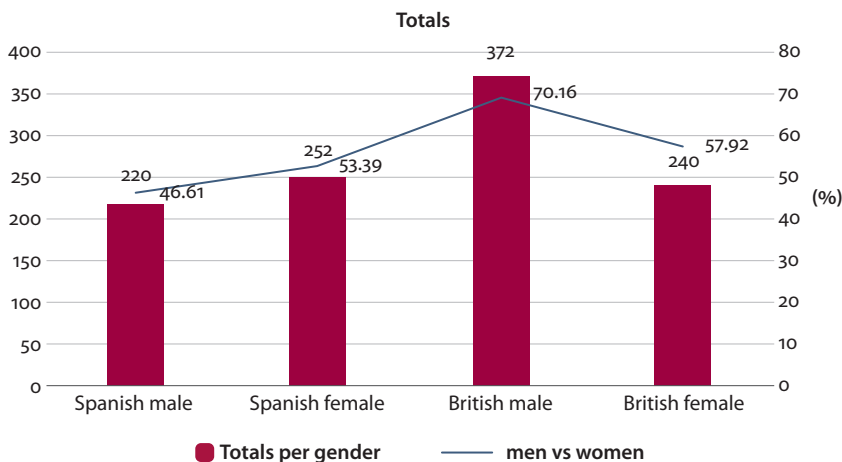
Figure 1. Graph with totals and percentages (by nationality and gender)

Table 6. Percentages of subtypes (by gender and nationality)

Types	Male	Female	Spanish	British	Signs
% Phonetic qualities	29.22%	26.02%	25.64%	29.41%	27.77%
% Physiological reactions	0.17%	0.41%	0.21%	0.33%	0.28%
% Quasilexical elements	3.21%	10.77%	8.90%	4.90%	6.64%
% Pauses/silences	67.40%	62.80%	65.25%	65.36%	65.31%
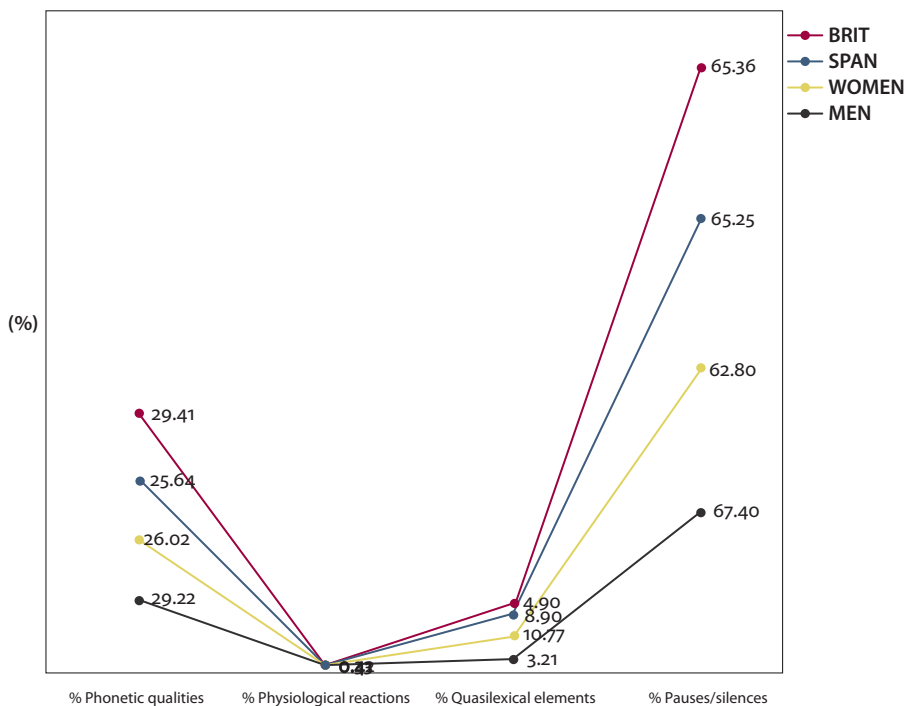
Figure 2. Graph for comparative results by gender and nationality

5.   Conclusions

In this last section, we will attempt to answer the four research questions posed in this study by drawing conclusions from our results. The first question addressed the types of paralinguistic devices used in persuasive discourse (in particular, entrepreneurial pitches) and what functions they (seem to) fulfil. Our results show that, within the different types of paralinguistic devices, pauses, and silences are the most productive by all groups of subjects (being around 65% of all the devices). Phonetic

qualities, realised by tone/volume, speed, and sound lengthening, are the second most prevalent in all subcorpora, being particularly prominent the lengthening of sounds. Physiological reactions such as laughter were rarely used and quasi-lexical elements ranged from 3–11% of all devices. The use of these devices is strategic in the sense that they fulfil different functions: emphasising or regulating discourse in an appeal to *ethos* (i.e., the speaker's creditability) or displaying attitudes, psychological states, and emotions, appealing thus to *pathos*.

Regarding the use of each device depending on the language of the entrepreneurs, certain differences were discovered. As for the use of phonetic qualities, Spanish subjects preferred sound lengthening (64.46% of all phonetic devices) and British entrepreneurs, variations in tone or volume; this may be due to linguistic typology features (stressed-timed nature of English), but it can also be a sign of differences in performance (less hesitation is present in English than in Spanish, which may be due to the level of memorisation vs. spontaneity of speech). An insightful result was the fact that physiological reactions were practically absent in both corpora, which may be indicative of the type of genre, which requires certain formality and seriousness. As for quasi-lexical elements, there were little differences in frequency due to language, although their manifestations were particular of each language. Their functions were different since Spaniards used them more often to show emotions and British subjects to regulate their discourse. Pauses and silences are the most widely used in both languages.

When focusing on gender differences, results showed opposite tendencies as far as the use of tone-volume is concerned: Spanish males and British females used it more frequently, being the British females the ones who resorted to it most frequently (30.7% of the cases). Strategically, Spanish males' main function was highlighting information, while Spanish women used it to downplay; in the case of British subjects, they all favored a highlighting function. This may be a difference due to language. On the other hand, variations in speed were more frequent in males than females, although there were differences in function: Spanish males used this device to downplay or regulate discourse, while British males to highlight it (this is also the preferred function in their female country fellows). Sound lengthening is again more frequent in males, particularly Spanish, in both cases, mainly to emphasise information; Spanish females lengthened sounds as a result of doubt or as an emotional reaction and British females as a highlighter (again, mirroring British males, which may be indicative of an L1 trait). Quasi-lexical elements as an expression of emotion was most prominently used by female subjects, which seems to be in line with the traditional view that women's discourse is more permeable to expressing emotion. Pauses also show opposite tendencies: Spanish females and British resorted to them more frequently, although, functionality equates genders: males use them to reflect hesitation and females to highlight.

Finally, when deciding which variable, gender or L1, seems more prevalent when determining the type and frequency of the nonverbal signs used, inferential statistics (t-test and chi-square) show higher frequencies in variations of tone-volume by British entrepreneurs (t-test), higher frequencies of pauses-silences by males (both statistics) and more quasi-lexical elements by females (chi square). Thus, both variables, L1 and gender, can be considered equally influential with regards the use of some paralinguistic signs.

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CHAPTER 12

Business discourse
from a psycholinguistic approach

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Business discourse has always captured the attention of several social and cultural fields. Within the framework of linguistics, disciplines such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology have contributed to the analysis of this communication process and the design of a linguistic model, suited to its contextual, social, and cultural determining factors. This chapter addresses the need for expanding this model by the incorporation of the latest achievements in psycholinguistics through a neurosemantic approach to language, focusing on three points: (1) the mental organisation of linguistic knowledge into networks; (2) the strong ties between linguistic processes and other cognitive functions; and (3) the effectiveness of the contrast principle which emerges from the lexical units and transcends the textual level. The business language data used in this study derive from texts related to and/or produced by three Spanish companies. The analysis is intended to attain a more comprehensive formulation of business discourse as a communicative modality, and, in addition, determine the major cognitive strategies found in its different textual manifestations.

Keywords: business discourse, language of negotiation, cognitive strategies, selection and combination mechanisms, lexicon-syntax interface, semantic contrast

1. Business discourse as a communication modality

Linguistics, which deals with the communicative dimension of language, has from its very beginning, turned its attention on the creation of models that include the diverse functions and modalities of speech in their different contexts of use. In Saussure's seminal work on structural linguistics,[1] the twin psychophysiological and

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1. As well as Saussure's seminal contribution *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916), I must also mention works which offer different characterisations of the linguistic sign as a unit of communication like those by Morris (1938) and Barthes (1964).

social dimensions of the communicative process are present. Although this opened multiple possibilities for the study of linguistic communication, the so-called abstract objectivism of the first half of the twentieth century, in which communication was identified with speech and priority was given to the study of the system from an abstract point of view which was far from its specific use, pushed the study of the communicative aspects of language into the background.[2]

The design of one of the first models of linguistic communication was undertaken in the Prague School by Jakobson (1960) taking inspiration from both Bühler's (1934) psychological model and the mathematical model created by Shannon and Weaver (1949). However, although it is a proposal that includes the principal axes of linguistic communication, considered to be the main semiotic system, it is inadequate to explain such a complicated modality as the one we are dealing with, which lies outside the linear model, that is, one comprising a sender, a receiver, and a message arranged in a unidirectional pattern. Furthermore, this conception does not even seem to respond to the dialogic or circular focus, which later appeared in contributions from Searle (1969) and Grice (1975) in which the receiver is granted a much more active role. However, this view has allowed for a wider interpretation of the notion of communication, which is conceived not only as the transmission of intentions, but also as a constructive process, with the participation of the so-called cooperation principle (cf. Grice 1975: 45–47). In this light, the interpretative process that is necessary to reach the intended message plays an important role and communication is seen as a dynamic system of questions and answers arising from the acts of the participants who, in order to take part, must accept a number of conversational maxims or principles (cf. Grice 1975: 45 ff.).

Undoubtedly, business discourse fits into a more complex and interactive communicative model, in which the relationship between sender and receiver must be considered differently. In this way, although the principle of mutuality would appear to be a basic necessity for communication to take place, this is not considered to be ruled by norms such as Grice's conversational implicatures or Habermas's universal pragmatic principles (1974), aimed at the cooperation of sender and receiver.

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2.   There are always exceptions. One of these is the so-called Soviet semiotic dialogism, represented by Voloshinov, Vygotsky, and Bakthin (cf. Romashko 2000), which considered communication or expression as a social phenomenon. From this standpoint, Bakthin suggested that language in use is dialogical (cf. Thomson 1983), that is, it addresses an interlocutor and always expects an answer (cf. Holquist 1982: 279). Even cognition is interpreted as a communicative process (internal discourse). Another school that defends the communicative aspects of language is sociosemiotic theory, initiated by Halliday (1978), in which the influences of Firth's linguistic contributions and Malinowski's anthropological ones are combined. For a review of the sociosemiotic model of communication within the framework of mass communication, see Rodrigo Alsina (1995).

In this interpretation, there is no pursuit of mutual knowledge or intersubjective understanding, but rather, sharing the experiences or the mental processes of the other or understanding their real intentions is accepted as being impossible. This is due to the fact that the principles of mutuality are subjected to social power relationships (Vine 2004). This peculiar vision of the communicative process has the backing of sociological and anthropological studies and has been approached especially from the perspective known as critical language study (CLS), from which social interactions are examined with special emphasis on the linguistic elements on which they are based, because of their veiled effects on the system of social relations within which they occur (cf. Fairclough 1989: 5). Therefore, it can be seen that power relationships do not always seek to make their presence felt in the message, not even as part of its meaning. In fact, they are insistently claimed to be inherent in all societies. But the most interesting thing is that in language, the essential vehicle of these relationships, persuasion maintains a dynamic relationship with politeness, above all in this type of communication (cf. Escavy Zamora 2004: 56–57).

The complexity of business discourse as a communicative modality, which goes beyond the linguistics of language, has been dealt with in the framework of applied linguistics and discourse analysis with the aim of determining the central aspects that would form part of its characterisation. Pragmatics has been the linguistic discipline which has best complemented the previous models. One aspect generally highlighted in conceptualisations of the communicative phenomenon that, as I have mentioned, can be problematic as regards negotiation is its intentional nature. More specifically, the intentionality of the sender, used to distinguish between communication and information, appears to be problematic as there is an imbalance between what the sender really wants and what he wants the receiver to understand. Thus, insofar as the everyday interpretation of communication can be analysed according to a dialogic model based on a cooperation principle that identifies intention with mutual understanding, in the case of the specific modality that is present in business discourse, as already seen, only interactive models are applicable, based on a dialectic of persuasion and politeness, with the aim of obtaining some profit.

It is precisely this imbalance that leads us to take into account, along with the contextual aspects of the communication, its important social and cultural facet, studied in other fields such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. As regards the former, in attention to its social nature, the twin dimensions of this modality have often been highlighted. In fact, its study should not be undertaken only from within the social context that contains the participants in order to distinguish possible social variables (which is the sociolinguists' usual practice), but, every time we communicate, as well as providing information on a specific referent, a relationship between individuals is also communicated, in such a way that the status of the participants is made abundantly clear in the message. In order to

explain this second interpretation of the social aspect of communication, some authors (cf. Hyland 1998: 225–226; Scollon and Scollon 2001: 77; Thompson 2003: 10) have resorted to the concept of *metadiscourse* (cf. Bateson 1972), which, depending heavily on the characteristic context of certain types of discursive genres "refers to aspects of text structure which go beyond the subject matter and signal the presence of the author" (Hyland 1998: 225). From the premises of linguistic anthropology, the notions of contextual and social structure depend, in turn, on a culture, seen as a shared set of ways of seeing, thinking, and doing (Thompson 2003: 15) linked to an ideology, which forms the explanatory framework of any communication, since none of the previous aspects can be understood if this is not so, situated within a historically transmitted system of symbols, meanings, and norms. It is within these systems, seen by some as modelled by the social interests of dominant groups (cf. Bourdieu 1991), that the connections between power and symbolic culture can be appreciated, especially in the workplace (cf. Holmes 2015).

Business discourse has been the subject of many monographic studies. Among the most recent I can mention Ehlich and Wagner (1995), Trosborg and Flyvholm Jørgensen (2005), Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson, and Planken (2007), Bargiela-Chiappini (2009), and Mautner and Rainer (2017). Daniushina (2010: 241) grants it such relevance that she suggests a separate branch of applied linguistics which she calls business linguistics: "A multidisciplinary synergic field for researching the use of language and communication in business." It is normally associated with the idea of negotiation, which constitutes a perfect example of the semantic dynamism of language. Thus, as well as referring to a specific activity that aims to make a profit from the other, through a process of metaphorical projection (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), in which the cognitive domain of linguistic activity is equivalent to commercial activity, it is commonly used for all types of persuasive communication, not only in business circles. In this regard, Bettinghaus and Cody (1987: 207–223) point out that negotiation is not restricted only to the business world, but that it affects all kinds of operations and daily activities which depend on persuasive strategies. Similarly, Mulholland (1991: 14) interprets negotiation as "a discursive practice in society, of which the two major elements are social interaction and communication about matters." This level of generalisation about the meaning has its corollary in the conceptual identification of the act of communication with that of negotiation, which is especially significant in the field of pragmatics. In this approach, I will limit my object of study to those cases in which certain structural, contextual, and cultural circumstances, characteristic of the business world, coincide. These make this modality singular from a linguistic point of view, unlike modalities present in other social spheres, or, as Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson, and Planken (2007: 3) put it: "Business discourse is all about how people communicate using talk or writing in commercial organizations in order to get their work done."

2. A psycholinguistic approach

With regard to the neurocognitive nature of the communicative process, in this work I wish to pay special attention to the psycholinguistic perspective. More specifically, I am interested in highlighting the need to include in the analysis of business discourse the set of cognitive mechanisms which participate in linguistic production and comprehension, as well as their neurological correlates, because not only the diverse processes of coding and decoding but also the different strategies developed in this communicative modality depend on them. From its very beginnings, psycholinguistics has been understood as a science that "deals directly with the processes of encoding and decoding as they relate states of messages to states of communicators" (Osgood and Sebeok 1965: 4). I can approach the whole communicative process from this perspective, taking into account not only the message, but also the participants in it. To this end, I study the linguistic processing and the various conceptualisations of the experience on the part of the participants in the communication which, ultimately, explain both the type of message produced and that which is interpreted. In addition, according to the prevailing connectionist approaches, knowledge is encoded as patterns of connectivity distributed across neural units and processing is thus intended as spreading patterns of activation (Rumelhart and McClelland 1986).

As an example of the need to integrate neuropsychological linguistic models in order to produce a more complete definition of business discourse as a communicative modality I will focus on (1) the mental organisation of linguistic knowledge into networks, which explains the high versatility and creativity characteristic of this type of discourse; (2) the strong ties between linguistic processes and other cognitive functions, related to the selection and combination mechanisms and their interaction with the context; and (3) the effectiveness of the contrast principle which emerges from the lexical units and transcends the textual level. Therefore, taking into consideration the dynamic bio-psycho-social bases of conceptual construction in discourse studies, as the main goals, this research provides some guidance on how to incorporate the neurosemantic perspective and why the knowledge of the neurological underpinnings of semantic and morphosyntactic processes can benefit public discourse analysis.

In order to illustrate this, I have focused on the public communication produced by three Spanish companies[3] of great importance on the national scene, namely Santander, Inditex, and Mercadona. To be more specific, the texts that I have used as a reference come from a corpus formed by annual reports, CEO (Chief

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3. A review of the research conducted in Spain on business discourse can be found in Montolío and Ramallo (2009). As these authors (2009: 414) point out, very little comes from linguists.

Executive Officer) letters, mission statements, social responsibility reports, annual reviews and presentations, and business press releases. All of them are easily accessible on the internet and are addressed to multiple recipients. That is, regardless of whether these texts are aimed at specific addressees (other companies, clients, investors, etc.), their public nature, as well as sometimes responding to legal transparency requirements, forms part of a global personality-modelling strategy of each of these companies (Boden 1994: 8). Thus, from a productive standpoint they are examples of the corporate identity which aims to bring together all the participants in the company, in such a way that they are perceived as a clear example of the projection of a positive corporate image onto society through language (cf. Breeze 2013; Jaworska 2020).

The methodology followed combines quantitative and qualitative analysis. Firstly, I have tracked the presence of formal neology in different documents issued by these companies, based on the exclusion from the RAE ('Royal Spanish Academy') dictionary, as a criterion for their identification, in order not only to observe the more frequent creative processes but also the differences between verbal categories. I have also analysed the use of metaphor with special attention to press releases as essential vehicles for the dissemination of the corporate image. Secondly, in order to discover the performance of the lexical selection and combination mechanisms, I have used the software Sketch Engine (https://www.sketchengine.eu/), an online analysis tool that works with large corpora to obtain absolute and relative frequency data from lexical units such as multi-word expressions in specific texts. Finally, I have selected several illustrative examples to show the uniqueness of the principle of contrast in business discourse from texts related or produced by these Spanish companies.

3. Versatility and creativity in business communication

As the data from neuroscience shows, language is not the responsibility of isolated regions of the brain, but rather of the anatomical and functional connectivity of a highly interactive system based on different anatomical streams of the dorsal and ventral regions, especially of the left hemisphere, which are involved in its formal and semantic aspects respectively (cf. Hickok and Poeppel 2004). These findings provide us with a formulation of language as a functional network with a neurological base, as opposed to the traditional modular interpretation. Starting from this standpoint, in the different processing models, whether they be amodal (see, for example, Rumelhart and McClelland 1986; Caramazza et al. 1990) or embodied (Kiefer and Pulvermüller 2012), linguistic representations make use of a wide

knowledge within a specific modality with important implications for speech. In fact, the discovery of cerebral substrates shared by linguistic and other cognitive functions justifies the participation of our multiple sensorial, motor, and emotional experiences from the point of view of the construction and interpretation of discourse.

In this regard, I wish to highlight the formal and semantic creative processes that emerge in business discourse as a result of the interaction of neurocognitive functions such as perception, attention, and memory with language, since they constitute the base of strategies like pragmatic enrichment, dynamic focalization, and frequential analysis, which are involved in the construction and interpretation of the meaning. Supposing that during linguistic processing the individual is not working with pre-stored units (cf. Lamb 1999: 375), the idea that there exists a lexical reconstruction mechanism, linked to linguistic analysis systems and guided by factors such as frequency and context, is becoming increasingly accepted. This theory is shown in the phenomenon of neology, which accounts for the flexibility and dynamism that are characteristic of lexical creation processes. Although this is a common strategy in the sphere of speech, it is especially characteristic in the area of business discourse where neologisms are included. From a psycholinguistic point of view, as these are involved in linguistic coding and decoding processes, we can observe the intervention of a parallel processing strategy arising from the interpretative indications and guidelines imposed by the word's formal structure on the multiple associative semantic processes that are common to lexical creation and strongly conditioned by the context in which it is produced. I will illustrate this phenomenon with documents corresponding to the Santander Annual Report of 2018 and the Mercadona website (see Table 1).

In the case of the former, under the blend *digilosofía* 'digilosophy' which currently represents the company, I have found many formations derived from prefixation (*multigrupo* 'multigroup', *superdigital* 'superdigital', *reexpresar* 'restate', *reclasificar* 'reclassify', *preconceder* 'pregrant', *reposicionar* 'reposition', *desapalancamiento* 'deliveraging'), or suffixation (*transaccionalidad* 'transactionality', *originación* 'origination', *litigiosidad* 'litigiousness'), but also from the combination of the two (*multicanalidad* 'multi-channeling') or composition (*megaproyecto* 'megaproject'). In addition, I have detected lexical creations based on English loan words like *Smartbank*, *Openbank*, *Onepay*, *Workcafé*, which are also common in Santander's discourse. All together, they refer to an intention of constant change and renovation and denote modern and dynamic values.

The Mercadona website – organised around contents like *Qué es* 'What is it', *Misión* 'Mission', *Visión* 'Vision', *Comité de Dirección* 'Executive Committee', *Modelo* 'Model', *El jefe* 'The boss', *El trabajador* 'The worker', *El proveedor* 'The suppplier',

La sociedad 'The society', *El capital* 'The capital', *La historia* 'The history', *Empleo and Consejos* 'Employment Advice' – also contains a number of different derived neologisms (*coinnovación* 'coinnovation', *coinnovar* 'coinnovate', *interproveedores* 'intersuppliers', *precorte* 'precut', *subalmacén* 'substore', *interalimentario* 'interalimentary', *compostable* 'compostable') and others that are compounds (*megatráiler* 'megatrailer', *macroalmacén* 'macrostore', *macrolaboratorio* 'macrolab', *biobancarización* 'bio-bancarisation', *ecoembalaje* 'eco-packaging', *ovoproductos* 'egg products'). In this case, they allude to collaborative work and organising capacity and transmit social and environmental awareness, as Table 1 shows.

Table 1. Formal neologisms

Annual Report 2018 (Santander)	Website (Mercadona)
Nouns	**Nouns**
Digilosofía	Coinnovación
Transaccionalidad	Interproveedores
Multicanalidad	Realineación
Originación	Megatráiler
Multigrupo	Ecoembalaje
Desapalancamiento	Macroalmacén
Litigiosidad	Precorte
megaproyecto	Biobancarización
	Macrolaboratorio
	Subalmacén
	Ovoproductos
	Microplástico
Verbs	**Adjectives**
Reexpresar	Compostable
Reclasificar	Interalimentario
Preconceder	Superdigital
Reposicionar	
Coinnovar	

Despite the differences in the activation of the experiential focuses linked to the image that each one is trying to transmit, both companies coincide in the prioritisation of the noun category in these neological processes, as opposed to the adjective and the verb categories, whose presence in the formations observed is much smaller. In this regard, it can be said that, in contrast with other types of discourse such as that of advertising, the modelling of the self-image, favoured by the sensorimotor and emotive experience of the receiver, is far more relevant here than the qualities and actions related to it.

In the sphere of business discourse, along with formal neology, I must highlight the use of the metaphor as an example of semantic creativity. This has already been pointed out by various authors who have observed its great potential in this field for the communication of ideas (cf. Henderson 1982; Jeffreys 1982; McCloskey 1995; Skorczynska and Deignan 2006). Issues like the interrelation of metaphoric processes, as linguistic phenomena, with the diverse aspects of cognition have been dealt with from a psycholinguistic perspective. Likewise, from the point of view of neuroscience, the cerebral localisation of these processes has been studied, using techniques such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), electrocephalography (EEG) in order to obtain evoked potentials, etc. (cf. Arzouan, Goldstein, and Faust 2007; Mashal et al. 2007; Lai, Curran, and Menn 2009; Benedek et al. 2014, among others).

As well as the general vision of the metaphor as the selective projection of the properties of one conceptual domain onto another (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993), in recent decades the acceptance of the influence of cultural and contextual experience in the embodiment of meaning has given way to the prioritisation of iconicity over linguistic arbitrariness (cf. Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 300 and ff.), above all in the spheres of specialised communication. This means that the metaphor constitutes a clear example of the cognitive motivation and social projection of these companies. Thus, for example, Mercadona jokingly turns the client into *jefe* 'boss', as the central piece of the company organigram. This shows the prioritisation of the processes of semantic search, executive control and controlled attention which facilitate the inhibition of the accepted or dominant meaning and have the effect of recombining the stored information in order to construct new lexical creations (Silvia and Beaty 2012). Indeed, the abilities related to verbal and intellectual fluency, linked with executive functions, prove the relevance of areas of the brain like the left superior and middle frontal gyri, as well as the left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex and the left posterior cingulate cortex, as can be seen in the most recent neuroimaging data, for the processing of newly-created metaphors (Benedek et al. 2014). Other semantic effects participating in these processes are imaginability, i.e., the ability to evoke and imagine the lexical meaning of the word in question, and semantic load, i.e., the number of meanings associated with one word (cf. Varo Varo 2013: 146).

The construction of new meanings affects both the *being* and the *doing* and is projected onto some of the various goal domains indicated in the literature on business discourse (cf. Kheovichai 2015: 175). As an example of this, Santander's press releases convey a humanised conception of the company. See quotations (1) to (5):

(1) Banco Santander parece que **deja atrás** la "zona roja" (bold added for emphasis).
     'It seems that Banco Santander leaves the "red zone" behind'.

(2) Bien es cierto que Santander parece que **ha salido** de una zona roja o lateral,
     tras **romper** los 4,08 euros (…).
     'It is true that Santander seems to have come out of a red or lateral zone, after
     breaking the 4.08 euros (…)'.

(3) Por tanto, es ideal en este sentido no **correr** detrás de los precios (…).
     'Therefore, in this sense, it is ideal not to run after prices'.
                                                      (Valencia plaza, July 4, 2019)

(4) Santander será el primer banco en **rendir cuentas** por su digitalización.
     'Santander will be the first bank to render account for its digitisation'.

(5) (…) vuelve a incluir las cuentas de su negocio inmobiliario, una vez **digerido**
     gran parte del ladrillo **heredado** de la crisis.
     '[Santander] includes the accounts of his real estate business again, once much
     of the brick inherited from the crisis has been digested'.
                                                      (El Confidencial, July 4, 2019)

Undoubtedly, one of the preferred metaphors in this sphere in relation to *doing* is
that which takes on the properties of the domain of WAR, conferring positive values
of strength, intelligence, and competitivity, as can be seen in Mercadona's press
releases. See Examples (6) to (9):

(6) En las tripas de la "colmena", el **arma secreta** de Mercadona para la **batalla**
     "online".
     'In the guts of the "hive", Mercadona's secret weapon for the "online" battle'.
                                                      (El País, March 13, 2019)

(7) Mercadona **sacude la guerra** contra Nespresso con nuevas cápsulas.
     'Mercadona shakes up the war against Nespresso with new capsules'.

(8) La **guerra** del café sigue a toda marcha, y Mercadona lo sabe. En España no
     hay vuelta atrás: las cápsulas están cada vez más cerca de **dominar** el mercado.
     'The coffee war continues at full speed, and Mercadona knows this. In Spain
     there is no going back: capsules are getting closer to dominating the market'.

(9) Hace un año, Lidl tenía las cápsulas más baratas en España, pero Mercadona
     ya le **arrebató** el título.
     'A year ago, Lidl had the cheapest capsules in Spain, but Mercadona already
     snatched the title from him'.   (Economía Digital, June 29, 2019)

4. Selection and combination mechanisms in business discourse

If I start from the premise that all linguistic systems can be conceived not only as expression mechanisms for a speech community, but also as mental tools with which to create representations of reality, in relation to business discourse I can emphasise the importance of the perspective of cognitive linguistics, according to which the different social values and attitudes belonging to a certain sphere or cultural system create a common experiential base, whose consideration varies depending on whether we take an emotive or intellectual standpoint.

From this paradigm, it can be explained why, for the mental organisation of linguistic knowledge, I resort to a type of abstract structure sometimes called an image schema or a topological schema which acts as the axis of articulation for the properties that organise our experience (cf. Johnson 1987). By means of these schemas I can conceptualise a variety of domains, whose formal manifestations are subject to conceptual, social, and individual variation, doing so without crossing the limits marked by the so-called invariance principle. In this way, cognitive analysis[4] becomes a cultural diagnostic instrument from a language perspective which explains the selection and combination mechanisms of linguistic elements present in business discourse. As a neurological correlate, from the perspective of the organisation of linguistic knowledge, the most recent advances in cognitive neuroscience include different types of semantic, phonic, morphological, and even experiential connections, which would explain the effects deriving from the real situation or context that are sometimes also determined by the linguistic context in which the message is inserted.

To illustrate this, the most frequent content words registered by Sketch Engine in the Inditex Annual Report 2018 are shown in Figure 1. In the case of nouns and adjectives, although many allude to specific contents relative to the business world (*venta* 'sale', *tienda* 'store', *euro* 'euro', *proveedor* 'supplier', *financiero* 'financial', *comercial* 'commercial', *contable* 'accounting', etc.), another important group heavily depends on context and, because of this and joint concurrence, they constitute specific domains which guide and limit the interpretation of the message. This occurs with the nouns *ejercicio* 'exercise', *Sociedad* 'society', *valor* 'value', *activo* 'asset', *programa* 'program', *tipo* 'type' and the adjectives *social* 'social', *sostenible* 'sustainable', *responsable* 'responsible', *dominante* 'dominant', and *efectivo* 'effective', among others. Verbs also have a measure of generality that is limited by the context in which they are inserted. Likewise, they imply a positive attitude: *consolidar* 'consolidate', *desarrollar* 'develop', *permitir* 'allow', *garantizar* 'guarantee', *promover* 'promote', etc.

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4. Among the conceptual operations that act on these image schema and influence our linguistic configurations are the mechanisms linked to perspective and situation, operations related to constitution, and comparative conceptual processes (Croft and Cruse 2004: 6).

Table 2. The 50 most frequent content words in the Inditex Annual Report 2018

Venta	2360	global	1631	ser	2860
Grupo	2268	financiero	1408	haber	2590
Ejercicio	1724	social	1066	consolidar	700
Público	1370	anual	818	incluir	663
Sociedad	1271	neto	607	estar	655
Gestión	1104	nuevo	570	realizar	650
Información	1027	propio	492	tener	638
tienda	982	siguiente	438	poder	616
riesgo	966	general	420	decir	466
auditoría	858	público	414	deber	383
valor	853	sostenible	406	desarrollar	377
España	849	comercial	402	establecer	371
euro	824	interno	379	determinar	356
resultado	811	principal	365	permitir	328
cuenta	768	logístico	349	relacionar	322
informe	758	corporativo	342	unir	319
activo	718	textil	322	reconocer	298
política	684	significativo	301	integrar	282
cadena	675	largo	277	considerar	274
cambio	659	razonable	263	aplicar	271
control	645	responsable	261	utilizar	249
actividad	640	laboral	255	contar	245
tipo	605	externo	251	mantener	244
consejo	562	humano	250	dar	238
programa	558	fiscal	249	registrar	231
parte	548	operativo	244	seguir	224
mercado	548	relativo	241	existir	213
producto	524	corriente	237	definir	210
enero	521	distinto	235	partir	205
acción	518	anterior	226	trabajar	204
proveedor	518	presente	218	estimar	202
administración	509	internacional	210	generar	198
plan	506	contable	209	obtener	196
persona	483	dominante	202	garantizar	194
empleado	480	medioambiental	198	ver	193
comisión	477	relevante	195	vincular	189
proceso	469	directo	192	cumplir	189
acuerdo	461	económico	187	corresponder	189
objetivo	450	material	187	poner	188
inversión	442	independiente	186	alcanzar	185
negocio	439	efectivo	182	encontrar	184
caso	429	futuro	178	afectar	176

Table 2. (*continued*)

suministro	427	alto	173	aprobar	175
cumplimiento	425	disponible	173	formar	175
total	416	mejor	172	destacar	174
impuesto	413	último	168	derivar	174
trabajo	412	mayor	164	diferir	174
diseño	411	medio	158	basar	169
aplicación	408	posible	156	representar	168
empresa	406	activo	143	promover	167

In my analysis, I also wish to draw attention to the interaction between the conceptual and combinatory aspects of the lexicon, contemplated in several psycholinguistic models which defend the presence of a syntactic component that is fitted delicately into our mental dictionary. Indeed, according to some of these proposals, the lexicon includes constructions and entities that go beyond the word (cf. Goldberg 1995; Jackendoff 2002). In particular, from the declarative/procedural model (cf. Ullmann 2004), the role of the procedural memory has been highlighted in lexical selection and maintenance in the working memory and so has the important function of the declarative system as a storage space for procedural knowledge, which contributes to reinforcing the combinatory links among lexical units. At the same time, current neurocognitive theories, deriving from the Hebbian proposal of cell assembly and inspired in attractor models, underline co-ocurrence[5] as the base of neurocognitive approaches to combinatorial semantics (cf. Lamb 1999; Pulvermüller 2003, 2010; Lamb and Webster 2004; Pulvermüller and Knoblauch 2009), enabling the integration of syntagmatic relationships between abstraction, generalisation, and symbolic combination mechanisms, which are excluded from sensorial and motor processes (cf. Pulvermüller 2010; Tomasello et al. 2017). If we pay attention to the most frequent multi-word expressions appearing in Table 3, we observe that those expressions referring to the business vision and, above all, to the company's social projection are more frequent than those referring to its general functioning, as can be seen in data extracted from the comparison of the focus corpus (154,506 words) with the reference Spanish Web corpus (more than 10 billion words) used by the software Sketch Engine (see Table 3 and Figure 1).

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5. The exploration of relationships of associative implications among concurrent words and their differing levels of strength already exists in the postulates of semantic history in relation to the laws of coexistence among words. Thus, Darmesteter (1895: 134–137) recognised the relationship of "concurrence vitale" along with other principles of lexical coexistence such as contagion, reaction, and synonymy.

Table 3. Frequent multi-word expressions in the Inditex Annual Report 2018

General functioning	Business vision	Social projection
1. Comisión de auditoría	1. Sistema de gobierno corporativo	1. Ejercicio social
2. Auditor de cuenta	2. Conducta de fabricante	2. Bienestar comunitario
3. Plan de auditoría	3. Sociedad dominante	3. Balance de sostenibilidad
4. Dirección general de finanzas	4. Equipo de tienda	4. Compra responsable
5. Comisión de retribución	5. Empleado de tienda	5. Política de integridad
6. Enfoque de gestión	6. Equipo de compra	6. Equipo de sostenibilidad
7. Evaluación del enfoque	7. Fabricación textil	7. Programa de cumplimiento
8. Informe económico	8. Fábrica de confección	8. Modelo de prevención
9. Riesgo penal	9. Industria de diseño (textil)	9. Estándar de salud
10. Auditoría de cuenta	10. Formato comercial	10. Estrategia sostenible
11. Prevención de riesgo penal	11. Perímetro de consolidación	11. Política de diversidad
12. Efecto tipo	12. Comité de cumplimiento	12. Práctica de compra responsable
13. Canal de denuncia	13. Matriz de riesgo	13. Política de derecho (humano)
14. Deterioro de valor	14. Consejero externo	14. Dotación del ejercicio
15. Asunto material	15. Vida útil indefinida	15. Ethical trading
16. Contribución tributaria	16. Consumo relativo	16. Mother counts
17. Reglamento interno de conducta	17. Incorrección material	17. World Resources
18. Accionista significativo	18. Test de deterioro	18. Organic Cotton
19. Apertura neta	19. Informe justificativo	19. Consumo energético global
20. Aportación puntual	20. Valor recuperable	20. Política de donación
21. Participación empresarial	21. Suministro estable	21. Programa green
22. Órgano de supervisión	22. Herramienta de diálogo	22. Política de regalo
23. Moneda funcional	23. Inversor institucional	23. Política de donación
24. Dividendo ordinario	24. País de aprovisionamiento	24. Activo intangible de vida
25. Impuesto corriente	25. Informe anual de funcionamiento	25. Salario digno
26. Impacto económico	26. Política de compra	26. Cadena de suministro estable
	27. Fábrica activa	27. Cumplimiento socioeconómico
	28. Trazabilidad de la producción	28. Cumplimiento sostenible
	29. The big idea	29. Entorno productivo sostenible
		30. Departamento de sostenibilidad
		31. Sostenibilidad de la cadena
		32. Aspecto sensible
		33. Cultura ética
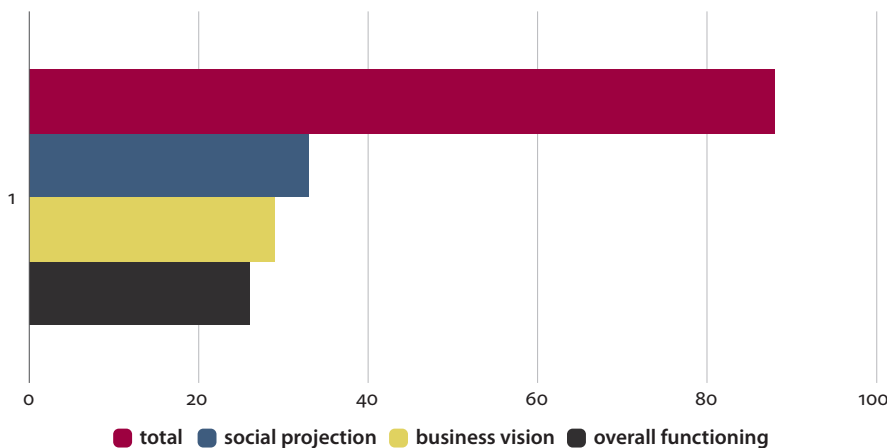
Figure 1. Multi-word expressions. Inditex Annual Report 2018

5.   The contrast principle in business communication

As a result of the interrelation between the linguistic and cognitive fields, psycholinguistics provides us with plenty of evidence regarding the efficiency of the contrast principle in different areas of specialised communication (cf. Varo Varo 2016). Within this frame, it is possible to situate the dual schema of a lexicon-discourse interface, in which the starting point should not be the signifiers implied in the relationship, but rather the meanings, considering, on one hand, the specific rules that govern the structuring of these relationships in different linguistic systems, and, on the other, their manifestation in different types of discourse configurations. The efficiency and productivity of this principle is corroborated by the data and observations deriving from psycholinguistic research on lexical processing in tasks related to the time spent on the recognition and production of semantic relationships that show a marked difference between contrast relationships and the rest (cf. Murphy and Andrew 1993; Charles, Reed, and Derryberry 1994; Murphy 2003).

In fact, in languages binarism is a tremendously productive method for producing information units in open systems to which new data that are also systemisable can be added, taking as a reference the basic pattern which opposes two elements. However, in business communication, we can observe the presence of a series of antonymical phenomena of a discursive nature whose functionality depends on the distribution contexts of the contrasted elements[6] and they do not always correspond

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6.   The consideration of the contrast principle and its relevance in textualisation processes from the perspective of speech has led some researchers to grant antonymous relations a lexical base deriving from the co-occurrence of the affected units within certain syntactic contexts (cf. Fellbaum 1995; Jones 2002, among others).

to language antonymy. These textually linked elements have some rules of particular behaviour that do not always correspond to those of systematic functioning, although there is frequent interference between stylistic and semantic areas.

The productivity of this mechanism takes on a singular function in this area; in other textual modalities, the negation of an opponent's thesis is frequently used in support of one's own thesis, with the resulting counter-arguments. However, in this case, there is a preference for the disassociation of arguments, with the intention of either overcoming a possible incompatibility arising between elements that are recognised as opposites by most members of the community, or of integrating from a positive perspective the members of the relationship as part of a whole (see Examples (10) to (15)). With this, the polarisation is eliminated.

(10) Ahora, más que **nunca**: ¡**Siempre** Precios Bajos!
Now, more than ever: Always Low Prices!
<div align="right">(Mercadona's website, November 7, 2012)</div>

(11) Con la puesta en funcionamiento de este bloque logístico, Mercadona dispone actualmente de aproximadamente 778.000 metros cuadrados destinados a garantizar la cadena de suministro de la compañía: una red eficiente para transportar **más con menos** recursos.
'With the launch of this logistics block, Mercadona currently has approximately 778,000 square meters destined to guarantee the company's supply chain: an efficient network to transport more with fewer resources'.
<div align="right">(Mercadona's website, October 18, 2013)</div>

(12) Asimismo, vamos a mantener nuestra apuesta por ofrecer a nuestros "Jefes" **más calidad por menos precio**.
'In addition, we will maintain our commitment to offer our "Bosses" higher quality at lower price'.   (Mercadona's website, March 7, 2013)

(13) Según Juan Roig, "si hay algo en lo que firmemente creo es que el crecimiento de una empresa pasa por reconocer la implicación de sus trabajadores y compartir con ellos el beneficio generado. Yo siempre he manifestado que la solución es **aumentar la productividad y no bajar salarios**."
'According to Juan Roig, "if there is one thing I firmly believe in, it is that the growth of a company involves acknowledging the involvement of its workers and sharing with them the benefits generated. I have always stated that the solution is to increase productivity and not lower wages."
<div align="right">(Mercadona's website, March 6, 2014)</div>

(14) Mercadona puede ofrecer a sus clientes un surtido eficaz, con independencia de quién fabrique el producto, con la **máxima calidad y al mínimo precio** posible.

'Mercadona can offer its customers an efficient assortment, regardless of who manufactures the product, with the highest quality and the lowest possible price'.   (Mercadona's website, December 4, 2018)

(15) Siguiendo con la aspiración de Mercadona de estar a la vanguardia y ser pionera en aspectos sociales, el nuevo Convenio Colectivo de Empresa incorpora importantes medidas de carácter social y refuerza los compromisos de Mercadona en materia de conciliación de **la vida familiar y laboral**.
'Continuing the aspirations of Mercadona to be at the forefront and pioneering social aspects, the new Collective Agreement Company incorporates important social measures and strengthens Mercadona commitments regarding the reconciliation of work and family life'.
(Mercadona's website, December 11, 2018)

In any case, their aim is not to mark a referential identity, but, rather, to show a duality of facts that either share part of their semantic content or else, because of their relationship with reality and our familiarity with it, form a single domain which can be segmented. In fact, when they are situated in the perspective of speech, given that in it our range of attention is dynamic, that is, it can move from some features to others during a scene (cf. Talmy 2000: Chapter 2), the establishment of antithetical contrasts, more than simply affecting antonymous language units, also influences quasi-synonymous units of the system (see Examples (16) to (21)). Within the frame of language-related mental models, cognitive prominence has frequently been approached as the motor of attentional or conscious control, above all with regard to orientation and reference continuity throughout the discourse (cf. Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993; Falk 2014). In this regard, it can be observed that, through cognitive focalisation processes favoured by certain contextual conditioning, the relationship of contrast does not reside in the lexemes but in the articulation of semantic features. Consider the following Santander web documents:

(16) Nuestra misión: Contribuir al progreso de las **personas** y las **empresas**.
'Our mission: Contribute to the progress of individuals and companies'.

(17) ¿Cómo lo hacemos? En nuestra actividad diaria no solo **cumplimos** nuestras **obligaciones** legales y regulatorias, sino que aspiramos a **superar** las **expectativas** de las personas.
'How do we do it? In our daily activities we not only fulfil our legal and regulatory obligations, but also aspire to exceed people's expectations'.
(Santander website: About the Group. Santander Vision)

(18)   En primer lugar, como ha comentado en detalle la presidenta, hemos conti-
       nuado con nuestro proceso de transformación comercial, tanto en los bancos
       tradicionales como en el desarrollo de las **nuevas** plataformas.
       'Firstly, as the President has explained in detail, we have continued our commer-
       cial transformation process, both in traditional banks and in the development
       of new platforms'.

(19)   La **expansión** global cuenta con una base muy amplia de países y de momento
       se está desarrollando sin que se generen **desequilibrios** destacables.
       'Global expansion has a very broad base of countries and is currently developing
       without generating significant imbalances'.

(20)   La **inflación** parece contenida y los Bancos Centrales están desempeñando un
       papel importante manteniéndola bajo control, pero sin penalizar el **crecimiento**.
       'Inflation seems contained and central banks are playing an important role in
       keeping it under control, without penalizing growth'.

(21)   Con todo, creemos que el balance entre **riesgos** y **oportunidades** es más positivo
       que en años anteriores.
       'However, we believe that the balance of risks and opportunities is more positive
       than in previous years'.   (Santander CEO's Letter 2018)

As we can see, the use of discursive dichotomy makes the existence of intermedi-
ate values impossible, emphasising only the association between the elements that
have been selected, onto which our physical and sociocultural experience has been
projected. Thus, I can highlight the presence of a background that is anthropolo-
gical and sociological, on one hand, and cognitive, on the other, which justifies the
contribution of this type of tendency to define conceptual relationships that can
become established in different speech communities.

6.   Conclusions

It seems clear that it is impossible to make a complete description of business dis-
course without the participation of different areas of applied linguistics. For their
part, the latest achievements in psycholinguistics provide vital information for the
design and creation of a more accurate linguistic model. In any case, I insist on the
necessity of starting from a polyhedral conception of this communicative modality,
in which the interaction of certain forms of structural, social, and cultural organ-
isation that appear in the linguistic performance of the participants must also be
contemplated.

   Through a neurosemantic approach to language, I have started with the con-
sideration of textual meaning as the result of a dynamic semantic-conceptual

construction process, which interacts during processing with other reconstruction systems of the formal structure of the message, directed by the cognitive attention mechanism and affected by numerous effects related to linguistic, sensoriomotor, and emotive experience accumulated by the interpreter and the contextual environment of the communication. Within this frame, as I have attempted to show through the different texts related to and/or produced by three Spanish companies, special relevance is given to aspects like high formal and semantic versatility and creativity, resulting from the mental organisation of linguistic knowledge into networks; the selection and combination strategies and their interaction with the context, which illustrates a distinctive corporate identity and the projection of the positive corporate image to the public through language; and the effectiveness of the contrast principle which eliminates lexical polarisation and reconciles opposites, as graphically shown in Figure 2:

Lexicon and grammar interaction

Selection and combination strategies

| sender | message | receiver |

Versatility and creativity

Formal and semantic structure

Contrast principle

Conciliation of opposites
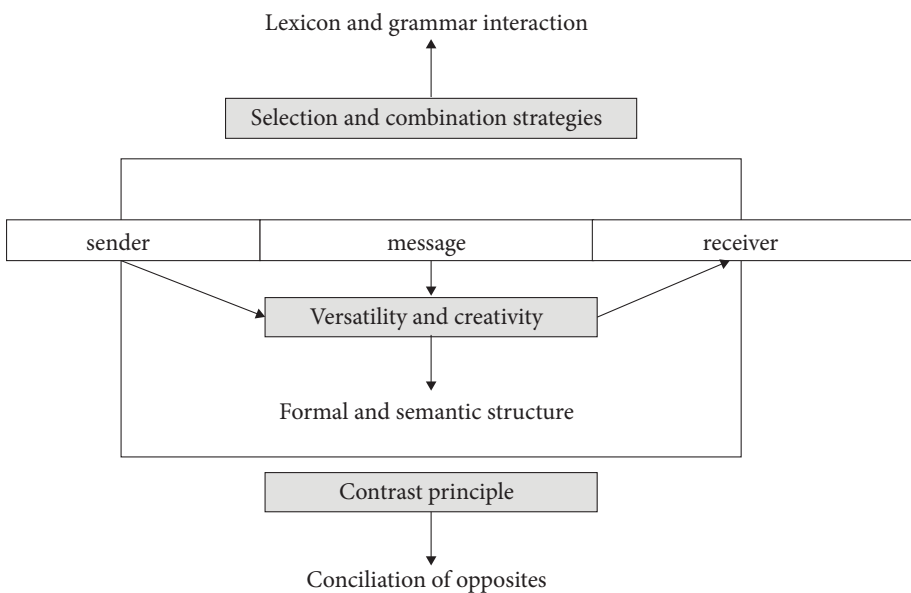
Figure 2. Main aspects for a neurosemantic approach to business discourse

Further, as has been demonstrated, when business discourse enters the public domain it transcends the framework of specialised communication and becomes a powerful tool for creating mental schemes that guide our interpretation and use of language. It remains as a future challenge to systematically address the complex interrelationship between the contextual, sociocultural, and neurocognitive frameworks, taking into account the multiple factors that underpin them. Undoubtedly, more profound research into these mechanisms will make a great contribution to

attaining a more comprehensive formulation of business discourse as a communicative modality and, in addition, determine the major cognitive strategies found in its different textual manifestations.

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CHAPTER 13

Compensatory discourse strategies in the bilingual university classroom

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Contrastive Discourse Analysis operates in a boundary area where linguistics and psychology overlap. Systematic analysis of classroom and academic discourse can enhance approaches to public discourse, including those dealing with the communicative content rather than the form of texts. Such is the context of the bilingual discourse in the university classroom. This study takes a sequenced and multi-methodological approach to analyse, first, the errors in spoken performance in the bilingual classroom; second, the impact of these errors on overall intelligibility. The sample is taken from academic discourse and is comprised of 34 hours of spoken interaction with eight different Spanish speakers teaching through English. The findings show that compensatory discourse strategies, including listener comprehension, impacted communication much more than the errors detracted from it.

Keywords: academic discourse, intelligibility, multicompetence, contrastive discourse analysis, compensation strategies, bilingualism, English as a lingua franca

1. Introduction

This research is part of a sequenced process for a professional development project to promote multicompetence for Computer Science professors teaching through English as a foreign language. Cook and Wei (2016) refer to this multicompetence as two languages coinciding in one brain. In fact, it is when users can hold two patterns simultaneously in their minds, when multicompetence is achieved. This study looks at professor performance in the context of classroom discourse, a discourse type that, broadly speaking, "refers to all of those forms of talk that one may find within a classroom or other educational setting" (Jocuns 2012: 1).[1]

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1. It is worth noting that the scope of the field of classroom discourse is very wide. It does not only include classroom interactions, but also analysis of nonverbal conduct as well as issues of learning and identity, among others (see Sert 2015: 14–15).

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The classroom and academic discourse[2] is a place to discover solutions that all speakers and listeners use in complex contexts in public communication. Typically, instructors use discourse strategies by reformulating as they deliver their contents. Hyland (2007: 266) comments: "A great deal of research has now established that (…) texts embody interactions (…), but few studies have examined the ways that small acts of reformulation and exemplification help contribute to this." Most often academic discourse refers to expansion or reduction as two key strategies. However, Lorenzo (2008) elaborates further to include what he deems "rediscursification" whereby instructors are actively adjusting to compensate for effective message transfer in bilingual settings. These adjustments help to create a more coherent prose and convey the user's "audience sensitivity and relationship to the message" (Hyland 2007: 266). It is in this way that this research connects to public discourse.

The context of the academic public discourse is the ideal frame to explore how language and meaning work together in second language (L2) contexts. In fact, academic discourse can describe how language interfaces with cognition adapting in the course of language usage. In educational settings, listeners may attend to the linguistic expression produced, to the conceptual content represented and to the context at hand. The classroom and academic discourse is therefore clearly informed by both discourse analysis and cognitive psychology; indeed, cognitive structures deal simultaneously with formal patterns and communicative aspects of language in formal instructional settings (Langacker 1987).

More specifically, in the context of second language acquisition, cognitive discourse involves the study of cognitive representation together with the mechanisms of language processing. This is highly relevant to all instruction and absolutely crucial in the bilingual settings, where dual coding is commonplace (Lambrecht 1996; Skehan 1998; Kroll and Sunderman 2003; Talmy 2003; Ellis and Larsen Freeman 2006; Lorenzo 2008). Bilingual classroom contexts offer insightful perspectives in terms of dual coding (Skehan 1998) in discourse: users may clarify "on the fly" and can learn to compensate for a less than perfect public discourse.

Discourse is the study of languages in the context in which they are used and organised into meaningful units. Tanner (2012) commented that discourse analysts study larger chunks of language as they flow together. But what happens to this "flow" when the rules of one language get in the way of the message in the second language? Undoubtedly, diverse approaches to public discourse analysis can be enhanced through systematic analysis, such as the context of the bilingual classroom where content communication and discursive strategies outweigh precise form focus. Any communicative event encompasses a wide range of features; and

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2. It is important to establish the difference between classroom and academic discourse: whereas the former focuses on interaction, the latter includes information transfer.

at the university level, this academic context deals with the intelligible transmission of highly complex contents.

In their conceptualisation of English Medium Instruction (EMI) in the university, Dafouz and Smit (2019) suggest there is a need for a more holistic framework to allow for interdisciplinary, multi-sited analyses. In this regard, I examine how discursive strategies are ongoing for both professors and students in bilingual instruction. In this manner, English as a lingua franca (ELF) is seen as "fluid, flexible, contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural" (Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey 2011: 284), and having far-reaching implications for education and pedagogy and its reliance on "nativised" varieties in many higher education institutions throughout the world.

So, I will analyse the language the professors used, but also how the users react in context actively using encoding and decoding procedures to make sense of the intended message. Like all public discourse, academic discourse is the interplay between what the speaker intends with what the speaker actually says, as well as with what the listener ultimately understands. The communicative events occurring in the bilingual classroom are dynamic and interactive and, in many ways, particularistic to the context at hand. In spite of the limited focus of my study, I hope to shed some light on functional bilingualism in action and its relationship to public discourse.

This study takes a sequenced approach to analyse, first, the errors in spoken performance in the context of the bilingual classroom. This first step takes a more structural frame to classify mis-performances of highly proficient L2 users with regard to their first language to manifest how language is represented. The next step assesses the impact of these errors on intelligibility in a qualitative post coding analysis to show how language is processed in meaningful contexts. At this interim step, what the study challenges is to what degree "imperfect" performance impacts intelligibility in a real communicative context. I seek not to elicit errors, but rather to understand the reasons why they occur.

For this study, the research questions are the following:

a. What are the frequent errors in spoken performance and how do these relate to transfer?
b. What is the impact of specific errors on the intelligibility of the message intended?

In fact, what is significant here is not the errors themselves, but rather what users can do to compensate for their mis-performances once these errors are found to be systematic. For the practical implications, these formal features are interrelated to functional features to explore how communicative compensation can work in classroom and academic discourse. I therefore begin with how language is processed and represented and move towards practical implications in the classroom of how language is used intelligibly and purposefully to communicate.

The paper will be organised as follows: (i) first, I will present the theoretical framework and clarify terminology; (ii) next, I will present the action research method, sample, and procedure for the data collected; (iii) then, I will classify and analyse the linguistic errors in relation to cross linguistic transfer and intelligibility; (iv) in the discussion section I will discuss the practical implications of the research; (v) and finally I will conclude and point to future research.

2. Theoretical framework

In the implicit language teaching that is ongoing across Europe with non-natives teaching to non-natives in university classrooms, language proficiency seems to be at the forefront of the discussion, but "perfect performance" is just a small aspect of the communicative effect of the messages produced in academic discourse. At one time "non-native like performance" might have meant the use of a pidgin or "broken" English. Now, however, English as a lingua franca has come to be seen as a term referring to a standard form of English that non-native speakers use when communicating with each other (Clement 2001: 12).

All language is acquired in meaningful contexts, and in cognitive grammar, this meaning is equated with conceptualisation. In first language, the construction of the concept of meaning must be contextually relevant both semantically and syntactically (Kintsch and Mangalath 2011: 346). This construction is implicit as first language (L1) develops. Even though the conceptual underpinnings are present in L2 as well, they are competing with L1 patterns. Consequently, the processes involved in adult second language discourse differ greatly from first language discourse. Tarone, Bigelow, and Hansen (2013) have found that adult language-learners differ from children in terms of prior real-world knowledge. Such differences allow adults to project emerging L2 systems onto fully developed conceptual and linguistic representations, so many aspects of morpho-syntactic structure that are not present in their L1 are ignored. At the same time, structural patterns of the first language are present in second language performance. So, the processes and representations of L1 persist in L2 performance.

Functional bilinguals show varying degrees of difficulties when representing and processing their second languages largely due to the pre-existence of their first language (L1). This is commonly referred to as transfer. In many ways, cross-linguistic transfer embodies users' linguistic knowledge of their first language to represent a second language. Loebell and Bock (2003) have found that structural priming persists cross linguistically and leads to transfer at all linguistic levels. Structural priming refers to the tendency to repeat, or more easily process, an utterance that is similar in structure to one presented previously.

Contrastive error analysis allows us to postulate which errors are more systematic, why these difficulties occur and, more importantly, what users can do to compensate their academic public discourse. A cognitive approach to language points to what is actually happening in our minds when we are using language, studying how our minds understand, produce, and, ultimately, learn a language. Skehan (1998) has offered an insightful perspective in terms of dual coding where both L1 and L2 are learnt using a processing model that is rule based as well as exemplary. Conceptually, language is a representation of deeper cognitive processes. These "information structures", as Lambrecht (1996) has called them, are intertwined with rules, conventions, and concepts. Learning of sequentially distributed patterns is implicit in first language, but this is less clear in second language usage. According to Brooks and Kempe (2018), more research is required to predict the adult learner's ability to extract patterns from sequential input and their awareness of the extracted patterns.

In consequence, I am discussing not only how the logical representation of L1 interferes with the language performance in L2, but also, which representations impact the message transfer. Although no clear conclusions have ever proven that all L2 errors are due to interference, no one who has ever taught would deny that students sharing a mother tongue also share many of the most common errors that occur when using a new language. What has changed, however, is how these errors are perceived.

Qualitatively, what I challenge is how errors influence the message in public discourse in a real-world context, not their existence. Once users become "proficient enough" what really matters is their ability to transmit a message. In bilingual public discourse, linguistic performance must be assessed with the ability to overcome cross linguistic interference in conjunction with the issue of intelligibility.

Regarding second language performance and intelligibility, previous research has perceived intelligibility as a one-way process in which non-native speakers strive to make themselves understood by native speakers who decided what was intelligible and what was not. In Europe, with non-natives teaching to non-natives in university classrooms, intelligibility is a highly relevant concept for multilingual communication and, in particular, with users in lingua franca contexts. However, it has proven difficult to define and measure (see Nelson 2008; Yazan 2015).

It would seem that intelligibility means different things to different people and given the range of existing research, a clarification of terminology is in order. Earlier research has struggled to define the term and pointed to both formal as well as functional features. The definition of intelligibility ranges from a focus on target pronunciation, to lexical choices, to syntactic structures as well as to the overall communicative effect of the utterances.

Derwing and Munro (2005) and Munro (2008) distinguish "intelligibility" as being understood, "comprehensibility" as the listeners' capacity to understand, and

"accentedness" as the divergence from an expected pattern. Focusing exclusively on pronunciation, production and comprehension are considered separately. However, production, comprehension, and divergences working together are precisely what makes a communicative message *intelligible* in the first place, many times regardless of pronunciation. Clearly, intelligibility is more than phonological features.

Moreover, the key to public academic discourse is how users attribute meaning to the elements around them in a cooperative effort and how these same users overcome their mis-performances. For my construct, intelligibility, comprehensibility, and divergences are uniquely interwoven into the communicative event in academic discourse. Ellis and Larsen Freeman (2006) refer to this as "Dynamic Systems Theory" where communicative behaviours emerge from interaction and co-regulations among users.

In spoken speech acts, the dual role of speaker and listener are intertwined into a functional event. My focus is the impact of imperfect performance on the overall transmission of the message. In this framework, I need to see how intelligibility and comprehensibility work together, I need to examine how "accentedness" or divergence from expected patterns impacts or does not the transmission of the intended message. Thus, this study inserts intelligibility into the larger communicative context. Effective communication "is not solely speaker- or listener-centred but is interactional between speaker and listener" (Smith and Nelson 1985: 333). We must take a closer look at cooperation and listener comprehension if we are to truly discuss intelligibility in this public discourse setting.

In spoken speech-acts, the interactional roles of speaker and listener combine to create an intelligible, communicative event. The term "cooperation" has been used in conversational analysis to describe what users do to encode and decode the message, but the term is not clear. After taking a closer look at cooperation, Davies (2007: 2308) has suggested that "the recurring issues are the distinction between sentence-meaning and speaker-meaning, the notion of systematicity in language, and the idea of rationality being central to human action." She is, in fact, highlighting the interplay between what the speaker intends, with what the speaker actually says, as well as with what the listener ultimately understands. So, by this definition, co-operation is part of a multifaceted, dynamic communication process that supports intelligibility.

These concepts of cooperation and listener accommodation will frame compensatory discourse strategies for the in-service training. In the context of discourse, compensation is anything a speaker does to be understood coupled together with anything the listener does to understand. In this way it reflects both cooperation as well as listener accommodation of the communicative event. A listener may focus on the precise language used, on the cognitive concepts presented, or on the overall socio-linguistic context at any given time during the class.

3.   Method and sample

I have chosen an action research approach because of the relevance to the participating professors. The primary reason for engaging in action research is for participants to improve their professional practice; and an experiential frame will allow me to put my research directly into action in the Computer Science classroom.

The idea of direct experience is crucial to my final assessment. I seek to make explicit the implicit strategies of effective academic public discourse for Computer Science professors teaching through English by involving them directly in the research process. Action research identifies a common problem for a group, designs an action plan to help address the concerns of the group, and collects data to explore possible solutions. Professors who are not foreign language specialists are highly concerned with their linguistic performance when teaching through English (Rubio Alcalá and Hermonsin Mojeda 2010; Fortanet-Gomez 2012; Hynninen 2012). The research focus lies both on language as well as on the users; and, at the practical level, seeks to improve academic public discourse. In this respect, Bokor's (2011: 209) findings confirmed that exposure to the World Englishes paradigm had a positive influence on the participants and enhanced their understanding of themselves and non-native English speakers.

Action research differs from traditional research. While traditional research abstracts one or two factors for attention until the experiment is concluded, action research attempts to understand all the factors relevant to an immediate problem whose nature continually changes as events proceed (Cohen and Manion 1989). Consequently, traditional research tends to focus on the product and not the process itself. This more comprehensive approach will allow us to examine how form and function work together in bilingual discourse.

Following my action plan, this study takes a sequenced approach to analyse the errors in spoken performance. Next, the interim step assesses the impact of these errors on intelligibility in a qualitative post coding analysis to filter for the systematic patterns that created miscommunication. The final, more practical approach explores how professors can compensate with instructional discourse and will require further research and additional measures to reach more significant conclusions within the paradigm of "World Englishes."

The sample is a context model of nine Computer Science classrooms over a period of one academic year at the University of Málaga in southern Spain. Eight professors participated in a professional development project to orientate and assess their bilingual instruction. The data has been collected from university classroom discourse and is comprised of 34 hours of spoken discourse with eight different Spanish professors teaching Computer Science through English. This sample is considered uniform in that the eight participants were highly functional users

and stable in their linguistic competence. Proficiency ranged from C1 to C2 using the Common European Framework for languages (CEF). All speakers were male, Computer Science professors, and highly experienced teachers. In every case, this was their first experience teaching through a second language; and in every case, Spanish was their first language. Aside from programming languages, the professor participants were decidedly not language specialists.

The modality is spoken classroom discourse and the errors have been post coded into linguistic levels, using substitution, omission, and insertion as the main subcategories. For the phonological category, 207 errors were recorded, while the sample for usage was 202 errors across the eight different speakers.

All data has been collected through direct classroom observation. Extensive field notes and an audio recording of all sessions allowed for detailed contrastive analysis for each participant as well as systematic comparison across the eight different speakers. Follow-up interviews with each professor participant as well as student surveys provided the triangulation necessary to validate the findings (Griffith 2019).

However, the purpose of triangulation goes beyond validation to reveal different dimensions of the data collected. The in-service training provided for a more comprehensive framework for validation. The researcher's opinion combined with students' assessment; the professor participants offered their own assessment of public discourse performance; and both interaction data as well as students' results all provided different perspectives to further validate the findings of communicative intelligibility (Griffith 2017). The fact that the sessions were recorded allowed for a review of the utterances to further assess intelligibility.

Multi-directional contrastive analysis of public discourse encompasses both the form and function of language to illustrate the underlying "information structures" (Lambrecht 1996). So, in many ways, the form of language was used to underscore the communicative function of language. In turn, this was made explicit to the participating professors forcing them to re-examine their instructional discourse.

Before moving on to the analysis section, it is important to note that context plays a key role in understanding social discourse in language use (see Introduction, this volume). Public communication, as a contextually-bound phenomenon, depends on the particular characteristics of the discourse practice and discourse type in which the communicative event takes place, as Fairclough (2002) argued. Therefore, my data sample is taken from naturally occurring academic discourse where non-native professors were teaching through English to non-native students. The context includes precision, underlying cognitive information structures, as well as the sociolinguistic aspects of intelligibility and negotiation of meaning.

4. Analysis and findings

The research questions have been presented in a purposeful sequence. Micro linguistic analysis must move into a macro linguistic frame in order to discuss intelligibility. Stage one will focus on the first research question to address the relationship to errors and cross linguistic transfer. Next, the data will be limited to the "mis-performances" in order to focus on their impact on intelligibility in stage two of the analysis. And finally, the professors' compensatory discourse strategies will be highlighted.

4.1 Stage one

My findings corroborate a persistence of structural priming in cross linguistic transfer, making the underlying L1 pattern in the L2 performances evident. In this analysis, I move beyond description to use contrastive analyses to assess the causes for these utterances, to identify some common error types for Spanish "thinkers" using English. In turn, these findings were shared with professor participants so that they could begin to examine, not only their mistakes, but the underlying reasons for these mis-performances.

Preliminary coding of the linguistic data includes a classification of all L2 errors according to linguistic levels, form, and cause. The data set was unwieldy and I devised a simple classification in order to examine the data. Figure 1 shows the total errors collected over 34 hours of academic classroom discourse. 207 related to mispronunciation; 154 are attributed to morpho-syntactic usages; 35 are due to semantics (lexical choice); and 19 were considered discursive errors. These will be expanded upon briefly in order to synthesise my findings.

a. Linguistic levels refer to the categories phonological, morpho-syntactic, semantic, or related to instructional discourse. In the communicative context, it is difficult to separate the sounds of language, from the structure, from the semantics. Sounds are related to words, words to sentences, and sentences to overall meaning. Regarding intelligibility, these subcategories allowed me to target more problematic levels. For example, my findings point to more difficulties at the morpho-syntactic level and markedly fewer at the phonological level.

b. Form (e.g., omission, insertion, substitution.) At the phrase level, many of the errors co-occurred across linguistic levels and these combined form errors oftentimes defied classification altogether. Nevertheless, I did find this simplified structure useful when explaining errors to these professors in that it allowed for a simple contrastive structure to relate form to speaker intention. It became a way to reflect on the two sets of structural rules between the two languages.

Linguistic levels for L2 error types: speaking modality
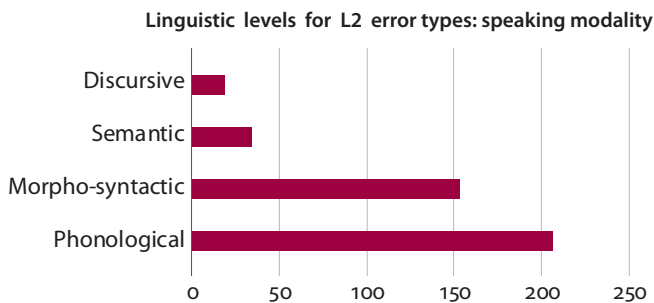
Figure 1. Errors observed in 34 hours' classroom instruction, 8 high proficiency speakers (Griffith 2015)

c. Cause refers to if the error can be traced to the L1 or not. My findings have yielded all 207 pronunciation errors together with 174 usage errors as directly related to transfer and therefore classified as interference. The next two sections will point out some systematic performance errors both at the phonological as well as the usage level which resulted in listener accommodation.

4.1.1 *Phonological mis-performances*

One of the main causes of foreign accents is that once learners have established the L1 sounds, they tend to perceive all new sounds in terms of those categories. Consequently, L1 perceptions leak into L2 production and both encoding and decoding might be affected.

However, accent and mispronunciation are two very distinct features of L2 production. The author notes that this selection is based on the interpretation of the speaking criteria established by the CEF (Common European Framework) and her own experience as a native speaker language assessor. What is acceptable as far as accent is concerned is oftentimes subjective. I have taken the samples of mispronounced terms and excluded those which would be considered acceptable according to the CEF for languages for the C1-C2 levels.

The most common errors occurred with vowel quality in that English vocalic patterns contain more sounds (14) than Spanish (5) or with the consonant sounds that exist in English, but not in Spanish. In Figure 2 we can see a classification of all the mispronounced terms produced in 18 class sessions together with the usage errors.

Given that the total data is approximately thirty-four hours of recording, the numbers are surprisingly low. Phonological data yielded only 8 incomprehensible terms, 106 substitutions, 46 omissions, 29 intonation errors, and 26 insertions. For example, professors would say "lunch" for launch, "impotent" for important, "estore" for store, to name a few.
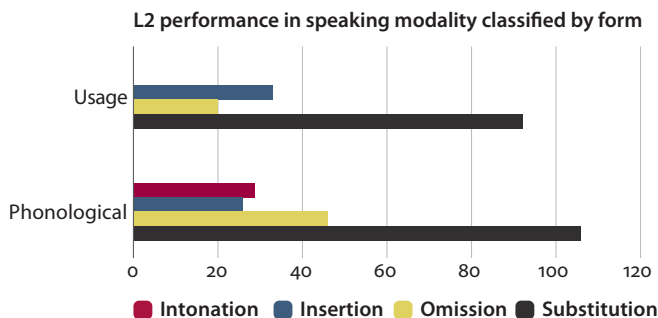
Figure 2. Form classification for errors observed in 34 hours of classroom instruction of 8 different highly proficient speakers (Griffith 2015)

Any comparison between languages will most likely highlight that the second language has strange sounds for the first language ear. Regarding intelligibility, it is important to note that improper intonation or a misuse of the tonic stress patterns seemed to create more confusion than the phonemic discrimination. While at the same time, compensation features, such as listener accommodation, usually overcame simple mis-performances. Communication was never impaired due to accent and the student feedback collected corroborated this giving new weight to the concept of English as a lingua franca *not* being tied to native like performance in public discourse.

The systematic errors were shared with the professors' group to make them aware of their specific mis-performances. By making the specific errors explicit in relation to their underlying L1 patterns, professors could reflect on their performance. L1 interference was revealed to these participants through this contrastive approach. This is true for phonetics and phonology, as we have just seen; and it is equally true for usage.

4.1.2 *Interrogation and listener accommodation*
In reference to usage, the error analysis of thirty-four hours of recorded data show substitution to be the most common form of error with 92 examples, followed by insertion with 33, and finally by omission with 20 (see Figure 2). Overall, Spanish has a more flexible syntactic order as compared to the more syntactically constrained English.

When examining these usages in the academic discursive context, the formal contrastive aspects are easy to pick out. Some utterances might be considered grammatical, but not necessarily appropriate given the context. Simple mis-performances resulted in listener accommodation.

In context, simple mis-performances showed little or no impact on intelligibility, while they did show a close relationship to cross linguistic transfer. For instance, Example (1a) shows the actual utterance compared to Spanish version. Example (1a) is clearly an error in word order; in fact, the structure seen here corresponds to the L1 pattern. This error in the syntax of the indirect question was one of the most frequent across all participants.

(1) a. *_This is why   appears this message._[3]
             Esto es porqué aparece este mensaje
             'This is why this message appears'.
     b. *_Do you   remind parallelism the   last   day?_
             ¿Os acordáis (del)   paralelismo (d)el último día?
             'Do you remember parallelism from the last class?'

When approaching this analysis thinking in Spanish, one can clearly see the underlying pattern from the L1. But if you take both languages together, you will realise that the syntactic inversion created in English as uniquely tied to interrogation, while in Spanish it is not significant at all. A multicompetent user can hold two patterns and tie these patterns to the interrogative function. An English "thinker" using Spanish has more syntactic options, while the Spanish "thinker" using English must learn the constraints. Example (1b) shows a combined mis-performance, where there is both a lexical substitution of _remind_ for "remember" as well as a lexical choice of _day_ instead of "class". Functionally, the cohesive intention is clear: the professor is pointing back to previous knowledge in order to build upon it. Even though the utterances illustrate both a lexical challenge as well as a structural challenge, the pragmatic speaker intention was never lost. The multi-competent user of both English and Spanish can hold these two patterns in their minds, often creating grammatical, but inappropriate phrases. If you construct this sentence from a Spanish point of view, you will seek out the elements that have been structurally primed in your L1 brain and, in turn, recreate these patterns in L2.

Despite mis-performances, students were accommodating and actively decoding the messages in context. The native speaker observer found some syntactic structures confusing as she struggled with the complex content and its "less than perfect" usage. Undoubtedly, the complexity of the context pushed form issues into the background. More research is warranted to fully explore the integration of content and language in higher education to reveal how language and content work together during the decoding of academic public discourse.

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3. All utterances marked with * refer to the data collected and classified as errors.

In simple constructs, there is little to discuss, but with the complex sentences, the patterns become more difficult to anticipate for the L2 user, both the speaker as well as the listeners. Even though no clear conclusions have ever proven that all L2 errors are due to interference, the errors observed show clear underlying conceptual constructs using L1 patterns. I can conclude that structural priming in L1 led to this usage, but did these errors always create miscommunication?

4.2 Stage two

The next research question targets specific mis-performances and inserts them into the public discourse model of intelligibility. Transitivity, agency, verb patterns, reflexive usages, and reduced clauses are some features that do not always transfer in complex utterances. Moving beyond the form focus to the underlying message and information structures will be key to determining intelligibility in classroom discourse in bilingual settings.

The analysis will begin with the utterances considered mis-performances and will assess their impact on intelligibility, first with pronunciation and next with usage. With more and more non-native speakers using English across the world, Jenkins (2007) has called attention to the "non importance" of pronunciation. This is corroborated by my findings which identify mis-performances and filter the few that truly impact interpretation of the message.

4.2.1 *Phonological intelligibility and negative structures*

At the phonological level, the findings show that phonemic discrimination played a lesser role in miscommunication than tonic stress or intonation. With regard to phonological intelligibility, the most significant occurrence observed that improper intonation led to misinterpretations of the negation. The frequent omission of the final /t/ combined with a lack of tonic stress on the negative auxiliary often left the listener wondering if the sentence was an affirmation or a negation. Spanish does not have many consonant clusters and most words end in vowels making the final sound in /nt/ unnatural. At the same time, prosodic linking patterns are sometimes avoided by L2 users in their goal to pronounce every element, so the affirmative intonation and the negative intonation tended to overlap. Speakers were found to have a systematic phonological mis-performance in the tonic stress patterns of the negation and the affirmation.

(2) a. *You can do that*   /ˈjuːkən ˈduː ˈðæt/
         You can't do that /ˈjuː ˈkaːnt ˈduː ˈðæt/

Sometimes there was an avoidance of linking patterns and other times there was a lack of tonic stress on the negative auxiliary. Examples (2a) and (2b) show a phonetic representation of target usage but the actual utterances were systematically somewhere "in between" the target patterns.

Other mis-performances of the negative function include the omission of the negative auxiliary (3a) or other misuses of negative or emphatic structures as seen in Examples (3b) and (3c). All resulted in lower intelligibility suggesting that the negative function needs more attention during classroom discourse.

(3) a. *She not see*
     b. *They are not very used*
     c. *It does make no sense*

4.2.2 *Combined errors and interrogative function*

Overall, combined errors played an important role in intelligibility at the functional level. Interrogative syntax was frequently violated with both questions and indirect questions. The utterances that combined a lack of intonation together with a mis-ordering of interrogative syntax had lower intelligibility, while utterances with improper syntax, but proper intonation resulted in listener accommodation. Example (4a) shows how intonation seems to play a bigger role than syntax with regard to intelligibility.

(4) a. *'How   we could   put   a Boolean here?'*

         ¿Cómo   podemos   poner   un Booleano aquí?

         'How could we put a Boolean here?'

     b. *'In which course are enrolled these students?'*

         ¿En qué curso están matriculados estos alumnos?

         'In which course are these students enrolled?'

When the intonation was rising, listeners accommodated for the mis-performance. However, in Example (4b) the speaker failed to create the target inverted interrogative structure coupled with his lack of rising intonation. Listeners failed to recognise the utterance as a question and could not discern the speaker's intention. In (4b) we see not only the lack of interrogative inversion, but also one of the most pervasive of errors across the eight speakers combined with intonation. The target English structure is in direct violation of standard Spanish, which would never separate the verbal unit as English does in interrogative inversion [auxiliary + subject + main verb]. This contemplation leads us to the conclusion that in order to speak

a second language, the rules we have always taken for granted somehow must be re-established (i.e., accommodation). Two languages in one brain must hold two sets of structural rules (i.e., multicompetence).

4.2.3   Complex constructs: Verbal patterns and adjunctive syntax

To reiterate, it is the phrases that combine errors that negatively impact intelligibility. One systematic mis-performance involved verb patterns and adjunctive placement. For instance, Example (5a) shows misplaced adjunct combined with indirect question. When this less constrained syntax violates natural patterns of transitivity, utterances like the Examples (5a), (5c), and (5d) occur.

(5) a. *I want you to at least find which are the remaining constraints.*
         'I want you to find at least which the remaining constraints are'.

     b. [Quiero **que** al menos encontréis cuáles son las limitaciones restantes]
         '((I) want) *that* at least ((you) find) which are the constraints remaining'

     c. *I want **that** you bring **to the class** the printed worksheet.*
         'I want you to bring the printed worksheet **to (the) class**.

     d. *Pick **for each of the cities** the two edges used*.
         'Pick the two edges used **for each of the cities**'.

     e. *Well, I have prepared **for this class** several problems*.
         'Well, I have prepared several problems **for this class**'.

The back translation shown in (5b) illustrates how the cross-linguistic patterns vary greatly. The control verb[4] *want* would generate a full subordinate clause in target Spanish, while the adjunct *at least* has a more flexible syntactic position. In (5c) the user inserts the clausal marker *that* to create a grammatically acceptable utterance and thus avoids the more common usage of the reduced clause [to want someone to do something]. This pattern reflects the L1 construct seen in (5b).

How verbs work in each language is a question of how these information structures are stored in our memory in L1. For instance, in (5c), the verb *bring* is highly transitive in English; so *what* you bring is more important than *where*, *when*, *how*, or to *what degree* you bring it. This could be a question of emphasis or perhaps could be tied to the role of transitivity but, in general, target Spanish structure places the adverbial adjunct in a different position than target English structure. Each language has a pattern that a native listener is anticipating. However, a multicompetent listener can accommodate both patterns and understand that a change in

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4.   In linguistics, "control" is a construction in which the understood subject of a given predicate is determined by some expression in context. In English, these verbs create reduced clauses. A superordinate verb "controls" the arguments of a subordinate, nonfinite verb: i.e., want, judge, believe, etc.

syntax could mark the sentence emphatically in one language and remain neutral in the other.

Talmy (2003) has referred to space, time, and causation (among others) as a basic conceptual structuring. When out of place, the adverbial reference loses or employs the emphatic intention. On occasions, this usage violates transitivity or creates confusion in the listener, particularly the native speaker listener who is anticipating target structures. Target Spanish places the adjunctive phrases in medial position, while target English tends to place adjuncts at absolute beginning or end. In Examples (5c), (5d), and (5e) the syntactic positioning of the highlighted phrase corresponds to the Spanish pattern.

4.2.4   Complex constructs: Causation

The final systematic mis-performance involves both interrogative function as well as causation. Each example is from a different speaker. Example (6a) shows the most common misuse of the "causal to" pattern tending to follow the L1 pattern together with a tense choice that is inappropriate and the awkward lexical choice of *which* for "how."

(6)   a.   **Which way are we asking for doing this?*
            'How   should we ask   ----- to do this?'
      b.   [¿Cómo   debemos pedir para hacer esto?]
      c.   **If you are asked **for** solving this…*
                        'to solve'
      d.   **A path **for** going to this node…*
               'to go'

In Example (6a), the user hyper-regularises an English rule whereby the prepositional phrase *for doing* [prep + V +ing] is grammatically correct. However, the functional usage of causation in standard English would not create a prepositional structure, while in Spanish it does. Every professor but one yielded examples of this causal error. All pervasive errors were made explicit to the professors' group and the underlying function revealed.

The real challenge in the case of this in-service training was that the professors were not linguists and their goal was not to teach English, but to teach Computer Science. I needed a way to make these structural discrepancies explicit. L2 users process information in both languages differently from that of monolingual native speakers. The resulting linguistic competence of a bilingual L2 learner is therefore qualitatively different from the one possessed by monolingual minds.

The real limitation of error analysis is that it makes no effort to identify what users do right. A more formal approach to linguistic structures can lead to a distorted

view of language performance, while a public discourse approach looks to function. Functional performance deals with discursive features such as speaker intention, communicative intelligibility, and listener accommodation. To close this section on intelligibility, I must filter the systematic errors. This post coding has yielded four categories highlighting the mis-performances that had a negative impact on intelligibility as shown in Figure 3.

Impact of errors on intelligibility: classification
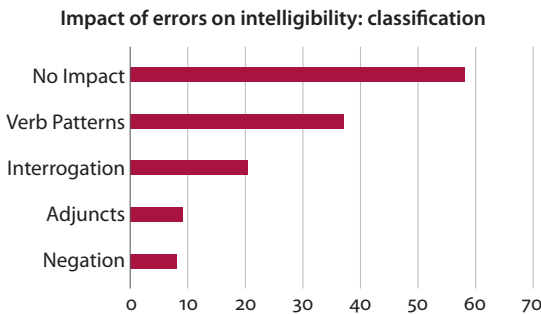
Figure 3. Post coding for L2 performance errors affecting intelligibility

After controlling for intelligibility, the findings show that the systematic usages that had a negative impact include:

1. Improper interrogative syntax combined with lack of intonation, i.e., rhetoric and indirect questions.
2. Mis-performances tied to negation, i.e., omission of auxiliary verbs, lack of intonation, among others.
3. Misplaced adjuncts or adverbial markers (usually tied to temporal cohesion).
4. Complex verbal patterns i.e., causation, avoidance of reduced clauses, prepositional collocation, etc.

All other errors, though systematic, proved to have only a limited impact on intelligibility. In highly proficient users, lexical errors seemed to be the easiest for listeners to accommodate for, while the phonological and structural patterns showed higher fossilisation. For example, at the lexical level, instructional words, such as *remind*, *suggest*, *advise*, *warn*, *remember*, etc., were systematically misused while, at the same time, they were systematically understood. The sample is small and more research is warranted to reveal specific problematic patterns for Spanish thinkers using English as a L2. The most significant finding lies not in the description, but rather with the compensation strategies observed and the practical implications for bilingual public discourse.

5.   Discussion

Classroom academic discourse can be politically charged or not, but as a key trans-mitter of culture, it does indeed play a role in this volume. The article takes both a descriptive as well as a cognitive perspective in describing what is occurring as non-natives interpret the message transfer. English as a lingua franca distinguishes itself from English as a foreign language within a Global Englishes paradigm in which "non-native speakers […] and all English varieties, native or non-native, are accepted in their own right rather than evaluated against a NSE [Native Speaker English] benchmark" (Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey 2011: 283–284). They are assessed by their ability to transfer knowledge, or as I have emphasised, a co-created intelli-gibility. What is salient is when less than perfect utterances are inserted into their public discursive context, intelligibility was rarely lost. Both speakers as well as listeners accommodated for many of the mis-performances. Cooperation and lis-tener accommodation both are activated in classroom discourse. The most practical implication was seen with the purposeful compensation that ensued.

Once mis-performances were made evident, and miscommunication revealed, professors began to use specific compensation strategies in subsequent classroom observations. "These small acts of elaboration thus convey clear disciplinary meanings where what counts as convincing (…) and appropriate (…) is carefully managed for a particular audience" (Hyland 2007: 284). I found that in bilingual public discourse the "careful management" is tied to compensation strategies and cooperation and what is convincing is the intelligibility of the intended message.

In the bilingual classroom, multicompetent users must make the distinction between sentence meaning and speaker intention; they must consider notions of conceptual patterns underlying language; and their performance must be tied to rational, cooperative underpinnings for both speakers as well as listeners.

Comprehension then becomes intriguing because the non-linguistic as well as the linguistic features come into play. I may find an argument intelligible, but not comprehensible, because of the way it was structured, or even grammatical, but not natural or even inappropriate. In the classroom, I may find a miscommu-nication clarified by an image or a student's question or by many other aspects of instructional discourse. Any utterance most assuredly must be inserted into a whole context to truly measure intelligibility.

How to transmit a complex message requires a multimodality that goes beyond the language emitted, to the scaffolding of the idea, to visual support, and, ultimately, to the decoding of the message by the receiver. These skills come to the forefront in all instruction, but are absolutely crucial in bilingual public discourse. I refer to these as compensation strategies; and through the in-service training, I was able to illustrate them to the professors.

In the introduction, I proposed to explore how professors could compensate for performance errors with instructional classroom discourse. Once the communicative intelligibility had been assessed and made explicit, professors began to use different strategies. Table 1 shows a few examples that can be classified as linguistic, interactional, visual, or structural.

Table 1. Sample compensation strategies

Example	Compensatory phrase	Compensatory image	Compensatory interaction to clarify
Professor asks, *"So how we do this?" (phonologically ambiguous)	….I'm asking		Reinforces the interrogative function
Student asks, "What's a Chomsky?"**		Professor inserts image in presentation	Reinforces the lexical challenge for Students
Professor says, "you can't do that" (phonologically ambiguous)	….I mean you can NOT. X	Professor inserts iconic image	Reinforces the negative function both with extra phrase and visual support
Professor creates classroom log, summary questions, text become simplified, etc.		Increased use of visual and schematic materials	Improved structural and conceptual support
**As the professor was discussing Chomsky (2006), the student assumed it was just "another word he did not know" in English.			

These were used systematically in the sessions observed. In consequence, the practical implications highlight the professors' compensatory behaviour and illustrate a highly relevant result of metalinguistic reflection.

Preliminary findings point that the communicative context of the classroom itself makes form focus an imperfect measure of the communicative value of the classroom. Aspects such as clarification strategies, summarisation and negotiation of meaning proved to impact intelligibility much more than the errors detracted from it. In fact, the instructor with the most formal errors also had the highest rates of student interaction, tended to modulate his voice more, used more clarification strategies, employed summarisation systematically, among many other features of simply good public discourse strategies. In fact, as Johnstone (2018: 8) argues, context and discourse are mutually shaped: discourse is shaped by its context and

discourse shapes context. In fact, the justification for the inclusion of this example of academic discourse in this volume points to the larger frame of the communicative where messages are encoded and decoded and ultimately transferred in all aspects of public communication. As Seidlhofer (2004: 211) puts it, "a lingua franca has no native speakers."

I have taken an experiential approach to communicative strategies which allows us to tackle this issue from both a formal as well as a functional point of view. Muñoz Luna and Taillefer (2014: 470) call this "aiming to discover reasons for learners' lack of proficiency beyond evident linguistic inaccuracies." I suggest that formal aspects must be matched with functional features to better understand the complex processes involved when people verbalise their thoughts.

6.   Concluding remarks

The way we interpret or react to someone speaking with an accent with a less than perfect performance has been changed forever by the speaker and listener's co-creation of the message and a growing acceptance of less perfect performance in the Lingua Franca paradigm. By focusing the discussion with intelligibility, our aim has been to address both speaker and listener's awareness of this public discourse in bilingual settings.

Undoubtedly, a bilingual processes and represents L2 using the existing patterns from L1. The peculiarly of message transfer and message reception in bilingual contexts is of particular interest in the European higher educational context but could lend itself to any information transfer made between individuals using a second language. Clearly, there are a great deal of language users in the world that would fall into this category of academic public discourse. Indeed, as Wright (2008: 21) argues, "there is no such thing as 'the' public sphere. Rather, there are public spheres. Any definition must take account of this distinction, and this (…) necessitates a multi-definitional, transdisciplinary approach" (cited in the introduction to this volume). The context of the bilingual university classroom described in this research is undoubtedly one of those public spheres.

What is unique about this study is that these instructors were examining their own usage in the context of academic discourse in computer science. As Rymes (2008: 5) argues, "when teachers analyze discourse in their own classrooms, academic achievement improves." When the professor is at the same time expert of a field and non-expert in English a measurable co-creating of meaning occurs between speakers and audience.

Language can be measured as precision, associated with cognitive functions or inserted into a sociolinguistic frame. The sociolinguistic significance does remain

in that now academic discourse includes non-native users in academic settings. CODA raises new questions about the importance (or not) of mis-performances, while highlighting the significance of intelligibility and co-creating of meaning. Therefore, successful interaction may depend on the extent to which users and learners are prepared to listen to and understand varieties of L2 speech and to maintain a positive and receptive attitude towards doing so (Munro 2008: 211). Indeed, the true shift is the declining dominance of the role of native speaker or native like performance targets. It is through multicompetence that users must reflect on the formal aspects of language in use with regard to effective communication in bilingual public discourse. While we continue to explore precision, English as a lingua franca in academic settings is changing the way we perceive mis-performances. In this sense, CODA allows us a rationalisation of errors and a deeper understanding of bilingual discourse in use.

In sum, this research underscores the importance of language issues in higher education at a time of internationalisation and applies linguistic research to teacher education programs. Multicompetence is not only desirable, it is realistic. At the cognitive level, by taking a closer look at how people verbalise their thoughts, we can continue to gain insights about the concepts and complex processes involved when users hold two different language patterns in their minds.

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