

Professional Genres from an Interpersonal Perspective

Professional Genres from an Interpersonal Perspective

Edited by

Renáta Tomášková,
Christopher Hopkinson
and Gabriela Zapletalová

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Professional Genres from an Interpersonal Perspective

Edited by Renáta Tomášková, Christopher Hopkinson
and Gabriela Zapletalová

Reviewers:

Prof. Jarmila Tárnayiková, CSc.
Doc. PhDr. Renata Povolná, Ph.D.
Mgr. Jan Chovanec, Ph.D.

This book first published 2016

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2016 by Renáta Tomášková, Christopher Hopkinson,
Gabriela Zapletalová and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-8697-1

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-8697-0

Acknowledgement:

The research presented in the monograph – with the exception of Chapter I – is supported by the research project CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0222, 'Posílení rozvoje Centra výzkumu odborného jazyka angličtiny a němčiny na FF OU' [Centre for the Research of Professional Language], funded by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Renáta Tomášková	

I. Genres in Mass Media

Chapter One.....	8
Voices in Hard News: Generic and Dialogic Perspectives	
Zuzana Nádraská	

Chapter Two	49
Self-Reference in Political Speeches from Above	
Lenka Kopečková	

II. Genres in Academic Settings

Chapter Three	76
“I have to admit that my position will be more difficult...”: A Genre Analysis of Introducing the Conference Paper Move	
Gabriela Zapletalová	

Chapter Four	112
The Integrative Approach to Metadiscourse Revisited: Hedging in Academic Writing	
Tereza Guziurová	

Chapter Five	140
Interaction and Intersubjective Positioning in Book Reviews	
Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova	

III. Genres in Institutional and Promotional Discourse

Chapter Six	158
The Customer Isn't Always Right... Aggressive and Defensive Responses to Negative Customer Reviews on <i>Tripadvisor</i>	
Christopher Hopkinson	

Chapter Seven.....	198
The Polyphony of a Super-Genre: Blog as a Heteroglossic Element in University Websites	
Renáta Tomášková	
Chapter Eight.....	226
Discursive Legitimation of Major World Oil Companies on their Official Websites	
Dita Trčková	
Chapter Nine.....	249
A Study of the Im/Personal Reality in the Advertising Leaflets on Non-Prescriptive Pharmaceutical Products	
Ivana Řezníčková	

INTRODUCTION

RENÁTA TOMÁŠKOVÁ

As the title implies, the present monograph is focused on and shaped by two areas of linguistic research: genre analysis and the interpersonal component of language and discourse. The general, unifying objective of the monograph is to explore the interplay and interaction of genre and the interpersonal component – in other words, to reveal potential connections or interdependencies between genre conventions and the realization of interpersonal meanings, viewed from the perspective of the systemic functional approach to language and discourse analysis. Language is thus viewed as social semiotic – a socially and culturally grounded tool of communication (Halliday 1978) incorporating the interpersonal meaning-component as one of its simultaneously co-operating metafunctions. Genre is understood, in accordance with Martin's approach, as representing “staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives” (1997: 13).

The interpersonal metafunction – the capability of language to reflect and build social relationships – is closely related to the concept of intersubjective positioning, viewed by Widdowson as an interaction between the participants' conceptual spaces, in which each participant seeks to have an effect on the other (Widdowson 2012: 11-12). Widdowson in fact uses the terms ‘intersubjective positioning’ and ‘interpersonal positioning’ interchangeably with reference to this concept (Widdowson 2012). The interpersonal component and intersubjective positioning are also viewed as inseparable concepts by systemic functional linguists, who relate intersubjective positioning to speakers'/writers' intersubjective stance/stancing. In such accounts, “the interpersonal in language” (Martin and White 2005: 1) and intersubjective positioning merge together, and are interpreted as “the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate. It is concerned with how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise” (Martin and White 2005: 1).

Intersubjective positioning in discourse appears to operate on two levels. “One is conventional and social and sets the recognized purpose and direction of discourse” (Widdowson 2012: 20), while “the other is the individual level, which is a matter of participants negotiating their positions on line, [...] exercising whatever room for manoeuvre they can find” (ibid). It is social conventions that represent the scene of the interaction between intersubjective positioning and genre. Conventions, combined with a communicative purpose recognized by a community, are constitutive of a genre, ensuring its stability and functionality in communication. At the same time, however, genres are not states but processes (cf. Martin 1997 above), which flexibly reflect the changing requirements of current contexts, including the personalities of the participants, and allow the generic prototype to be shaped accordingly. Thus an analysis of the “individual level” is equally relevant for the exploration of genres, revealing the individualizing elements as a source of the dynamics of generic development.

In the present volume the focus is on analyzing a variety of aspects of the interpersonal in selected genres of professional discourse. The concept of professional discourse as applied here includes not only communication among professionals but also genres produced by professionals to address non-specialists (cf. Gunnarsson 2009); the goal realized in these genres is obviously related to the professional activity of their producers.

The monograph consists of nine chapters grouped into three sections, guiding readers through four major discourse domains: media discourse, academic discourse, institutional discourse and promotional discourse. Institutional and promotional discourses are combined in a single section, reflecting the hybridism of the majority of the genres under investigation here: genres of institutional discourse typically exhibit features akin to advertising, not only presenting the institutions in terms of the scope of their activities and services, but also serving a clear promotional purpose.

In the first chapter Zuzana Nádraská investigates the generic structure of hard news. Acknowledging the model of the satellite organization of news reports developed by Iedema, she draws attention to phenomena which work counter to the orbital structure and thus enrich the coherence mechanism of paragraphing. Analyzing mutually related concessive, concurring or concessive-concurring sequences of paragraphs, she demonstrates that their use appears to be primarily motivated by interpersonal objectives: the juxtaposition of alternative (or at least multiple) points of view elaborates the internal dialogicity of the text and enhances the acceptability as well as the perceived objectivity of the report.

Lenka Kopečková explores the genre of the political speech from a cross-cultural perspective, contrasting features of intersubjective positioning in the public presentations of British and Czech prime ministers. The comparison indicates certain distinctions result from significant differences between the British and Czech political systems and the positions assigned within them to the prime ministers. Differences can also be traced to certain dissimilarities in the conventions underlying the genre: while the British sub-corpus indicates that UK prime ministers' speeches can afford a lower level of formality yet follow a rather rigid structure, the Czech political speeches manifest a higher level of formality, though featuring more noticeable individualizing elements.

The second section, *Genres in academic settings*, provides insights into three genres which occupy a stable position within academia: conference papers, undergraduate textbooks and book reviews. In the third chapter Gabriela Zapletalová offers a survey of the move structure in the genre of a conference paper, focusing her attention on those stages which are distinctively dominant in conference talks and differentiating them from other closely related genres, particularly from research articles – which follow on from conference presentations in a typical academic genre chain. Her analysis demonstrates that the dominant strategies pursue interpersonal aims, reflecting the interactional character of the genre; the interpersonal thus has a substantial effect on the way in which the genre is composed. The generic structure also proves to be sensitive to the speaker's individual characteristics, particularly their age and academic experience, exhibiting differences in the preferences for certain moves between graduate students and senior researchers.

Tereza Guziurová, examining a selection of undergraduate textbooks in comparison with research articles from corresponding fields, discusses the forms and functions of metadiscourse, originally related to the realization of Jakobson's metalinguistic function but recently often viewed as carrying mainly interpersonal meanings. The study not only explores the metadiscourse devices used in the corpus, providing both quantitative and – even more importantly – qualitative data demonstrating the genre-specific nature of both the functions and the types of these expressions; it also analyzes the concept of metadiscourse itself, considering a variety of contemporary approaches as well as the author's own findings.

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova explores the strategies which writers use to comply with the expectations imposed upon book reviews – a genre which is not only expected to be objective, but which at the same time enables reviewers to position themselves as experts in the field and as fellow members of the same discourse community as the authors of the

books under review. The analysis is innovative in revealing differences in the expression of praise and criticism dependent on the authorship of the publications being reviewed: reviewers tend to minimize criticism of single-authored monographs, though they are less cautious when evaluating multi-authored collections and handbooks.

In the sixth chapter, Christopher Hopkinson introduces a relatively new genre of institutional discourse – the genre of responses to customers' reviews published on the *TripAdvisor* website. The website offers hoteliers a unique opportunity to respond to the evaluative reviews of their customers in a public space visited by other potential clients. While the majority of institutional responses follow generally accepted conventions, seeking agreement and showing respect to customers, the study presented here focuses on the relatively rare cases of antagonistic and aggressive behaviour towards complainants. The analysis provides a model example of intersubjective positioning arising from a tension between the conventional and the individual (see Widdowson 2012 above), convincingly demonstrating how the unconventional may yield benefits to the respondents, helping them win favour with potential new customers.

The following chapter, by Renáta Tomášková, explores the ways in which universities attempt to constructively undermine traditionally impersonal and matter-of-fact institutional discourse by embedding a fundamentally personal genre of the blog into their websites. The study focuses on student blogs, which represent alternative accounts of university presentations, running parallel to mainstream texts prepared by the university itself. Student blogs enrich the genre of an institutional website with a polyphony of voices, personalize and specify the general and generic descriptions of the university offer and student life, and conversationalize the language – also opening up the possibility of interaction. As the analysis has shown, student blogs are chiefly employed as tools of intersubjective positioning.

Dita Trčková's study explores a specific area of intersubjective positioning defined as discursive legitimation. Although institutions in general are increasingly expected to legitimate themselves (i.e. their activities, their impact, or their very existence), for certain organizations and companies the need for legitimation is even more pressing. This chapter provides a thorough analysis of an array of discursive legitimation strategies implemented by major oil companies in order to build an image of their social necessity and environmental sustainability. The interpersonal strategies strive to position the institutions as rational and moral and persuade the addressees to accept them as such.

In the ninth chapter, Ivana Řezníčková seeks to reveal relevant aspects of the establishment of relationships between producers and receivers of leaflets promoting non-prescription pharmaceutical products. The multifaceted analysis covers both verbal and non-verbal modes and adds a cross-cultural comparison of British and Czech corpora. The research results indicate that the realization of the genre reflects distinctions in the social conventions related to these products and their sale in the two environments: whereas British leaflets largely exhibit features typical of advertisements, offering goods to customers and backgrounding the elements of professional discourse, the Czech materials manifest features of professional medical texts, positioning the addressees as patients rather than clients.

The studies of the interpersonal in a variety of genres produced by professionals (either for their peers or to address lay audiences) document how omnipresent, varied and plentiful the strategies of intersubjective positioning are, and how significant – or indeed central – their position in genres and discourses invariably is. The social and cultural grounding of genres requires them to be conventional, yet it also ensures their flexibility, continuous development and change – and these are qualities which make genres a permanent challenge and inspiration for research and discussion. This volume hopefully contributes a meaningful piece to this never-ending mosaic.

Bibliography

- Gunnarsson, Britt-Louise (2009) *Professional Discourse*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic. The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Martin, James R. (1997) Analysing genre: functional parameters. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (eds.) *Genre and Institutions. Social Processes in the Workplace and School* (3–39). London and New York: Continuum.
- Martin James R. and White Peter R. R. (2005) *Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Widdowson, Henry G. (2012) Interpersonal Positioning and Genre Conventions. In C. Hopkinson, R. Tomášková & G. Zapletalová (eds.) *The Interpersonal Language Function Across Genres and Discourse Domains* (9–25). Ostrava: University of Ostrava.

I.

GENRES IN MASS MEDIA

CHAPTER ONE

VOICES IN HARD NEWS: GENERIC AND DIALOGIC PERSPECTIVES

ZUZANA NÁDRASKÁ

Abstract

This chapter raises the issue of the generic 'orbital' structure of hard news, characterized by the ad hoc, non-linear and non-chronological presentation of information (Iedema, Feez & White; White 1998). Alongside the generic point of view, the study also adopts a complementary, dialogic approach (Bakhtin 1981; Martin & White 2005) and considers the orbital structure in terms of so-called concurring and concessive sequences. Concurring and concessive sequences are heteroglossic concepts based on the presence of voices expressing agreement and disagreement respectively. In addition, concessive/concurring sequences are established only when dis/agreement is expressed by voices in adjacent position, a situation which accentuates contrast or similarity in point of view and highlights dialogic interaction. The presence of concessive/concurring sequences does not obliterate the orbital structure, but when the dialogic and generic perspectives are combined and mapped onto each other, the dialogic interaction between adjacent voices in sequences may to some extent be interpreted as linearizing news content and structure. The study attempts to synthesize the generic perspective with the perspective of dialogue and heteroglossia, and it examines a number of relevant aspects of this synthesis. First, it explores the elements of the orbital structure and their participation in the creation of sequences. Second, it discusses whether the interaction between different voices may cause a departure from the orbital structure, shifting the primary communicative aim of hard news and, as a result, influencing the prototypicality of news items and their generic affiliation. Third, since voices participating in the creation of concessive and concurring sequences are primarily external to the voice of the reporter and much of

the presented material belongs to the realm of reported language and thought, the chapter touches upon the ways in which forms of presentation contribute to the formation of sequences.

1. Introduction

The genre of news reports has received a considerable amount of attention by researchers. The structure of news reports has been approached from a number of perspectives. For instance, van Dijk (1988) and Ungerer (2000) adopt a cognitive point of view and examine the conceptual structure of news reports; Barnhurst (2002), and Barnhurst and Mutz (1997) perform content analysis; Bell (1991) compares hard news to a narrative; Iedema, Feez and White (1994), van Leeuwen (1987), White (1998), and White and Thompson (2008) apply a generic perspective; White (2003) searches for similarities in the generic structure between hard news and a type of casual conversation, namely gossip; White (1998: 353-356) and Smirnova (2009) examine hard news for the presence of argumentative patterns. In this chapter I focus on the structure of hard news and examine it from two complementary perspectives – generic and dialogic (Bakhtin 1981; Iedema et al. 1994; Martin & White 2005; Thompson & White 2008; White 1998, 2000). Moreover, I pursue two further objectives: to consider the role of forms of presentation (Semino & Short 2004) and to explain their occurrence especially within the framework of the dialogic perspective; and to discuss hard news in terms of the degree of likeness to the type (e.g. Martin & Rose 2008).

In the approach to genre I follow the Sydney School, which draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics and defines genre as a staged, goal-oriented social process (Iedema et al. 1994; Martin, Christie & Rothery 1987). Hard news is characterized as a genre whose aim is to identify the aspects of the extra-linguistic reality which represent a disruption to the status quo, a threat to the established norms and values, and which are perceived as physically, morally or socially destabilizing or consolidating (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1997). Hard news is defined by its generic structure, referred to as orbital, and the lack of a certain type of authorial evaluation, referred to as reporter voice (Iedema et al. 1994; Martin & White 2005; White 1998; White & Thompson 2008).

The dialogic point of view is primarily based on the Bakhtinian notion of dialogue. Dialogue is viewed as “the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements [...] in the consciousness of the listener, [...] pregnant with responses and objections” (Bakhtin 1981:

281). I draw on the notion of dialogue to examine the interaction of voices in the body of the text and their influence on the degree of heteroglossia. More specifically, I examine voices in so-called concessive and concurring sequences, defined as portions of text which contain voices expressing disagreement and agreement over a particular issue respectively.

Example (1a) is a part of a hard news text containing voices found both in agreement and disagreement, resulting in a combined concessive-concurring sequence. The disruption to the status quo raised in the Lead paragraph¹ is a dispute over anti-social behaviour orders (asbos), defended by Labour politicians but disapproved of and consequently earmarked for abolition by the Home Secretary. The points of view of the opposing parties are elaborated in the body of the text: the section labelled as Elaboration A elaborates on the decision by the current Home Secretary, while the section labelled as Elaboration B returns to the defence by two former Labour Secretaries.

(1a) **Lead**

Senior Labour figures mounted a last-ditch defence of antisocial behaviour orders last night after the home secretary, Theresa May, indicated she is to kill off Tony Blair's flagship measure to deal with youth crime.

CONCESSIVE-CONCURRING SEQUENCE

Elaboration A (the current Home Secretary)

May said it was "time to move beyond the asbo", arguing that they were never the promised silver bullet and had too often put young people on a conveyor belt to prison. XXX

Elaboration B (former Labour Home Secretaries)

Two former Labour home secretaries, Alan Johnson and David Blunkett, attacked May's decision. Johnson, in a piece for the Guardian's Comment is Free, argued that asbos had made a huge difference in cutting crime and disorder: "If the home secretary is to restrict the opportunities for the police to use asbos and other measures currently available then this will be yet another example of this government going soft on crime." ~ ~ ~ Blunkett last night went even further and claimed May's speech posed "a major threat to the lives of those at the very sharp end of criminality and dysfunctional communities". (Travis 2010)

Elaboration A expresses a negative attitude towards asbos (...*"time to move beyond the asbo"..... had too often put young people on a conveyor*

¹ Despite the differences between them, both the Headline and the Lead play the role of selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of the reported event (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998, 2008). If possible, only one of these parts will be reproduced. Also, for the sake of economy and clarity, portions of text which are not necessary for the discussion will be omitted.

belt to prison.) and is thus in contrast with Elaboration B, which expresses a positive attitude towards asbos (...*asbos had made a huge difference in cutting crime and disorder...*) and at the same time a negative attitude towards the plan to abolish them (*Two former Labour home secretaries...attacked May's decision, ...this will be yet another example of this government going soft on crime, ... May's speech posed "a major threat to the lives of those at the very sharp end of criminality and dysfunctional communities"*). The contrast (indicated by three crosses) forms the basis for the establishment of a concessive sequence between Elaboration A and Elaboration B. Moreover, the shared attitude towards asbos and Theresa May within Elaboration B is a source of agreement (signalled by three tildes) between the two former Home Secretaries and is the basis for the establishment of the concurring sequence. The presence of both agreement and disagreement results in a combined concessive-concurring sequence. The generic perspective (the division into the Lead, and Elaboration A and B) and the dialogic perspective (the establishment of the concessive-concurring sequence) are complementary, and their combination can be mutually revealing since it shows which parts of the generic structure rely on (external) voices and how these voices interact with each other dialogically. In example (1a), the opposition between external voices commences in the Lead and continues in the body of the text.

Given the impersonal tone of hard news, the internal voice of the journalist is, at least on the surface, comparatively backgrounded and subdued, especially in the explicitly evaluative and argumentative portions of text; on the other hand, hard news often foregrounds external voices brought into the text mainly by means of forms of presentation (see e.g. Fairclough 1992; Redeker 1996; Sanders 2010; Sanders & Redeker 1993; Semino & Short 2004; Thompson & White 2008; Urbanová 2013; Waugh 1995; White 1998). The relative disproportion in the absence of the internal journalistic voice on the one hand and the presence of external voices on the other is especially marked in concessive and concurring sequences, in which voices are found to clash or support each other and in which reported language predominates over narrated, authorial discourse. In example (1a), the interaction involves mainly external voices; the internal voice is (at least *prima facie*) excluded, and its main role lies in introducing and foregrounding the external voices. Since reported language is central to the occurrence of concessive and concurring sequences, the frequency and role of various forms of presentation are also briefly discussed; the classification of reported language draws on Semino and Short (2004).

As has been mentioned, the aim of the prototypical specimen of hard news is to report, document or chronicle selected aspects of the extra-linguistic reality; this is achieved by means of the orbital generic structure. Even though, generally, the interaction of voices operates alongside the orbital structure, in some cases concessive and concurring sequences may to some extent affect the essential orbital quality of hard news. For instance, even though Elaboration B in example (1a) specifies the Lead and, functionally, is not dependent on Elaboration A, the opinions expressed in Elaboration B are also relatable to the preceding Elaboration A; as explained in section 2, inter-satellite relations go against the typical Headline and Lead-oriented structure. The study analyzes two hard news items which, owing to the presence of extensive concessive/concurring sequences, may not represent ‘ideal types’; their aim may be, to some extent, altered.

2. The generic point of view: the orbital generic structure

The structure of hard news has been widely described as the inverted pyramid or upside-down triangle, consisting of the Headline, Lead paragraph and the body of the text. In these Headline and Lead-dominated models, the Headline and Lead summarize the story, and the body of the text specifies it with increasing detail and decreasing importance and relevance; temporal sequence is dismantled and the content is delivered cyclically with frequent interruptions and resumptions (e.g. Bell 1991; van Dijk 1988; Östman 1999; Ungerer 2002).

This study employs the orbital modal. Generally, the orbital pattern is characterized by a dependency relation between particles (Martin 1992: 550-551; Martin & Rose 2008: 24-25). Applied to the structure of hard news, the relation obtains between the nucleus, consisting of the Headline and Lead, and the body of the text, consisting of a number of satellites (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998; White & Thompson 2008). Figure 1 illustrates a typical hard news structure. It shows a hypothetical hard news text with the nucleus and four satellites. The connecting lines indicate that the main genre-constituting relation obtains not between the individual satellites but between the satellites and the nucleus.

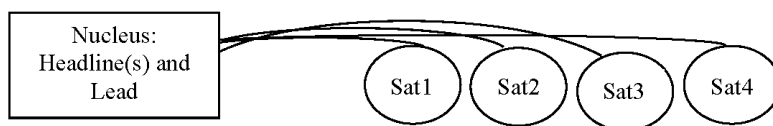


Figure 1. Orbital structure (after Iedema et al. 1994: 109)

The nucleus highlights what is presented as a disruption to the established normalcy and is thus a source of counter-expectation and concession. Out of the many possible points of view the nucleus selects one, setting the angle from which the point of contention is viewed. The angle serves to provide a unifying common ground from which the story unfolds, necessary in order to accommodate diversity within an ideologically and otherwise heterogeneous mass audience (Iedema et al. 1994: 110-116; White 1997: 114-115, 1998: 266-277, 332-338). In example (1a), the potential abolishment of asbos represents a change to the established means of maintaining social order and is coated in political terms as an instance of disagreement between the Conservatives and Labour. The choice of the angle reflects and contributes to the fossilization of or change in the (preferred) norms and values. The nucleus is thus heavily interpersonally loaded, and the promotion of one point of view at the expense of others reduces the alleged objectivity of hard news (Iedema et al. 1994: 106-108; White 2000).²

Satellites specify the nucleus and perform a number of functions: Elaboration, Contextualization, Appraisal, Cause-Effect: Consequence, Cause-Effect: Concession, Cause-Effect: Justification, Cause-Effect: Counter-Justification. Elaboration (see example (1a)) repeats, restates in other words, provides more detail on, or exemplifies the information in the nucleus. Contextualization provides spatial-temporal and social context, specifies events which precede, follow or take place simultaneously with

² Since the choice of the angle (as well as the reported event itself) is a result of the interaction with the established social norms and values, the nucleus is by its nature highly dialogic. Simultaneously, however, parallel to the diminishing of the desired objectivity, bias for one particular voice on the one hand and the absence of recognition of the alternative others on the other reduce the degree of heteroglossia and the openness of the nucleus to dialogue. In example (1a), the nucleus brings together two opposing voices and thus expresses at least some solidarity with alternative positions (e.g. Martin & White 2005). Despite the dialogic character of the nucleus in general, the present analysis focuses on satellites, and the role of the nucleus will be touched upon only in passing and mainly in order to prepare the ground for the discussion of the body of the text.

the event in the nucleus or are presented for comparison. Appraisal evaluates the nucleus in moral, aesthetic or affective terms. Consequence explains the events in the nucleus in causal terms and specifies the reasons, causes, purpose and consequences. Concession provides information that runs contrary to or frustrates the conclusions and expectations following from the nucleus. Justification is a textual analogue to Consequence, providing evidence or reasoning for the proposition or proposal in the nucleus. Counter-Justification is also a text-internal relation challenging or undermining the assertions made in the nucleus (White 1997, 1998, 2000; White & Thompson 2008). Finally, Balance explains why a certain piece of information was not provided or why a particular news actor's voice is not presented in the story (Urbanová 2013).³

The rhetorical functionality of hard news rests on the selection of the point of contention and its constant emphasis, achieved by repetitive nucleus-satellite links (White 1998: 300-305). As satellites return to the nucleus, there are no (or very few) formal and functional inter-satellite links. Owing to the formal and functional discontinuity between satellites, the body of the text cannot develop a linear, systematic accumulation of meaning; satellites can be omitted or reordered without hampering the text's coherence, a possibility referred to as the radical editability of the text (Iedema et al. 1994: 121-134, 187; White 1998: 252-263, 284-294). Example (1b) illustrates a hypothetical generic structure with the Headline and Lead forming the nucleus and the body of the text consisting of seven satellites (S1-S7) whose role is to elaborate on, contextualize and evaluate the nucleus.

(1b) *Headline*

Lead

S1/Elaboration A1

S2/Elaboration B1

S3/Elaboration A2

S4/Contextualization

S5/Elaboration B2

S6/Appraisal

S7/Elaboration A3

³ Regarding a possible dialogic interaction between the voice(s) in the nucleus and specifying satellites, in some cases it may depend on the function of the latter, while in others the satellite function seems irrelevant: Elaborating voices must necessarily concur with (a part of) the nucleus, while those in Counter-Justification must oppose it; voices in, for instance, Appraisal or Contextualization may vary as to the agreement or disagreement with the nuclear voice(s).

Example (1b) shows that the issues raised in the nucleus are not treated exhaustively in continuous sections but are instead presented gradually, in instalments, in satellites 1, 3 and 7 as Elaboration A1, A2 and A3, and in satellites 2 and 5 as Elaboration B1 and B2. The presentation of information in Elaboration A1 is interrupted by a section functioning as Elaboration B1; it is further resumed as Elaboration A2 only to be interrupted by Contextualization, Elaboration B2 and Appraisal, and it finishes as Elaboration A3 at the end of the report. Between Elaboration B1 and B2 is an intervention by the satellites of Elaboration A2 and Contextualization. Also, since the satellites work as self-contained functional units, textually there is no reason why the order of satellites could not be different; for instance, Appraisal or Contextualization could easily appear earlier in the text or as the final sections without affecting the textuality of the report.

However, the presence of concessive/concurring sequences may be accompanied by closer inter-satellite relations, supported by cohesive links. For instance, the possibility to establish a cohesive link between the satellites in example (1a) (*May's decision* in Elaboration B may be seen as encapsulating retrospectively the whole Elaboration A satellite) may strengthen the relation between them, reduce the degree of radical editability, and thus to some extent alter the generic structure. The interaction between orbitality and concessive/concurring sequences, and the influence of the latter on the quality and prototypicality of the former, will be discussed in section 7.

3. The dialogic point of view: concessive and concurring sequences

Bakhtin (1981, 1984) understands dialogue as the interplay of invisible voices which operate in the background of all texts and reflect the social and cultural contexts in which texts originate. Retrospectively, the dialogic perspective involves considering whether and to what extent the speaker recognizes previously produced texts and what position the author takes with respect to these texts; prospectively, it involves considering the assumptions the speaker makes about the way in which their text will be received by the putative audience and how these assumptions are reflected in the way in which the text is presented (Martin & White 2005: 92-93). Monologic discourse does not recognize another consciousness and does not expect a response (Bakhtin 1984: 292-293); the author does not take into account alternative positions and presents the text as taken for granted, factual and undisputed. On the other hand, overtly dialogic

discourse recognizes the existence of a diverse communicative background and presents information as open to negotiation and not entirely accepted (Martin & White 2005: 98-102).

The dialogic charge of hard news is intensified by the recency and novelty of the nuclear event, which may not be discursively processed, accepted as fact and thus constitute the source of controversy, disputability and uncertainty. The degree of acceptability may be lowered by the myriad of implicit (invisible) voices resonating in the ideologically diverse mass audience, embodying various assumptions, experience, knowledge, views, values, responses and objections. There are various means of overt authorial engagement with alternative positions (see e.g. Martin & White 2005: 92-135); in hard news one of the most common sources of overtly signalled dialogic tension is the presence of explicit external voices brought into the text by means of reported language. A reported utterance is bound only to one of the many possible external voices and is thus necessarily non-factual. The relation between implicit and explicit voices may be that of manifestation. The implicit, virtual dialogue between the invisible voices in the background becomes materialized as the explicit dialogue between the reported speakers in concessive/concurring sequences.

Compared to the analysis of the generic structure based on the nucleus-satellite relation, the analysis of concessive/concurring sequences depends on the explicit presence of voice, especially the external, i.e. non-authorial, voice. Concessive and concurring sequences refer to sections in the text in which voices express disagreement (example (2) below) and agreement (example (3) below) respectively. In addition, a concessive-concurring sequence was postulated if voices expressed both agreement and disagreement (example (1a) above). As discussed in section 6, external voices brought into the text in the form of reported language prevail over the internal voice of the journalist.

Apart from the presence of dis/agreement, other conditions for the establishment of sequences were the distinctiveness of voices which contribute to dialogue and the adjacency of voices in the text. Even though voices in dis/agreement may also be found within the nucleus, sequences were examined only in the body of the text and were established irrespective of satellite boundaries. Although voices expressing relevant opinions on one issue appear scattered randomly across the text, the condition of adjacency was laid down since it may have the effect of highlighting contrast or similarity in points of view and thus accentuate the ideological heterogeneity (disagreement) or homogeneity (agreement) of the text. Adjacent voices may occur within a satellite (Elaboration B in

example (1a), example (3)) or across a satellite boundary (examples (1a) and (2)). Even though formal links between sections were not necessary in order to establish a sequence, they often occur, probably due to adjacency and the functional dialogic relation between sections in sequences.

Example (2) illustrates a concessive sequence chaining two Appraisal satellites, Appraisal A and Appraisal B, which evaluate the nucleus. The nucleus raises the issue of the British Army's involvement in too many military operations. Appraisal A brings the voice of General Dannatt, who evaluates the situation in Iraq and reports the Army's reluctance to take part in the Iraqi mission. Appraisal B brings the voice of Dannatt's predecessor, General Jackson, who maintains that the Army welcomed the involvement.

(2) **Lead**

BRITAIN'S WAR machine came close to seizing up when it was conducting simultaneous operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, the former head of the Army told the Iraq war inquiry yesterday.

CONCESSIVE SEQUENCE

Appraisal A

He [Dannatt] added that the Army had "no desire" to go to war in Iraq in 2003 because it was already stretched by operations in Kosovo, Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Cyprus and Northern Ireland.

"There may have been a little bit of professional feeling that we should be doing this. But there was no desire to do it, there was no 'we would be happy to do it', and there was certainly a large element of 'we are very busy anyway so this will be difficult if we have to do it'." XXX

Appraisal B

But General Dannatt's predecessor as Chief of General Staff, General Sir Mike Jackson, suggested that, on the contrary, the Army would not have wanted to be excluded from the Iraq operation if the Navy and RAF had been involved.

He told the inquiry: "... I think the Army would have been, to put it mildly, rather disappointed." (McSmith 2010)

In (2) the occurrence of voices coincides with a satellite boundary, i.e. there is one voice in each satellite. The disagreement is over the Army's positive or negative attitude towards their presence in Iraq. The contrast is supported lexically by the employment of items expressing the attitude of affect (see e.g. Martin & White 2005: 45-52) communicating feelings and emotions ("no desire", no 'we would be happy...' in Appraisal A; *would not have wanted to be excluded ...; would have been... rather disappointed* in Appraisal B) and by adversative conjuncts (*but, on the contrary* in Appraisal B). The presence of conjuncts precludes the reordering of the

satellites or the omission of the first satellite, reducing the degree of radical editability and lowering the prototypicality of the orbital structure.

Compared to example (2), example (3) contains three adjacent voices which are all found within the Appraisal satellite and form a concurring sequence. The point of disruption in the nucleus is the contentious issue of the ban on bullfighting in one part of Spain.

(3) **Lead**

IN A TENSE, historic vote, Catalonia's regional parliament yesterday banned Spain's "national fiesta" – bullfighting, handing a victory to animal rights activist, who predicted the start of a bloodless era across the country.

CONCURRING SEQUENCE

Appraisal

The nation's bullfighters reacted to the denial, they eventually joined a last-minute lobby to save Catalonia's fiesta from what seemed increasingly like the inevitable death in the ring. ...

"They should have respected the rights of people who freely decide to go to a bullring to see a spectacle that is so much a part of our heritage," said bullfighter Juan José Padilla after the vote. ~ ~ ~

"It seems like we are back in the time of the dictatorship," added the popular matador Curro Romero. ~ ~ ~

Matador Manuel Jesus - known as El Cid - said he felt "tremendous rage". (Brooks 2010)

The Appraisal satellite evokes the voices of three matadors evaluating the ban negatively. The first and the second voice draw on the values of judgement (see e.g. Martin & White 2005: 52-56) and appraise the nucleus in moral terms, referring to freedom and democracy ("*They should have respected the rights of people who freely decide to go to a bullring...*", "*It seems like we are back in the time of the dictatorship.*"); the third voice evaluates the nucleus in affective terms, referring to feelings (*...he felt "tremendous rage"*). Thus, even though the voices refer to different aspects of the event and evaluate it from different perspectives, they agree on the negative attitude and form a concurring sequence. In comparison to example (2), despite the fact that the three voices appear within one satellite, i.e. within the boundaries of a functionally unified and homogenous portion of text, there are no referential ties between the sections attributed to the three voices, nor are there any conjuncts suggesting agreement or similarity. The functional affinity between the voices is indicated only by the expressions in the first sentence (*The nation's bullfighters...*, *they ...*) referring prospectively to the three voices.

The notion of dis/agreement is, admittedly, rather vague. However, the under-specification of the concept enables it to encompass situations in which voices are heterogeneous, representing different points of view and different sides of the argument; in other cases, a broadly defined dis/agreement connects voices that are alike but express points of view relating to different aspects of the issue. As a result, the degree of overlap between the aspects discussed may vary. For instance, in example (2) there is a close overlap between the evaluations as both voices/satellites comment on the nucleus in affective terms, whereas in example (3) the evaluations comment on different aspects and agreement can be established only on the basis of the general negative attitude.

The significance of concessive/concurring sequences is that their presence affects the degree of dialogism in the text and solidarity with different positions, defined as “tolerance for alternative viewpoints” (Martin & White 2005: 96). Since a great portion of discourse in sequences is attributed to others, it is by default dialogic: the presented views are individualized, subjective and non-factual propositions or proposals valid only within the discourse world of the text-external reported speaker and have the status of mere possibilities existing against other alternatives (Martin & White 2005: 111-117; Sanders & Redeker 1993: 69).⁴ However, the organization of voices in sequences may further underline or weaken the already established heteroglossic backdrop either by inviting or by dismissing alternative positions. Inviting or challenging alternatives by dint of the purposeful juxtaposition of voices is comparable to Martin and White’s (2005: 102-135) concepts of dialogic expansion and contraction: dialogic expansion opens dialogic space by accepting alternative positions, while dialogic contraction closes it by challenging alternatives. The disagreement between points of view in concessive and concessive-concurring sequences renders explicit the implicit ideological

⁴ Even though the alignment between the internal (authorial, reporting) voice and the external (reported) voice may be left unstated or undetermined in some contexts, often the reporting signal, the (evaluative) co-text and the overall communicative aim betray a positive or negative stance towards the external voice and the reported content; this may affect the ultimate degree of solidarity with alternative positions and the degree of dialogism in the text. For instance, despite the default dialogic nature of reporting, in expressing dis/alignment with the reported content/speaker the author may propagate one position over the others, more or less directly encourage the reader to take a stance, and, consequently, increase the monoglossia and decrease the heteroglossia of the text (Martin & White 2005: 114-117, 126-127; White 1998: 390-396). The literature on reported speech that attends to this line of enquiry is vast; see e.g. Bednarek (2009), Floyd (2000), Gruber (1993) or Hunston (1995).

variety and thus maintains or even increases the degree of dialogism and expands the dialogic space. On the other hand, the views expressing agreement in concurring and concessive-concurring sequences propagate a single point of view and thus, albeit implicitly, push aside alternatives, decrease the degree of dialogism and contract the dialogic space.

4. Data description

The corpus contains 175 hard news texts excerpted from the main British broadsheets (*The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Daily Telegraph*) in 2010 and 2011. The corpus contains 76,945 words. Table 1 compares the total number of reports in each newspaper with those containing at least one instance of a concessive/concurring sequence.

Table 1. Sequences in hard news

	DT	GU	IN	TI	Total
No. of news texts with sequences/ Total	18/50	19/40	17/40	17/45	71/175
%	36.0	47.5	42.5	37.8	40.6

As Table 1 shows, the percentage of texts containing sequences ranges from 36% in the Daily Telegraph to 47.5% in the Guardian; the occurrence of sequences in broadsheets disregarding the distinction between concrete newspapers is 40.6%. This suggests that even though dialogic tension between adjacent voices is by no means a necessary feature, it is not infrequent.

Table 2 compares the occurrence of concurring, concessive and concessive-concurring sequences. It shows that concessive sequences (56.3%) outnumber significantly concurring (28.8%) and concessive-concurring sequences (14.9%).

Table 2. Concessive, concurring and concessive-concurring sequences

No. of sequences		%
Concurring	25	28.8
Concessive	49	56.3
Concessive-concurring	13	14.9
Total	87	100

The high frequency of concessive sequences, i.e. those which recognize alternatives and open dialogic space, indicates that voices tend to be put together to accentuate contrast; concessive sequences can be a vehicle for balanced and unbiased reporting and bear directly on the alleged objectivity and impartiality of hard news. On the other hand, concurring sequences, which promote one opinion at the expense of others and close the dialogic space, are less frequent since they fail to comply with the objective of balanced and unbiased reporting. Concessive-concurring sequences are infrequent because – as they are a combination of agreement and disagreement – they are mostly more extensive and thus less frequent (see Table 3 in section 5).

5. Generic and dialogic perspectives: the occurrence of satellites in sequences

The occurrence of concessive/concurring sequences was mapped onto the generic structure. Thus, it is possible to see the number and type of satellites forming sequences. Table 3 shows the number of satellites (Sats) chained in concessive/concurring sequences.

Table 3. Sequence length

No. of Sats in sequences	1 Sat	2 Sats	3 Sats	4 Sats	5 Sats	6 Sats	7 Sats	8 Sats	Total
Total	17	47	13	3	2	1	2	2	87
%	19.5	54.0	14.9	3.5	2.3	1.2	2.3	2.3	100

As shown in Table 3, the number of satellites in sequences varies from a single satellite up to eight satellites. In one-satellite sequences, voices interact within satellite boundaries and play the same role in the generic structure, while in two- and more-satellite sequences the interaction exceeds satellite boundaries and involves voices performing different functions. Most frequently sequences span across two satellites (54%, examples (1a) and (2)); one-satellite sequences (19.5%, example (3)) and three-satellite sequences (14.9%, example (4) below) occur less frequently. Four- and more-satellite sequences are scarce. If sequences occur, they do not interlace high numbers of satellites and they do not extend across the entire generic structure. Admittedly, in order to fully assess the occurrence of sequences in hard news, it would be necessary to compare the cases of juxtaposed voices with those in which voices express themselves on the same theme, yet preference was given to the

randomness of orbital presentation and non-adjacency.⁵ The limited length of sequences does not affect the orbital structure significantly, nor does it change the aim of the reporting. However, as discussed in section 7, longer sequences may to some extent alter the generic quality of texts and their communicative aim.

Example (4) illustrates a three-satellite concessive sequence. The nucleus reports on the disappearance of Mr Wan, the head of the Chinese national news agency Xinhua, and his alleged defection. The concessive sequence contains the satellites functioning as Balance, Counter-Justification and Elaboration.

(4) *Lead*

THE HEAD of Chinas domestic news service has disappeared during a trip to Britain amid speculation that he has defected.

CONCESSIVE SEQUENCE

Balance

A spokesman for Xinhua refused to confirm or deny whether Mr Wan had defected. "We do not know the situation clearly," he said. "You should keep an eye on the news." XXX

Cause and effect: Counter-Justification

But a Chinese official based in Britain rejected suggestions that Mr Wan had disappeared.

"This is totally wrong. It is a rumour," said Hei Dalong, the Xinhua bureau chief in London. "Mr Wan is at my home...." XXX

Elaboration

But another reporter close to the situation claimed that Mr Wan had tried to flee China. (Malcolm 2010)

The role of Balance is related to the expectation of balanced and unbiased reporting in that it aims to explain why a certain piece of information or a party's point of view cannot be provided. In example (4), the spokesman for the newspaper in question refuses to take a stance on the situation and, observing the maxim of quality, opts out and explains their refusal on the basis of their alleged lack of knowledge (Grice 1975; Thomas 1995: 74-76); nevertheless, their reaction is presented. Balance is in contrast with the point of view of a London-based Xinhua official, who clearly denies the allegation of defection. Since the voice states the opposite of what is presented in the nucleus, the whole section works as Counter-Justification. Finally, the third point of view which continues the

⁵ Also, in order to obtain a complete picture of the interaction between voices, not only forms of presentation but all means capable of evoking voice should be taken into account (e.g. Martin & White 2005: 92-135).

concessive sequence is given by another Xinhua reporter who advances the idea of defection; the satellite restates the nuclear statement and thus works as Elaboration. The sequence evokes three different voices which represent three different sides: the voice that avoids commenting on the nucleus (Balance), denies the statement in the nucleus (Counter-Justification) and elaborates on it (Elaboration). Interestingly, only the side of the argument advocating the idea of defection has been chosen for primary emphasis in the nucleus, and the voices expressing it work as Elaboration satellites in the body of the text; altogether there are five Elaboration satellites and only one appears in a concessive sequence – the one discussed in example (4). On the other hand, the alternative points of view are presented solely in the body of the text and the satellites of Counter-Justification and Balance appear only once each.

The previous examples illustrated concessive and concurring sequences chaining up to three satellites with different functions. More extensive sequences will be dealt with in section 7. Table 4 lists the occurrence of all satellite types in concurring, concessive and concessive-concurring sequences.

Table 4. Generic function of satellites in sequences

	Concurring	Concessive	Concessive-concurring	Total	%
Elaboration	23	34	24	81	38.9
Appraisal	21	20	9	50	24.0
Contextualization	5	17	1	23	11.1
Consequence	2	4	7	13	6.3
Counter-Justification	0	18	3	21	10.1
Concession	0	4	1	5	2.4
Balance	0	1	0	1	0.5
Others	0	0	0	0	0.0
Ambiguity	3	7	4	14	6.7
Total	54	105	49	208	100

Out of a total number (208) of satellites in sequences, 38.9% are Elaboration satellites (examples (1) and (4)). Since Elaboration restates the nucleus and adds further detail, the voice in Elaboration is either identical to the nuclear voice or at least provides content overlapping propositionally with the nucleus. The voice and the aspects of the event covered in the Headline/Lead are highlighted by their nuclear position, maintained in the foreground by constant links with the specifying

satellites and, moreover, if Elaboration forms sequences, the elaborating/nuclear voice is also supported or confronted in the body of the text. As shown in Table 4, Elaboration appears slightly more frequently in concessive (34) than in concurring (23) sequences; this means that the main nuclear angle re-appearing in Elaboration is contradicted in concessive sequences more often than it is supported in concurring ones.

The occurrence of Appraisal (examples (2) and (3)) accounts for 24% of satellites in sequences. Appraisal is likely to enter into sequences because the evaluation of the nucleus almost invariably takes the form of reported language presenting a subjective opinion confined to an individual external voice, creating the need to offer alternative points of view in concessive sequences (20). However, Appraisal is the only satellite which favours concurring sequences (21) to concessive ones, and consequently, by expressing agreement, provides support for one point of view and thus reduces ideological diversity and closes the evaluating dialogic space. The heteroglossia of the text may be further intensified in the case of negative evaluation (Appraisal A in example (2), and example (3)) or weakened in the case of positive evaluation (Appraisal B in example (2), and example (9b)) since the former may express a point of view which clashes with the nuclear view while the latter may be more in line with the nuclear view.

The point of view in Counter-Justification (10.1%) directly challenges, opposes and undermines the view voiced in the nucleus, and thus Counter-Justification often expresses contrast, especially with Elaboration. Consequently, Counter-Justification (e.g. example (4)) tends to appear in concessive sequences (18) rather than in concurring sequences (0).

Contextualization satellites forming sequences (11.1%) present statements/voices which occur in situations other than the nuclear communicative situation, complete the dialogic picture, provide a wider context and thus help readers to understand and interpret the nuclear proposition or proposal. In the majority of cases, contextualizing statements/voices are used to confront other statements in concessive (17) sequences rather than to support them in concurring (5) ones. In example (5) the voices in Contextualization clash with the voice in Elaboration (and thus also in the nucleus), while in example (6) alternative points of view are found in a one-satellite sequence within a satellite boundary.

Example (5) illustrates a Contextualization satellite forming a concessive sequence with Elaboration.