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Peter A. Cramer

Controversy as News Discourse

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Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction: Where Is Controversy?

A prominent, traditional orientation toward controversy emphasizes problem solving, seeking to develop general methods for its ethical and effective resolution, or particular therapeutic interventions designed for particular cases. The investigator seeks to intervene in a controversy and to resolve it by prescribing best practices for participants. In this, the work must model the event and to define the problem in some way in order to develop a solution. Depending on the approach, the event model may be general and designed to effect the resolution of many or most kinds of controversy, or particular and designed to explain the barriers to resolution in a given case in its historical and social situation. In either approach, the investigator confronts the difficult problem of context, a problem faced by the researcher of any kind of presumably complex social, historical, and discursive conflict: *Where is the controversy occurring? When does it take place and how long does it last? Is it a controversy or some other kind of event? Who counts as a participant?* These are difficult questions because they have so many legitimate and relevant answers and so many parties might legitimately claim to answer them authoritatively, yet trying to account for them all would be impractical and perhaps impossible. For a given public controversy, many statements, locations, and frames of reference at many scales of abstraction might legitimately apply. This presents a daunting challenge to the investigator who aspires to get it right, to present an accurate and complete account of a controversy.

One way of addressing this problem is to narrate the event, categorizing it, locating it in time and space, and nominating participants by composing sentences that name them and position them as agents of actions. But this is more a way to present a cardinal narrative than a way to justify the model of the event that such a narrative would rest on. Granted, in traditional practice, there seems to be no need for a justification, especially when the event has already developed a cardinal narrative, its category, its time and place, and its cast of participants well established through many reiterations. The investigator contributes to the canonization of the event by replicating such well established narratives. So long as there is a cardinal narrative, there would seem to be little reason to bother arguing about its relevance or to otherwise justify its particular shape and choices. Doing so would

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not only upset our sense of event coherence, our sense of the event as a static and fixed social, historical, and discursive phenomenon, but it would raise questions about the veridical status of the cardinal narrative by drawing attention to it as a discursive accomplishment, as a series of choices by particular speakers and writers who have narrated it in particular, and perhaps consistent, ways.

Drawing attention to these choices tends to invite questions about how to justify the relevance of any particular location, duration, or cast of participants in a controversy narrative, yet these are the kinds of questions that are central to understanding public controversy. Drawing attention to them does not commit us to conclude that controversies are mere constructions, phantoms, or pseudo-events, and does not necessitate a fatal thoroughgoing critique of the ontological foundations of public events. It is possible, for instance, to acknowledge that the accounts of controversies delivered by writers and speakers contribute to our experience of them as public events without necessarily concluding that this makes them somehow false or inauthentic, or that through this process we are being distanced from some fundamental reality of things. Though some assumptions about language tend to encourage these kinds of conclusions by presuming that it reflects, either accurately or inaccurately, autonomous things and events, the picture is more complicated than this. Talking and writing about controversies contributes to them, helping to shape them as public events in our experience. Given this, we are confronted with many, many possible locations for controversy among the many speaking and reading situations by which word of controversy circulates.

Argument analysis has traditionally demarcated its object of study by distinguishing between argument as a particular arrangement of propositions and argument as a discursive conflict among interlocutors (O'Keefe 1977, pp. 121–122; Walton 1989, pp. 1–2). The first sense of the term has typically qualified as its technical sense for argument analysis, where the second sense provides a colloquial contrast that describes the kind of problematic situation or event that argument in the first sense is designed to resolve. Argumentation has expanded this traditional distinction and focus by taking interest in both (and other) senses of argument and in their interrelations. With this wider perspective, argumentation research attends to the many kinds of events involved in a larger process of argument, including the propositional and the discursive, and has brought to bear many levels of analysis on this expanded object of study, considering the pragmatic, dialectical, and rhetorical, as well as the logical (Eemeren et al. 1996, pp. 12–13).

Compared to the traditional approach of argument analysis, the wider perspective taken by argumentation has meant that researchers consider the argument as an event in a situation, not just as a particular formal arrangement of propositions. This perspective has created new research problems and opportunities. It has meant, for instance, that the "brouhaha," the "spat," and the "donnybrook" which have traditionally served as negative examples in order to cast into relief the reasoning that is the proper object of study are now problems for argumentation to address and phenomena for it to describe (Weddle 1978, p. 1). These are arguments as events, discursive conflicts among interlocutors which traditionally are seen to provide the exigence for the performance of reasoning by an individual human agent, for the application of

argument in its more propositional sense (O'Keefe 1977, p. 121). Normative approaches have explained discursive conflicts through typologies of dialogue and models of the speaking situation (Bitzer 1968; Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992; Walton 1989). Research on conversational argument has examined discursive conflicts as they arise in casual conversation in adjacency pairs, providing a naturalistic and empirical account of argument events (Jacobs and Jackson 1982). Empirical investigations of argument frames have revealed the distance between traditional, technical and ordinary, colloquial definitions of argument, and have elaborated the many senses of argument as an event in ordinary discourse (Benoit and Hample 1998; Dallinger and Hample 2002; Hample and Benoit 1999; Hample et al. 1999). Both from normative and empirical standpoints, argumentation has concerned itself with the problem of accounting for argument not only as a particular arrangement of propositions, but as a situated discursive event. Whether normative or empirical, these are solutions to the location problem, a central problem that research confronts when considering argument beyond its sense as a formal arrangement of propositions (Brockriede 1992).

Like the "brouhaha," "spat," and "donnybrook," the "controversy" has traditionally represented a problematic event or situation that sound reasoning should be used to resolve. Though a great deal of attention has been paid to methods for resolution, controversy itself has not garnered as much attention as a research problem (Goodnight 1991, pp. 1–2). As with other discursive conflict events, argument analysis has traditionally emphasized norms and best practices for participants. As argumentation further develops descriptive and empirical research approaches, however, new objects of study have become relevant (Jacobs 2000, p. 272). Though controversy has been an upstream problem in the traditional analysis of argument, it is a central problem for research in rhetoric and argumentation. And like argument, controversy presents its own location problem. This book locates controversy in the narrated events of news reports and in the news reading situation. It contributes to empirical and descriptive research in rhetoric and argumentation, research that uses discourse as data and aims to draw ethnographic conclusions based on this data (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008, p. 3). In this, it is an effort to realize Phillips' aims for the analysis of controversy, with its emphasis on investigation of the actual discursive practices of human beings in particular spaces (Phillips 1999, p. 493). The approach does not promise a general theory or an a priori definition of a concept, but instead aims to explain from an a posteriori perspective how writers help to shape controversy for their readers. It is an approach that makes language in use its central object of study.

As with "argument," "controversy" is a term that speakers and writers conventionally use to identify and name a discursive event. In other words, the term "controversy" is a metadiscursive label. Scholars are some of those speakers and writers who use the term, and journalists are others, and in the traditions of rhetoric and dialectic, it has long been used as a term of art. Despite this, the term and other metadiscursive uses and features of language are not the special possession of scholars, journalists, or other speakers or writers but are part and parcel of language in use. Research on meta-pragmatics has shown how utterances index their contexts of use, that is, how the choice of a particular form of expression, be it a particular sound, a gesture, a word, a register, a genre, or

a language, among many others, points to and thereby helps to constitute the existence of some contextual feature or entity for participants in communicative interactions (Dijk 2008; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Silverstein 1976, 1979, 1993; Silverstein and Urban 1996). One of the difficulties with conventionally metadiscursive terms like "controversy" is that they are routinely used both to denote and to index particular kinds of discursive contexts and that they have well-established and stereotyped relationships with particular kinds of event. School training and practice, codification in text books and reference books, and reiterated uses in news reporting, among many other historical and social practices, contribute to these conventional equations (Agha 2007, pp. 155–156, 196). In this way, we often experience controversy in a sedimented form, as readers of authoritative texts (Agha 2007, p. 129). This sedimentation and authority can contribute to the impression that controversy is a transcendent construct or natural entity, a sort of discursive event that maintains a particular shape across all contexts and for all participants. Instead, it is a metadiscursive term that is used by scholars, journalists, and many others in a number of acts of speaking and writing, and these uses contribute to historically situated speech chains that are shared across networks of speakers and hearers, writers and readers, networks whose membership depends on the particular experiences of those participants with particular texts over time (Agha 2007, p. 67). These texts do not reflect a controversy as an transcendent, autonomous entity but help to constitute it for readers.

The research reported in this book focuses on the contributions of news reporting and in particular the news article genre to our experience of public controversy. Drawing data from the Reuters Corpus, it looks in detail at a number of language and text formulas that journalists use to report controversy, and shows how these help to denote and narrate controversies for readers, but also how they index it as an event in public space, co-locating the reader and event. In this, it introduces a constitutive approach to controversy based on a discourse analysis of news texts, focusing on the role of journalists as participants who, within professional norms and constraints, shape public controversy through their news narratives, for other participants, their readers, who interact with their textual artifacts. Journalists narrate controversy using natural phenomenon, historical event, and pragmatic event formulas that indicate events through a wide range of selectivity and individuation. These are among the conventional frames of controversy depicted by the news article genre. In narrating controversy as a pragmatic event, journalists construct dialogues among interlocutors whom they nominate and voice. While holding to the central purpose of the news article genre, to report events, journalists nominate interlocutors, report their talk and writing, and recontextualize it by organizing it into profiles and by constructing dialogues among them. In this way, they situate controversy in a pragmatic interaction that they design and narrate with their texts. This places journalists in league with many other speakers and writers who construct dialogues.

Constructed dialogue also plays an important role in normative frameworks and critical approaches of argumentation. Unlike many normative models of decision-making dialogue, however, the constructed dialogues in news articles are not designed to resolve the controversies they narrate. For journalists, constructed dialogue provides a framework for narrating a news event, for nominating interlocutors and

other kinds of narrated participant, and in some cases, for characterizing the issues in controversy. To this purpose, however, they must balance the aim of constructing a coherent dialogue among interlocutors with their professional empirical constraints of reporting only what can be attributed to a source, preferably an authoritative one. In seeking to simultaneously meet these two goals, journalists construct dialogues that would fall well short of the pragmatic and argumentative cohesion and relevance expectations of normative dialogue models of argumentation. Considering that often their sources have neither shared physical proximity nor been involved in any direct spoken or written interaction, nor demonstrably engaged a common issue, and given that they are required by their professional writing standards and norms to hew to and explicitly mark in their texts some empirical grounding for their narratives, especially their sourcing, journalists are in a position to construct a pragmatic interaction that may lie quite far from the direct engagement of classical dialectic. Argumentation theorists share with journalists a need to construct dialogues, as do writers of many academic genres, though the terms by which these dialogues are constructed and their shapes vary. These differing standards and shapes come into conflict when, for instance, critics use the standards from one institutional domain to evaluate discourse in another (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, pp. 215–216; Walton 2004, p. 8).

Constructing dialogue is a central skill of academic literacy, one that has been a central part of schooling for a very long time. The texts and practices of academic literacy are important sources of training to students who learn to shape controversy by narrating pragmatic interactions among participants in decision making dialogues, or "literate conversations" (Geisler 1994; Geisler and Kaufer 1989; Kaufer and Geisler 1989). The rhetorical tradition has long trained students to shape controversies by constructing dialogues among interlocutors and standpoints in which to ground and locate them. The classical controversiae, a long standing, heavily replicated practice in rhetorical pedagogy, were institutionalized exercises for students in constructing decision making dialogues in the service of training in practical, civic argumentation. The philosophical dialogue, an esteemed genre in the tradition of dialectic and philosophy, has provided an ideal model of constructed decision making dialogue, in the service of truth seeking and knowledge production. In current academic literacy pedagogy, genres such as the philosophic essay are forms of writing by which students are trained to construct dialogue (Geisler 1994). With its strong focus on reasoning, argumentation research is perhaps less concerned with narrative, yet these classical and current pedagogies develop and depend on narrative skills, along with skills of reasoning. This is a balance that was promoted in classical rhetorical training, where frameworks for arrangement taught speakers to narrate the facts of a case on their way to providing arguments. This balance evoked the skills that were necessary for participation in civic institutions, the target of the training. The practice of public oratory and public address require narrative skills, and entitled political speakers routinely design and shape ongoing public events for audiences (Kaufer and Butler 1996). These are the skills that the traditional rhetorical training was designed to foster, to prepare speakers for effective persuasion in civic institutions. Through their replication, authority, and institutionalization, these texts and practices have contributed to our expectations about the shape and location of controversy.

1.1 The Glen Mills Mystery

In identifying controversy as a research problem, Goodnight discusses what he calls "the Glen Mills mystery." Mills is the author of a 1968 textbook called *Reason in Controversy* that introduces students to the methods of argument and debate, and Goodnight is puzzled by the mismatch between the title of the book and its contents. He notes that Mills devotes just one sentence to "controversy," describing it as "an exchange of opposing views on a problem of mutual interest to the contending parties" and then spends the remaining 383 pages "discussing how to make sound, persuasive arguments and to criticize bad ones" (Goodnight 1991, pp. 1–2). Goodnight wonders how a book about controversy can dispatch with its topic in a single introductory sentence.

The dialogue model helps to explain Goodnight's puzzle. It is reflected very clearly in Mills' definition of "controversy," and his clear focus on the training of speakers in the skills of argument for the purposes of debate reflects a basic priority of prescriptive over descriptive aims. Given that Mills' text is part of rhetoric's handbook tradition, it should be no surprise that it reflects its perspectives and priorities of training speakers and writers in best practices. Controversy warrants no more than a sentence because it is presumed to be reason's natural motivating exigence. His title is apt. The central topic of the book is "reasoning" while "in controversy" describes the setting or problem space for the practice. Indeed, the purpose of the book is to teach students how to resolve problems and issues; it is a method for adjudicating controversy. This is presumptive knowledge within the tradition, so author and audience require nothing more. However, as Goodnight suggests, we need to require more if we are to learn how controversies work, and how they are made.

One of the important limitations of the dialogue model is that it may lead us to think about controversies as more well-formed and their participants as better-behaved than they might actually be. This notion that controversies are poorly structured and pragmatically unconstrained is a common one (Dascal 1990; Goodnight 1991; Mendelson 2002; Phillips 1999). Indeed, the dialogue model brings to the study of controversy a host of features that may or may not be appropriate, and our efforts to develop new approaches will depend on how we navigate these. This is the inheritance of handbook tradition in the discourse arts, marked by its aim to train students to speak and write appropriately, effectively, ethically, and correctly in institutionally-structured situations like the academy, the courtroom or the legislature. Given this prescriptive inheritance and its focus on training participants, the dialogue model may teach us as much about how a controversy *should* proceed and how a speaker or writer *should* behave in the role of participant, as about what speakers and writers actually do. If the goal is to train participants in best practices, then this may not in itself present a problem, but if the goal is to understand controversy, then it may create limitations.

One of the fundamental problems that Goodnight encounters when he searches for research on controversy is that while investigations of particular controversies exist

across a number of fields, there is little in the way of work on controversy, per se (Goodnight 1991, p. 3). That is, researchers very often find themselves intervening as participants in controversies that are particular to their disciplinary jurisdictions, reinforcing the impression that the notion of controversy itself is a kind of pre-theoretical, pan-disciplinary given. Examples of research on particular controversies from medicine, business, policy studies, statistics, and psychology support the conclusion that this kind of work does exist across a number of fields, and that it tends to take much for granted about controversy per se, while narrating and attempting to resolve particular cases (Ayanian 1983; Ghali et al. 1999; Goodman et al. 2003; Hajer 1993; Jensen 1986; Krantz 1999; Lefering and Neugebauer 1995; McNally 2003; Senn 2000). This work exemplifies the way controversy tends to function as an ordinary, colloquial term rather than a proprietary, technical, term of art, even within expert discourse communities. In many cases, then, when researchers mention a "controversy," they are not pointing to a substantive object of study, but instead deploying a colloquial term in order to make a metadiscursive comment about the culture or collective talk within their field. It is appropriate that the discourse arts investigate the problem of controversy, per se. Though it is often taken for granted in much the same way there as it seems to be in other fields, the discourse arts lay claim to the rhetorical and dialectical traditions which have aimed to deliver general methods for resolving controversies, with a particular emphasis on the contexts of civic institutions.

1.2 The Classical Controversiae

The shaping and designing of controversy is an important skill of academic literacy, one that has been institutionalized in a number of academic genres, curricula, and pedagogical practices. Among these is the philosophic essay genre whose approach to structuring problems and issues is an important part of writing pedagogy in universities (see the discussion in Sect. 3.4). This genre is an important means by which students are taught to shape and design controversy for readers; it is an approach that helps to resolve a host of problems involving, for instance, what qualifies as an issue, who qualifies as a participant, what qualify as contributions, and what qualify as the spatial and temporal boundaries of the event. Because it is institutionalized as part of school training, its approach to designing controversy may carry a special normative authority that other approaches may lack. In this, the genre and other forms and practices of academic literacy deserve particular attention in an investigation of controversy. While they are taught and replicated in schools, academic literacy practices do not operate in a hermetic environment. They exist in relationship to discourse practices and norms in other institutions and in the popular and public world, circulating among many individual communicative interactions, whether celebrated and mundane. To the extent that they carry normative authority, this relationship can place academic literacy in the position of standard bearer for talk and text in other domains. While the philosophic essay genre provides students training in controversy design in universities today, the classical controversiae were a long

standing, heavily replicated practice in controversy design across the many centuries of the discourse arts traditions. These were institutionalized exercises for students in constructing decision making dialogues in the service of training in practical, civic argumentation. In addition, the long-dead philosophical dialogue genre remains a model for the design of controversy, providing an ideal model of decision making dialogue with the aim of truth seeking and knowledge production (see the discussion in Chap. 3). Through their replication, authority, and institutionalization, these texts and practices have contributed to our expectations about the design of controversy.

The arts of dialectic and rhetoric as articulated by Aristotle in the *Topics*, the *Sophistical Refutations*, and the *Rhetoric* focus on training participants to argue in institutionally structured speaking situations like those of the academy or public institutions such as the court or legislative assembly (Aristotle 1954, 1955, 1960). These are some of the most important canonized texts of the rhetorical and dialectical traditions, texts that have by their replication, authority, and institutionalization contributed to our expectations about the design of controversy. Rhetoric, argumentation, critical thinking, and informal logic are some of the contemporary fields that make claims on this tradition. These are the discourse arts, distinguished from modern mathematical and formal logic, for instance, by their attention to human speakers and writers using natural language in particular situations.[1] While a number of institutional and historical differences exist between the traditions of rhetoric and dialectic and among their modern inheritors, they share some important commonalities especially where they are relevant to the problem of controversy. One of these is a concern with discourse, that is, actual instances of human communication. Another is a normative valence, an inheritance from the long standing institutionalization of rhetoric and dialectic as an integral part of school training in the Western tradition. It is in this sense that we are talking about arts: traditionally they have aimed to train participants in the best practices of discourse and to promote critical standards for civic and intellectual colloquy.

The classical controversiae were central to declamation, one of the most replicated pedagogical practices of the rhetorical tradition. If the philosophic essay genre is a current practice by which students are taught to shape and design controversy, declamation was a traditional practice toward this end. Declamation was a particular institutionalization of the controversial method, an approach to argument which has

[1]This term, "the discourse arts," serves the important purpose here and throughout this book of providing a compact way of referring to the panoply of modern fields that in various ways trade on the traditions of rhetoric and dialectic. It is not meant to indicate or presume the existence of anything like a coherent, universal, institutionalized field of study or research program; in fact, it is the lack of such coherence that makes a term like this necessary. The balkanization of the discourse arts in modern research universities is well documented and generally accepted, though there is much dispute about how this state of affairs should be valued or addressed (Eemeren et al. 1996, p. 191; Liu and Young 1998, pp. 483–486). Use of this term here provides an economical way to refer to the many fields and sub-fields that share common traditions and perspectives relevant to the problem of controversy addressed in this book, and through this, it necessarily glosses many important differences and conflicts.

been traced to the epistemology and practices of Protagoras and the *Dissoi Logoi* of ancient Greece and through the treatises of Cicero and Quintilian and the argument pedagogies of ancient Rome (Mendelson 2002). In the late Roman Republic, training in declamation had become the capstone of advanced schooling for young men, the "exercise *par excellence* in which the education of a Roman boy culminated" (Bonner 1949, p. vi). Training in argument and oratory was at the center of schooling in Rome, and declamation was the pinnacle of that training, preparing young men for a public life of law courts and legislative assemblies (Parks 1945). Though declamation traded in fictional cases and was plainly a school exercise, it was employed to mimic the problematic situations encountered by public officials in civic institutions and to provide ways for students to practice the skills of argumentation that would be required of them in public life (cf. Quintilian 1920, bk. 10.5.14–10.5.21, and 2.10.4–2.10.8 for his discussion of the relationship between school declamation and argumentation in actual courts of law). Declamation consisted of two parts, the suasoriae and the controversiae. The controversiae were staged dialogues designed to mimic legal debate, and they followed the suasoriae, staged addresses designed to mimic legislative advocacy. Though it was the culmination of Roman education, participation in the controversiae was not limited to students; statesmen, philosophers, and other prominent figures participated in them for sport in front of public audiences. As they developed into public sport they gained a reputation for spectacle and ceremony, with an increasing emphasis on the epideictic impulse of bringing fame and attention to the speaker (Bonner 1949; Seneca and Winterbottom 1974). For centuries, schools, the primary institutional hosts of declamation practices, have served as a central location of controversy (Dascal 2006, pp. xxix–xxxi; Rescher 1977, pp. 1–3). Historically durable and regularly cited in accounts of the tradition, declamation is among the more prominent precedents to consider in an effort to explain the shape of controversy in the discourse arts.

Declamation was a pedagogical program that staged decision-making dialogues. The controversiae were "podium occasions" or "stage events" for which talk was constrained by norms and in which participants adopted speaking roles appropriate to the drama (Goffman 1981, pp. 139–140). English translations of surviving compendia of controversiae that were used in Roman educational contexts illustrate their basic architecture: a statement of law followed by a brief narrative of a case that introduces some ambiguity or tension with the law (Quintilian and Shackleton Bailey 2006; Quintilian and Sussman 1987; Seneca and Winterbottom 1974). One document of the Roman controversiae are the dialogues of The Elder Seneca, who, according to his own account, attempts to record from memory the performances of participants in declamation events that he witnessed in his youth (Seneca and Winterbottom 1974, bk. 1.Preface.2–5).The following is a case from Seneca which illustrates these features (Seneca and Winterbottom 1974, bk. 3.8):

> The Father from Olynthus Accused of Provoking an Assembly
>
> Whoever causes a gathering and assembly shall die.
>
> After the defeat of Olynthus, an old man of that city came with his youthful son to Athens. The Athenians decreed that all Olynthians should receive Athenian citizenship. The father was invited to supper by a debauched youth, and went, along with his son. There

> was talk at the party of raping the boy; the father fled, but his son was kept behind. The father started to weep in front of the house, which got burned down. Ten youths died, and so did the son of the Olynthian. The father is accused of causing a gathering and assembly.

This case is typical of well-formed controversiae in that the details of the case narrative present clear problems for adjudication via the stated law. To apply the law as it stands would appear to be unjust, or at least complicated, in this case, given a host of questions about the agency and responsibility of the old man. Is it correct to assume that he *caused* the assembly? What is the responsibility of the debauched youth, if any? Should we consider this a case of discrimination against an immigrant rather than a case of civil disturbance? These are just a few issues that this case spawns for participants. In Seneca's account, each of these cases is followed by a constructed dialogue between interlocutors, usually a proponent and a respondent, sometimes identified by proper name, sometimes not, who take up a pro or con position in relationship to one of these issues. In this case of the accused father, he presents a proponent identified as "For the father" followed by a response by a character simply identified as "The other side" (Seneca and Winterbottom 1974, bk. 3.8). As is typical in what we know of the historical practice of declamation, the participants argue in character, which in this case means that the defense is marshaled from the point-of-view of the father himself. Seneca has him declare, for example, "I am afraid, son, that while I search for your body I may stumble on the bones of someone who ravished you. – Where is the good faith of Athens?" This impersonation of participants of the case was central to the educational function of declamation as it reinforced the necessary prerequisites of adopting a standpoint and an argumentative commitment. In addition, the controversiae functioned as heuristics for discovery, as they challenged participants to define stasis points and to argue in a structured dialogue with other participants (Mendelson 1994, 2002).

A case like this one was not particularly meaningful outside of its role in the speaking performances of declaimers, and these performances were structured by a dialogue procedure. Public declamation routinely began with the participants selecting a case by collective agreement. Then each participant delivered epigrams called *sententiae,* brief position statements that were often clever and sometimes fantastic. Then came the *divisio* in which each participant presented his main lines of argument and stasis points he would follow. These were often efforts to distinguish between the matters of law, *ius*, and matters of justice, *aequitas*, presented by the case. Following this, each participant delivered his *color*, a proprietary narrative that would set down the facts in a way that played to his argumentative advantage (Bonner 1949, pp. 51–55; Winterbottom 1974, pp. xvi–xviii). In school declamation, the instructor would typically choose and introduce the case and deliver the *divisio*, along with modeling a speech for students (Bonner 1977, pp. 321–322). In presenting their arguments the participants followed a model of arrangement inherited from the rhetorical tradition, making their way through a standard sequence across the proem, the narrative, the proofs, and the peroration (Bonner 1977, pp. 289–295). So after delivering the *sententiae*, the *divisio*, and the *colores*, participants relied on classical models of arrangement in making their speeches in response to the case. Participation in declamation, then, was

structured by both a dialogue procedure, which regulated the parts and order of the discussion among participants, and by norms of arrangement, which regulated the internal order of the speeches themselves.

Classical models of rhetorical arrangement varied in the number of parts that they articulated, but most were elaborations of the fundamental distinction between the speaker's presentation of the facts of a case and the speaker's argument about it. In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle presents this fundamental distinction[2] and disparages models of arrangement that complicate matters beyond this while recognizing that others have elaborated it with various kinds of introduction and conclusion, along with subdivisions of the two fundamental parts (Aristotle 1954, bk. III.13). One enduring elaboration of classical arrangement is that presented in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the well-known Roman handbook that maintained a strong influence on rhetorical training and theory through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Conley 1994, p. 111; Cox and Willard 2006). It distinguishes among six parts: "Introduction", "Statement of Facts," "Division," "Proof," "Refutation," and "Conclusion" ([Cicero] 1954, bk. I.4). The "Statement of Facts" and the "Proof" reflect Aristotle's more general distinction. Since the *ad Herennium* was such an influential handbook, we might expect that Roman declaimers gained experience with this arrangement scheme during their training (Bonner 1977, p. 277). The classical model of arrangement is interesting for its balance of the skills of narration with the skills of justification, recognizing the necessity of not only argument in its technical modern sense, but also effective control of plot and event in the practical discourse of law and legislature.[3] As a simulacrum of legal and legislative institutions, declamation similarly demanded narrative skills.

In their earlier training, declaimers also would have completed the progymnasmata, elementary exercises that prepared students for the challenges of declamation (Kennedy 2003, p. x; Mendelson 2002, p. 187). The progymnasmata drilled students in a cumulative progression of composition exercises ending with those that closely resembled the arguments that they would be expected to produce as declaimers. Since the goal of this training went far beyond knowledge acquisition to demand that students fully internalize a performance skill, the pedagogy of the progymnasmata was very demanding and repetitive. The drill was the primary mode of classroom instruction, and instructors were infamous for being oppressive both in their treatment of students and in their expectations for performance (Bonner 1977, p. 259; Fleming 2003). While a number of progymnasmata handbooks have survived from Hellenistic Greece and Rome, all presenting a similar curriculum, the progymnasmata of Aphthonius seems to have been particularly durable, maintaining a presence in European education through the Renaissance (Fleming 2003, p. 110; Kennedy 2003; Nadeau 1952, p. 264). The progymnasmata of Aphthonius presented students with 14 exercises, beginning with the simpler

[2] Bonner calls the argument, or "proof," "the most fundamental part of a forensic speech" (Bonner 1977, p. 295).

[3] Some more modern approaches have recognized and explicitly theorized narrative as part of argumentation (Fisher 1987; Kaufer and Butler 1996, 2000).

and more narrative and progressing to the more complex and argumentative: "I. Concerning a Fable," "II. Concerning a Tale," "III. Concerning a Chreia," "IV. Concerning a Proverb," "V. Concerning a Refutation," "VI. Concerning a Confirmation," "VII. Concerning a Commonplace," "VIII. Concerning and Encomium," "IX. Concerning a Vituperation," "X. Concerning a Comparison," "XI. Concerning a Characterization," "XII. Concerning a Description," "XIII. Concerning a Thesis," and "XIV. Concerning a Proposal of a Law" (Nadeau 1952). In order to master each of the 14 exercises, students listened to models from authoritative sources memorizing and imitating them, gradually progressing to their own compositions.

It is not hard to see how progymnasmata training would have directly served students' needs as declaimers, as it drilled them in the specific narrative and argumentative skills they needed for the two fundamental parts of speechmaking, the narrative of the case and the argument delineated by the classical model of arrangement. And a close fit might be expected, given that the curriculum was designed for this purpose. Through the initial the "Fable" and "Tale" exercises, they were trained in the skills of narrative. The "Refutation," "Confirmation," and "Commonplace" exercises added specific, isolated skills of argument and dialectical exchange. The ultimate exercises, "Thesis" and "Law," required students to integrate many of these skills into a coherent standpoint responding to a specific case, crucial skills of argument with clear parallels to the challenges of the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* (Bonner 1977, pp. 270, 273). Not only did they leave the progymnasmata with a mastery of these fundamental skills of speechmaking, they also compiled a wealth of stock narratives and arguments from having memorized and imitated models during each exercise, models that provided a kind of training in rhetorical and cultural literacy. Through this training, they would have been well-prepared in a number of ways to participate in the *controversiae*: to deliver the *sententiae* (epigrammatic position statements), the *colores* (brief statements of the case), the *divisio* (the basic stasis points), and their speeches themselves, using the classical model of arrangement.

Although they became highly visible and institutionalized educational practices in late Republican and Imperial Rome, the progymnasmata and declamation did not begin or end with Rome. The *controversiae* represent a highly evolved child of two simpler exercises from the tradition: the *causae* of Cicero and the philosophical *thesis* of Aristotle's *Topics* (Bonner 1949, p. 2). Stasis theory also contributes to its development, status determination being one of the central problems confronted by participants in the *controversiae* (Bonner 1949, pp. 15–16). Notably, the *thesis* endures as the penultimate exercise in the progymnasmata. With the historical shift from the Republican to the Imperial, Roman declamation strayed farther and farther from its purpose of training speakers for the law courts and public assemblies. This is in part due to the practice of declamation itself, which began to reward epideictic display over cogent argument, and the larger political context where a speaker's patronage and harmony with political power were the key determinants of success, overshadowing skill in forensic and deliberative argument and oratory, practices which, though celebrated in the Republic, could put a speaker in danger in the new climate (Bonner 1949, p. 43). Declamation also fell into some disrepute as a pedagogical practice, with critics complaining that its cases were too fanciful to

provide legitimate training for the real challenges of argument within civic institutions. To the late Roman critic, many of the controversiae seemed too indebted to Greek pedagogy and too crowded with stock characters and fanciful situations (Winterbottom 1974, pp. xii–xiii). This despite the fact that many of them seem to have clear parallels with Roman history and law (Bonner 1949, pp. 34–39).

Although by the time of Imperial Rome declamation had come under criticism for its fanciful cases and performances that focused more on the participants than their arguments, its staged critical dialogues remained part of rhetorical training in Western schooling for a very long time. It was perpetuated through the medieval *disputatio*, was embraced during the Renaissance along with that period's larger interest in Quintilian, and played a central role, for instance, in the curriculum of US colleges through the 19C (Mendelson 2002, pp. 205–206). In universities today, it survives mostly as a method for testing graduate students in oral examinations and thesis defenses (Rescher 1977, p. 3). Until the mid-19C declamation exercises remained standard requirements in the upper level curriculum of US colleges. Through the middle of the 18C, students were reading the primary texts of the discourse arts in Greek and Latin, the work of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, and declaiming in Latin. While the curriculum gradually shifted to the English language, the focus on rhetoric, spoken disputation, and declamation remained strong until the second-half of the 19C (Fritz 1929). The controversial method and its declamation practices, under a number of guises, have a long history in Western schooling. While the point of this sharply foreshortened history of declamation is to illustrate its persistence, it does not come close to and does not attempt anything like a complete account of the practice, a large and challenging project unto itself, a project that others with more historical aims have successfully engaged (cf. Berlin 1984, 1987; Bonner 1949, 1977; Conley 1994; Dascal 2006; Kennedy 2003; cf. Mendelson 2002; Parks 1945).

School declamation practice is relevant to the present project because it is a long standing location of controversy, a location that is of particular importance to the discourse arts. By no means should this be taken to suggest that it is the only one, or that the history of declamation is the sole set of prior texts about the topic. It happens to be an important one here because of its durability and role in standards-setting and because the institutionalized practices of the discourse arts themselves are relevant to the analysis. By structuring controversies and teaching best practices for resolving them, scholars in the academy, for many years, have contributed to students' experiences and expectations about them, and perhaps to our larger cultural experience of them as phenomena. As a traditional school practice, declamation required students to adopt the role of participant in a critical dialogue or public address. It set standards and taught best practices in order to foster students' acclimation to this new role, both in their development and delivery of arguments – via status definition, inventional heuristics, and rules of arrangement – and in their pragmatic engagements with one another – via explicit procedural rules for discussion. While the social function and significance of the training varied widely across its long history, it maintained a place in the institution of the school and provided, in at least some of its iterations, training for entitled participation in civic institutions.

In this, it served as an institutional location of controversy. Civic institutions such as law courts and legislative assemblies, those that school declamation training was designed to mimic, are other conspicuous locations of controversy. Any attempt at a comprehensive account would have to explain the role of these among many others. Declamation and other institutionalized practices of rhetorical and dialectical training are traced, cited, invoked, and reiterated by scholars of the discourse arts themselves both in explicit efforts to name and situate current practice within a tradition and implicitly through many reiterations of debate and argument pedagogies. Indeed, along with its sometime guise as public sport, declamation has been strongly associated with the history of schooling and school practices.

The location of controversy in the declamation tradition helps to explain some of the fundamental research problems outlined by Goodnight. In traditional practice, controversy is situated in a staged, spoken, decision-making dialogue explicitly structured by institutional norms, and depends on a coherent educational system that puts students through years of drilling and training, and that defines standard dialogue procedures, and models of arrangement for and roles for participants. It also depends on legal and political institutions that are well-served by this educational system, supporting and reproducing an aristocracy by preparing entitled students to move from classroom declamation to positions of power in courts and assemblies (Bender and Wellbery 1990, p. 7). Some have attempted to rehabilitate the controversial method and declamation, showing how they help to enrich the dialogue model of the discourse arts by expanding the pool of participants and standpoints beyond two and by productively relaxing the truth-discovery aims of traditional dialectical exchange (Mendelson 2001, pp. 227–228). By rehabilitating the controversiae, perhaps we might enrich and revalue the staged decision-making dialogue as a kernel situation for pedagogy, showing how it can function as a crucible for argument invention among participants in a school context (Mendelson 2001, pp. 288–291). Any serious attempt to implement such a rehabilitation, of course, would need to consider the important differences between today's research university and its relationship to the professions beyond it, for example, and the place of declamation in the schools and societies of the tradition. As a school practice, the controversiae fit well within larger curricula designed specifically to prepare students to adopt entitled positions as civic participants, within schools that trained only a small number of elites who took for granted future leadership roles in civic institutions.

1.3 News as a Venue of Public Controversy

Declamation practices locate controversies in a staged critical dialogue situation in order to train participants in best practices for resolving them. In the rhetorical tradition, these practices have been part of a larger effort to train young men for public life, where "public" indicates institutions of government and justice like legislative assemblies and law courts. Understanding "public controversy" in this tradition, then, the discourse arts might rightly focus on the kinds of critical dialogues that are

explicitly structured by government or academic institutions. However, this focus elides another sense of "public," that is the notion of the mass public of modern industrial societies that social scientists in the early 20C began to identify and investigate (Allport 1924a, p. 308; Clark 1933, p. 317). Considering the modern mass public, locating and accounting for a "public controversy" becomes a problem. What is the venue? Who counts as a participant? What are the relevant communication norms? Given the presumed scale, heterogeneity, and distribution of a collectivity like a mass public, there would seem to be no simple answers to these questions.

While no single location could claim to be the sole venue for modern public controversy, the news is at the very least one of the more important. Journalists are participants in public controversies, as writers who shape them through their reporting (Hall 1978, p. 17). While it is often presumed to be distorting or sensationalistic, distracting readers or listeners from the truth about events or the proper issues or problems, the news provides a venue for modern public controversy and therefore warrants our attention as investigators (Goodnight 1991, p. 7). In addition to the public institutions of government and justice, the institution of the Press creates a venue for controversy (Dascal 2005, p. 229).

To point out that audiences depend on the news as one venue of public controversy is not necessarily to damn the media. It describes a condition of modern mass mediated society. In the late 19C and early 20C, as journalism became increasingly professionalized and audiences became increasingly large and distributed, journalists began to occupy the role of expert interpreter of public events (Schudson 1978, pp. 146–147). Through the development of the news article genre and its informational register, the journalist became a professional writer trusted to address a mass public. The professionalization of journalists and the development of the news article genre in the late 19C introduced new kinds of events to news readers, events at a high level of abstraction that were called, for instance, a "crisis" or a "horror" (Smith 1978, p. 168). The industrialization that brought mass immigrations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries to North America created a large, diverse, urban audience for the burgeoning mass media. Along with the rise of professions more generally, professional writers and speakers such as journalists and public relations experts emerged to work in this new media industry and address this new mass audience (Schudson 1978, pp. 97–98, 138). The modern mass mediated public controversy develops from this history.

These are the historical conditions that so concern critical theorists such as Habermas, who finds in them the loss of rational deliberation and true public participation. Habermas traces a historical shift from an 18C "culture debating" to a 20C "culture consuming public," a "pseudo-public or sham-private world of culture consumption" (Habermas 1989, pp. 159–160). He highlights the corrupting role of the professional journalists and the news article genre in this historical shift, explaining that reports of information replace or hide commitments, arguments, and standpoints, that open critical debate is replaced by editorial decisions by mass media professionals (Habermas 1989, p. 169). The informational register of 20C news discourse and the professionalization of journalists would seem to change the way that public controversy is presented and conducted. For Habermas, this is evidence of a

larger historical shift from a culture in which citizens are decision-makers in rational debates in the salons and reading societies of the 18C, a culture made possible by "literary journalism" and an "intellectual press," to one in the 20C in which consumers purchase reports of public events generated by professional writers and editors, reports that inform them of the decisions made on their behalf by others (Habermas 1974, 1989, pp. 53, 160, 175). This historical process leads to a "refeudalization" of society (Habermas 1989, p. 142). Whether or not news discourse is responsible for the larger effects described by Habermas in his critique, it has played an important role in representing and reporting public controversies to mass audiences through the 20C. The fact that the news serves as a venue for public events, fallen as it may be from a normative perspective, makes it an important object of study for an investigation of modern public controversy.

1.4 A Constitutive Approach to Controversy

This book draws from and builds on the work of researchers who have investigated the ways that news discourse helps to shape public events for mass audiences, and it does this in order to address an outstanding problem in the discourse arts concerning the location and shape of public controversy. The project presents a constitutive attitude toward controversy (see Chap. 2). In this kind of attitude, an investigator analyzes particular instances of talk or text as parts of dynamic acts of communication and contexts while considering the ways that these instances might both be shaped by and themselves help to shape same. In other words, this attitude begins with the assumption that the ways that we talk and write contribute in some way to our experience of events. With this in mind, an investigator needs a careful and systematic way to explain how stretches of discourse work with as much attention as is possible to their complexity and particularity, taking into account, for instance, the details of their language, participants, prior texts, media, and purposes (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008, p. 11). This project uses discourse analysis as a method for investigating news writing about controversy, aiming to account for why it is shaped in its particular way (Johnstone 1996, p. 24). This distinguishes it from other approaches that begin with a theory and seek out examples in support of that theory, or that aim to develop norm-enforcing procedures for best practices. One of the implications of the constitutive attitude is that, as writers and speakers, scholars of the discourse arts can be said not only to investigate controversies but also to help to shape our experience of them. Philosophers and philosophical judgments, for example, do not exist independently of their environments, however often they may be presented as if they might (Johnstone 1978, p. 7). While this project focuses primarily on the contributions of journalists to our experience of public controversy, it also asks, in a constitutive attitude, how the judgments and texts of philosophers and other scholars also may contribute.

The conclusions drawn from the research in this book are primarily descriptive rather than critical although its findings could be used to contribute to a media or

culture critique. The aim is to discover how news discourse helps to shape controversy, and in doing so, to explain how journalists are participants, recognizing their central importance as professional writers for public audiences. The limitations of news discourse in reporting and representing public events as judged against a variety of norms are well documented (Bennett 2004; Entman 1989; Herman and Chomsky 1988). Instead of emphasizing its limitations, this project describes how news discourse serves as a venue for public controversy, and explains how paying attention to this can help to solve some of the problems of controversy confronted by the discourse arts. This is not to say that norms are irrelevant to this project: News writing and the profession of journalism are subject to norms and standard practices specific to that domain, and these play an important role in the analysis undertaken here.

The approach to controversy presented in this book is part of a larger research trajectory featuring investigators who use discourse analysis to address research problems in rhetoric and argumentation (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008). The features that distinguish these kinds of projects from the approaches that are more traditional in the discourse arts are that they are empirical, ethnographic, and grounded, aiming to observe the details of actual stretches of discourse, emphasizing the perspectives of its participants, and developing generalizations that emerge from rich and repeated experience with the particulars of data (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008, p. 3). This kind of approach provides one way to address a central tension created by the normative goals of the discourse arts. From their traditions, they have inherited a focus on training participants in best speaking and writing practices, a pedagogical legacy. Modern rhetoricians and dialecticians have reimagined the discourse arts as arts of criticism, broadening their scope and possible objects of study (Blair and Johnson 1987, p. 44; Howell 1975, pp. 17–19; Walton 1989, p. 1; Wichelns 1966, p. 41). This has placed critics from the discourse arts in a position to leverage their norms of discourse against the public and professional norms and performances of speakers and writers. This shift has highlighted the tension between their normative and descriptive goals, a tension that is often resolved by limiting the object of study to only that discourse that already resembles or can be made to fit the normative model, and by ignoring that discourse that fails to fit (Jacobs 2000, p. 265). The normative and pedagogical charge of the tradition contributes to this tension. The traditional conceptual apparatus, designed to train speakers and writers in best practices, is being put to interpretive work or descriptive research (Gaonkar 1997, pp. 25–85). Discourse analysis provides one way to address this tension, supporting investigators' development of grounded descriptions and ethnographic explanations of texts.

1.5 Events in News Discourse

From a constitutive attitude, "controversy" is a term that writers and speakers use to name an event. It is one of a number of event categories that journalists use in reporting discursive conflicts (Cramer 2008, p. 280). These kinds of category terms are of

particular value to journalists as they contribute to their fulfillment of the central purpose of the news article genre, which is to report events (Bell 1991, p. 14). Reflecting the centrality of this purpose, studies of news discourse present event as a key a unit of analysis, especially as it functions in a narrative macrostructure or story grammar (Bell 1991, p. 164; Dijk 1988, p. 42). Other researchers work at a smaller grain size, asking questions about how events are represented in lexis. Among these are sociologists of media and critical discourse analysts. In the first case, the analysis of terms and language is a small part of a much larger and more ambitious project examining the professional, financial, social, and ideological production and reception practices of media. For the second, language is a primary object of study and analysts extend their claims about language out to ideology and social practice. Many critical discourse analysts seem to be attracted to media texts as a particularly fruitful and significant domain for illustrating claims about ideology and language (cf. Fowler et al. 1979; Hodge and Kress 1993). Unlike sociology of media, however, critical discourse analysis does not limit its focus to media, however much it functions as a favored domain: For instance, compare Fairclough's work on media discourse with his work on discourse and power more generally (Fairclough 1989, 1995). For critical discourse analysis, the tendency to gravitate toward media texts as examples is a predictable outcome of its theoretical commitments to ideology critique, given the traditional importance of media to public information and political decision making in modern democratic societies.

Some sociologists of media observe the categories that journalists use to classify events, pointing out that particular categories have significant ideological and constitutive functions (Fishman 1978, 1988; Glasgow University Media Group 1976a; Hall 1978; Roshco 1975; Tuchman 1980). Tuchman, for instance, investigates the ways that journalists help to shape a riot as a public event by transforming it from an amorphous phenomenon into a particular historical event by use of lexicalization and individuation (Tuchman 1980, p. 190). The Glasgow Media Group illustrates the function of categories in the news by analyzing a segment of broadcast news discourse where the term "unrest" is used strategically to gloss a wide range of disparate phenomena and issues (Glasgow University Media Group 1976b, p. 355). Hall, et. al. explore how news outlets help to create and perpetuate "moral panics" as public events in modern mass mediated societies (Hall 1978, p. 17). Though their sociological and cultural analysis goes far beyond concerns of language, they are interested in the ways that journalists write, focusing on their use of event abstractions like "mugging." They emphasize the fact that the work of journalists is rhetorical production, that, despite the objectivity norm of the profession, journalists' writing necessarily reduces and glosses events (Hall 1978, p. 53). This research shows how journalists use event abstractions to gloss and reduce what would otherwise be disparate phenomena under a common category term, discursively bounding them as a single, specifiable historical occurrence.

Although sociology of media observes the importance of category terms in reproducing ideology, human communication remains a sidelight to its primary concerns about institutions, professions, and social practices. Fishman's analysis of crime waves provides an example of the ambiguous role that language seems to play

for sociologists of media. On the one hand, he observes anecdotally the way that the language of media helps to shape the "crime wave" as an event and notes that the way the media presents this event could effect a "public definition of a new type of crime." His on-again off-again use of scare quotes around the term "wave" suggests that he is mentioning it rather than using it, pointing at it as a token, and thereby taking a critical attitude toward it as it is used in media coverage (Fishman 1978, p. 532). On the other hand, Fishman often uses the phrase "crime wave" as a term of analysis, as if it refers transparently to a particular historical event he is studying. For instance, he introduces a case by writing, "In late 1976, New York City experienced a major crime wave" (Fishman 1978, p. 531). This presents an ambiguity and would seem to raise a fundamental question: If the phrase "crime wave" is reductive and ideological when it is used by journalists, how can it function unproblematically as a term of analysis when used by sociologists? A generous answer to this question would note the priorities of Fishman's study and the priorities of sociology of media in general. Discourse is simply not the focus of this research. Fishman ultimately draws conclusions not about news texts but about the "news production system" – the judgments of the various media organizations, journalists, and public officials involved in covering the case (Fishman 1978, p. 531). The particular ways that journalists write and speak are interesting insofar as they help to confirm top-level sociological generalizations. In this case at least, the apparent interdependence of these two things is not treated as a problem or barrier.

Where sociologists of media note the ideological functions of category terms on their way to a larger analysis of professional, financial, social, and ideological practices of media, critical discourse analysts focus on category terms in media as a way to exemplify their claims about the ideological functions of language more generally (Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Fowler et al. 1979; Kress and Hodge 1979). Some studies limit their scope specifically to news texts (Fairclough 1995; Trew 1979a, b). Others gravitate toward news examples even when their conclusions are more general, concerning discourse and language broadly (Fairclough 1989; Kress and Hodge 1979). For instance, Trew analyzes the media coverage of the 1977 Notting Hill Carnival, explaining, among other things, the variety of terms that journalists use to refer to the events and the people involved (Trew 1979a, pp. 126–127). He is particularly concerned with categories that journalists use to describe human beings, like "British people," "Blacks," "mob," and "police," along with the terms journalists refer to events, like "riot" and "violence in the streets" (Trew 1979a, p. 123). He points out that while classifications like these provide a way of referring to an event, they also constitute a kind of theory or framework for it (Trew 1979b, p. 99).

The approach taken in this project builds on and extends these discoveries about category terms from sociologists of media and critical discourse analysts. Unlike the work of sociologists of media, however, the analysis here is grounded primarily in textual data, explaining how detailed discourse structure contributes to the shaping of controversy in news texts. And unlike the work of sociologists of media, the analysis here focuses squarely on the ways that linguistic classifications limit and inflect writers' and speakers' reports about the world. It investigates

categories in news discourse primarily in order to draw conclusions about the uses that the speakers and writers make of them, rather than conclusions about the events and people to which and to whom the categories point. From this perspective, a category is not natural and simply referential – it does not provide an open conduit to some state of affairs in the world. In this attention to the details of text and language and this constitutive attitude about discourse more generally, the project shares much with the approach and priorities of critical discourse analyses of news (Fowler 1991, p. 10; Hodge and Kress 1993, p. 64; Trew 1979b, p. 99). However, it does not presuppose the overarching critical theory of society or ideology critique of those projects, a perspective that tends to use its discoveries about the details of news discourse to confirm suspicions about pernicious motives of journalists and news organizations and to evaluate news writing as a distorting filter of what might otherwise be an honest and transparent account of events. Among the problems with that perspective is that the overarching generalizations about society, ideology, and history necessary for critique often depend on treating a number of categories (i.e. the terms of analysis) as natural and simply referential conduits to some state of affairs in the world even while the analysis carefully interrogates the constitutive functions of many of the categories of news discourse. To a certain extent, this situation is unavoidable, as analysts must always make some generalizations and presumptions. However, this project does not share the particular presumption with critical discourse analysis that a detailed analysis of news discourse will necessarily serve a broader critique of journalism and news organizations that is itself in line with a larger critical theory of society. As much as it is possible, given its significant limitations, this project aims to explain news discourse by imagining the perspectives of journalists, who are professional writers reporting on news events, and readers, who go to their texts to learn something about the world, rather than to critique news discourse by measuring it against norms that may be irrelevant or unknown to the participants themselves.

1.6 News Discourse Data

The primary data set for this project is the Reuters Corpus (RCV1), a collection of English language news articles. The Reuters news agency made the collection available to researchers in 2000, and it has been used most often for projects in natural language processing, information retrieval, and machine learning. The National Institute for Standards and Technology currently manages and distributes the Corpus (NIST 2009). The Reuters Corpus (RCV1) consists of all of the English language news articles published by Reuters during 1 year, between August 20, 1996 and August 19, 1997, and represents a typical range of coverage by a large English language news agency with international reach (Lewis et al. 2004, p. 364). It was culled from online databases where Reuters distributes approximately 11,000 articles per day in 23 languages (Lewis et al. 2004, p. 364). The analysis presented in the book focuses, for the most part, on three levels of structure – lexico-grammar,

text, and genre – and aims to show how patterns at these levels are shaped by and contribute to news discourse about public events. In particular, the book examines the many formulas that journalists rely on in reporting controversy, showing how these formulas serve the purposes of the news article genre and the professional norms of journalism. This approach differs than some established ways of investigating controversy – using texts to reflect them or critiquing texts for distorting them – by analyzing texts to explain how they help to constitute them.

This is a complicated time for news outlets, who find themselves in the odd position of reporting doomsday predictions of their own demise (Sorkin 2008). Websites like "Newspaper Death Watch" take for granted that the news industry will witness a complete shift from print and broadcast to online delivery and from professional reporting and editing to amateur and volunteer labor, characterizing all of this as a sign of "the rebirth of journalism" (Newspaper Death Watch 2009). These kinds of dystopian and utopian predictions tend to collapse a number of issues involving how news is collected, written, delivered, read, interpreted, and used, promoting its technology of delivery as a single deterministic variable. They also tend to treat this perceived technological revolution as total and universal in a different sense, taking particular changes in the literate practices of rich, educated people in the democratic, industrial West to represent the experience of all. How news discourse changes when it is delivered online in addition to print, and how the news industry changes when online is a dominant mode of delivery are important and ambitious research question that are beyond the reach of this book. As we gain more experience with the emerging terms and conditions of the news industry of the rich, educated, democratic, industrial West, we will benefit from the efforts of experienced analysts who dedicate their attention squarely to answering these kinds of questions (cf., for example, Fuller 2010). With data from the 1990s, this project deals with news discourse from a time that predates full-throated assignations of "crisis" in the profession of journalism, a time when the delivery of news online, among other emerging changes, was still a relatively new idea and sidelight to print and broadcast delivery. In this, the project is historically situated in a world where the Standard Model of Professional Journalism still holds sway both for journalists and for readers, a model that helped to undergird the objectivity norm for the profession that was so central to its epistemic authority as arbiter of public information for much of the 20C (Fuller 2010, p. 2). Strictly speaking, the conclusions here about how news discourse helps to shape public controversy are particular to the texts of the Reuters Corpus and their times and places, and may or may not be relevant to 21C news writing by Reuters or another news outlet.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The central goal of this project is to explain how news discourse depicts and indexes public controversy and in doing so to contribute to the research on controversy in rhetoric and argumentation. The chapters that follow address this goal by

investigating the news article at the levels of genre, text, and lexico-grammar, and by explaining how the patterns at each of these levels contribute to controversy as a narrated news event and as a news reading event. Journalists are participants in public controversy as they are professional writers who create text artifacts that narrate controversy for their readers. Chapter 2 explains in detail the object of study for the project and in doing so identifies three attitudes investigators might take toward their object of study in the analysis of controversy. Chapter 3 describes the genre of the news article in professional, textual, and historical terms, and compares it to the philosophical dialogue genre, a cultural prototype for decision making dialogue. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the particular formulas that journalists rely on in narrating controversy in news reports. Chapter 6 describes two key locations of controversy as news discourse, the narrated news event and the news reading situation, the interaction between the reader and the text artifact, and discusses the relevance of these locations in the study of controversy in rhetoric and argumentation.

Chapter 2 investigates some of the problems that investigators confront when they research events like controversies. While the discourse arts have tended to foreground as their object of study the arguments of participants in dialogue, a controversy can present many facets depending upon the sources by which investigators access the event, and how they use those sources as data. This chapter, presents three attitudes an investigator might take toward public controversies and the texts that report them: the supportive, the distortive, and the constitutive. It explains how the constitutive attitude, the one emphasized in this book, is particularly well-paired with a discourse analysis of controversy as it takes its object of study to be the texts that narrate controversies. In addition, It shows how adopting such an attitude leads us to treat journalists as participants whose writing helps to shape events for readers.

Chapter 3 focuses on genres and norms, in both the discourse arts and in the news. It describes the genre of the news article in professional, textual, and historical terms, and compares it to the philosophical dialogue genre, a cultural prototype for decision making dialogue. It explores the links between the philosophical dialogue genre and the dialogue model, a normative framework that has contributed solutions to the location problem in argumentation research. It also explores the history of the news article genre and the professional norms of journalism, explaining how these are relevant to a study of public controversy. In particular, it describes how the objectivity norm of professional journalism and the particular textual features of its prototypical genre, the news article, reinforce one another, placing both in historical context.

Chapter 4 reports the results of an analysis of controversy as an event category in the Reuters Corpus. The chapter investigates in detail a number of formulas that journalists use to report controversy, showing how these both depict it as a kind of news event and perform textual functions that serve the larger rhetorical and professional purposes of the news article genre. The results of the analysis in this chapter detail three formulas in controversy narration in the news: controversy as a natural phenomenon, as an historical event, and as a pragmatic event. This first contributes to our experience of controversies as forces of nature, autopoietic processes that develop beyond human agency, decision making, and control. The second

and third contribute to our experience of controversies as relatively discrete historical and discursive phenomena, with the third regularly depicting individual human agents as interlocutors. These three formulas serve the requirements and features of the news article genre, and the chapter explains how the results relate to the discussion of genre in Chap. 3.

Chapter 5 reports the results of an analysis of strongly topicalized controversy articles from the Reuters Corpus, showing how journalists use constructed dialogue to narrate controversies in their reporting. Journalists develop interlocutor profiles, constructing dialogues among participants whom they nominate and voice through reported speech. These are extended examples of pragmatic event formulas, and through them, journalists provide a location for controversies, narrating them in constructed dialogues. The chapter details a number of particular dialogue formulas used in reporting and shows how journalists regularly narrate dialogue among interlocutors who have likely not shared physical proximity, addressed one another directly, provided public, on-the-record statements that are relevant, nor engaged the issue that has been identified by the report. While they do construct decision making dialogues, journalists do not narrate controversy according to the norms and standards promoted by rhetoric and argumentation. In most cases, doing so would tend to put journalists at odds with their own professional norms, which stress the reporting of events through assiduous concern for an empirical grounding in the statements of sources. The chapter explains how news discourse contributes to our larger assumptions about the dialogue situation as the natural setting for controversy.

Chapter 6 describes two key locations of controversy as news discourse, the narrated news event and the news reading situation and discusses the relevance of these locations in the study of controversy in rhetoric and argumentation. The chapter contrasts the direct dialogue of the classical speaking situation with the indirect dialogue of news discourse, showing how news toggles attention between the reporting situation of the journalist and the speech situation of the narrated participants. Beyond this, it shows how controversy reporting and genre features help to position and locate the reader and the text artifact in a larger public space. In addition, the chapter examines traditional efforts by researchers to locate their object of study in a classical speaking situation, examining the study of “oratory” and the “public sphere” in particular, calling attention to the differences between this perspective and one that focuses on narrated events and reading situations as locations of public controversy.

Chapter 2
Controversies and Texts

The traditions of the discourse arts take controversy to be the proper subject matter for a critical discussion; it functions as a prerequisite and is treated as a motivating exigence. Indeed, one of the central purposes of the tradition has been to train participants to resolve problems and issues; it explicitly aims to adjudicate controversies. But for all of its attention to resolution, the tradition tends to background the problem of how a controversy comes to be an exigence in the first place. When this problem is acknowledged, it is presented as something a participant must resolve during the invention or discovery process, through, for instance, the use of topoi and/or the system of stasis. This emphasis on adjudication and resolution contributes to the central dilemma in Goodnight's Glen Mills mystery (Goodnight 1991, pp. 1–2). Some larger, poorly defined conflict that motivates a process of problem solving needs to already exist in order for the methods of resolution, such as a decision-making dialogue, to become productive and relevant. This is why the subject of controversy itself has remained so fundamental but simultaneously so opaque. While controversy is a prerequisite for a critical discussion, explaining it is not a central goal. The emphasis on training participants in best practices with the goal of resolving controversies is consistent with the normative and critical orientation of the discourse arts. In this they take a kind of clinical stance toward discourse (Barth 1985, p. 377). In many of its guises, the rhetorical tradition is a long standing program for verbal hygiene (Cameron 1995, p. 29). It has sponsored a centuries-long handbook tradition dedicated to a clinical goal – improving the student's argumentation and communication skills. The clinical perspective has kept the focus on the challenge of resolving controversies, on training participants to resolve them or critiquing participants who fail to resolve them or address them in the most productive ways, but has made it difficult to address the challenge of explaining them.

The staged decision-making dialogue has played a central role in the repertoire of interventions for resolving controversies, serving as a pragmatic location that situates participants and provides procedural constraints on their discourse in order to ensure the quality of contributions and of decisions. Because it is a prerequisite of the decision-making dialogue and because such a dialogue aims to resolve rather than explain it, we need to look at and beyond the dialogue in order to explain

P.A. Cramer, *Controversy as News Discourse*, Argumentation Library 19,
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controversy. Indeed, some have used the terms of staged decision-making dialogues in order to define controversy negatively, as a violation of logical, dialectical, and pragmatic norms. From this perspective, controversy is a "failure of dialogue" where participants "turn their backs on arguments" (McKeon 1990, p. 26). Or it is "vicious" featuring "endless 'procedural' debates about framing" and "passionate rhetoric" (Dascal 1990, p. 84). These are examples of the ways that controversy is experienced as lying upstream from, or as a motivating exigence for a decision-making dialogue without being part of it, a troublesome and pathological condition whose very purpose lies in its ability to be resolved by clinical discourse. If this approach shows us what controversy is not, how can we explain what it is? A positive explanation of controversy will need to explore the territory beyond the staged decision-making dialogue.

The relationship between texts and events is one of the issues that has perpetuated the thorniest problems with controversy. Bringing a normative framework to descriptive research about controversy has occluded certain basic questions about the object of study. Controversy remains a mystery because we do not know where to look. How do investigators locate and access it? The following sections draw some distinctions among common attitudes that investigators take in researching controversy as an event, the supportive, the distortive, and the constitutive. In addition, they explain why news discourse is relevant to research on public controversy and why the traditions of the discourse arts may have downplayed its importance.

2.1 Descriptive and Normative Aims of the Discourse Arts

The discourse arts has generally looked within its own traditions, with their attendant normative and pedagogical emphases, for both its objects of study and methods of analysis. Jacobs identifies the fundamental confusion of descriptive and normative goals in the traditional approach, a tension that gives rise to a characteristic treatment of texts. He writes, "There is a decided tendency to describe what *is* being said in terms of normative models of what *should* be said or else to ignore it altogether. Either way, non-argument and bad argument (the distinction is fuzzy) tend to get ignored when messages are described in presumptive model form" (Jacobs 2000, p. 265). Critics tend to draw from only those parts of texts that provide examples that are recognizable through normative models, or those parts that can charitably or generously be made to fit logical, dialectical, and rhetorical norms, while ignoring the other parts. It is in this way that the normative models come to limit descriptive goals. The object of study is demarcated by the critical norms. Nowhere is this more plain than in Jacobs' point about the fuzziness of the distinction between non-argument and bad argument. In addressing this lacuna, he calls for some productive methodological distinctions between critical and descriptive projects: "Our descriptive

procedures cannot be limited to using analytic categories prescribed by an ideal model of argumentative form and conduct. Departures from the model need to be noticed" (Jacobs 2000, p. 272). A constitutive approach to controversy responds to this need for descriptive procedures that are not limited to or isomorphic with the normative models of the discourse arts.

Disentangling the descriptive from the clinical project creates at least one new problem. What is the object of study in an analysis of controversy? In the traditional clinical approach this question is somewhat hidden or may seem irrelevant because the object of study is contained in the critical framework itself. If controversies are the iniquitous and incontinent kinds of speech event that many researchers seem to think they are, then there is good reason to expect that normative models, based as they are on ideal or best practices, would necessarily miss much of their complexity. As a clinical project will tend to equate its normative model with its object of study, when it considers an actually occurring controversial event, it is only those utterances, standpoints, or contributions that can be framed in the terms of the model and the larger goal of resolution that will be recognizable as an object of study, parts that can be given structure and procedure by re-locating them, for instance, to a coherent, normatively bounded, staged decision-making dialogue. For a more squarely descriptive project, the question about the object of study is non-trivial. It may not necessarily involve a staged decision-making dialogue bounded by universal logical, dialectical, and pragmatic norms, for instance, or at least not the sort that is envisioned in many normative models, where interlocutors meet with one another face-to-face and speak on behalf of their own commitments, addressing one another through brief turns that remain relevant to previous turns and to the larger purpose of the discussion. If it does happen to be located in some sort of dialogue, it may not be strictly limited to or wholly defined by it. Whatever the case, the methods of analysis the investigator marshals need to be distinguished in some way from the object of study if a descriptive project is going to proceed. Among other things, this means that the particular limitations and jurisdictions of the method will need to be accounted for and along with it the particular relationship the investigator is establishing with the object of study.

If the object of study is not isomorphic with a normative model – for instance that of a decision-making dialogue, an event at which interlocutors meet with one another and argue in turn about a shared, central issue – then where is the object of study? Without first constructing a normative model of speech events, how can the investigator even begin? One solution is to take particular stretches of talk or text as the object of study, the sources that the critic might otherwise consult to learn about and reconstruct some controversial event. If the sources do, in fact, seem to take a form that is isomorphic with a normative model of a speech event, then it may make good sense to describe them in the those terms. If they do not, then the challenge for the investigator in a descriptive project is to learn more about the structure and norms of those particular stretches of talk or text. By making texts the object of study, the investigator remains open to the possibility, for instance, that he or she will witness some departures from a normative model.

Investigators routinely consult texts even as their declared objects of study are events. This means that there is an inevitable slippage between the analysis of a controversy, for instance, and the data that the investigator consults in order to access that controversy. Even with field work, where the investigator would seem to have direct access and experience with events, this slippage exists. The investigator could stage or attend an event – perhaps one that features an argumentative exchange between two speakers who take brief turns directly addressing each other and a commonly agreed upon issue or question – and could record it and then transcribe it in order to use this as data. Research on conversational argument, for instance, uses field work to identify adjacency pairs that sharpen disagreement in relatively spontaneous conversation (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, p. 222). With field work, the investigator creates his or her own texts about the event, in the form of field notes and transcriptions, and usually has the advantage of occupying the role of participant-observer. But even in this case where the investigator has very direct experience with the event, it is important to distinguish between the event and the object of study. Transcripts of spoken discourse are the outcome of a process of entextualization, as are, perhaps more conventionally, professionally written, edited and published texts such as books and articles. Entextualization is the process by which we impose boundaries on discourse, identifying beginnings and endings, for instance, and deciding which parts are relevant to include or preserve in the form of, for instance, a manipulable, visual text artifact and which are not (Silverstein and Urban 1996, p. 3). Transcription of spoken discourse is necessarily incomplete and selective and run through with inclusions and exclusions that reflect the researchers own goals and theories. Therefore, the fit between the event and the object of study is by no means a perfect one. With this in mind, researchers need to attend to the fact that their object of study is the transcription rather than the event, that the transcription is the data under analysis (Ochs 1979, p. 44). Investigators often operate as if their object of study were the event, and that texts were conduits or surrogates for the event, an assumption that tends to hide the limitations involved in transcription (Ochs 1979, p. 44). While necessary for analysis, transcriptions inevitably reduce an event in manifold ways, typically through a bias toward verbal and away from non-verbal behavior (Ochs 1979, p. 44). In the discourse arts there is a specific preference for argumentative, verbal behavior over the non-argumentative, verbal and non-verbal sorts. Stretches of talk and text that do not display chains of reasoning, do not function as assertions or propositions, or represent committed argumentative standpoints by human agents tend to be neglected (Blair 1998, p. 326; Jacobs 2000, p. 264). The limitations inherent in any particular text will hide certain aspects of the event it claims to represent, and with this in mind, there remains an important difference between the event and the text that represents it. Even transcriptions from audio or video recordings, however rich in their detail, hide some features and highlight others. It is for these reasons that, whether acknowledged or not, texts are the objects of study in most controversy analysis. Explaining some of the ways investigators navigate this state of affairs is the central concern of this chapter.

2.2 Journalist as Participant

One of the outstanding problems in argumentation research is determining who counts as a participant in a given argument event (Walton 2004, p. 205). The traditional solution has been to identify or nominate ratified participants in classical speaking situations while ignoring others. The classical speaking situation tends to assume a traditional participation framework for discourse, a kind of "primal scene" that features a dyad with participants who seem to act as individual agents who simultaneously perform the roles of animator, author, and principal, acting as the ones who deliver, who script, and who are committed to and responsible for the larger standpoint of their discourse (Goffman 1981, pp. 137, 141, 226). The focus is on "ratified" participants, rather than on "adventitious participants" or "bystanders" (Goffman 1981, pp. 131–132). While using the classical speaking situation as a model can help to simplify the problem of determining who is a participant in an event, it also has significant limitations for an empirical or descriptive project (Walton 2004, p. 205). Not all discursive events take place in the classical speaking situation and not all speakers and writers are ratified participants. By constructing classical speaking situations, however, it is possible to structure events as in such a way as to allow only these kinds of participants.

By adopting these kinds of boundaries, argument analysis often assumes that the relevant speakers and writers in a discursive event will be those who present committed argumentative standpoints in a decision-making dialogue designed to resolve a common issue. Less attention tends to be paid to those responsible for structuring the event itself, whether they be institutions which programmatically stage discursive events bound by explicit norms or texts that give shape to such events through their description and narration. In the philosophical dialogue genre, for instance, the classical speaking situation and its participants who are represented in the story of the text may overshadow other important participants, such as the writer who denotes the event and the auditor who learns about it in a reading situation. It is in at least this sense that journalists are participants in controversy. Like other writers and speakers, they shape and control events for an audience (Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 12). In particular, journalists shape news events for public audiences. In this role, journalists are not canonical participants speaking to others of a similar role in a classical speaking situation. In fact, it is central to the objectivity norm of the profession that journalists occupy a footing that clearly distinguishes them and their commitments from those of their sources. Since the canonical participant in the classical speaking situation is one who seemingly acts simultaneously as principal, author, and animator, journalists programmatically fail to occupy this role by virtue of their professional training and through their consistent, responsible adoption of professional writing standards. They maintain a role that positions them primarily as author on behalf of the commitments of others, acting as professional reporters of the statements of their sources, embedding those in their texts, and working on behalf of the commitments a news organization (Bell 1991, pp. 40–41). In this role, however, they remain participants who shape events they describe in their texts. Among other things, they construct dialogues among interlocutors in controversy reporting, a phenomenon that is explored in detail in Chap. 5.

2.3 Supportive, Distortive, and Constitutive Attitudes

As sources, texts like news articles present a paradox of sorts for investigators: In some situations they are treated as veridical depictions of events; in other situations, they are treated as fatally distorted depictions. To treat an account as veridical is to proceed as if its depiction of an event is that event (Tuchman 1980, pp. 191, 203). Traditional historians and social scientists sometimes use news discourse to support an account about the nature of an event or the character of public opinion and in doing so background the work of participants such as journalists, editors, and news outlets in producing it (Tuchman 1980, p. 191). In Fishman's analysis of crime waves, for example, he consults news texts in order to, among other things, report a veridical account of a particular historical event, a crime wave in New York City (Fishman 1978). In Condit's analysis of abortion arguments, for instance, she consults news texts in order to, among other things, report a veridical account of an evolving historical event, the US abortion controversy, tracing the public and professional arguments in the US about abortion as they change across a series of historical stages (Condit-Railsback 1984). The tendency to treat sources as veridical is at the heart of what we might call the supportive attitude toward texts. In the supportive attitude, (cf. Fig. 2.1) the investigator consults texts about a CONTROVERSY (or some other event) and then takes for granted the existence and shape of the controversy, treating a text as a veridical depiction. Fig 2.1 illustrates the relationships among the ostensive controversy, the investigator, and texts in the supportive attitude.

The investigator consults texts in order to compose a veridical account of the CONTROVERSY. This process of consulting is an important feature of the supportive approach as it indicates the attitude of the investigator toward the texts. They are not under analysis; the particular choices of the speakers and writers and the process of entextualization are not emphasized. Instead, they function as conduits to the CONTROVERSY, and the investigator consults them in order to gain access to it and thereby reiterate the (presumably veridical) depiction presented in the texts. In the supportive attitude, the investigator composes a veridical account of the CONTROVERSY on the basis of this presumed access to the event. This is more an act of replication than an act of response (Urban 1996, p. 40). The primary concerns here tend to be matters of authoritativeness of the texts consulted and the completeness of the coverage represented by those texts, where the epistemic authority of the investigator's account depends to at least some extent on the authority of the sources. This is consistent with the treatment of texts in the supportive attitude. If the texts are conduits, then ensuring their authoritativeness (e.g. their ability to count as veridical themselves) and adding more of them should increase access, in the way that increasing the diameter of a pipe and eliminating blockages from it increases the capacity of water than can flow through it, or the way that increasing an aperture and cleaning its lens and increases the amount of light that can flow through it. Journalists themselves conventionally adopt a supportive attitude toward their sources, seeking out the most authoritative speakers and writers to cite in order to report a veridical account of news events.

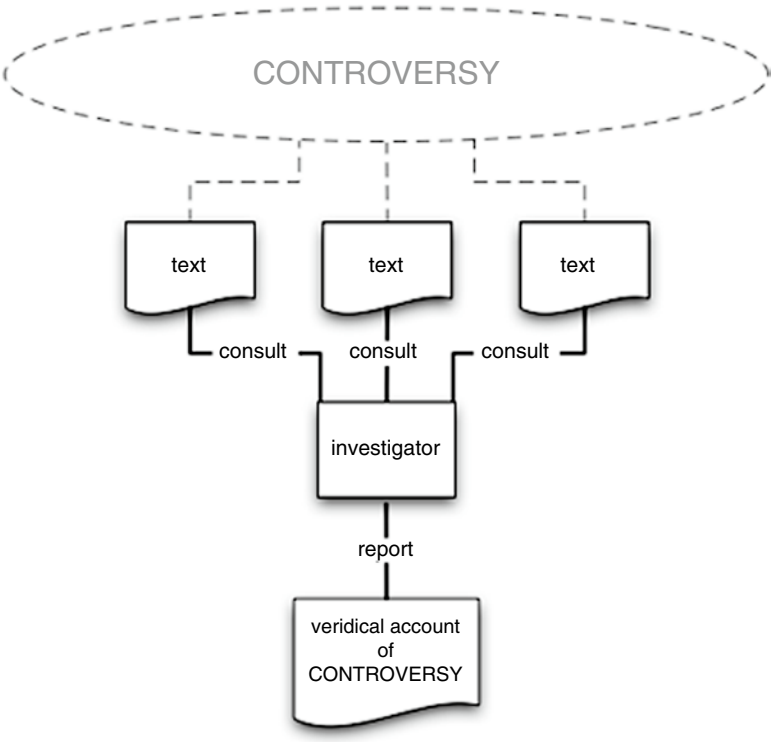

Fig. 2.1 The supportive attitude

The grey, dotted lines in Figs. 2.1–2.3 indicate that the boundaries of a given CONTROVERSY are ostensible, suggesting that while the texts about it may refer, for instance, to some actually existing human beings, actions, and utterances, the shape and boundaries of CONTROVERSY as an event remain negotiable and contingent. This is an effort to acknowledge the state of affairs faced by any investigator who aims to account for a given event, the problem of choosing from among some uncountable number of utterances, movements, locations, and frames of reference at many scales of abstraction which might, in principle, qualify as relevant context (Dijk 2008, pp. 19–20; Irvine 1996, p. 157; Schegloff 1997, pp. 165–166). Writing or speaking about a CONTROVERSY, as a matter of course, involves choosing some of these and excluding others through a series of relevance judgments which often remain tacit. To the extent that a CONTROVERSY is made up of talk and writing, those who aim to depict it select various stretches of others' discourse and treat these stretches as a texts, detaching them from their contexts and recontextualizing them toward new purposes and in new places (e.g. in the texts or utterances that they are producing). By entextualizing a particular stretch of discourse, detaching it from its local context, especially the details of its production, speakers and writers make it easier to replicate, rendering it more shareable and therefore more

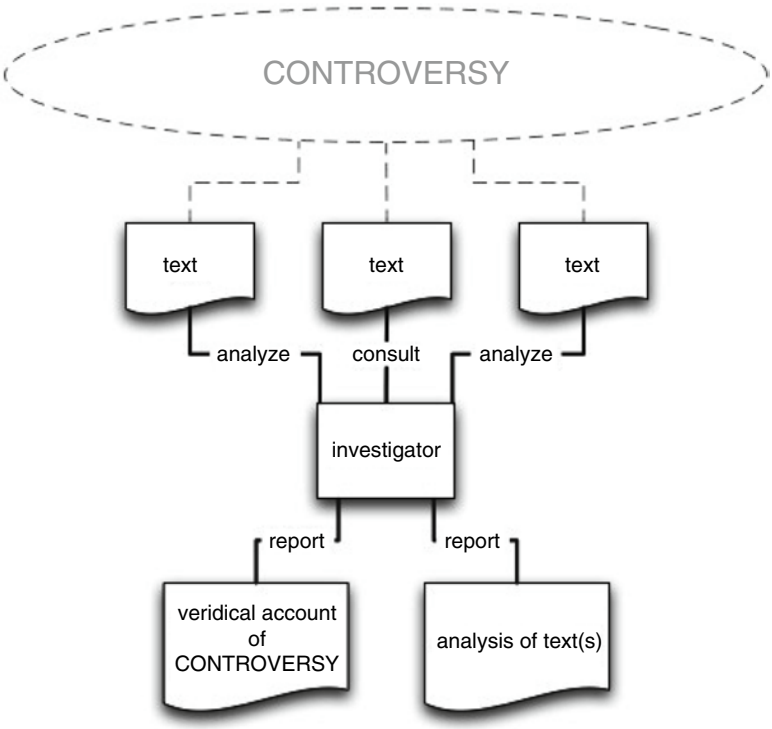

Fig. 2.2 The distortive attitude

amenable to be taken to be part of culture (Urban 1996, p. 21). Some kinds of discourse are better candidates for this than others: those that carry explicit markers of detachment and decontextualization tend to make better culture (Urban 1996, p. 40). The shape of a CONTROVERSY as an event is ostensible; the texts which depict it serve to give it shape and trace its boundaries. The texts about a CONTROVERSY that carry explicit markers of detachment and decontextualization will tend to be more amenable to replication and will be those that are the best positioned to function as culture, to function as if they transcend all local contexts and participants. This kind of discourse would seem to be a valuable resource for a speaker or writer seeking to compose a veridical account of a CONTROVERSY because markers of detachment and decontextualization could contribute to an impression that the account is objective and transparent and therefore amounts to an unobstructed conduit to the event.

The aim of the investigator in a supportive attitude is to produce a veridical account of a CONTROVERSY by consulting authoritative texts that themselves may qualify as veridical. In the distortive attitude (cf. Fig. 2.2), the investigator extends this by treating some of the texts that he or she consults as veridical while singling out others for criticism. These are the texts that he or she has difficulty endorsing as veridical depictions. In colloquial terms, the analyst might see these sources as “biased” or

accuse them of failing to remain "objective." Fig. 2.2 illustrates the relationships among the CONTROVERSY, the investigator, and texts in the distortive attitude.

The investigator consults some texts in order to produce a veridical account of the CONTROVERSY and analyzes others in order to produce a critical account of those texts. While the terms of analysis may vary, the texts are often compared critically against the veridical account of CONTROVERSY, which functions as a standard or norm. In the distortive attitude, then, some texts or parts of texts are replicated and others receive a response (Urban 1996, p. 40). In Dubin's discussion of the Brooklyn Museum controversy, for example, he consults some news texts in order to report a veridical account of the event on the one hand, while analyzing other news texts in order to produce a critical account of them (Dubin 2000). Based on his analysis he concludes that the controversy was invented by journalists, and was a classic "pseudo-event," crafted for the mere sake of publicity. Used as a critical device, the notion of the pseudo-event epitomizes the distortive attitude: It rests on a programmatic distinction between authentic and inauthentic events, where the former is "spontaneous" and firmly grounded in "the underlying reality of the situation" and the latter is a false or mere construction of the writing and speaking of journalists and their sources (Boorstin 1971, p. xxi). In van Eemeren and Grootendorst's general theory of argumentation, for example, they direct investigators to consult texts in order to report an account of an underlying controversy in the form of a "critical discussion" based in "argumentative reality" (F. H. V. Eemeren 2004, p. 95). To make these kinds of comparisons requires a veridical account of events which can be used as a standard of authenticity against which other accounts can be criticized. Though they both place a value on veridical accounts, the supportive and distortive attitudes differ on the range of roles for texts: one treats them generally as conduits to the CONTROVERSY, and the other distinguishes between texts that are conduits and those that are obstructions. In a distortive attitude, some texts are consulted and some are analyzed; the role of discourse in shaping CONTROVERSY is effaced in some cases and highlighted in others.

Using texts as veridical accounts collapses the distinction between their discourse functions and the events that they report. Texts are treated as conduits to or surrogates for events (Harris 1980; Reddy 1979). This is not routinely identified as a problem because it harmonizes with our common sense notions about how language and texts work; it is part and parcel of the reflectionist perspective on language and related language ideologies (Silverstein 1979, p. 196). In the case of news, the problem may be particularly difficult to see because of the degree to which the objectivity norm is entrenched in the profession of journalism and in the general apprehension of news. Many features of the news article genre itself act as catalysts for this, like its informational register and its genre features that index objectivity. Among the problems with treating a news article, or any other source, as a veridical account of an event is that the act of speaking or writing, for instance by using language to report on an event, is inherently selective and reductive. Even the most authoritative or detailed accounts suffer from this basic limitation; this is the basis of Ochs' points about the limitations of transcription. In order to successfully treat a text as a veridical depiction, the investigator must overlook these limitations and the larger process of entextualization.

While the supportive and distortive attitudes both depend on overlooking these limitations in their treatment of (at least some) texts, the constitutive attitude highlights them. In the constitutive attitude, the investigator takes for granted that sources are inherently selective and reductive, that texts do not serve as a surrogates for or reflections of a CONTROVERSY. It differs from the supportive and distortive attitudes primarily in the role ascribed to texts. Rather than acting as conduits or obstructions, texts help to constitute CONTROVERSY. In this, texts might be said to denote and index CONTROVERSY in any number of ways. Through the use of indexical features of language, writers may point to a CONTROVERSY; to the extent that they name it and introduce it to readers, for example, they help to establish or create the social and contextual dimensions that can be indexed by that name (Silverstein 1979, p. 207). While this can provide opportunities for others to later draw on these as established presuppositions, it is agnostic about the relationship between the indexical features and the "real" spatio-temporal world (Silverstein 1985, p. 220). There are at least two important implications to this: First, the investigator does not assume that texts are veridical accounts since this depends on a conduit relationship between a CONTROVERSY and the texts about it. Second, texts, rather than the reported CONTROVERSY event, are the primary object of study. So the investigator identifies the discourse about CONTROVERSY as the data. Fig 2.3 illustrates the relationships among the CONTROVERSY, the investigator, and texts in the constitutive attitude.

The investigator analyzes texts in order to report the results of that analysis, and those texts are the object of study (rather than the CONTROVERSY that they may denote). To adopt a constitutive attitude is to acknowledge that speaking and writing does not reflect discrete, material, extra-rhetorical entities but instead helps to shape our experience of them (Charland 1987, p. 134). Rather than aiming to analyze or criticize the CONTROVERSY, the researcher analyzes the texts about it, attempting to explain why they are shaped in their particular ways and how they contribute to the shape and delimit the boundaries of the CONTROVERSY. In this way, determining the shape of the CONTROVERSY as it is narrated by texts is a research problem that leads us to the particulars of texts rather than to theoretical prerequisites for analysis. The constitutive attitude makes it difficult to assume from the outset or to maintain an a priori definition of CONTROVERSY. It imagines that there very well may be no universal, formal definition and it does not aim to change this.

An account functions as veridical to the extent that it can be used as a surrogate for a CONTROVERSY, to the extent that we take its depiction of an event to be that event. Because they rest on veridical accounts in certain respects, the supportive and distortive attitudes tend to focus more on the CONTROVERSY event than on texts, taking the CONTROVERSY to be the object of study. In a constitutive attitude, the CONTROVERSY is something that writers and speakers help to shape through their texts. In this way, investigators in supportive and distortive attitudes are in a position to share an object of study with speakers and writers of the texts that they consult. In other words, in some attitudes, the CONTROVERSY functions as a focal event. Since focal events have a high degree of salience, it is tempting for investigators to treat them as if they have a natural autonomy and to dedicate most of their attention

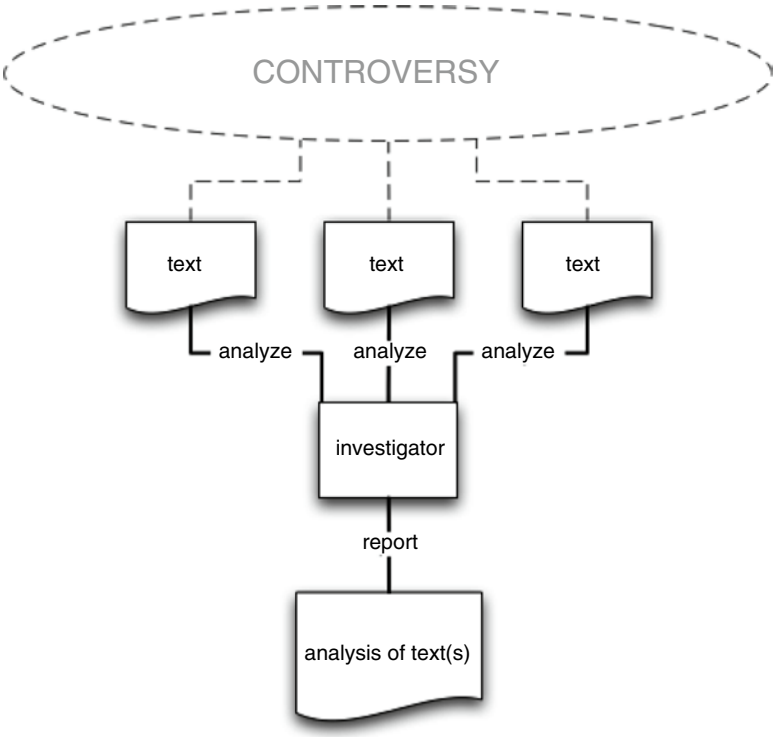

Fig. 2.3 The constitutive attitude

to them while treating less salient parts of the situation as mere background or support material (Ochs 1979, p. 44). The details of the texts that the investigator consults about a CONTROVERSY are sometimes treated as less salient parts. Note that by focusing on these texts, and by acknowledging that they help to shape a focal event in a constitutive attitude, we are only examining an important and sometimes overlooked aspect of its complexity, not engaging in some kind of totalizing critique that would utterly reduce it to these texts. Doing this would amount to an effort to craft a universal, formal definition out of an extremely limited and particular perspective and reading experience.

Each of these attitudes, the supportive, distortive, and constitutive, represents an orientation toward texts, and each has its value and purpose for investigators, among other writers and speakers. The supportive attitude consults texts in order to deliver a authoritative, veridical account of an event. The distortive consults texts and leverages a veridical account in order to critique a specious one. And the constitutive analyzes texts in order to explain how they are shaped and how they might contribute to our experience of events. In the constitutive attitude the investigator is concerned not only with the participants in the events of the world denoted by the text as part of a focal event, but is equally or more concerned with those of its interactional world, the participants involved, for instance, in writing and reading events, who design,

author, deliver and audit the texts. As an auditor, for instance, the investigator is one of these participants. Each of these attitudes represents a prototypical stance that investigators seem to take, and in practice, few analyses of CONTROVERSY thoroughly exemplify one of them in their every turn. The list of three should not be taken to suggest a comprehensive catalog of possible attitudes one might take toward texts (There could be a fourth, fifth, or nth possibility.) or to suggest that the three discussed here are indivisible (There could be any number of finer gradations among them.). In approaching a given text, writers and speakers surely shift among attitudes and approaches depending on their needs and purposes.

In order to address the kinds of questions raised in the constitutive attitude, researchers need a method like discourse analysis that encourages them to describe features of communication and text at many levels. By focusing on discourse, the investigator attends to many levels of concern in the analysis of a particular textual artifact or utterance, levels that could involve structure, medium, participants, and purpose, among many others, and attends to these in attempting to determine why a particular text or utterance is shaped the way that it is (Johnstone 1996, p. 24). Discourse analysis is by no means a monolithic method, nor one that tends to insist on an a discrete a priori framework of top-level theoretical generalizations. It is especially useful as a way to deliver detailed descriptions of small amounts of textual data and to support conclusions about the particular qualities of that data (Johnstone 1996, p. 23). Discourse analysis offers CONTROVERSY investigators who adopt a constitutive attitude a systematic way to describe the texts that are their objects of study.

2.4 Propagatio: The First Draft of History

Journalists are among the most widely published participants in public controversies, and they conventionally adopt a supportive attitude toward texts. Constrained by the norms of the profession and the news article genre, journalists are expected to deliver veridical accounts of controversies, among many other sorts of events. Many readers, including scholarly investigators, treat news texts as key locations at which they encounter public controversies. With the development of journalism as a profession at the end of the 19C, mass societies began to depend on journalists to function as brokers between entitled political actors and their mass audiences (Smith 1978, p. 163). Over time, journalism's professional standards, in particular the objectivity norm and the news article genre, have helped to shore up the identity of the profession as a civic institution.

Chapter 3 presents some of the central features of the news article as a genre, especially its purpose of reporting events, its standards of objectivity, and its informational register. It also positions the news article historically in its parallels with the development of the scientific research article. Journalism's objectivity norm and informational register owe much to the late 19C professionalization of journalists and the contemporaneous professionalization of scientists. However, as much it

echoes a its standards and its register, news writing is not scientific writing. The news is primarily concerned with reporting events at a scale that, traditionally, fits into a daily cycle. Its concern with the particularity of significant events places news in the company of history and rumor. Journalists themselves have called their writing "the first draft of history" and have thought of themselves as professional witnesses to history (Edy 1999). There are many historical precedents underpinning the overlap between news writing and history making, especially in traditional societies (Aitchison 2007). In this overlap, journalists recognize their common concern with historians, a concern with characterizing significant past events. Of course, while journalists are typically focused on a daily, weekly, or monthly scale, historians often deal in centuries and epochs. In this, journalism tends to focus on isolated events, and history, by contrast, develops longer causal narratives (Park 1955, p. 77). Journalists may see themselves as writers of the first draft of history because they are often the first professional writers to publish authoritative accounts of many events that sometimes later qualify as historically significant. And to the extent that we refer to their textual artifacts as veridical accounts for the writing of history, we would seem to confirm journalists' claim to the role.

If such an overlap exists, how might journalists contribute to the writing of history? If they participate in an event that eventually becomes authorized as historically significant, like a war, a moon landing, or a revolutionary invention, then they would be contributing to *res gestae* (Harris 2004, p. 172). If they were in the business of writing and publishing accounts of *res gestae*, then they would be contributing to *historiae*. Contributors to *historiae* typically do not witness the events of *res gestae* despite the fact that they deliver authoritative accounts of it. Traditionally, *historiae* describes the professional writing of the historian (Harris 2004, p. 172). Finally, if they participate as onlookers, people who recognize and comment on historically significant events in myriad everyday conversations and interactions that are not professionally authorized and are not recorded for posterity, then they would be contributing to *opinio* (Harris 2004, pp. 172–173). Contributors to *historiae* form by far the smallest group of history makers, and contributors to *opinio* the largest (Harris 2004, p. 172). Journalists do not fit neatly into any one of these roles. They would seem to contribute to a fourth category of history making, *propagatio*, a role that, at its most effective, combines the authority of *historiae* with the information cycle of *opinio*. Though they are usually in closer proximity in time and space to *res gestae* than historians, journalists generally do not witness events themselves even while they publish accounts of them. And though the small scale of many news events and the quick turnover of the news cycle resonates with the myriad everyday comments and conversations of *opinio*, journalists are by comparison authorized chroniclers whose accounts are valued and preserved through publication. At the same time, journalists report on many events that never reach the historian's threshold of significance, and their accounts are not always valued by historians as accurate or adequate, qualities that associate their epistemic authority more with *opinio* than *historiae*. If contributors to *historiae* form the smallest group of history makers, and contributors to *opinio* the largest, then contributors to *propagatio* would seem to form a group that is larger than the former but smaller than the latter.

Rumor is perhaps the least authoritative kind of *propagatio*. Though it shares with news the top-level purpose of reporting events to the minute, hour, and day, rumors display lower epistemic authority, by traditional definition, than the published accounts of journalists. Despite the epistemological boundary between the two, policed in part by professional journalists and editors, their common purpose sometimes overshadows their differences, especially in times of crisis and disaster when formal news outlets are unable or too slow to respond (Shibutani 1966). The bombing of Hiroshima and the shooting of John F. Kennedy, for example, are situations that were ripe for rumor, where the demand for information greatly outstripped the ability of professional news outlets to deliver it (Shibutani 1966, p. 62). In this way, rumor is a less professional, less institutional, more improvised form of news (Shibutani 1966, p. 62). Internet-based forms of *propagatio* have provided new genres and channels for improvised news. Rumor is traditionally considered a corrupt, pathological form of communication, despite the fact that it can be used to realize productive news purposes. Traditional perspectives define it negatively and in terms that primarily focus on its lack of epistemic authority, comparing it implicitly to the standards of professional journalism; it is characterized by its distortions, its tendency to cause alarm and to raise unwarranted expectations (Allport and Postman 1947, pp. vii–viii). The propagator of rumor is assumed to communicate in a face-to-face, spoken mode, deal in beliefs rather than facts, and therefore to command no standards of evidence for his or her accounts (Allport and Postman 1947, p. ix). Professional editors, journalists, and news organizations have a self-interest in policing the definitional boundary between news and rumor. News distinguishes itself in part by its objectivity norm, a standard that is institutionalized through the professionalization of journalists, and indexed through its informational register and its literate mode. Whether delivered in a print, online, or broadcast medium, it is a kind of crafted, edited, and published text, subject to explicit professional epistemic norms of production, some qualities that index its higher authority. This status is in part due to language ideologies (e.g. scriptism) that ascribe special authority to planned, written, published discourse and may contribute to the impression that rumor, by virtue of its traditional association with spontaneous, spoken forms of communication, is pathological and circumspect (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, pp. 65–66). Many internet-based forms of *propagatio* upset and refigure these traditional boundaries between news and rumor, particularly where both are delivered in the substantially similar medium of the electronic text, something that has caused purveyors of professionally edited news to reconsider some of their time-tested ways of distinguishing the epistemic authority of their product from the vagaries of rumor.

2.5 Controversies and Discourse in Particular

In investigating a controversy, we often take its autonomy as an event for granted, proceeding as if it has a particular shape and particular boundaries independent of the discourse that has contributed to it, including the texts which have aimed to

account for it. The particular speech events that help to constitute a controversy and their associated acoustical and textual artifacts, many of these are relegated to mere background or support status. From this perspective, a controversy functions as the focal event in an investigation, owing to its higher degree of salience when compared with many of the particular speech events which might be said to make up its larger context. In supportive and distortive attitudes toward texts, this focal event-context distinction is not a problem but is endemic to the investigation. The autonomy and salience of the controversy is a prerequisite. It is treated as the object of study, and particular texts and stretches of discourse, especially veridical accounts, are treated as conduits to it or surrogates for it. In a constitutive attitude, however, the particular utterances or texts that would often otherwise be treated as background or support are considered as objects of study. This difference in perspective leads to a difference in the set of problems faced by the investigator. What kind of event is it (e.g. a controversy)? Where does it take place? Who are the participants? When does it take place and how long does it last? These are the kinds of questions that an investigator in a constitutive attitude attempts to answer in the terms of and through an analysis of particular stretches of discourse. They are not perfunctory questions to be answered by the investigator before beginning the analysis but function instead as open-ended research questions he or she attempts to answer by analyzing particular stretches of discourse.

If particular stretches of discourse are the objects of study in a constitutive attitude, then the conclusions drawn from the analysis will be most revealing of those stretches of discourse. While we conventionally attribute considerable public power and influence to the writing of journalists, for instance, an analysis of their textual artifacts in a constitutive attitude will not reveal the shape and boundaries of events like public controversies or attitudes like public opinion. It may, however, reveal something about the shape of journalists' textual artifacts. Beyond this, it could motivate speculations about how news discourse might contribute to our experience of events like public controversies. Journalists, of course, are only one sort of writer or speaker whose texts might be fruitful objects of study for an investigator interested in approaching public controversy from a constitutive attitude. Dinner tables, press conferences, courtrooms, barber shops and beauty parlors, laboratories, legislative sessions, pubs, virtual online environments, and city buses – discourse from all of these places and many, many others could be relevant to the study of controversy in a constitutive attitude.

Chapter 3
Genres of Controversy: The Philosophical Dialogue and the News Article

If the analysis of controversy depends on identifying the texts and particular stretches of discourse which are to be the object of study, then one potentially profitable intervention involves genre and its role in shaping those texts. While genre is not a feature of all discourse, and not all texts can be characterized in its terms, journalists, editors, news outlets, and their educators have developed and used genres to achieve a number of important purposes. This chapter shows how the news article genre developed in line with the purposes and norms of the profession of journalism, and draws a number of historical and discursive parallels to the development of the scientific research article. Both share an informational register and a common purpose of indexing objectivity for their discourse communities. Beyond these parallels with scientific writing, the news article is shaped by news values, norms that provide journalists positive criteria for selecting events for their news worthiness. These features of the genre contribute to the textual and lexico-grammatical analysis presented in later chapters.

Adopting a constitutive attitude casts light on features and functions of text not only in news, but in other genres as well. A classical genre strongly associated with controversy is the philosophical dialogue. In addition to describing the history and features of the news article, this chapter investigates the philosophical dialogue as a genre, a highly esteemed kind of prior text that narrates a spoken interaction among classical participants in a classical speaking situation. The narrated events of the genre provide an exemplar for the dialogue model, a framework by which we often come to describe, explain, and analyze controversies, so it is indispensable to understand its role as prior text in an analysis of other genres of controversy. While the primary aim is to understand news discourse, the chapter explains the particular genre features of the news article in relationship to this classical and prototypical genre of controversy. Though the philosophical dialogue and news article genres tend to differ in a number of ways, and though these differences have contributed to suspicions about the legitimacy of news as an object of study, the genres have much in common where medium is concerned: They are typically written, linear texts

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which are printed, published, and consumed in a silent reading situation involving a text artifact and a reader who interacts with it through a visual channel.

3.1 Argument Criticism and the Problem of Jurisdiction

Criticism implies some norm or standard against which an object will be evaluated. The discourse arts leverage a range of norms including those traditionally associated with logic (validity, soundness, and fallaciousness), with dialectic and pragmatics (procedural dialogue and inference rules), and with rhetoric (speaker effectiveness and stylistic appropriateness).[1] All of these standards offer something valuable to a criticism of actual instances of talk and text; however, they raise questions about jurisdiction. Why should we expect a given stretch of discourse to meet standards of logical validity, for instance, or to obey procedural dialogue rules laid down by the discourse arts? The skill to develop and deliver arguments, in the sense often meant in the discourse arts, is one that requires formal training and practice, training that most people receive in school (Kuhn 1991, pp. 289–290). In addition, institutions other than the academy have their own standards for the production and evaluation of discourse, including arguments. While there is no imperative that critical norms respect social, institutional, cultural, or professional boundaries, when they are leveraged across such boundaries, the critic may struggle to account for their fit and appropriateness (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, pp. 215–216; Walton 2004, p. 8). The differences in the traditional institutional setting of the discourse arts (the academy), and those of public discourse (the law court, the legislative assembly, and the public sphere, for example) present a jurisdictional problem faced by critics but can also present an opportunity to the investigator who wants to understand how institutional norms operate and help to shape discourse in particular ways and particular places.

One task of the critic is to evaluate public controversy in the terms of and against the norms of the discourse arts, a task that usually involves leveraging norms across institutional and community boundaries. This places the critic in an etic orientation to his or her object of study, adopting a perspective from outside the community and discourse being analyzed (Pike 1967, p. 37). The challenge in adopting an etic viewpoint is the one that concerns the critic – showing how one's norms and terms of

[1]This division of labor among the discourse arts is "traditional" only in the sense that it reflects field boundaries that have been strongly institutionalized in universities for a long time. Neo-Aristotelian accounts of the discourse arts tend to emphasize their overlap and interdependence, reflecting Aristotle's understanding of dialectic and rhetoric as "counterparts," and reflecting the five classical rhetorical canons with their integration of argument and style. Aristotle distinguishes between dialectic and rhetoric by noting the differences in their *audiences*, expert versus popular, while reminding us that the *skills* of argument are central to both arts (Aristotle 1954, line 1355a). Perelman decided to call his modern treatise on argumentation "The New Rhetoric" because of rhetoric's explicit focus on audience (Perelman 1980, p. 458).

analysis can be appropriate in the particular domain under analysis. In formal deductive logic (FDL)[2] this challenge has typically been downplayed because it is a problem of empirical (rather than formal) analysis, but to the extent that argumentation is an empirical extension of FDL, a kind of empirical logic, it is increasing obliged to confront this challenge (Barth 1985). While the critic adopts an etic viewpoint when leveraging the norms of the discourse arts to criticize public discourse, he or she adopts an emic viewpoint when attempting to explain the discourse norms and practices that operate within a given institution or community. The investigator who adopts an emic viewpoint is orienting him or herself, as much as possible, to the terms and norms of internal to the community and discourse being analyzed (Pike 1967, p. 37).

The law has been a fertile institution for argument analysis and criticism. Courtroom discourse, for example, is explicitly constrained by institutional norms that echo some of those celebrated by the discourse arts. It features, for instance, arguments in both the semantic and pragmatic senses usually recognized by the discourse arts, as chains of reasoning and as conflict dialogue events (O'Keefe 1977, pp. 121–122; Walton 1989, pp. 1–2). In addition, it is constrained by explicit pragmatic norms – for instance, procedural rules for turn-taking and argumentative relevance – that are institutionally enforced. The discourse of the various participants in courtroom dialogues are regulated in many explicit ways, and the judge is charged with ensuring that issues are clarified, for instance, and that the participants address the central purposes and issues of the proceedings. Under these terms, courtroom discourse has proven to be attractive as it presents the analyst a relatively recognizable and relevant object of study, a reasonably well-formed and explicitly constrained decision-making dialogue that is simultaneously empirical (i.e. non-hypothetical) and non-trivial (cf. Aleven 2003; Feteris 1999; Walton 2002). The study of structured public debate outside of the institution of the court, such as the famous series of campaign debates between Lincoln and Douglas, reflects similar priorities and opportunities (Zarefsky 1984). The structural and normative, pragmatic and argumentative similarities between courtroom discourse and the formal and normative models of decision-making dialogue in the discourse arts both help to attenuate the jurisdictional problem and offer opportunities to adopt a kind of emic perspective without abandoning the ostensible object of study.

3.2 The Dialogue Model in the Discourse Arts

In its efforts to develop an apparatus that would support criticism of particular stretches of talk and text produced by non-hypothetical speakers, the discourse arts have focused on the decision-making dialogue setting as a corrective to the long-standing monologic orientation of FDL. They require a temporal and spatial setting that is richer than the one that features, for example, a hypothetical encounter

[2]This term and abbreviation is due to Blair and Johnson (1987, p. 44).

between hypothetical interlocutors like "Mary and Bill" (Barth 1985, p. 377). While argument structure is the central focus of FDL, the dialogue setting helps to focus attention on the purposes and functions of interlocutors and their arguments, both of which are crucial problems to solve for a critical framework that can be used to analyze non-hypothetical stretches of discourse (Blair and Johnson 1987, p. 44). The value of the dialogue setting would be plain for an approach to argument that owes much to classical treatises on dialectic and to the modern theories of Toulmin and of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, who point to jurisprudence as an empirical, naturalistic venue for the study of argument, and as an alternative to FDL (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969, p. 10; Toulmin 2003, p. 8). For all of these reasons, the dialogue has become a central object of study for argumentation research and has motivated theories of and approaches to argument built around the dialogue such as Walton's informal logic and van Eemeren and Grootendorst's pragma-dialectics (Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992; Walton 1989). Tindale's rhetorical approach to argumentation has extended the notion of the argumentative dialogue to explain one-to-many exchanges such as written treatises and public speeches, building on Bakhtin's theories of dialogicality (Tindale 2004, pp. 89, 109).

The dialogue model plays an important role in a number of approaches to argumentation, serving as a framework for designing, shaping, and locating controversy. Among these, the pragma-dialectic approach is particularly careful and explicit about the terms of that model and the ways that investigators should use it in designing and recontextualizing discourse. As a norm-enforcing approach, pragma-dialectics aims to establish principles and standards for the design and resolution of controversy and to articulate from these specific procedural rules for critical discussion. Because the object of study is the critical discussion, the investigator is in a position to either seek out data that are already shaped in a way similar to their form and standards or to transform recalcitrant data into a shape that will resemble closely enough the expressed object of study. With this in mind, much of the challenge of the pragma-dialectic approach for the investigator involves fitting the data to the framework for analysis, managing the boundaries, both normative and empirical, between the data that the investigator encounters and the object that is under analysis. Because the object of study is the critical discussion, spoken exchanges between interlocutors who share physical proximity, display evidence of direct address to one another, taking brief relevant conversational turns, and who appear to be advancing arguments in a mutual effort to resolve a controversy would seem to be the kind of discourse that would be appropriate data for a pragma-dialectic investigation. Beyond school, the domain where this sort of discourse is perhaps most celebrated as an achievement of certain varieties of academic literacy, institutions like lawcourts can provide samples of discourse that are, at the very least, distinguished by a number of these features. Even in these cases where there seems to be a reasonably close fit between the data and the object, the investigator must negotiate the differences that fall in that gap. One way to do this is to leverage the rules of the pragma-dialectic framework in order to evaluate those differences as limitations of the behavior of the participants in the data. Another way is to reshape and recontextualize the data in order to render it visible in the terms of pragma-dialectics.

Identifying the data can be a challenge in any sort of analysis of discourse and even seemingly innocent transformations, for instance the recording and transcribing of speech, are shot through with choices by the investigator that serve to entextualize and recontextualize certain stretches of discourse. The act of delimiting data and analyzing discourse, then, necessarily depends on these kinds of transformations, and through them, the investigator becomes, in at least one sense, a participant in it. The literature on the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation devotes a great deal of attention to the problem of entextualizing and recontextualizing discourse in order to shape it as a critical discussion that will be analyzable in the terms of the theory. The "polder region" metaphor is one of the ways that the literature characterizes the problem faced by the investigator, who needs to develop "a methodical interpretation of argumentative reality" as a prerequisite to pragma-dialectical analysis (Eemeren 2004, p. 22). In the metaphor, the ongoing experience of speaking and listening, reading and writing in its complexity and particularity is like a marsh or wetland which must be reshaped and redesigned in various ways in order to render it usable. The investigator is a kind of civil engineer who encounters a natural landscape and its ongoing natural phenomena and looks for ways to systematically change these in order to improve and cultivate them. The goal is to shape the discourse in such a way that only those parts and features that can be deemed relevant to the resolution of a controversy through a critical discussion are included while those considered irrelevant to this model and purpose are left aside; the aim of this procedure is to discover an "argumentative 'deep structure'" in the talk or text (Eemeren 2004, p. 95). In the polder region metaphor, the ongoing experience of human communication is envisioned as a natural phenomenon that must be redesigned by a human agent, the investigator, in order to make it suitable for analysis.

The critical discussion that the investigator aims to discover and analyze is shaped by the principles of the pragma-dialectic approach. Following these, the investigator identifies the object of study by treating stretches of discourse as purposive speech acts within a critical discussion ("functionalization"), by making explicit the argumentative commitments of participants ("externalization"), by assigning dialogue roles, such as "protagonist" and "antagonist," to participants ("socialization"), and by treating the speech acts that have been "functionalized" from a stretch of discourse (in accord with the first principle) as contributions to conversation that is bound by rules of critical discussion with the goal of resolving controversy ("dialectification") (Eemeren 2004, pp. 52–57). Having been shaped into a dialogue among interlocutors by an investigator observing these principles, the controversy is then given a temporal shape, narrated according to a series of stages toward resolution. The telos of critical discussion is a resolution that the participants agree upon, and this resolution happens in the "concluding stage." In this stage, participants must come to an agreement whereby they accept either the protagonist's or the antagonist's standpoint (Eemeren 2004, p. 61). To reach this agreement, the participants move through three preceding stages. The first is the "confrontation stage." In this stage, participants make it clear to one another that a standpoint of one is not accepted by others, that there is some difference of opinion, and this creates the initial exigence for the critical discussion (Eemeren 2004, p. 60). The second is the "opening stage."

In this stage, participants interrogate one another in order to discover or establish some common ground, some shared knowledge about the topic and problem, some values held in common, and some procedural rules that will govern the conversation. In addition, participants adopt roles as dialectical interlocutors, as protagonist and antagonist; they "manifest themselves as parties and determine where there is a basis for a meaningful exchange" (Eemeren 2004, p. 61). The third is the "argumentation stage." In this stage, the protagonists develop and deliver arguments to the antagonists in an effort to remove their doubts or answer their critical interrogations; the antagonists decide whether or not they accept the arguments. If they do not accept the arguments, they ask more critical questions, eliciting more arguments from the protagonists (Eemeren 2004, p. 61). The critical discussion enters the "concluding stage" when the participants are prepared to decide, based on the argumentation, whether or not the protagonist has successfully removed the antagonist's doubts.

Through its principles and its stages, the pragma-dialectical approach supplies the investigator with solutions to a number of difficult problems in the analysis of controversy. Before encountering data, the investigator has answered questions about the existence and particular roles of participants and the shape of the event in both pragmatic and temporal terms. Whatever the data, the investigator will characterize the event as a critical discussion between a protagonist and antagonist who advance arguments and ask critical questions in order to resolve a difference of opinion. This kind of approach is, as the pragma-dialectical literature acknowledges, an etic rather than an emic one (Eemeren 2004, pp. 73–74). In this, it places a priority on the investigator's norms and terms of analysis over those that emerge from the data; the investigator attempts to adjust the data to him or herself rather than attempting to adjust him or herself to the data. Using the pragma-dialectical approach, an investigator relies on its solutions to the problem of designing and shaping controversy as an event; however, these a priori solutions may direct his or her attention away from how speakers and writers (other than the investigator) design and shape it. It is clear from some specific implementations of the pragma-dialectical approach that it is not a purely etic program. As Pike suggests, the etic/emic distinction is convenient but perhaps not a very strict one in practice (Pike 1967, p. 37). For instance, some analysis using the pragma-dialectical approach has investigated those speakers and writers whose jobs require them to design and structure critical dialogues, people like mediators, moderators, and Web-designers (Aakhus 2003; Aakhus and Jackson 2005). This kind of analysis accounts for the particular ways that these mediators design and shape critical discussions, ways that may not square with the principles and stages of pragma-dialectics in a tidy or strict way. In this, the investigator needs at the very least to notice the design contributions of these participants from his or her data.

Among the solutions to the problem of designing and shaping controversy supplied by the principles and stages of the pragma-dialectical approach is the basic decision to shape it as a critical discussion. With this, the pragma-dialectic approach leverages the dialogue model in structuring controversy as an event. The more particular solutions to a number of problems stem from this basic one, as the data is characterized as a series of purposive speech acts (i.e. "functionalization") that

express argumentative commitments (i.e. "externalization") of participants who occupy roles as interlocutors in a direct pragmatic exchange (i.e. "socialization") all of which contribute to the reaching of agreement and resolution of controversy in accord with the rules of critical discussion (i.e. "dialectification"). As with other approaches that depend on the dialogue model, the pragma-dialectical approach improves significantly on the FDL approach to argument by depicting argumentation as an event or series of events involving human participants who communicate with one another, rather than as a purely analytical procedure divorced from human experience. Argument structure is the central focus of FDL, and the dialogue model helps to focus attention on the purposes and functions of interlocutors and their arguments, both of which are crucial problems to solve for any approach that aims to account for non-hypothetical stretches of discourse.

While the focus on the dialogue is a productive innovation in argumentation, helping to transform FDL into a tool for the criticism of non-hypothetical argumentative exchanges, it also presents some limitations. One of the problems is that not all dialogues are argumentative. Despite this, the dialogue model tends to focus on those exchanges that feature arguments, contribute to the development of arguments, or violate argument norms (Blair 1998, p. 326). These have been categorized by purpose, for instance, in typologies of common dialogues, such as persuasion, negotiation, inquiry, information-seeking, eristic, and deliberation (Walton 1989, pp. 4–7; Walton and Krabbe 1995, p. 66). These types are particularly useful in explaining certain genres of dialogue, especially those that are planned and constrained by professional and institutional norms. But not all dialogues feature arguments or address conflicts that presuppose resolution through argumentation. In conversation, argument lies on a continuum of disagreement, and decision-making dialogues with attendant arguments grow up where necessary from the flow of discourse (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, p. 228). Moments of disagreement in spontaneous spoken discourse are particularly interesting in part because they tend to invite the expansion of discourse by participants and because they tend to function as conspicuous deviations from a general tendency toward agreement in conversation (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, pp. 223–224). While not all dialogues involve arguments, another problem is that not all arguments occur within dialogues. Despite this, the dialogue model makes the working assumption that dialogue is a prerequisite for argument, its default pragmatic location (Blair 1998, p. 326). Though the tradition of the discourse arts provides a precedent for drawing dependencies between dialogue and argument, and the challenges to FDL from the discourse arts productively leverage the dialogue model as an alternative to a mathematical, hypothetical and decontextualized notion of argument, the dialogue model itself does not account for all arguments or for all dialogues.

In particular, the dialogue model is most similar to planned, institutionally constrained, face-to-face, spoken exchanges involving disagreement. The relevance of the dialogue model to certain kinds of extended, asynchronous, written texts is more difficult to determine. Planned, face-to-face, spoken exchanges involving disagreement seem to represent a basic type of dialogue, a kind of "simplest class," and asynchronous, written texts seem to be more complex, especially when interpreted as if they were turns in a face-to-face, spoken exchange between their writers

(Blair 1998, p. 327). In his analysis of the dialogue model, Blair cites Plato's dialogues, and the sort of "argument game" presumed in Aristotle's *Topics* in order to illustrate the "fully-engaged" dialogue, a kind of conversation where "what is supplied by each participant at each turn is a direct response to what was stated or asked in the previous turn" (Blair 1998, pp. 328–329). For Blair, once participants go beyond offering simple arguments per turn to also presenting supporting evidence, additional reasoning, and introducing new lines of argument, the fundamental character and definition of their exchange changes (Blair 1998, p. 330). In order to illustrate the turn complexity of these non-engaged dialogues, Blair cites a pair of papers about a common problem presented by their authors at a conference and a book that presents two sections by different authors who both address a common problem (Blair 1998, p. 332). He considers these kinds of exchanges "non-engaged dialogue" because while the participants may be addressing the same issue or problem, they do not directly engage each others' arguments in brief, argumentatively relevant conversational turns (Blair 1998, p. 332). He stresses that there is "no communication between the co-authors about their respective refutations of the other's case" (Blair 1998, p. 332). For Blair, then, a necessary condition of the simplest class of dialogue is engagement, a pattern of direct address between participants and brief turn-taking in which disagreement is adjudicated through argument. If the dialogue model depends on or presumes this kind of direct engagement, then it would seem a more difficult fit as a framework for explaining certain kinds of written text, like the extended monological arguments of the philosophical treatise. To fit it to these kinds of texts, for instance, would require that the writers be treated as speakers taking (quite extended, indirect, and asynchronous) turns in a conversation, raising some difficult questions about how they are addressing one another and where this conversation is taking place.

In pressing the dialogue model into service to account for all instances of argument, we extend the notion to include a wide variety of texts and utterances that can only be considered part of a dialogue in this most metaphorical sense. Blair points this out with his example of the way we might speak of Kant's *The Critique of Pure Reason* being "in dialogue with" Hume's *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (Blair 1998, p. 337). While we often speak of books being "in dialogue with" one another, Blair notes that these non-engaged dialogues are different in kind from the engaged sort: "Dialogues proper, or strictly speaking, are exchanges between identifiable individuals known to each other in which each person takes a brief turn, and more or less responds to what was said in the immediately preceding and other previous turns" (Blair 1998, p. 337). Though it shares certain features of conversation more generally, like the presumption of co-present interlocutors and the fact that turn taking does occur, the engaged dialogue described by Blair is a kind of conversation that must be more planned and normatively bounded than spontaneous, everyday talk, as it requires a certain length of turn (i.e. brief) along with contributions from participants that qualify as relevant to previous turns (Sacks et al. 1974, pp. 700–701). In this way, the engaged dialogue reflects the pre-specified length and relevance requirements of turns characteristic of planned, institutionally structured conversations like meetings, debates, and interviews

(Sacks et al. 1974, p. 701; Walton 2004, p. 8). Both with his notion of the engaged dialogue and his use of the ancient philosophical dialogue genre as its exemplar, Blair articulates a prototype in the discourse arts, a kind of dialogue that is the most representative instance of its category for a given community of speakers, a clearest case containing a concentration of relevant category attributes and a relative lack of less relevant ones (Rosch 1978, p. 30). As with other prototypes, the philosophical dialogue is not a transcendent or a priori standard but is the result of the sedimentation of particular uses of language within a particular culture and community (Rosch 1978, p. 28).

The dialogue prototype exemplifies the kind of speaking situation traditionally associated with training in the discourse arts, where participants deliver spoken arguments to physically present interlocutors in real time, situations that are planned or at least constrained by institutional norms. This is the kind of situation that exists in institutions like the academy, the court, and the legislative assembly, and it reflects the traditional charge of the discourse arts, to train aristocratic speakers and scholars for positions of civic influence in ancient democracies and republics (Bender and Wellbery 1990, p. 7). As they extend the tradition into modern contexts, contemporary theories of the speaking situation in the discourse arts build on this inheritance. Bitzer's "rhetorical situation," for instance, invokes this sort of prototypical scene, where paradigm cases involve public addresses like Cicero's speeches against Cataline, to propose a general theory of situations in which a speaker aims to develop arguments in order to solve a problem (Bitzer 1968, p. 5). Barth and Krabbe's "philosophical situation" recovers the prototypical dialectical encounter, "a conflict of avowed opinion," in order to relocate an otherwise transcendent and idealist logic in space and time, making propositions and speech acts, for instance, functions of speakers and listeners in their places and moments (Barth and Krabbe 1982, p. 32). While they represent important innovations, these contemporary theories depend on the classical speaking situation and highlight the perspective of the classical participant. This perspective provides crucial grounding for theories of argument that might otherwise fail to address actual speakers and their discourse at all. However, the participation framework of the classical speaking situation represents one particular sort of footing that speakers or writers might adopt in discourse (Goffman 1981, p. 129). The classical speaking situation tends to assume a participation framework that is a kind of "primal scene" that positions the participant as an individual agent who simultaneously performs the roles of animator, author, and principal. The classical participant acts as the one who delivers, who scripts, and who is committed to and responsible for the larger standpoint of his or her contributions (Goffman 1981, pp. 137, 141, 226). In addition, he or she tends to function as a ratified, explicitly addressed participant based on the structured roles and norms of the dialogue, and subsequently tends to occupy the focus in the classical speaking situation. Though ratified, explicitly addressed participants might seem to be the only kind that exist when considered from the perspective of the classical speaking situation, of course, many other kinds of participant are involved in actual conversations and social encounters, and they stand at various degrees of remove or involvement from the talk depending on the location and way the event develops (e.g. bystanders

and other "adventitious participants") (Goffman 1981, pp. 131–132). While this wide range of participant, and the dynamic and shifting set of roles they occupy, is relatively apparent to us in routine conversations, it can be more difficult to notice in stage events where the boundaries between the ratified participants and others are often physically imposed or otherwise programmatic and rigid, and roles are presumed to be fixed, based on institutional and conventional fiat (Goffman 1981, pp. 139–140). When we experience stage events as readers of texts which provide accounts of them, rather than as listener-viewers who are physically co-present with the ratified participants as they speak in time, our vantage on the participation framework can be narrowed and restricted in an additional way. This is the kind of vantage by which we experience the stage events and argument games presented in classical literature, like Platonic dialogues and Aristotelian treatises, a vantage that helps to explain the particular boundaries of the classical speaking situation and dialogue prototype.

Though traditional approaches to the dialogue model have tended to focus primarily on ratified participants – especially those who seem to function simultaneously as principal, author, and animator – some researchers have begun to explain how other kinds of participants help to shape argumentative dialogues. Authors such as Aakhus and Jackson, have drawn particular attention to the ways that those who are not or cannot be involved as classical participants contribute to the design of discursive interaction and argumentation in footings such as mediator, moderator, and Web-designer (Aakhus 2003; Aakhus and Jackson 2005). Participants like mediators and moderators occupy different roles than journalists, but they have in common at least the top-level aim of designing discourse under institutional constraints so that it reaches institutional goals, whether those be, for example, the negotiation and resolution of conflicts between legal disputants over divorce decrees, or the reporting of public controversies for mass audiences. In some cases, journalists are appointed to act as moderators in staged campaign debates, a moment when these professions approach one another most closely. While perhaps neither is considered a fully ratified participant and while both contribute to the design of discursive events, mediators and journalists do not necessarily share the same aims or the same position in relationship to the ratified participants in their domains. The institutional role occupied by the mediator often explicitly demands that he or she actively intervene in a spoken discursive interaction between known, named, and often legally defined parties who have reached an impasse in a negotiation with the explicit and shared goal of moving beyond the impasse and resolving the conflict; the institutional role of the journalist is not to resolve large-scale social and discursive conflicts like public controversies, but to a certain extent, to help to create them by naming them, nominating ratified participants for them and shaping the participants' words. Mediators of institutionalized critical dialogues typically participate in an event whose pragmatic terms have already been carefully designed in a number of ways and by a number of other participants, where, for instance, the parties are well-defined, a conflict has been articulated, an institutional goal of resolution can be presumed, and the mediator has been vested by the institution to employ his or her skills to resolve the conflict.

While the classical participant tends to collapse a number of footings under the person of an individual speaker, the classical speaking situation tends to treat the venue and event in which the participant appears as a relatively stable material fact. This does not take into account the work that speaking and writing themselves do in structuring and representing situations and events. Much of what we learn about situations and events, especially the kind that regularly concern the discourse arts, like controversies, comes from hearing or reading about them (Schudson 1982, p. 98; Vatz 1973, p. 156). With this in mind, speaking situations, rather than being stable material facts, are at least in part shaped by the choices that speakers and writers make in discourse. The descriptions of situations and events that we hear or read about may tell us a great deal about the speaker or writer who describes them, along with the many prior texts in our experience, but they do not provide access to a universal description of some state of affairs (Vatz 1973, p. 154). In other words, participating in events by talking and writing involves a number of choices which help to constitute those events for participants. Developing accounts of controversies in the medium of language, for instance, would be one way of doing this. In order to participate in a speaking situation, of course, a participant must make a series of assumptions and/or decisions about how to conceptualize and represent him or herself as a speaker, the event and the larger situation he or she is involved in, and any past and future events that he or she deems relevant enough to thematize in argument (Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 12). The participation framework and shape of the venues and events associated with the classical speaking situation are in part the results of choices made by speakers and writers across many particular utterances and texts.

3.3 Writing Dialogue

The dialogue model invokes a particular kind of speaking situation, a kind of event, and a participation framework, and its boundaries have been shaped by prior texts and genres. Texts like Platonic dialogues and Aristotelian treatises on dialectic and rhetoric variously depict or prescribe the dialogue model and the notions of classical participant and classical speaking situation, and they often serve as exemplars of dialogue. Many of their features and norms have come to serve as prototypical of dialogue in general, and like other prototypes, these are reiterated in everyday language use along with being explicitly taught (Rosch 1978, pp. 28, 41). The discourse arts' teaching of these texts and the texts that build on their frameworks as exemplars of dialogue, as part of this explicit instruction, contributes to their prototypicality.

The ostensible mode indicated in the dialogue model would seem to be speaking, with a pragmatic setting featuring interlocutors who meet one another face-to-face and who take brief, relevant turns in order to make a decision or resolve a disagreement (Blair 1998, p. 327). However, many of the most important exemplars of dialogue are written textual artifacts with which we interact via a visual channel. Blair's

example, *The Republic*, is a written, published, printed text, but it is its depiction of a spoken exchange between the characters Socrates and Polemarchus, for instance, that exemplifies the engaged dialogue rather than, for instance, the reading situation in which Blair interacts with the textual artifact. Telling a story by reporting what some speakers said to one another, even when they are actually existing human beings whose actual talk was witnessed by the story teller, routinely involves a good deal of embellishment and adjustment, and the use of the dialogue form itself does not indicate an unmediated reflection of a natural conversation or episode, but is a design choice by a story teller who aims to recount a drama (Tannen 1986, pp. 311, 325). The story teller who relates an account spontaneously through the spoken mode is at the mercy of the limits of human memory and subject to the demands of performance in real time while the designer of a written dialogue has more opportunity to plan. In either case, it is a process of constructing dialogue rather than simply reporting speech (Tannen 1986, p. 311). The story teller can decide to a great extent who will participate, how they will be identified and depicted, what they will say, how they will say it, and in what kinds and lengths of turn they will address one another. In the process of constructing dialogue, writers, in particular, tend to eliminate a host of details typical of spoken interaction that are commonly considered mistakes or infelicities in linear, written discourse, like pauses, overlapping talk, hesitations, repetition, repair, and highly presupposing deictic reference. This is a process of pragmatic bleaching that presents conversation as if it were being conducted in an idealized speech context, abstracted from the interactional details typical of talk, details which tend to ground it in a unique physical and temporal context by pointing to and presupposing the existence of and shared experience of immediate surroundings (Haviland 1996, pp. 58, 63). Constructing dialogue, then, provides opportunities for story tellers to shape conversational interactions, rather than simply reporting them, and written dialogues in particular tend to filter out many of the interactional details typical of talk.

Where readers treat the spoken interaction among the characters in *The Republic* as the focal event, the dialogue between Socrates and his interlocutors, it is perhaps a testament to the successful design of the text artifact and to the employment of a particular genre of reading by which they attempt to extract an unmediated meaning from it (Blommaert 2004, p. 654). While the text artifact that readers interact with has been shaped in many ways by many hands, including translators, editors, scribes, philologists, archivists, typographers, publishers, and printers, among many others, and while Plato is the signatory and presumed designer of the text, it is the constructed dialogue among the characters that helps create the vivid drama, the direct conversational engagement that is an exemplar of dialogue. It is constructed dialogue of a rather literate type. How is it that a written, published, and printed textual artifact can function as an exemplar for a particular kind of spoken interaction? It is possible if readers elide their interaction with it and instead attend primarily or exclusively to the narrated event that it denotes (cf. Jakobson 1971, p. 133; Silverstein 1993, pp. 34–36). While the narrated events of *The Republic* are set in a classical speaking situation, the interactional events between reader and text artifact are set in a silent reading situation. By looking more *through* the text and less *at* it, readers may maintain an impression that the narrated events are autonomous.

Another factor that may contribute to this sense of autonomy is the involvement of historical figures as participants in the narrated event. In the case of *The Republic*, Socrates, of course, is an historical figure par excellence, a central figure in the canons of the Western tradition, and in the traditions of the discourse arts in particular. If readers approach the text artifact as a transcription of the speech of Socrates, then they will be more likely to focus on this and will de-emphasize their interaction with the text, treating it as a conduit for an authentic speech event. This is a kind of reading that has played an important role in the history of glosses on Biblical scripture, where the casual writing of the commenter had to be distinguished from monumental word of the divine (Kittay 1988, p. 218). Assuming that Socrates was an actual person who lived in ancient Athens and did, said, and was committed to the sorts of things that historians and his contemporaries have described his doing, saying, and being committed to, the relationship between the texts written by Plato and the particular acts, statements, and commitments of an actual person named Socrates remains at the very least not obvious and straightforward. From the earlier to the later dialogues, there seems to be a general shift in the characterization of Socrates from a moral philosopher who is primarily interested in engaging and collaborating with his interlocutors through elenctic discourse, to one who is primarily interested in didactically instructing his interlocutors in a metaphysical system (Vlastos 1991, pp. 46–48). That there seem to be two quite different Socratic personae portrayed across the chronology of the dialogues may, in fact, indicate that the earlier character represents in some way the commitments and approach of the actual Socrates (cf. McPherran 1999, pp. 14–17; Vlastos 1991, p. 49 for this argument). Or perhaps it indicates only that there seem to be two quite different Socratic personae portrayed across the dialogues. Whatever the case, we would be hard pressed to consider these texts anything like transcriptions of Socrates' speech, let alone simple reports of his particular acts and commitments, and might instead recognize that in both cases Plato has invented and produced Socrates' philosophizing for his own purposes through the literary form of the dialogue (Kahn 1998, p. 72; Vlastos 1991, pp. 49–52). In spite of these points, the narrated events of the dialogues remain bewitching to readers in part because they seem to promise access to the very speech of the actual Socrates. The philological and philosophical debate over the historical Socrates and its relationship to Plato's texts has been sustained for a number of centuries (Kahn 1998, pp. 71–95). It would seem to be both intractable and durable primarily due to the combination of a significant lack of evidence, and, in the face of this, ongoing commitments to discover the truth about the actual person, to describe the problem in terms that turn on a discrete epistemological boundary between fiction and non-fiction, and to ask at least some of our extant textual artifacts to function as conduits to him. That the debate is so longstanding testifies to the understandably strong commitments of many to establish unambiguous empirical access to a widely acknowledged, significant historical figure. Concerning the actual Socrates, we seem to have no means of knowing with any certainty either that he is or is not the one depicted in the narrated events of the text artifacts that we view; there are many reasons why certain knowledge on this subject is not possible, owing primarily to the lack of evidence. However, the one denoted there is certainly a historical figure. Our experience of historical figures

is shaped by authoritative texts that we read about them, among other things, and this is in part what makes them historical figures. The canonization, reception, and treatment of Plato's texts is an example of the process. This discussion is not an attempt to contribute to the extensive literature of the debate over the historical Socrates, but instead is an effort to call attention to the many ways of and complexities involved in reading written textual artifacts and to explain why the involvement of historical figures as participants in a narrated event may increase our tendency to grant more attention and significance to it and less to the reader's interaction with the text.

Constructed dialogue makes a narrated event seem more vivid by presenting a conversation among participants who seem to speak for themselves, and when it is completely free from reporting clauses and other markers of quotation, it often appears to readers to be more direct, honest, and true than quoted speech, non-dialogic narration, or exposition (Blondell 2002, pp. 43–44). When readers understand the participants in direct constructed dialogue to be actually existing human beings (or those who once actually existed), as is the case with many of the participants in Platonic dialogues, the experience of directness and vividness in reading is even more likely to be taken to be an experience of directness and vividness in auditing. In this way, presenting the speech of historical figures in the form of constructed dialogue can foster ambiguity about whose standpoint, beliefs, and commitments are being put forward by the text, depending on the genre of reading by which it is approached. These being the conditions presented by Platonic dialogues, it is perhaps no surprise that there is such a longstanding debate about whose philosophy is presented there. These conditions present a footing problem. Who is the principal, in Goffman's sense, of the utterances of the character Socrates, for instance, in the narrated events of the dialogues; that is, whose standpoints and commitments are presented there? (Goffman 1981, pp. 144–145). The answer will depend on how you imagine Plato: as a student, a collaborator, a playwright, a biographer, an historian, a philosopher, or in some other role. Regardless of how readers resolve this footing problem, the dialogues remain written, constructed achievements rather than verbatim reports of particular speech events of the actual Socrates or otherwise transcriptions of spoken conversations. Plato is the signatory of the dialogues, and we tend to presume he is their author, in Goffman's sense, but the published, printed, English-language text that Blair read depends on a wide range of additional authors and animators: the many translators, scribes, archivists, printers, and editors of the text over the centuries. Despite this complex participation framework, there remains a tendency to focus away from the interactional events and toward the narrated ones, where the character named Socrates speaks as a classical participant in a direct, engaged dialogue, as a participant who is simultaneously animator, author, and principal of his own discourse, an interlocutor who speaks for himself with others who speak for themselves.

Despite its strong and perhaps expected association with the spoken mode, the philosophical dialogue is a written genre that depicts a particular kind of spoken conversation and speaking situation. And it is through the writing of Plato that the philosophical dialogue genre is ultimately enshrined. Due to the spread and esteem

by the Socratics, the philosophical dialogue gains special status among classical genres of disputation as the one uniquely capable of yielding knowledge rather than mere verbal flattery or eristic (Ford 2008, p. 37). But through Plato's texts, the genre gains fixity, finding many interpreters among ancient Greek and Roman writers and takes on a universalism as a form for philosophical inquiry (Goldhill 2008, p. 4; Goody and Watt 1968, p. 53; Lim 2008, p. 152). For instance, in Book I of *De Oratore*, the first century dialogue on the perfect orator, Cicero has his character Scaevola explicitly cite Plato as a precedent, suggesting to his interlocutors that they imitate Socrates' method in the *Phaedrus* as a way of inviting them to participate in a philosophical dialogue (Cicero et al. 1988, bk. I.VII.28). This initiates the extended dialogue among the characters – Crassus, Antonius, Scaevola, Cotta, and Sulpicius – that forms the bulk of the text. The well known irony is that Plato's entextualizing of Socratic dialogue is central to the durability and status of the of the philosophical dialogue genre in antiquity despite the fact that in it are presented arguments about the epistemological superiority of the flow of talk in all of its continuousness, emergence, and spatio-temporal particularity. If he is writing Socrates as a character in philosophical dialogues in order to preserve his teachings, Plato trades fixity against fidelity with Socrates' arguments about the epistemological primacy of the spoken mode. The elenctic method finds its primary success, then, as a written genre. By later antiquity it is the fixed, disembodied textual artifacts of the philosophical dialogue that have come to carry the primary cultural value and have helped to canonize philosophers as sages, overshadowing and conflicting with, to some extent, the very mode of discourse presented in the narrated events of the genre, the elenctic, open-ended spoken dialogue among the interlocutors who attempt to make knowledge in collaboration (Lim 2008, pp. 152–153). This change in emphasis may owe something to changes in textual orthography and reading practices, as scribes begin to introduce spaces between words (among other graphic innovations like punctuation) in written texts, a design which facilitates silent reading by eliminating the long standing necessity for readers to speak texts aloud in order to identify syllable and word units (cf. Saenger 1997). While texts that must be read aloud reinforce an interdependency between the written and spoken modes, silent reading makes it possible to imagine written discourse as fully independent from speaking, and its words free of any particular speech event, as fixed graphic and material objects.

The fully engaged dialogue discussed by Blair is a particular kind of speaking event that features classical participants in a classical speaking situation, and the narrated events of the philosophical dialogue, a written genre, serve as a prototypical case. Written dialogues differ in a number of ways from spoken interaction, as they depend on a process of pragmatic bleaching that elides many of the typical features of talk that are commonly considered mistakes in linear, written discourse, like pauses, overlapping talk, hesitations, repetition, presupposing deictic references, and repair. As a result, written dialogue can give readers the impression that it is occurring in an idealized context, outside of the routine and ordinary spatio-temporal constraints of actual spoken interaction. Beyond these sorts of pragmatic elisions, the contributions of interlocutors in written dialogue can be bleached of violations of the norms of logic and dialectic, made to conform to, for instance,

normative turn-taking procedures, argumentative relevance standards, and the norms of logical cogency. Of course, it is not typical of talk to conform to these standards. Indeed, the written mode is in some ways essential to the analysis and technical evaluation of discourse, providing the investigator a fixed object and therefore an extended opportunity to examine and evaluate an utterance in detail, and literate practice is itself a prerequisite for the development of systems and standards of logic and argument (Goody and Watt 1968, pp. 52–55; Kittay 1988, p. 222). The analyst of discourse, of an argumentative sort or another sort, takes advantage of the written mode to both fix an object of study for extended reflection and to fix technical terms and systems of analysis. The writer of dialogue can take advantage of the same opportunity to reflect, plan, and revise, and can ignore or eliminate many of the features of speaking that are considered infelicities in linear written text, while the interlocutor in the flow of actual spoken interaction must manage his or her contributions in the situation and moment.

It is hard to overstate the esteem in which the philosophical dialogue has come to be held, having been canonized and celebrated as one of the most important and distinctive achievements of Western culture. And though the particular pragmatic interplay among interlocutors that it narrates is not typical of talk, it has functioned as a norm against which particular acts of speaking and writing can be evaluated. Plato's writing – his depiction of the participation framework, turn taking, speech acts, and argumentation of Socrates and his interlocutors – has contributed to a set of communication norms that aim to transcend time, place, and medium, promoting the classical speaking situation narrated in the dialogues to a normative status that is presumed to exist across communities and societies (Lim 2008, p. 151). The term "dialogue" has come to imply a host of civic and pragmatic norms, and it is commonly invoked and regularly prescribed, often with little care or precision, for all manner of civic, religious, and social ills and conflicts (Goldhill 2008, p. 1). Training programs in conflict resolution point to dialogue as a prerequisite for their work, sometimes explicitly invoking the philosophical dialogue as a prototype, and popular guides to the art of conversation invoke it as a special origin (Ellinor and Gerard 1998, p. 31; Menaker 2010, pp. 29–34). Normative political and social theories present approaches to communication that depend heavily on dialogue prototypes, for instance, Habermas' theory of communicative competence with its "ideal speech situation," and the notion of the "original position" in Rawls' theory of justice (Habermas 1970, p. 367; Rawls 1999, pp. 10–11).

3.4 Philosophical Dialogue as a Genre

The dialogue model prescribes a particular kind of engaged exchange between participants, an exchange that is constrained by a host of pragmatic and argument norms. These are the kinds of constraints that are exemplified by written dialogues like those of the philosophical dialogue genre and legislated in some kinds of institutionally regulated talk. The length and order of turn and relevance of contribution

among attorneys and judges in the courtroom, for instance, are explicitly regulated by institutional rules and procedures, as are those of legislators in parliamentary exchanges. While the actual talk of participants in institutionalized decision-making dialogues regularly violates these constraints, they provide norms and standards against which speakers can be evaluated and corrected. For modern civic institutions these are usually technical, elaborate, codified, written, printed, and published, for example *Riddick's Senate Procedure*, used in the US Senate, and the *Federal Rules of Evidence* and *Federal Rules of Civil Procedure* on which much of US legal procedure is based (Riddick and Frumin 1992; United States Government Printing Office 2009a, b). Other sets of procedural rules are used to manage institutional talk across a number of contexts, like *Robert's Rules of Order* (Robert 2000). Because of their explicit aims and rules, institutionalized decision-making dialogues are quite different from ordinary conversation. For one thing, carefully structured and extended arguments may be expected or required in institutionalized decision-making dialogues and are relatively rare in ordinary talk. In the context of ordinary conversation, of course, interlocutors sometimes make arguments in order to resolve disagreements, but this is only one of many purposes and motives that speakers in conversation have (Jacobs and Jackson 1982, p. 224). In addition, the published records of debates in institutional contexts often conform to style and transcription conventions that elide many of the pragmatic features of the actual spoken interaction that occurs in those institutions. Institutional transcriptions like those of the Congressional Record, for example, represent the talk of legislators in debates as orthographic, linear text, eliding features like non-standard pronunciations, violations of traditional grammar, pauses, overlaps, hesitations, repetitions, repair, along with group talk and disturbances. The aim of transcriptions like these is to create an authoritative public record of the proceedings rather than to create a verbatim account of speech events; they can be edited by members after the fact, and members commonly add to or subtract from and further "correct" their transcribed talk. The text artifacts that serve as the public records of institutionalized debate, then, are typically the result of a number of speaking, transcribing, writing, and editing events separated in time and place. Despite this, the transcripts use script-like turns to locate the contributions of members in a direct dialogue set in the galleries of the institution, and they are read as authoritative records of the speech events that occurred there. So not only are institutionalized dialogues explicitly regulated in the first place by rules and procedures that help to shape the spoken interaction that actually occurs, the transcripts that issue from that talk, and function as authoritative public records, are also explicitly regulated by writing, editing, and publishing norms. Conversation is pervasive and cardinal in human communication while institutionalized decision-making dialogue is a highly regulated special case.

The difference between the philosophical dialogue, for instance, and ordinary conversation is the difference between a genre and a pre-genre. Casual conversation and narrative are "pre-genres" because they are basic to communication and relatively unconstrained by explicit, institutional rules (Swales 1990, pp. 58–61). Genres, on the other hand, feature rules for turn taking or information design, for example, that would not be obvious to native speakers of a language and must be

mastered through training and practice (Swales 1990, p. 60). Whether realized in speaking or writing, genres may share some features of casual conversation or narrative, but represent the second-level language learning accomplishments and specialization that usually come from school or professional training (Swales 1990, p. 61). While the casual conversation represents a pre-genre for dialogue, the casual narrative represents one for monologue (Swales 1990, p. 61). Unlike pre-genres, the existence and shape of a genre depends on the activities of a group of interested speaker/writers, a "discourse community" without whom the rules and constraints of the genre would not exist (Swales 1990, pp. 24–27). While the members of a discourse community may master, use, and reproduce a genre, it is the expert members who recognize the communicative purposes of the genre and develop its rationale, setting the standards for information structure, topics, and style, among other features (Swales 1990, p. 58). For a genre to be successful and productive, these standards will manifest in exemplars which will be treated as prototypical by the community (Swales 1990, p. 58).

Discourse communities housed in and represented by institutions would be especially well-positioned to develop and maintain genres, and many good examples of genres come from the kinds of institutional contexts where speech and writing can be explicitly regulated by rules and procedures. Institutions are in a strong position to establish and enforce genre rules, as they are in the case of other rules governing language use at the levels of grammar, style, and phonology, for example (Cameron 1995, pp. 7–8). One of the larger purposes of a genre is to perpetuate an institution, contributing to its lasting and coherent identity over long stretches of time, with standards that outlast the lifetimes of individual speakers and writers (Jamieson 1973, p. 165). Mastering the relevant genres is one of the important requirements for being accepted as an institutional insider, and violating them can be grounds for rejection. In this way, genres set membership standards that create long-term institutional identities, which is why "a long-lived institution tends to calcify its genres" (Jamieson 1973, p. 165). If genres are motivated by communicative purpose, we might say that among those accomplished by institutional genres is the epideictic purpose of promoting the institution and perpetuating its identity (Cameron 1995, p. 42). While this epideictic purpose of genres is useful to institutions, it is also conservative. Genres may calcify into stereotyped patterns of language use over time, but ultimately they are elements of dynamic rhetorical situations and choices by speakers and writers (Miller 1984, p. 163). Institutions may value genres as conventions that help to perpetuate institutional identity, but they also must modify them in order to address new situations and circumstances. Individual speakers and writers must both adapt to them and attempt to meet their own strategic goals through them.

As a special type of written dialogue, the philosophical dialogue genre is related to the pre-genre of the casual conversation in the sense that it narrates speaker-change among its characters (though it does not enact speaker-change with its reader) (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 700). It is also related to the pre-genre of narrative in the sense that it presents a series of events that are organized in a temporal sequence (Labov and Waletzky 1967, pp. 20–21). In this way, it is a drama, a narrative which

is told primarily through direct constructed dialogue. The particular kinds, lengths, relevance requirements of turns within the narrated events of the philosophical dialogue are more explicitly constrained than those of conversation (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 701). In addition, its participation framework is more limited than that of conversation. These differences are, in part, what make the philosophical dialogue a genre. Though it is long dead in its classical, literary form, its particular pragmatic shape continues to function as a prototype for human dialogue more generally. Many contemporary discourse communities in and outside of the academy manage other particular genres of dialogue, genres that structure and constrain spoken conversational interaction to meet particular ends, including attorneys, parliamentarians, labor negotiators, and businesspeople, to name just a few examples. And the normative form of "dialogue" itself, often without explicit citation of a particular genre, has come to represent a panacea for all manner of social, political and religious conflict. Professional scholars in the discourse arts are expert members of the discourse community that claims jurisdiction over the philosophical dialogue genre and the norms and standards that it embodies. Though it is essentially dead in the sense that contemporary writers rarely compose philosophical dialogues in the classical form and generally do not aim to realize their professional goals by actively communicating in it, it remains useful in its calcified form as a standard bearer for the pragmatic shape of human conversation. What makes the philosophical dialogue somewhat peculiar among genres is that while it is managed by a particular discourse community, it functions as a prototype not only for it but also more broadly in public use by virtue of its canonization. This can present a jurisdictional ambiguity for the expert members of the discourse community (cf. Walton 2004, pp. 8, 250, 272).

Though no longer a dynamic, productive genre, the philosophical dialogue shares a number of features with the more contemporary, living genre of the philosophic essay. Expert members of the discourse community can claim to use and reproduce the philosophic essay for their own professional ends while recognizing its communicative purposes and developing and articulating its rationale for others. If the philosophical dialogue is treated in some quarters as prototypical for human conversation, the philosophic essay functions as a prototype for the writing of professional scholars of the discourse arts in particular. Though it does not construct direct dialogue among interlocutors in a narrated event, the philosophic essay encourages writers to identify and summarize other authors' standpoints in order to construct a main path of argumentation against several faulty paths (Geisler 1994, p. 142). In the process, the writer identifies the issue among the authors' positions, the problem as he or she defines it, and his or her solution (Geisler 1994, p. 143). The genre helps writers construct a "literate conversation," using present tense verbs to bring interlocutors denoted by the narrated event and the reader together in a "timeless dehistoricized present" (Geisler 1994, pp. 144–145). In this, it effects conversational contributions, those that draw on a dialectical frame of reference (Kaufer and Geisler 1989, p. 302). The conversation that is narrated here, however, is timeless and decontextualized because most of the pragmatic features of talk have been bleached from the account. Not only are the pragmatic features typical of spoken conversation elided, but the summary of author positions using third-person present tense

reports means that the philosophic essay does not depict interlocutors in direct dialogue with one another. The philosophical dialogue genre depends on pragmatic bleaching; however, it does narrate an event involving turn taking among interlocutors who seem to speak for themselves. The philosophic essay abstracts further from this kind of direct constructed dialogue. The result is a kind of text, nominally populated with interlocutors, that helps to move readers through a decontextualized problem space toward the truth, an experience that depends to a great extent on the elision of and abstraction from human interactions (Geisler 1994, pp. 144–145). The philosophic essay exploits a dialogue model for decision-making but narrates an exchange that is more decontextualized than that of the philosophical dialogue. Both construct dialogues that leave aside the many complexities and details of actual spoken conversations in order to provide readers of text artifacts a coherent and manageable reading experience.

3.5 News Discourse and the Discourse Arts

Unlike the philosophical dialogue and the philosophic essay, the news article is not a genre that is primarily used, managed, or justified by a scholarly discourse community. It is not a central concern in the tradition of the discourse arts. In fact, it has functioned as something of a negative example or bounding case: Press reports are traditionally distinguished from the proper objects of study, objects such as "oratory" and "argument" (Copi 1968, p. 15; Wichelns 1966, p. 7). Beyond this, news discourse has sometimes been characterized as a distortion of or distraction from those objects of study (Goodnight 1991, p. 7; Johnson 2000, p. 18; Walton 2004, p. 250). The genre does not jibe with traditional objects of study in part because it fails to narrate a classical speaking situation involving classical participants. Traditionally, the discourse arts favors extended instances of argumentation delivered by classical participants, speakers who act as principal, author, and animator of utterances explicitly attributed to them. The news article genre is not an especially good source for this kind of discourse. It is rare to find argument in a news article because the typical footing of journalists is as complier and reporter of others' perspectives, a professional distinction that clarifies the boundary between their commitments and those of the sources whose standpoints and commitments they report. For a journalist to use a news article to orient him or herself as a classical participant who develops a chain of reasoning about an issue would be a fundamental violation of professional norms and a violation of the central purpose of the genre, which is to report events. Despite the rarity of extended chains of reasoning, however, the genre is regularly used to report on discursive conflicts; these kinds of events are regular topics in news discourse.

Though as a matter of professional training and ethics journalists avoid positioning themselves as classical participants in them, they are responsible for reporting on discursive conflicts for public audiences. These reports are rhetorical accomplishments that control events and shape situations for readers (Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 12).

The classical speaking situation provides a platform for the standpoints and arguments of classical participants, imagining the conditions under which they can best exhibit its footing and turn taking requirements. However, this kind of situation is far from typical in modern public discourse in the rich, educated, democratic, industrial West. We experience many events by reading a report or listening to a reporter (Schudson 1982, p. 98; Vatz 1973, p. 156). Both in its authority and ubiquity, news discourse is a significant source for these depictions of public events. Rather than performing the role of classical participant who participates in argumentation with others in a classical speaking situation, the journalist issues reports on discursive conflicts to others designed for a silent reading situation. In order to understand how and why it does this, we need to consider the norms and practices that are specific to the institution of journalism rather than assuming that those of the discourse arts are relevant or adequate (Walton 2004, p. 8).

Journalists use the news article genre to report on events to a mass audience of news readers. The central purpose of the news article is to report events like accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, and discoveries, and it is the prototypical genre for journalists and news researchers who evaluate other news discourse in its terms and against its standard (Bell 1991, p. 14). A special type of written monologue, the news article is, along with the scientific research report and the joke, a generic development broadly related to the pre-genre of the narrative. Narratives typically report events in a temporal order, feature a semblance of plot, and foreground the agents of the events rather than the events per se (Swales 1990, p. 61). The news article genre qualifies as narrative in a broad sense, but it is distinct as a genre by violating the strict temporal ordering of events. It does this through the "inverted pyramid" information structure so distinctive of the news article genre, where headlines and leads are designed to summarize and abstract the key events (Bell 1991, p. 169; Dijk 1988, pp. 35–36; Schudson 1982, p. 99). So while the genre aims to report events, it does this by balancing narration and abstraction, reporting events in terms of their concrete details but also abstracting from these in order to classify them and describe their implications (Bell 1991, p. 186; Biber 1988, pp. 154, 192).

As a special kind of event report, the news article genre is related to the pre-genre of narrative in the sense that it presents narrative clauses, organized for at least some stretches in temporal sequences (Labov and Waletzky 1967, pp. 20–21). It is also related to the pre-genre of conversation in the sense that it reports the speech of characters by way of constructing a kind of indirect dialogue among them. Like the philosophical dialogue, it depicts a drama, a narrative which is told (at least partially) through constructed dialogue. In its use of abstractions to categorize and analyze events, and in its indirect reporting of characters' speech and standpoints, the news article also shares features with the philosophic essay. The accounts provided in each of these genres tend to differ primarily in the way and degree to which the narrating event of the writer is referred to by the text. The philosophical dialogue depicts a direct pragmatic exchange among interlocutors with minimal reference to the writer's narrating process, while the philosophic essay and news article depict interlocutors in an indirect pragmatic exchange in which the writer's narrating process is referenced more explicitly in the text. Writers tend to exploit language features – like

first and second versus third person participant reference, past versus present tense, script-like turn-taking orthographies, and orthographies for speech reports – that help them depict their presence as a participants and make explicit the narrating event in some genres more or differently than in others (These differences are explored more fully in Chap. 6). Though these genres tend to differ in these ways, they have much in common where medium is concerned: They are all typically written, linear texts which are printed, published, and consumed in a silent reading situation involving a text artifact and a reader who interacts with it through a visual channel.

3.6 The News Article Genre

Though the news article genre is not a central concern in the traditions of the discourse arts, has functioned as something of a negative example or bounding case, and has been characterized as a distortion of or distraction from proper objects of study, it is regularly used to report discursive conflicts to public audiences. Unlike the philosophical dialogue genre, which is considered one of the central achievements in the history of the West and whose narrated events denote pragmatic and argumentative interactions that have come to function as norms for human communication, the cultural value and reputation of the news article genre is modest, to say the least. In the public discourse of mass, industrial societies of the 20C and 21C, however, the news article has been a central genre of publicity, a genre that for many readers has provided a primary experience of many public events and has been relied upon as a source of veridical accounts of such events. If the philosophical dialogue continues to exemplify communication norms in its canonized and calcified form, the news article continues to develop as a genre with a purpose of informing readers about public events.

What qualifies as a public event and how such events are narrated has changed and developed along with news genres. In the 18C and early 19C newspapers, before the development of the modern news article genre, published other kinds of text, including extended arguments supporting particular political candidates and parties, shipping itineraries and descriptions of cargo, fiction and poetry, letters, and records of speeches. The distinction between official legislative records and news reports that we may take for granted today was less clear, particularly in England. Writers and reporters of news were some of the first to attend Parliament in order to report on the debates. They tested standing prohibitions against publishing Parliamentary debates, and over time won official accommodations and institutional respectability as the publishing of public records of the debates became not only acceptable but necessary. The burdens of transcription and publication gradually shifted from external news workers to Parliament itself. In the United States, Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution requires the legislature to produce and publish records of its proceedings. What constitutes a record in either place, however, has never meant a complete and detailed transcription of the very utterances of all speakers in the debates. Indeed, some 19C efforts at transcription of Parliamentary debates met

with resistance from members who felt that complete and detailed transcription undermined their authority, revealing their bad grammar, irrelevancies, clichés, weak arguments, and bad taste (Hunt 1850, pp. 280–283). The 19C records of the US House of Representatives, the House Journal, often reported on debates in third person narration, recounting, for example, that a "resolution was read," that a particular member "stated" something "to the House," and that "after debate" a given issue or motion was decided. Even when detailed records of the talk of members in debate becomes standard, there is no aspiration to verbatim transcription, despite the fact that the reports appear in script-like, direct dialogue form. In order to maintain institutional authority, an official public record of debate would seem to benefit from an approach to reporting that that seeks to prune and elide infelicities, irrelevancies, and errors and bolster the argumentation of members. As legislatures absorbed the duties of the reporter, producing their own official records, the Parliamentary record or transcript was no longer a newspaper genre, though, of course, the debates and decisions of legislatures remained public events worthy of news coverage.

How public events were reported in the news changed in important ways with the development of the modern news article genre. It is an outgrowth of the professionalization of journalists in the late 19C. Values of objectivity and accuracy develop with the rise of the Penny press in the 1830s and 1840s and are institutionalized in the 1880s. It is during this time that the features of the news article genre are invented and institutionalized, the headline and the lead paragraph, for example, and that handbooks for training journalists begin to appear (Bell 1991; Chalaby 1998; Schiller 1981; Schudson 1978). Objectivity develops as a central norm for professional journalism beginning in the late 19C. This ideal for journalism as a profession depends on a belief that journalists can occupy a privileged position beyond standpoint and deliver accurate textual copies of events from the world (Schiller 1981, p. 87). In this way, the objectivity norm of professional journalism shares much with commonsense notions of objectivity associated with scientific inquiry (Tuchman 1980, p. 203). The news article genre and the objectivity norm help combat lingering criticisms of the news from the early and middle parts of the 19C, perceptions from the days of the Party press that newspapers were partisan mouthpieces for political platforms, or perceptions from the days of the Penny press that newspapers were merely purveyors of scandal and spectacle, and hawkers of patent medications[3] (Elliott 1978, pp. 176–177; Schudson 1978 passim). They also reflect

[3] In *Walden*, Thoreau expresses the disdain toward the Penny Press commonly held by intellectuals and members of the social and economic elites, who saw pettiness in the reporting of the local and ephemeral: "The penny-post is, commonly, an institution through which you seriously offer a man that penny for his thoughts which is so often safely offered in jest. And I am sure that I never read any memorable news in a newspaper. If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter – we never need read of another. One is enough. If you are acquainted with the principle, what do you care for a myriad instances and applications? To a philosopher all news, as it is called, is gossip, and they who edit and read it are old women over their tea. Yet not a few are greedy after this gossip" (Thoreau 2004, p. 184).

the late 19C rise of the professions more generally. During this time, journalists are increasingly being drawn from the college educated talent pool, a situation which motivates the adoption of training procedures and the institutionalization of genre constraints. Unlike the part time, blue collar reporter of the Penny Press, the college educated reporter thinks of him or herself as an author, in a belletristic sense. In response to this attitude of romantic individual expression, editors standardize reporting methods and writing styles in order to harness the labor of their new talent while shoring up their reputations trustworthy and objective news outlets (Schudson 1978, p. 81).

The news article genre that develops in the late 19C is simultaneously a way to standardize the writing in pressrooms full of reporters with literary aspirations, and a way to evoke an ideal of objectivity that was becoming increasingly important to scientific practice and publication. As the membership of the scientific community moves from the 18C "gentlemen virtuoso" who circulate in a small, friendly group of elite peers, to the professional scientist of the late 19C, the objectivity norm and its attendant methods and writing style become increasingly important as a way of ensuring standards of professional practice in a heterogeneous, widely dispersed scientific community (Atkinson 1999; Porter 1996; Schiller 1981). In the late 19C, the newly invented American research university, based on the German model, reflects this change as it begins to organize departments around training in systematic and empirical investigations within specific "sciences," as opposed to its previous emphasis on a general education in the classics, Latin, and Greek (Geiger 1986, p. 25; Tate and Lindemann 1991, p. 15). This is also the period that sees the invention of many of the professional societies associated with current academic disciplines. The societies founded during that period include, to name a few examples, the American Chemical Society (1892), the Modern Language Association (1883), the American Psychological Association (1892), and the American Society for Microbiology (1899) (Geiger 1986, p. 23). During this time, journalists are also founding their own professional organizations like the New York Press Club (1873), The Washington Correspondents Club (1867), and Chicago's Whitechapel Club (1889) (Schudson 1978, p. 68). Not until after the turn of the century is journalism minted as a fully academic specialty with the founding of the Missouri School of Journalism at the University of Missouri (1908) and the Journalism School at Columbia University (1912).

The professionalization of scientists motivates the invention of the modern research article genre. The writing of scientists gradually departed from the involved, explicitly persuasive, and concrete style of the 17C and 18C gentleman virtuoso to the informational and abstract style of the modern research article (Atkinson 1999, p. 111). Scientific writing in the 17C and 18C is epistolary, emphasizing the homogeneous social and class standing of the elite men who populated the ranks of scientists at the time. The style of early modern science writing reflects the importance of face-to-face dialogue in enacting the norms of its community; it was a community founded on close personal friendships among gentlemen, so it required a form of writing that foregrounded these relationships (Atkinson 1999, p. xxvii). News writing undergoes a similar shift. Like the modern scientific research article,

the news article becomes more informational and abstract, departing from its earlier involved, explicitly persuasive, and concrete style.

The inverted pyramid arrangement runs contrary to the ordinary narrative because it upends the traditional story structure that had been common in news writing during the days of the Penny Press. These distinct departures from the pre-genre of the narrative constitute fundamental features that professional editors and journalists use to define the news article as a genre. Bell (1991) provides an example of a news story from 1876 as a way to illustrate the way that news was written before the advent of the modern news article genre. During this era, news stories typically report events in the manner of an ordinary narrative, with chronological order and a plot structure (Aitchison 2007, p. 100; Bell 1991, p. 173; Swales 1990, p. 61). In the 1876 article that Bell reproduces, even the structure within the headline, 1, is chronological. In 2, the lead paragraph, the first sentence reports the chronological origin of the story while the second sentence lists a series of chronological events that narrate the rest (Bell 1991, p. 173):

1. [1] A Man Jumps From a Lighting Express, but Lights on his Head and is not Hurt.
2. [2] On Monday night a man named Schwartz took passage at Cincinnati for New York. To all appearances he was under the influence of liquor, but got on well enough until the train arrived at a point a short distance below Galion, when Schwartz was noticed to get up from his seat in a hurry and make his way to the platform, from which he jumped while the train was running at full speed.

The inverted pyramid upsets this ordinary narrative structure by changing the principles of arrangement among the sentences and paragraphs in a news article. Rather than the linear chronology of the casual narrative, the modern news article presents an orbital structure, with the headline and lead paragraph serving as the nucleus, and the following paragraphs acting as satellites that elaborate the nucleus by providing, for instance, elaboration, appraisal, and contextualization (White 1997, p. 121). This orbital structure is what makes for the "radical editability" of news articles, allowing editors to cut and reorder paragraphs willy nilly without damaging cohesion (White 1997, p. 118).

3.7 The Objectivity Norm in Journalism

The modern genres of scientific and news writing are the products of the 19C professionalization of both scientists and journalists, discourse communities that come to need new genres in order to achieve new purposes. The movement toward the abstract and informational style of the modern research article is an effort to address the gradual dissolution of the social and class networks of the gentlemen virtuosos who had dominated science in the 17C and 18C. When science is primarily mediated by face-to-face interaction among a small group of elite fellows who were personally known to one another, what we have come to call scientific "objectivity" is not an essential value to the community. Impersonal and universal

standards of writing and experimentation arrive as scientific ranks are increasingly occupied by paid professionals from a wide range of classes, communities, regions, and nations. There is a converse relationship between the level of diversity and fluidity of a community and its need for an objectivity norm. Communities founded on this norm tend to have diffuse boundaries and little internal cohesion; they lack the "effortless shared understanding" that is easier to assume in smaller, more localized, and more homogeneous communities (Porter 1996, p. 227). An objectivity norm becomes necessary as the 19C scientific community begins to expand across borders of class, language, and nation, growing from a small group of elite fellows who enjoyed an assumption of mutual trust through face-to-face dialogue, an epistolary publishing practice, and class and cultural homogeneity, to a large, international network of strangers who require "explicit standards" and "stereotyped forms of presentation" in order to establish trust (Porter 1996, p. 228). These are not just problems of the scientific community but general problems of knowledge making and community building in increasingly fluid and diverse modern societies. Urban intellectuals of this era, who had flourished in public intellectual institutions like libraries and gentlemen's philosophical societies, struggled to locate and define their authority in a "society of strangers," a society represented by the booming American cities of the 19C newly crowded with immigrants from Europe and from other regions of the US (Bender 1984, p. 89). The sheer scale and heterogeneity of mass society created a fundamental problem for those whose authority and knowledge-making practices depended on standards and norms of a small, homogeneous, and local community of fellows: "Could the diverse and anonymous audience presented by great cities constitute a viable community of discourse?" (Bender 1984, p. 89). The terms of both scientific and civic knowledge during the late 19C are transformed as a result of the dissolution and crisis of authority of small, elite, homogeneous communities of intellectuals. As bearers of public knowledge about daily events, news outlets face similar challenges as they responded to the fluid and diverse modern city swelled by immigration (Schudson 1978, p. 97).

Journalism's objectivity norm is one of the most enduring responses to this historical and social context. In the late 19C, the *New York Times* is successful in distinguishing itself as a newspaper of respectability and moral uprightness by emphasizing standards such as "conservatism, decency, and accuracy" (Schudson 1978, p. 107). It also becomes a leading publisher of the news article genre, using its objective informational style to cement its reputation as a respectable and honest news organization (Schudson 1978, p. 89). By distancing itself from Pulitzer's successful and high-circulating *World*, with its many ads, pictures, and muckraking advocacy pieces about child labor and urban scandal, the *Times* claims the high ground of objectivity and ensures itself a prominent place as a standard bearer. The journalism that follows, in the early 20C, positions the reporter as a professional and expert interpreter of a world deemed increasingly complex, and whose training and experience is essential for producing an accurate report of events (Schudson 1978, pp. 147–151; Smith 1978, p. 169). This offers the reporter a mandate to report on the things that he or she sees and hears, or fails to see or hear, situating events for readers and foregrounding the reporter's perspective (Schudson 1982, p. 104).

Though they are developed and controlled by different discourse communities, both the scientific article and the news article are monologic genres designed to report events objectively (Swales 1990, p. 61). In addition, they are written and published, delivered as text artifacts to be consumed in a silent reading situation. The informational register of the news article genre indexes objectivity for the profession and its clients (i.e. readers). On a continuum from the most involved to the most informational kinds of texts, the news article shares company with academic prose and official documents near the informational extreme, with telephone conversations, face-to-face con versations, and personal letters at the other (Biber 1988, p. 128). News articles also demonstrate a relatively high degree of abstraction, especially considering their purpose of reporting events (Biber 1988, p. 192). Texts in the informational register tend to be noun-dense, preposition-heavy, and passive, with many attributive adjectives and a high type/token ratio (Biber 1988, pp. 104–105). These are features that are difficult to achieve in spontaneous spoken interaction and are more naturally suited to writing, where off-line production allows for substantial planning and crafting of text (Biber 1988, p. 105). Sample 3 is a lead sentence from a news article, and it illustrates some of these features of the informational register:

3. The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission voted 4-0 to scrap a requirement that foreign companies reconcile financial statements with U.S. accounting rules, part of an effort to increase cross-border investing (SEC scraps rule for foreign firms 2007).

In this sentence, there are prepositional phrases "of an effort" and "with U.S. accounting rules," along with iterations of the preposition "to" as part of the non-finite clauses "to scrap" and "to increase." Almost every lexical item in the sentence is a unique type, making the type/token ratio very high. In addition, the sentence features a high noun-count, with an emphasis on abstract, compound noun phrases built from attributive adjectives, like "cross-border investing" and "U.S. accounting rules." Noun-count has a particularly important role in the informational register because it is associated with information density in a text (Biber 1988, p. 104). The informational register is strongly associated with the modern language of science, with features that tend to background the author and foreground objects and events.

Not only is the news article genre demarcated by positive means, with a noun-heavy, event-oriented informational register, but also by negative ones, establishing distance from registerial features associated with interaction. First and second person pronouns, for example, typically do not appear outside of quotations in the news article. Reported speech, used liberally in the genre, provides a device for the journalist to present the interactional talk of others without compromising the journalistic objectivity that is indexed by the informational register common in his or her reporting and narrating clauses. First and second person pronouns, for example, along with cognitive verbs, present tense verbs, interrogatives, contractions, and possibility modals, are some common features of spoken discourse, helping to establish "a high level of interaction and personal affect" (Biber 1988, p. 131). These features of the involved register are negatively associated with the news article, where a passage with a first or second person subject, a present tense, cognitive verb

and a possibility modal, for instance, is would represent a violation of the genre. The informational register predominates in news writing generally, even in editorials and opinion articles. Despite the conspicuous metadiscursive boundary-drawing between "news" and "comment" in journalism, the register of the editorial is only slightly more involved than the news article; on the continuum, it also falls near the informational extreme (Biber 1988, p. 128). So even the journalistic genre conventionally associated with standpoint and argument does not adopt an involved register that could help to cast the journalist in the role of conversational interlocutor.

The involved register of the conversation and epistolary exchange, with their markers of direct address and turn taking that foreground the agency of human participants, are appropriate for the gentleman virtuoso scientists of the 17C and 18C because they are communicating in a context of mutual trust based on shared values, class, and language, and because they constitute a small, elite group in which each is known personally to all. In certain ways, they are classical participants enacting a classical speaking situation. In the republic of letters, writing served as a peripheral mode of communication that represented the engaged dialogues by which knowledge was made. In this context, the uniqueness and elite status of the speaker (and writer) is central to his credibility because a man who is independently wealthy and who has a high social status is thought to have no motive for lying about his discoveries (Porter 1996, p. 225). In this kind of community, a form of writing that makes the writer a classical participant is crucial, one that mimics the spoken interaction of engaged dialogue that serves as the central locus of knowledge making. While the dialogue among fellows may be appropriate for a small homogeneous community with a high level of trust, it cannot not sustain a similar level of trust across a modern, relatively anonymous network of professional scientists. The 19C professionalization of scientists makes the objectivity norm necessary, along with standardized methods and genres. These form the locus of authority and trust in a modern scientific community in lieu of the close personal relationships and conversations among a local, homogeneous group of fellows. Elaborate methodologies and genre requirements aim to establish standards for behavior, standards that attempt to control and eliminate differences in geography, language, culture, and time (Porter 1996, p. 228).

Among the similarities between the scientific article and news article genre is a common, top-level communicative purpose, to report events. Professional scientists and professional journalists have different criteria, of course, for choosing which events to report and exactly how to report them, and their levels of experience with and access to them is quite different. There are events happening on slides, under microscopes that are of great importance to, say, a cell biologist studying protein trafficking, and the biologist will report these events in a scientific article if they are relevant to, for instance, the larger effort to build knowledge about the functions of the cell. These kinds of events are typically irrelevant and invisible to the journalist. Occasionally, however, a journalist will take interest in an event that happens in a laboratory. Consider the news coverage, for example, of the world's first test tube baby in 1978. Fahnestock has analyzed these sorts of events that are simultaneously relevant to the scientist and the journalist, showing how news accounts "accommodate"

scientific research (Fahnestock 1993). But what makes an event newsworthy in the first place? Newsworthiness is a crucial standard for journalists, a criterion that helps determine which events will be visible and relevant to the news.

3.8 News Values

Though the notion of objectivity is an important and explicit norm for journalists, it is also a negative one, presenting a set of restrictions on how events can be reported. It offers little in the way of positive criteria for choosing the appropriate events to cover in the first place. News values are the criteria by which editors and reporters decide which events count as news and which features of those events are most newsworthy. They appear in the professional training of journalists, and they operate as tacit knowledge in news production. Originally described by Galtung and Ruge, news values have been used productively to analyze modern news practice and are fundamental to understanding general standards of newsworthiness (Bell 1991, pp. 155–160; Fowler 1991, pp. 13–14; Galtung and Ruge 1965, pp. 70–71). In Galtung and Ruge's formulation, there are 12 values that explain the selection of news events (Galtung and Ruge 1965, pp. 70–71):

The standards of news values provide an interesting contrast to the standards of objectivity (Table 3.1). While the objectivity norm promotes an informational

Table 3.1 News values

News value	Description
F1: frequency	If the frequency of the event matches the frequency of news production, it is more likely to be reported.
F2: threshold	If an event is extreme, it is more likely to be reported.
F3: unambiguity	If an event is unambiguous, it is more likely to be reported.
F4: meaningfulness	If an event resonates with dominant cultural values, it is more likely to be reported.
F5: consonance	If an event matches conventional expectations, it is more likely to be reported.
F6: unexpectedness	If an event is unexpected or rare, it is more likely to be reported.
F7: continuity	If an event has already been reported, it is more likely to be reported again.
F8: composition	If an event complements the other stories reported in a news section or broadcast on a given day, it is more likely to be reported.
F9: reference to elite nations	If an event features elite nations, it is more likely to be reported.
F10: reference to elite people	If an event features elite people, it is more likely to be reported.
F11: reference to persons	If an event highlights the actions or qualities of a specific person, it is more likely to be reported.
F12: reference to something negative	If an event is negative, it is more likely to be reported.

register in the effort to eliminate standpoint, news values describe a professional system of preference for the reporting of certain kinds of events and the highlighting of certain features of those events. They are the positive criteria for identifying the news within the ongoing flow of the everyday. News values reveal, on the one hand, a concern for the dominant and the conventional, and, on the other, a concern for the rare and extreme as measured against this backdrop.

In keeping with the priority on the dominant and conventional in news values, journalists choose their sources with a heavy emphasis on elite people. Bell notes that news most often cites political figures, government officials, celebrities, and professionals (Bell 1991, p. 194). Elite people are ideal sources because they often possess unique and authoritative knowledge about news events and because many of the things that they do and decisions that they make have a great impact on many others (Roshco 1975, pp. 74–75). Under deadline pressures, a journalist can efficiently report on a news event with a few phone calls to key authoritative sources. Though a comprehensive series of interviews with every plausible participant in the event, central or marginal, may seem ideal, it is neither possible nor appropriate in routine journalism, nor is it consistent with news values.

As news values reveal a strong focus on the dominant, the conventional, the concrete, the rare, the extreme, and the negative, two of the best strategies for garnering news coverage are to (1) be an elite person and/or to (2) perform some concrete act that is outrageous or transgressive as judged against the dominant and conventional. Stories about celebrities' crimes and drug abuse, and politicians' extra-marital trysts combine these features in a delicious cocktail, so it should come as no surprise that these kinds of stories are some of the most heavily covered by news outlets (Kipnis 2010). Though criticisms of the sensationalism and ad hominem orientation of the mass media point out their significant limitations vis-à-vis a number of communication norms from the discourse arts, news values suggest that these are exactly the kinds of events journalists are trained to identify as newsworthy and that news outlets aim to report. Less sensational, more routine news events can qualify as newsworthy if they satisfy a single news value. Press conferences by the President of the United States are always covered and reported by the news, whether or not the President has anything particularly surprising or substantive to say. In this, the event is deemed newsworthy for the mere fact that it involves a highly elite person; in general, the newsworthiness of a story is directly related to how elite its source is (Bell 1991, p. 192). While simply being an elite person may be enough to guarantee news coverage of your statements and actions, being an ordinary person presents a barrier to coverage. In order to get the attention of news outlets, non-elite people are left to emphasize other news values and one of the best ways of doing this is by committing outrageous and transgressive acts. This presents a dilemma for non-elite people who seek coverage because they must key the level of deviance of their acts to their level of public invisibility While an extremely deviant act may succeed in gaining news coverage for non-elites, it may simultaneously alienate and distract the audience from any larger purpose they seek to publicize (Roshco 1975, p. 101). The performance involved in the outrageous and transgressive act will tend to dominate the reporting, rather than the issue, illustrating the prominence of the concrete

(cf. "unambiguity" and "reference to persons") in news values. When protesters took off their clothes in order to draw attention to global water issues in the Spring of 2000, for instance, the headline in *The Ottawa Citizen* foregrounded their performance and made no mention of their issue: "Protesters strip, hang from ceiling at conference" (Protesters strip, hang from ceiling at conference 2000). While non-elite people need to perform outrageous acts in order to gain the attention of news outlets, and have the events in which they participate qualify as newsworthy, they face a tradeoff between gaining coverage for their outrageousness and directing serious and substantive attention to their issues.

3.9 Balance

The journalistic objectivity norm is sustained through both negative and positive means, by demonstrating distance from "bias," "viewpoint," or "opinion" and markers of meddling by outside parties who have an interest in the ways that public events are reported, and by demonstrating a "fairness," "balance," and "trustworthiness" in reporting. News outlets promote these norms explicitly and reflexively through their own self-promotion, and they index them in a number of ways through their writing. These norms are important to journalists, news actors, and readers, whose routine complaints about "bias" and lack of "objectivity" in reporting illustrate the extent to which these norms are accepted and institutionalized. Observing that these norms seem to exist and to perform useful roles as critical standards within journalism does not necessarily suggest anything about their technical precision, their relevance, or their value as judged against the norms of other discourse communities. Whether or not it is possible to achieve "objectivity" and "fairness," they seem to function as standards of evaluation for news texts. If the central purpose of the news article genre is to report events, the journalistic objectivity norm governs how they should be reported, and demonstrating impartiality, whether it emphasizes negative or positive means, is a central concern for the writer of news articles. One way that writers index journalistic objectivity is through the inverted pyramid arrangement of the news article and through an informational register that is common in news writing. These present a narrating stance that is abstracted and distanced from standpoint by the use of noun heavy, third person reports. Another way that writers demonstrate impartiality is through the use of language and text features that index "balance."

In some ways, achieving balance stands at odds with other priorities on "objectivity" like bleaching standpoint, since the notion presupposes various standpoints in conflict. So writers must find ways to present others' standpoints while ensuring that they appear to be in balance with one another. This is a way to solve the problem of reporting standpoint without reneging on the journalistic objectivity norm. One text feature that journalists use to depict balance is the indirect constructed dialogue. By constructing dialogues among participants who can be taken by readers to represent legitimate representatives of opposing sides in a discursive conflict, writers

index the fairness or balance of their reporting. In this, journalists do not assume the footing of the classical participant in a classical speaking situation but instead function as an author who collects and reports others' standpoints as they recontextualize the speech of sources in order to report news events. While it is possible to create a narrative without it, reporting the speech of characters using constructed dialogue helps transform a narrative into a drama, making it more vivid and foregrounding the participants. And while the news article genre aims to report public events while indexing objectivity, it also aims to deliver compelling narratives for readers, narratives that qualify as newsworthy according to news values. In controversy reporting, journalists do this by constructing dialogues among profiles of participants and standpoints in conflict. This is explored in detail in Chap. 5.

The many facets of the journalistic objectivity norm are not only tacit aspects of professional training and practice, and implicit targets of particular genre features, they are also explicitly prescribed in professional manuals and in law. Stylebooks like the *Reuters Handbook for Journalists* enshrine balance, along with accuracy, as a central virtue of the profession: "The cardinal principle which should underlie the work of any news agency is honesty. Its file should be accurate as to fact and balanced as to the selection of facts and of background and interpretation used in putting those facts in context" (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd 1992, p. vii). And in its guidelines for quoting sources, the *Handbook* warns journalists to maintain balance, or risk violating professional norms: "Selective use of quotes can be unbalanced" (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd 1992, p. 123). Between "accuracy" and "balance," news discourse aims to be valid and impartial in relation to the events it reports. For many years in the US, the Federal Communications Commission enforced a "fairness doctrine" that, among other things, aimed to ensure that broadcast news outlets presented contrasting standpoints on controversial issues. In Canada the Broadcasting Act enables the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission to enforce viewpoint balance through its licensing of radio and TV stations. Because of the limited bandwidth available, broadcasters have historically been subject to more explicit legal restrictions relating to balance than print news or internet news outlets. Whether explicitly articulated in law or not, the norm of balance and its textual indices have offered news outlets opportunities to perform their impartiality.

In practice, the norm of balance can encourage a two-sidedness that preempts questions about the number and kind of participants in a discursive conflict, and questions about whether a particular issue should be characterized as open and controversial in the first place. While in professional prescriptions and legal statutes it aims to protect against dogmatism, balance presents its own priorities. Where it is interpreted as two-sidedness, it can function as a limitation rather than a protection, as in the tendency of journalists to create horse-race reports of political campaigns (Cappella and Jamieson 1997, p. 33). And even when it is interpreted as multi-sidedness, it presumes a model of participation that is coherent, discrete, and reportable. In addition, balance is a standard that is enforced and performed only in relation to some perceived backdrop of givens, of facts. The classical distinction in the canon of arrangement between the statement of facts and the argument charged

the arguer with the challenge of drawing the boundary between the given and the open, the settled and the controversial. The journalist, along with professional and legal regulators, must draw a similar boundary in deciding to what kinds of events the balance norm applies. Is climate change, for example, a controversy about which all sides should receive equal coverage, or a scientific fact, a state of affairs that we can take for granted? Is evolution one position in a debate about the origins of human beings or simply a description of certain facts about the world? Depending upon the time and place, and the speakers, writers, and audiences, these questions have been answered in a variety of ways.

The news article genre realizes journalism's objectivity norm through its informational register, a register strongly associated with scientific and technical genres. In modern, mass mediated contexts, the news article represents a ubiquitous and trusted venue where readers can learn about public events. Despite the fact that they avoid the role of classical participant as a matter of their professional norms and practices, journalists play an important role in representing controversies as public events. This role is one that is overlooked in the tradition of the discourse arts where the arguments of classical participants in a classical speaking situation tend to preempt questions about the shape of arguments as events. Through the news article, journalists denote discursive conflicts and shape them as events through their reporting and writing. Because we have many of our experiences of public events in silent reading situations rather than classical speaking situations, and because news discourse is a significant medium by which we have these experiences, it is important to understand how journalists denote and control discursive conflicts like controversies in their texts.

As an exemplar of decision-making dialogue in the discourse arts, the philosophical dialogue genre narrates an interaction amongst classical participants in a classical speaking situation. The characters demonstrate engagement by mounting arguments over many brief conversational turns, and key their contributions such that they will be relevant to previous turns and to common issues. Though ancient and long dead as a literary genre, the philosophical dialogue functions as a prototype in the western tradition for methods for knowledge making, like dialectic, for professional and institutional norms and practices, like courtroom procedure, and for popular expressions of democratic values. All of these genres and institutions construct and design dialogues in various ways. Though the philosophical dialogue and news article genres tend to differ in a number of ways, and though these differences have contributed to suspicions about the legitimacy of news as an object of study, the genres have much in common where medium is concerned: They are typically written, linear texts which are printed, published, and consumed in a silent reading situation involving a text artifact and a reader who interacts with it through a visual channel. Journalism is one of the institutions that constructs dialogues according to its own institutional priorities, using it in its reporting of controversy and other discursive conflicts. While scholars and critics construct dialogue in order to structure controversy as an object of study, journalists do the same in order to structure it as a public event in news discourse.

Chapter 4
Controversy as an Event Category

This chapter and the next investigate the ways that controversy is reported in the news article genre. This chapter focuses on the role of controversy as an event category in the news, showing how it functions across a number of discourse formulas. Journalists narrate controversy using natural phenomenon, historical event, and pragmatic event formulas that indicate events through a wide range of selectivity and individuation. These are the conventional frames of controversy depicted by the news article genre. In narrating controversy as a pragmatic event, journalists construct dialogues among interlocutors whom they nominate and voice. While holding to the central purpose of the news article genre, to report events, journalists nominate interlocutors, report their talk and writing, and recontextualize it by organizing it into profiles and by constructing dialogues among them. In this way, they locate controversy in a pragmatic interaction that they design and narrate with their texts. This places journalists in league with many other speakers and writers who construct dialogue in order to deliver narratives. Along with the natural phenomenon and historical event formulas, the pragmatic event formula is introduced in this chapter, and it is explored in more detail in Chap. 5. Using these formulas, journalists depict controversy in increasingly selective and particular terms, finally designing a dialogue among interlocutors who count as participants in the controversy narrative. The findings of the chapter are drawn from an analysis of the Reuters Corpus, and it presents a number of detailed analyses of language and text patterns from the Corpus. Chapter 2 explains how in a constitutive attitude, events are rhetorical accomplishments and journalists function as participants. Chapter 3 explains the genre features of the news article, its informational register, inverted pyramid arrangement, and news values. This chapter investigates particular strings of news discourse at the lexico-grammatical and textual levels, drawing conclusions about it in terms of the genre of the news article.

Though controversy is a often treated as an object of study or a term of analysis in the discourse arts, it is also a term that journalists (and others) use in their texts and discourse, a feature of language in use. In news discourse it is routinely used

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as an event category, a way of naming and categorizing the events that journalists report. Event categories are common in news discourse and the term "controversy" is only one of many terms that name the particular kinds of events that involve discursive conflict. There are many others in the lexis of news discourse, including "furor," "dustup," "circus," "uproar," "debate," and "fight," along with uses of "battle" and "war" where they indicate verbal rather than physical conflicts (Cramer 2008, p. 291). Of course, "controversy" is also a term of art in rhetorical analysis and argumentation. Like the term "argument," it is regularly used as a technical term but remains richly polysemous both in and outside of the discourse arts. The various uses of "argument" both in technical and ordinary discourse have been explored extensively in research, much of it mapping the boundaries between discourse communities and novices and experts (Benoit and Hample 1998; Dallinger and Hample 2002; Hample and Benoit 1999; Hample et al. 1999; O'Keefe 1977). As an event category, "controversy" is related to the event sense of "argument," the notion of a discursive conflict between speakers. Both are terms that speakers and writers use to name and categorize discursive events and situations. In other words, they are meta-discursive labels, and as with many others, they impose social classifications onto particular repertoires of talk and text (Agha 2007, p. 193). The use of the term "controversy," then, does not reflect a fixed social or cultural entity but contributes to the design, the existence, and the perpetuation of such an entity.

The naming and classifying of events by journalists in news discourse has been investigated in research that describes some forms of noun phrase (NP) commonly used to index events, and has highlighted the significance of these to the way that events are depicted in the news (Aitchison 2007, p. 136; Fowler 1991, p. 173; Trew 1979b, p. 99). This research shows how the naming of events in news discourse helps to grant them a public existence and contributes to larger public discourse about particular events or whole classes of them through the specific features and details that journalists choose to report (Fowler 1991, p. 174; Tuchman 1980, p. 190). This work explains how naming and classifying of events is not a transparent and pre-theoretical act; it is a discursive accomplishment, and journalists are participants in public discourse who intervene by shaping public events in their texts (Fowler 1991, p. 10; Kress and Hodge 1979, p. 64; Trew 1979b, p. 99; Tuchman 1980, p. 205). Much of this work is critically oriented, aimed at uncovering the ideological character of news discourse, and there is a particular emphasis on event categories that writers use to label public physical conflicts, like "riot," "fighting," and "shooting," events where often the stakes are very high – sometimes involving life and death – and where the particular choices of journalists can be shown to systematically discriminate against some participants while promoting others. While the choices of journalists in naming events and participants are of interest here, the goal is not ideology critique. Instead, this analysis focuses on how public controversies are indexed in news discourse, and what difference this can make in our understanding and approach to the study of discursive conflicts. With this in mind it is important to reiterate that the objects of study here are text artifacts created by journalists rather than the events denoted by those texts (see Chap. 2 for

more about the constitutive approach). The term "controversy" is an object of study rather than a term of analysis.

4.1 Event Categories

Event categories are a discursive resource for representing events; they are abstract nouns that speakers and writers use to classify complex collections of actions and processes under a single category term. Though not a necessary or sufficient criterion of an event category, many nominalizations present good examples (Hopper and Thompson 1984, p. 745). Nominals like "collapse," "death," "singing," and "selection" show how clause paradigms help to distinguish between perfect and imperfect nominals (Vendler 1967, pp. 122–146). Nominalizations would provide a tidy grammatical definition of event categories if only they covered enough cases. The transformation of an event clause into a nominalization, from "John died" to "John's death" for example, makes explicit the verb that might be said to be "lurking" in the nominalization. But other abstract nouns, nouns that are not explicitly derivable from verbs, also function as event categories, for instance "hurricane," "picnic," "traffic jam," "ball," and "ceremony" (Bennett 1988, p. 14). Some of these kinds of non-derivable nouns like "fire" and "blizzard" do behave, grammatically, much like event nominalizations (Vendler 1967, p. 141). On the other hand, some nominalizations do not seem to function as event categories, failing to retain their eventiveness once they are transformed from their verbal form. Take, for example, "information." While the use of "inform" as a finite verb in 1 could be said to represent an event, the nominal transformation in 2 does not retain this eventiveness.

1. I placed my pipes and rucksack on the back seat of the jeep and informed the driver that I was going into the orchard for a last look round (BNC A61 1878).
2. This feature can be used to update information stored in a receiver about programme services other than the one to which the set is tuned (BNC A19 2113).

Faced with this morphological untidiness, Bennett concludes that "Our event concept is *essentially* imprecise and uninformative; change it in those respects, and it will no longer serve well in the hurly-burly of everyday thought and speech" (Bennett 1988, p. 19). It is the untidiness that leads me to conclude, minimally, that event categories are abstract nouns that speakers and writers use to represent events, and cautions me from any a priori morphological criteria. As analysts, we are left to examine texts at many levels in order to identify the form and function of event categories, and it is to the hurly-burly of everyday speaking and writing that the analyst must turn order to understand them (Hopper 1995, p. 146).

Journalists use event categories in order to fulfill the central purpose of their prototypical genre, so they are a prominent feature of news discourse. Some of the

event categories in the news are particularly episodic and local, like "bombing" and "warning" in these headlines from *New York Times*:

3. Bombings in India Raise Fear of Sectarian Violence
4. White House Issues Warning on Iran's Nuclear Ambitions

Others describe protracted, large-scale events like "campaign", "war" and "case" in these headlines from *New York Times*:

5. Under Shadow of Sharon, Israeli Election Campaign Begins
6. Translator in Iraq War Lied In Citizenship Bid, U.S. Says
7. Court Suspends a Ruling in Satmar Case

The scale range of event categories, from the episodic and local "bombing" and "warning," to the more protracted and global "war," and "campaign," lets journalists provide complete taxonomies of events and place them in temporal relationships. The professionalization of journalists and the development of the news article genre in the late 19C motivated the invention and use of event categories in news discourse, terms like "crisis" or "horror" that introduced new kinds of events to news readers (Smith 1978, p. 168). In order to write a news article that will achieve its purpose and reproduce the genre, journalists need to name events at a relatively high level of abstraction.

Not only do event categories perform a classifying function that reflects the genre requirements of the news article, they perform a cohesive function within and across texts. They play a part in the larger phenomenon of textual cohesion, linking the properties of individual terms and sentences to a larger network of reference. Event categories contribute to topical reference chains that report and classify events, functions that are consistent with the central purposes of the news article genre. These repetitions and reiterations not only play a part in creating cohesion in an among text artifacts but also exist within a participant-linked speech chain, a socially shared network of senders and receivers of speech events, be they spoken utterances heard through a aural channel or inscribed language consumed through a visual channel (Agha 2007, p. 67). So event categories used by journalists in news articles, among other uses of language, exist in and contribute to historically situated speech chains that are shared across networks of speakers and hearers, writers and readers, networks whose membership depends on the particular experiences of those participants with particular texts over time. To the extent that participants share a discursive history, they participate in a common speech chain network (Agha 2007, p. 67). When the relationships between particular ways speaking and writing and particular social phenomena become habitual and stereotyped, the social phenomena can develop a sense of independence as "transcendent constructs" from the many individual utterances that reproduce and sustain them, a sense that is particularly encouraged when those habits and relationships enjoy mass circulation and are reiterated in authoritative texts or by authoritative speakers (Agha 2007, pp. 228–229). The use and circulation of event categories, among other language features, contributes to the sense that the discursive conflicts denoted in the news, like controversies, transcend human agency and particular acts of speaking and writing.

4.2 Formulas

In order to explain how "controversy" functions as an event category in news, we need discover how journalists use it in texts. As we have seen with the case of event categories more generally, the standard terms of grammatical analysis, while helpful, do not map in a tidy way onto real instances of discourse. It is not safe to assume, for instance, that all event categories are nominal transformations, despite the fact that many seem to display this grammatical feature. So while the terms of grammatical analysis can be helpful in describing patterns in discourse, they by no means provide exhaustive or adequate descriptions in themselves of what speakers and writers do with language. This is because grammars provide, at best, an inventory of regularities that have, at a given time, been recognized as grammatical features of a language; this inventory does not reflect emergent regularities or those that may exist at some other level of discourse, such as the rhetorical (Hopper 1987, p. 148). Actual strings of discourse display many repetitions that grammar does not explain, like those that appear in aphorisms, greetings, turn taking, transitions, sounds, and genres (Hopper 1998, p. 166; Johnstone 1994, pp. 1–19). All of these kinds of repetitions and regularities are formulas that are played out in discourse, in actual instances of talk and text, and grammar represents only one kind and set of conventionalized repetition, one that is particularly linked with written, prestige forms of discourse (Hopper 1987, p. 145). The notion of the formula as a unit of analysis originated with analysis of Homeric epics, where researchers identified repeated patterns of both words and scenes (Lord et al. 2000, p. 30). Their systematicity is most clear in small sets but, in principle, can be very large. Their entextualization and repeated use in discourse can reinforce our experience of them as fully decontextualized unities (Silverstein 1993, p. 51). One approach for the investigator is to work outward from small sets of discourse to identify the "spreading systematicity" of discourse formulas (Hopper 1998, p. 166).

Other units of analysis for discourse that are closely related to the formula are the "figure," the "colligation," and the "string" (Becker 1995, p. 261; Hoey 2005, p. 43; Kaufer et al. 2004, pp. 6–7). A figure is a stereotyped set of words and phrases that co-occur in discourse, much like the traditional notion of the rhetorical figure; however, unlike the traditional rhetorical version, this figure describes a basic unit of discourse rather than a special or exceptional case (Becker 1995, p. 277n). A string is a small set of discourse, a pattern of regularity and repetition at the word and phrase level that contributes to rhetorical priming; the presence and effect of priming is revealed by mapping strings across texts and corpora (Kaufer et al. 2004, pp. 3–15). If the figure and string emphasize the rhetorical aspects of discourse, the "colligation" emphasizes the grammatical. A colligation is a routine co-occurrence of lexical items and grammatical functions (Hoey 2005, p. 43). It is the focus on grammatical function that makes a colligation different from the more familiar collocation, a simple co-occurrence of lexical items. Though they are defined in grammatical terms, colligations can extend beyond grammar to help explain sentence, paragraph, and text level regularities (Hoey 2005, p. 43; Young and Becker 1966, p. passim). Like the formula, all of these units of analysis are ways to describe regularities and repetitions in discourse without

reducing them to simple expressions of an underlying or an a priori grammar. That speakers and writers repeat in discourse is a generalization based on empirical observation; explaining the shapes, functions, and significance of patterns requires attention to particular cases and to many levels of discourse.

4.3 Controversy Formulas

In using event categories in texts, speakers and writers position themselves at some distance from events. The act of naming the event is an act of abstraction from it, an analyst's position, and to the extent that it is a name for a collection of utterances and texts, the event category is a meta-discursive and meta-pragmatic term. From the perspective of a ratified participant in an ongoing spoken interaction, for example, event categories would seem to be less necessary than NPs that refer to elements of the interactional situation and a variety of presupposing deictic references and first and second-person pronouns referring to themselves and others. In part this is because they, along with other participants who may be present in the situation, may already be clear about what kind of speaking event they are taking part in and are busy indexing that in a number of ways with their discourse as they interact, short of explicitly referring to it with a category name. This is not to say that there are no good reasons for these kinds of participants to utter event categories, or that they never do, but only to suggest that in a murder trial, a campaign debate, or a broadcast interview, for instance, much of the time participants are busy creating these events through their spoken interaction, rather than explicitly referring to them using terms like "trial," "debate," or "interview." They enjoy the advantage of physical proximity and dynamic spoken interaction where many questions about the spatio-temporal situation are answered by immediate experience: They are standing in a courtroom on the 14th day of the trial, standing on a stage during the third Presidential Debate, or sitting in a radio studio with a microphone and an interviewer in front of them during the second week of their promotional tour. Though there are certainly other uses for event categories even by participants in dynamic spoken interactions, one situation where they become necessary is when expectations about the situation or event type have been violated, and a conflict arises among speakers about how to define it or what standards apply. For instance, in a broadcast interview, if the interviewee is failing to provide relevant answers to the interviewer's questions, or is violating genre expectations by posing open ended questions to the interviewer, there may arise an opportunity or need to refer deictically to "this interview" in the process of adjudicating conflict or explicitly reinforcing genre expectations by participants. Event categories were used in this way during a notoriously genre-violating 2002 radio interview between host Terry Gross and musician Gene Simmons on National Public Radio in the United States, and between host Jian Ghomeshi and actor Billy Bob Thornton on a radio program broadcast in 2009 by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This particular use of event categories represents a footing shift for participants as they reorient themselves as explicit metapragmatic analysts of the ongoing event in which they participate.

Considering the richness of spoken interaction where participants can exploit and rely on their experience of a shared spatio-temporal situation, and given the

Table 4.1 BNC controversy instances by text model

Text model	Instances	Percent of total (%)
Written	1,886	97.821
Transcribed speech	40	2.074
Unclassified	2	0.104
Total	1,928	100.00

Table 4.2 BNC controversy instances by text class

Text class	Instances	Percent of total (%)
Academic prose	452	23.443
Fiction and verse	22	1.141
Non-academic prose and biography	819	42.479
Newspapers	289	14.989
Other published written material	252	13.070
Unpublished written material	54	2.800
Spoken conversation	12	0.622
Other spoken material	28	1.452
Total	1,928	100.00

relative dislocation of text/reader interaction on this point, we might expect event categories to appear more often in written than spoken discourse, and more in genres that analyze and theorize events than those that simply narrate them. At the very least, this pattern seems to describe the uses of "controversy" in the British National Corpus. Of the 1,928 instances of "controversy" in the corpus, the overwhelming majority of them occur in texts coded by the corpus as written. Table 4.1 shows that nearly 98% of instances occur in written texts, while 2% occur in texts coded by the corpus as transcribed speech. This is partly an artifact of the corpus itself, which is contains many more written than spoken texts. Still, these results remain skewed toward the written mode even if we weight them with this in mind. Ninety percent of the texts that make up the BNC are in the written mode, and 10% are spoken. So these results suggest that the particular frequency of "controversy" in written texts is not simply a matter of the skew of the corpus itself toward the written mode.

While instances of "controversy" are common in written discourse, they tend to appear across a variety of genres and text types. Table 4.2 presents the total number of instances broken down by text class. The three most populated classes are non-academic prose and biography, academic prose, and newspapers.

These results support the conclusion that a meta-discursive event category like "controversy" serves the needs of writers who are expert and popular analysts of events. It is the sort of term that is useful for invoking historical events and nominating their participants, for example, providing a classifier and a name that allows a writer to abstract from many particulars. These results echo the findings of Biber, who shows how abstract nouns tend to predict the written mode, and how news discourse shares an informational register with academic and technical prose (Biber 1988, pp. 104–105). These results show that it is primarily writers rather than speakers

Table 4.3 Criteria for individuation, from (Hopper and Thompson 1980, pp. 252–253)

Individuated	Non-individuated
Proper	Common
Human, animate	Inanimate
Concrete	Abstract
Singular	Plural
Count	Mass
Referential, definite	Non-referential

who use this term, but it is important to reiterate that this is a conclusion about particular instances of language in use. The results suggest that controversies are primarily named and explicitly topicalized as such in written texts from popular non-fiction, academic prose, and news writing. The news article is among the genres that explicitly topicalizes controversy, with journalists using the event category to serve the communicative purpose and to conform to the formal requirements of the genre (Cramer 2008). It participates in a variety of formulas in news discourse, small sets featuring spreading systematicity. Documenting the details of these formulas can help to explain how journalists use meta-discursive labels like "controversy" shape readers' experience of public events.

As the most local level, the small systematic sets featuring "controversy" are noun phrases (NPs). Formulas featuring controversy NPs exhibit a variety of levels of deictic selectivity, and investigating this variety helps to explain the larger textual and generic uses of the event category. Deictic selectivity refers to the level of generality at which an NP selects its referent; universal selectives refer to whole classes and particular selectives refer to individuals (Agha 2007, p. 42). The degree of selectivity links the news reading situation more or less tightly to a "universe of referents" making them "more or less specifically locatable vis-à-vis the here-and-now" of the reader and the text (Agha 2007, pp. 42–43). In a given NP, the degree of selectivity depends to great extent on how individuated it is, highly individuated NPs being typical language features that writers use to provide readers with the experience of referents which are fully present and well anchored in a deictic field. The criteria for individuation in Table 4.3 come from Hopper and Thompson's work on transitivity in discourse, where they identify the individuation of NPs in the object position as one of the variables for evaluating transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980, pp. 252–253).

Controversy NPs present a large range of individuation, from the non-individuated "controversy," which presents no determiners or modifiers, to highly individuated instances that feature definite articles along with pre and post modification (Table 4.4). The non-individuated instance typically appears in formulas that emphasize non-human, inanimate, abstract, and mass qualities as in the following example:

8. of tree pest, McKown said. Anti-Medfly spraying has always generated controversy. A bank of phones at Tampa Medfly headquarters rings constantly with

The individuated instance typically features a definite article, which contributes to its referential selectivity and its count qualities, along with modification that

emphasizes the human, the animate, and the concrete. Often this modification includes a proper name and/or contributes to a neologism with many of the qualities of a proper name. Here is an example:

9. and Canada's mining sectors are innocent casualties of the Busang gold controversy. Peter Munk, chairman of Barrick and a former bidder for

In this example, "the Busang gold controversy" is individuated through its definite article, its referential function to a historical event, and its concrete and proper noun modification that locates the event in a place and around a topic. Between the individuated and non-individuated instances are a range of semi-individuated NPs, which feature some of the criteria for individuation but not others. Many of these present indefinite articles, for example, and/or abstract modifiers. The controversy NP in the following example illustrates this:

10. 7-04-15 The Senate, acting swiftly to defuse an emotional controversy, agreed on Tuesday to allow disabled people to bring guide dogs

With their indefinite articles and lack of concrete modification, these instances classify rather than name events. The controversy NPs present a wide range of deictic selectivity.

The following sections investigate a number of formulas that feature controversy NPs and explain how these denote and index a variety of contextual variables. Indexical functions are not limited to particular grammatical or surface linguistic forms, and any stretch or configuration of discourse is potentially indexical in a number of ways (Silverstein 1979, p. 206). While the following formulas featuring controversy NPs present a number of different surface linguistic forms and configurations, they have in common a tendency to index the context of the reading situation in some similar ways. The following sections show how controversy formulas index natural phenomena, historical events, and pragmatic events.

4.4 Natural Phenomenon

While there is a large range of selectivity across the controversy NPs in the corpus, there is a concentration of instances that display lesser degrees of selectivity, accounting for about 30% of the total. In these formulas (Table 4.5), the non-individuated controversy NP appears in combination with a number of language features which point to natural phenomena in the context beyond the reading situation. Their low selectivity indexes states of affairs, processes, or ongoing and durable events rather than, for instance, individual events bounded in time and space. Particular combinations of nominal and verbal morphology formulate events as more or less time bound, more or less eternal. Patterns that lack definiteness markers on nouns, lack interrogative mood, lack past tense, and lack number indicators are often the ones speakers

Table 4.4 Controversy NPs

Individuation	Example	Features	Instances in the Reuters Corpus
Low	the historic Angkor site last year along with at least six other firms, but **controversy** erupted when tourism officials insisted the site had already been	−det −pre −post	1,070
	believe in racial equality is a violation of human dignity.“ **Fresh controversy** broke out as one of four skinheads held for the 1990 desecration of	−det −post +pre(epithet)	112
	meditation and traditional Chinese treatment, locals said. But **a fresh controversy** has erupted over whether he can be cremated in line with his wishes.	+det(indefinite) −post +pre(epithet)	47
	refused to comment, saying the issue could arouse **widespread international controversy**. China allows Catholics to worship under the auspices of the	−det −post +pre(numerative, epithet)	105
	infrastructure. – Telecommunications ministry organises seminar amid **controversy over partly privatising the sector**. AL-MAGHRIB	−det +post(qualifier) −pre	505
	A government spokesman said the payment was not linked to **recent controversy over allegations** that Switzerland had hoarded Nazi gold after World	−det +post(qualifier) +pre(epithet)	85
	with a target of 450,000 car sales in Europe in 1997. Okuda stirred **a controversy** in February when he said Toyota would rather put new investment in	+det(indefinite) −pre −post	54
	the Victoria Racing Club offices last night, seizing documents relating to **a controversy involving champion racehorse Encosta de Largo's blood sample reading**	+det(indefinite) +post(qualifier) −pre	189
	outside the oil business either. Earlier this year, Bryan created **a national controversy** by speaking out on the the delicate issue of French-speaking Quebec	+det(indefinite) −post +pre(epithet)	70
	IRISH INDEPENDENT - The Irish beef industry was rocked by **a new BSE controversy** on Tuesday after the unprecedented banning of three counties'	+det(indefinite) −post +pre(epithet, classifier)	7

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Individuation	Example	Features	Instances in the Reuters Corpus
	China may have sought to influence the election is only one angle in **a growing controversy over the Democratic Party's fund-raising efforts** during the election	+det(indefinite) +post(qualifier) +pre(epithet)	105
	to be allowed to stay. Separately, courts were drawn deeply into **the controversy** as judges tried to sort out a legal tangle posed by many cases.	+det(definite) −post −pre	451
	month to the upper house Senate, where it faces greater opposition. **The controversy around the law** meant that it took several weeks for Mills to find a	+det(definite) +post(qualifier) −pre	292
	Lagardere and Daewoo, seemed to hold out hope of capitalising on **the current controversy**. "The widening opposition to a pure and simple hiving of	+det(definite) −post +pre(epithet)	43
	no government pay while drawing the Air France salary. **The latest controversy involving the Tiberi family** was first reported by the daily on Thurs	+det(definite) +post(qualifier) +pre(epithet)	119
	Institution, said Gingrich's role had diminished even before **the ethics controversy** and predicted the trend would continue. "There's no	+det(definite) −post +pre(classifier)	147
	Taiwan OTC controversy. Stock suspension stirs Taiwan OTC controversy. George Hsu TAIPEI 1996-12-1 (headline zero)	−det −post +pre(classifier, classifier)	38
High	Also, in response to reporters' questions, Cohen said **the Gulf War illness controversy** had been mishandled from the start. Gulf War troops have complained	+det(definite) −post +pre(classifier, classifier)	96
Total			3535

and writers use to represent universal, general, and timeless phenomena, for instance, those associated with natural forces or processes (Agha 2007, pp. 43–44). At the most extreme, a pattern of "nomic truths" uses features of non-selectivity to index timeless, generic, facts about the world in which the discourse is occurring (Agha 2007, p. 44).

Table 4.5 Natural phenomenon formulas

Formula		Example
mired in _; embroiled in _; caught up in _	Locative	allocating scarce economic resources.“ Dung Quat has been mired in controversy since 1995, when France’s Total SA walked away from the project
amid _	Adjunct	COLOMBIA: Colombia defense minister resigns amid controversy. Colombia defense minister resigns amid
surrounded by _; clouded by _; marred by; dogged by _	Agent	fibre cables from 21,000 km to 8,995 km. The tenders have been dogged by controversy since 1995, when former Communication Minister Sukh Ram started
sparked _; provoked _; stirs _	Object	controversial privatisation deal. The privatisation of Ruch has sparked controversy as a bid from a Polish-French consortium led by France’s Hachette
_ grows; _ erupted; _ looms	Single-participant	say the government intends to make deficit cuts of 25 trillion lire. Controversy has raged over how much of this should come from spending cuts

These controversy formulas are extremely non-selective because the controversy NPs in them are not individuated (i.e. lack definite article, lack count quantification, etc.) and because many of the patterns are nominal and/or have a function other than as a clausal participant, with a close relationship to a finite verb. Where the controversy NP functions as a clause participant, that is, has a direct relationship with a finite verb, that verb often depicts a non-punctual, non-volitional process, the sort often associated with forces of nature. From the perspective of textual cohesion, these controversy NPs are non-phoric, and not strictly referential (Du Bois 1980, pp. 208–209). That is, they do not point to some particular, identifiable controversy (Chafe 1994, pp. 93–94). One of the most common formulas presents “controversy” in a locative construction like “embroiled in controversy”, “mired in controversy”, and “caught up in controversy”. Here the particular verbs that tend to appear in the formula, along with the locative grammatical role and the non-individuated controversy NP all contribute to a kind of flood or fire metaphor. In this formula, controversy is a mass substance that is a feature of the setting for this event. The “amid _” formula emphasizes this orientational function by introducing “controversy” in an adjunct role, as a prepositional complement. Using this formula, a journalist characterizes controversy as a state of affairs that forms a backdrop for the event.

Even where controversy functions as a clause participant, it tends to perform an orientational function and evoke metaphors of natural phenomena. In the “surrounded by _” formula, controversy is an agent in a passivized clause. The active transformation of this formula is more rare, suggesting that journalists are choosing not to topicalize controversy in many cases. This formula contributes a modicum of agency to controversy through its grammatical role, but many of the verbs that populate it, like “to cloud” and “to mar,” indicate abstract and non-human

Table 4.6 Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters, from (Hopper and Thompson 1980, p. 252)

	High transitivity	Low transitivity
Participants	Two or more participants, A and O	One participant
Kinesis	Action	Non-action
Aspect	Telic	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	Non-punctual
Volitionality	Volitional	Non-volitional
Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
Mode	Realis	Irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

agents with low volitionality and potency. In the "sparked _" formula, controversy is the object of verbs that indicate some initiating event to a natural or autopoietic process. While "spark" invokes fire, "stir" suggests the disturbing of sediment, and "provoke" the beginning of a fight. Finally, the single-participant formula makes controversy the subject of verbs like "grow," "erupt," and "loom," constructions that are atelic, and non-punctual, with an agent that is low in potency.

The fact that there is only one participant in this formula indicates low transitivity, and this suggests that it is being backgrounded in discourse. Single-participant clauses with inanimate NPs, like weather terms, tend to co-occur with low kinesis verbs and function as "those parts of discourse which provide scenic and other subordinate detail" (Hopper and Thompson 1980, p. 284). This is true of all of these formulas: They feature many of the qualities of low transitivity and low foregrounding, contributing to their scene setting discourse function.[1] From the perspective of narrative structure, many of these formulas are orientational elements, locating the events in time and space (Labov and Waletzky 1967, p. 32). Table 4.6 presents Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity as continua that touch a range of features.

These formulas all begin with non-individuated controversy NPs and this non-individuation is itself a specific predictor of low transitivity, at least in the formula where they function as clausal objects. In the other formulas, the controversy NPs display low transitivity on other criteria, by playing a non-participant grammatical role (e.g. adjunct), by functioning as a low-potency agent for a low-kinesis, atelic verb, or by appearing as the single participant in a non-action, non-volitional,

[1]The terms "foregrounding" and "backgrounding" refer to the degree of salience a particular element of a narrated event will be given depending on the particular kind of utterance used in narrating it. Some posit a kind of "saliency hierarchy" involved in discourse (Fillmore 1977, p. 78). Foregrounded elements will be those that have higher salience in the discourse. Features of high transitivity are associated with high salience, and therefore with foregrounding (Hopper and Thompson 1980, p. 283). These terms can be traced to Prague School linguists (cf. for example Havranek 1932, pp. 9–10; Mukarovsky 1932, p. 29).

non-punctual clause. Hopper and Thompson's transitivity hypothesis predicts that transitivity parameters will co-vary in discourse, and these formulas seem to bear out this prediction. Though the parameters do not specifically address the individuation of non-object participants and the effect on transitivity, we might expect that other parameters, like the level of volitionality of subjects, correlate with the level of individuation of NPs. A subject that is abstract, inanimate, and non-referential, for instance, will often be one that is non-volitional.

The more highly individuated controversy NPs feature a definite determination along with modification that emphasizes the human, the animate, and the concrete. These instances are more selective than the non-individuated ones because they name and refer to a particular past controversy, presuming identifiability. Despite the fact that they are NPs, so do not have the action verb that is typical of event clauses, they can be considered nominal transformations of those sorts of clauses. This is the paradigm case of the event category, where "they bombed" becomes "the bombing." Even when it is deployed as a clause participant with a strongly stative verb, like "to be", the individuated NP retains eventiveness through its head noun, the event category itself along with its determination (Mourelatos 1981, p. 204). Though "controversy" is one of those cases where the transformation is not made plain through the morphology of nominalization, we have seen how it functions grammatically in the same ways as the nominalized cardinal cases. Terms like "blizzard" and "fire" are similar (Vendler 1967, p. 141). If the non-selective formulas evoke a natural phenomenon, the more selective ones create names for and boundaries to this phenomenon through determination and modification. The higher degree of deictic selectivity of the instance, the more the natural phenomenon is transformed into an historical event, from an account of a nomic truth to an account of a definite past (Agha 2007, p. 43). This happens very conventionally with hurricanes, for example, where a situation involving emerging and ongoing natural phenomena like high winds and rain becomes a named event. In the United States, the Tropical Prediction Center in Miami, for example, officially names a storm once it displays a combination of counterclockwise rotation and winds 39 mph or higher (National Weather Service 2009). With controversy, it is the journalists and news actors who name an event according to some set of characteristics and threshold criteria, and these criteria are not of the explicit and technical sort that are defined and managed by meteorologists in official agencies. Still, the rhetorical transformation is similar, minting an historical event from something that is often depicted in the terms of a diffuse natural phenomenon.

If controversy NPs commonly appear in natural phenomenon formulas, what other NPs play the same role in such formulas? In order to address this question, we investigate the patterns of three cases of natural phenomenon formulas in headline usage, the "amid", "rage", and "spark" formulas. In order to discover which other NPs fulfill the same role to "controversy" in these, all the headlines of the Reuters Corpus were searched for each of these terms. Because "rage" and "spark" function as verbs in the formulas, a search by stem was conducted in these cases in order to capture uses across various tenses. The results were coded, recording the relevant NP in each case and discarding false hits like nominal uses of "spark," for example. The case study is limited to these three formulas and to headlines, and a more

Table 4.7 Natural phenomenon formula totals from headlines

Formula	Count
amid	2,039
rage	90
spark	450

Table 4.8 The twenty-five most common NPs in "amid" "rage" and "spark" formulas

amid complement	**count**	**rage** participant	**count**	**spark** patient	**count**
Talk	101	Battle	13	Debate	20
Demand	97	Debate	13	Rally	19
Trade	73	War	9	Fears	12
Fears	59	Fire	7	Interest	11
Weather	44	Fighting	6	Row	11
Supply	41	Battles	5	Shares	11
Profit taking	39	Fires	4	Demand	10
Uncertainty	36	Violence	4	Talk	9
Buying	32	Row	3	Controversy	8
Worries	32	Blaze	2	Rise	8
Jitters	29	Controversy	2	Worries	7
Liquidity	27	Inferno	2	Concern	6
Gains	25	Miners	2	Hopes	6
Concerns	24	Red Bull	2	Outrage	6
Protests	23	Arguments	1	Protest	6
Rumors	22	British	1	Protests	6
Cash	20	Bull	1	Riot	6
Market	20	Clashes	1	Selloff	6
Row	20	Gun battle	1	Trade	6
Speculation	20	Intrigues	1	Alert	5
Supplies	20	Left	1	Clashes	5
Trading	20	Leftists	1	Drop	5
Woes	20	Party	1	Fire	5
Concern	19	Riots	1	Outcry	5
Crisis	19	Rivers	1	Calls	4

extensive study could examine all instances of all natural phenomenon formulas in all text sections, for example, to determine if they are used differently or more often in headlines than in the other parts of news stories. How many reiterations of these formulas appear in headlines in the Corpus? Table 4.7 presents the results.

Among the 3, the amid formula is by far the most common with about 2,000 instances in headlines. There are 450 instances of the spark formula and 90 instances of rage. The meaning of these quantitative results is difficult to assess and perhaps less important than the descriptive analysis that follows, though they are likely an artifact of the structural differences among the constructions. The amid formula revolves around a relatively generic function word (i.e. a preposition) and the other two revolve around verbs with relatively restricted meanings and applications. What they have in common is what interests us here, the tendency to co-occur with "controversy" and with other NPs that share certain features with it. Table 4.8 presents the most common NPs that occur in each of these formulas in headlines.

Table 4.9 Term sets by domain

Domain	Examples
Discursive	Debate, row, controversy, battle, talk, speculation, protest, outcry
Military	War, battle, violence, clashes
Economic	Deal, demand, profit-taking, rally, trade, shares, supply, liquidity
Political	Crisis
Cognitive	Jitters, fears, interest, woes, uncertainty
Natural	Weather, fire, blaze, inferno, rivers

A number of these NPs are event categories. They are abstract nouns that represent events across a wide variety of domain (cf. Table 4.9), and while many are nominalizations (e.g. "battle," "protest"), some are not (e.g. "controversy"), so there is no tidy relationship between form and function to assume. Other terms among the results are cognitive states (e.g. "fear", "uncertainty") and natural forces or entities (e.g. "weather", "rivers"). Finally, there are a couple of instances of specifically identified groups of human beings (e.g. "British", "miners").

Many of these NPs can be used in both mass and count senses and are used in both of these ways in news discourse. This creates an interesting and productive ambiguity, allowing journalists the flexibility to report on "controversy" as a generalized state of affairs, or on "the controversy" which individuates it as a particular event, implying clearer boundaries. While "controversy" seems to be flexible in this way, other terms in the set tend to be used more consistently in either a mass sense (e.g. "violence", "uncertainty", "weather", "talk") or a count sense (e.g. "fire", "battle").

Consider an example where the mass sense of controversy is emphasized. In 11, the controversy NP is used as a complement in the amid formula.

11. Rare hearing on Lao dam opens amid controversy.

In a case like this, the mention of controversy is a not deictically selective. It is not used to refer to some particular controversy that readers are supposed to already know about, and it seems to stop short of introducing a new, particular controversy as a discrete participant in the text. If it worked in this way, we might expect it would behave like a cardinal first mention in a narrative, where a participant is introduced with an indefinite pronoun, and then the speakers or writer draws an anaphoric reference using a definite pronoun. The mention of "controversy" in 11 is some distance from this case. The lack of indefinite article is a formal difference, but this alone does not answer the question about whether it is a cardinal case. Headlines routinely elide articles while the nouns continue to function as initial mentions. For example in 12, a New York Times headline, the NP "Court" is relatively more deictically selective because it refers to a particular class of court, "a federal appeals court," something that is resolved in the lead sentence of the article.

12. In Victory for Obama, Court Bars Detainees' Challenges

While it is not an event category, the noun "court" offers some formal parallels to controversy. While it is commonly used in categorical and definite selective senses, "a federal appeals court," and "the US Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit," it can also be used in a less selective sense, as in locative constructions like "in court," one of the formulas in which controversy NPs appear. In 11 the question about the controversy NP as a first mention in the headline is not resolved so simply. The news article does not further individuate it or speak about it as an object with continuous identity over time; that is, it does not introduce it as a participant. The lead sentence, 13, makes reference to "an unprecedented public discussion" and "a controversial Laos dam project," the first taking up the initial mention of "rare hearing" from the headline. From the perspective of textual cohesion, the relationship between the headline's mention of "controversy" and the rest of the text is ambiguous in terms of reference.

13. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) largely stayed away on Monday from an unprecedented public discussion of a controversial Laos dam project, questioning the government's sincerity on hearing feedback.

It is curious that the lead sentence uses the adjectival form of "controversy." This can hardly be considered a second mention of the "controversy" from the headline, as a consistent referential identity is not established and reiterated, but it may offer some evidence about the how this is a use of "controversy" that emphasizes its least selective sense. Mentioning "controversy" in the headline is a way of describing an ongoing state of affairs that serves as an orientation to the acute event in the report, the "hearing." The controversy NP denotes an attribute of the situation of the event rather than introducing a salient participant in it, and the "amid" formula offers a way to use a nominal complement in order to achieve this prototypical function of an adjective, describing qualities. The shift to the modifying form in the lead sentence underscores the instability of the referential identity of "controversy" in this case; it is possible and even fluent for the writer to make this kind of shift.

In the amid formula, the term "weather" is used in a similar way. In samples 14 and 15, "weather" is used as a noun in the headline, 14, followed by two uses as a modifier in the lead sentence, 15.

14. CBOT corn closes mixed amid see-saw weather.
15. CBOT corn futures closed mixed and was seeking direction amid conflicting signals from U.S. Midwest weather patterns and weather forecasts, traders said.

The lead sentence repeats the amid formula but shifts the term "weather" from its position as the nominal complement to a role as a pre-nominal modifier in, for instance, the compound noun phrase "US Midwest weather patterns." As with the earlier example of "controversy," the uses of "weather" in 14 and 15 emphasize its deictic non-selectivity. The weather described in this article is a general, scenic

orientation to the acute event reported, the performance of the corn futures market in Chicago for that day.

Though there are only 11 instances among the results, the term "winds" is used as a complement in the amid formula in headlines. In the following example, 16, "winds" is used in a mass sense, though it is individuated with two modifiers. In the lead sentence, it is paired with "rains" to function as the agent of the main clause. An adjunct uses the rage formula to categorize and individuate the event ("a hurricane").

16. Couple weds in Alabama amid Danny's howling winds.
17. Torrential rains and 80 mph winds failed to deter the wedding of an Alabama couple who pressed on with their ceremony Saturday as a hurricane raged outside.

Again, the amid formula is used as an orientational element to contextualize the acute event being narrated here, the wedding of a couple.

In the rage formula, controversy NPs are used as single participants in a clause where "rage" is the main verb. The significance of the single participant feature of this formula is that this kind of clause tends to exhibit low transitivity, meaning that its sense as a foregrounded event will be de-emphasized, and its deictic selectivity will be decreased. In the following headline, 18, the clause "controversy rages" narrates an event, but one that is oblique. Its time and space boundaries are not discrete, despite locatives "in France" and "on Saturday." Along with the use of the single-participant structure, the term "controversy" is not individuated with any limiting articles; together the features of the NP and the verb morphology and semantics decrease the selectivity of this formula.

18. Controversy rages in France over immigration bill.
19. Controversy raged in France on Saturday over protests called by intellectuals and leftists against a conservative government bill to crack down on illegal immigration.

Along with these features, there is also the conventional relationship and expected pairing between "rage" as a verb and participants that refer to natural phenomena, like "river" and "fire." The analogy linking human emotional states (like rage) with natural events and entities (like "fire" or "rivers") is commonly reiterated in conventional ways of speaking and writing, as is the extension of this to discursive events (like "controversy" and "debate"). The use and reiteration of this formula in talk and text contributes to our experience of the interrelationships among these domains (cognitive, natural, discursive) as basic and conventional.

When it comes to "fire" as a participant, there are some differences. It is much rarer to find a non-selective mention of "fire" than "controversy." In other words, journalists tend to individuate it even if articles are sometimes elided in headlines, and they tend to limit it through modifiers. In the following headline, 20, the participant is "India oil well fire," an event that has been demarcated by place and kind.

20. India oil well fire rages, American experts on way.
21. Firefighters struggled on Thursday to contain a raging blaze caused by a blow-out at an oil and gas exploration well in south-east India, an official of Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) said.

The lead sentence, 21, reiterates the mention of the event with "a raging blaze," transforming the finite verb of the headline into a non-finite verb form (participle) modifying "blaze" in the lead. This is interesting because it is a move from a predicating to a modifying function, between headline and lead, which suggests that while the rage formula might be a useful way to describe an event at a high level of abstraction in a headline, it may not be a productive formula for delivering the detailed events of a news narrative. This is another way of saying that the rage formula may be a good predictor of event categories. The clause "a fire rages" is only marginally more selective than "a fire exists," in part because both are low transitivity, single-participant clauses.

In the spark formula, controversy NPs are used as patients in a clause where "spark" is the main verb. Typically, this formula features an agent that is specific and individuated, and a patient that is less so. Very often, the object slot is filled by an event category, like "controversy," which is the case in sample 22. Other examples from headlines include "debate," "rally," "row", and "riot."

22. NTT jumbo Euroyen bond sparks controversy.
23. Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp (NTT) raised 100 billion yen ($886 million) on international capital markets on Tuesday in a highly controversial deal, bankers said.

As with examples from other formulas, this case, samples 22 and 23, shows a shift from noun to adjective between headline and lead, suggesting that the controversy NP in the headline is non-selective and being used as an orientational element. The following example of the spark formula presents a contrast, with the headline mention of "fire" in sample 24.

24. Indian oil pipeline burst sparks massive fire.
25. An oil pipeline exploded early on Thursday morning in India's northeastern state of Assam, triggering a massive fire, the United News of India (UNI) newsagency reported.

In sample 24, the noun "fire" in the headline has no article, but is relatively more selective because of a number of other features that suggest individuation. The second mention of "fire", in the lead sentence, sample 25, does use an article, and reiterates the modifier "massive" from the headline. This suggests that "fire" is being introduced in the headline as a first mention, used here to indicate a particular event with identifiable boundaries, massive as they may be. The non-selective use of the controversy NP in 22, for example, does not offer this individuation.

While more and less selective mentions are used in all of these formulas, the most common uses in the amid formula are non-selective, and the most common in the others are relatively more selective. So readers tend to see headlines that describe a news event oriented "amid talk" or "amid demand," and to see ones reporting that "a battle rages" or that something or someone has "sparked debate." These results suggest that the amid formula is likely to be a good host for mass complements, and therefore a productive and economical way for journalists to describe the scenic orientation to a number of different kinds of news events. This may also help to explain why there are so many more instances of the amid formula in the results.

This difference is illustrated with terms that denote natural phenomena. The most common nature term in the amid formula is "weather" (44), a mass noun that describes a category of natural phenomena at a very high level of abstraction. The next most common nature term is plural, "winds" (11) (also "rains", "clouds"). There are isolated examples of nature terms used in more selective senses, (e.g. "earthquake", "fire", "storm") but they are much less common than non-selective nouns in this formula. There is a single instance of "fire" in this formula, in sample 26, and it is used to describe an underground coal fire that has been burning for 30 years in Centralia, PA.

26. Centralia, Pa., tax bills shift to state amid fire.
27. Officials in Columbia County, Pa., transferred all of Centralia's property tax bills to the state as a fire burning under the town for the past 30 years continued to smolder.

This seems to be a fitting use of the amid formula with a count noun because it refers to a very unusual kind of fire, one that has no discernable time boundaries and is not acute and immediately threatening to human beings. Measured by a human scale, it is effectively a timeless fact about the natural environment of Centralia, PA, like weather.

The most commonly occurring terms in each of these formulas refer to discursive events: "amid talk"; "battle rages", "debate rages"; "sparks debate". So these provide a few examples of some of the resources that journalists use to refer to discursive events and action at a high level of abstraction. Whether they actively topicalize it, news articles report others' talk and text events far more than any other sort; even in those cases where the ostensible news event is non-discursive, as in a fire or a shooting, most of what is reported involves the statements of officials, residents of the community, and other people deemed elite, authoritative, and relevant enough to serve as a source (Bell 1991, p. 191). In these cases, however, the talk or text is explicitly topicalized, and the natural phenomenon formulas denote collective talk that is part of the larger social situation of the news event. Using these formulas, journalists can report on discursive events that where the particular speakers may not be elite, and where their talk may be newsworthy only as part of a collective. The "talk" may denote many anonymous speakers who are speaking with a single voice or a mass "debate" involving many anonymous speakers who disagree.

In natural phenomenon formulas journalists combine a number of language features to achieve low deictic selectivity. Where a controversy NP is part of the particular reiteration of the formula, it is depicted as a fact about the larger world of the narrated event, an orientational element depicted in much the same way as forces of nature and weather in the environment. To the extent that readers take news narratives to be veridical accounts of the social world of and in relation to their immediate reading situations, these formulas can be said to index natural phenomena. That is, they point to controversy as a naturally occurring and autonomous feature of the world of the reader and not just of the narrated world denoted by the text; in this way controversy NPs are both denotational and indexical (Silverstein 1985, p. 221). The formulas are devices of propositional reference used by journalists and their readers for the practical purpose of describing and

understanding the autonomous reality of the social world, despite the central role played by the texts and formulas themselves in contributing to readers experience of such a world (Silverstein 1985, p. 221). In other words, the formulas help to constitute controversy, along with other discursive events, as a natural phenomenon. The range of selectivity of controversy NPs is one example of how formulas do this, as more selective constructions contribute to greater event demarcation. These formulas solve problems not only for journalists but for scholars as well. If the non-selective formulas evoke a natural phenomenon, the more selective ones create names for and boundaries to this phenomenon through determination and modification. As deictic selectivity increases, controversy is depicted less as a timeless natural phenomenon and more as a discrete historical event, an event in time and space, in a definite past.

4.5 Historical Event

Some of the most highly selective controversy formulas in the corpus are what could be called named controversies. Unlike hurricanes, which get baptized with human names like "Hugo" or "Katrina," the names of controversies tend to feature definite articles and attributive modifiers, much like the NPs in formulas that name other kinds of historical events, like wars (e.g. "the Vietnam War"), negotiations and treaties, (e.g. "the Oslo Accords"), revolutions (e.g. "the Velvet Revolution"), or riots (e.g. "the Watts riots"). Proper names like these are deictics in that they "indexically denote" unique individuals, but only under the local constraints of particular speech events (Agha 2007, p. 65). The mere act of assigning a unique or presumably unique name is not enough to fix the relationship between name and referent for all speakers, writers and audiences; the name only refers successfully if it is uttered or written in a speech event whose participants share membership in a speech chain network where the conventional or stereotyped relationship between name and referent circulates (Agha 2007, pp. 66–67). So despite their great denotational specificity, the interpretation of proper names depends on the particular knowledge and experience of participants who interact in specific speech events. Depending on the extent of its circulation across particular speech events, a controversy name may be widely or only very narrowly interpretable. Table 4.10: Lists a number of examples of named controversies in the Corpus.

The features of these controversy NPs help to explain how they function more like proper names than common ones. They combine definiteness, through the article, with salience and identifiability, through attributive modifiers. Focusing on the traditional grammatical category of definiteness and the grammatical feature of the article are not adequate to explain why a particular NP is more or less referential; we need to explore larger orders of discourse in order to sort out what is "identifiable, specific, or unique" about it (Chafe 1994, p. 94; Du Bois 1980, p. 208). Named controversy formulas exploit the uniqueness and identifiability of proper names in order to specify a particular controversy. They denote places, participants, topics, or other

Table 4.10 Named controversies

The Volkswagen controversy
The Donegal eviction controversy
The Whitewater financial controversy
The Peter Young European unit-trust controversy
The Hindmarsh Island bridge controversy
The POW controversy
The Anita Hill controversy
The Brent Spar controversy
The Moore controversy
The Dole controversy
The FBI files controversy
The HTA controversy
The Dunnes Stores payments-to-politicians controversy
The Arusha controversy
The Gingrich tape controversy
The Whitewater financial controversy
The Riaupulp controversy
The Clinton campaign financing controversy
The Hanbo controversy
The Spanish digital TV controversy
The Parcells controversy
The Aotearoa Television controversy
The Little Egg controversy
The NAFTA controversy
The Har Homa controversy
The Bangkok Bank of Commerce controversy
The Gulf War illness controversy
The U.S. drug war certification controversy
The Smith Barney controversy
The Renault controversy
The Maxwell controversy
The Los Angeles redevelopment controversy
The FBI background files controversy
“The Cigarette Controversy”
The Busang gold controversy
The Espy controversy
The Asian Games controversy
The Nazi gold controversy
The EMU controversy
The Bundesbank controversy
The East Circular Quay controversy
The Michael Kennedy statutory rape controversy
The Divundu controversy
The Pauline Hanson race controversy
The Timor controversy
The Svyazinvest controversy

events in specifying the controversy. For instance, "the Michael Kennedy statutory rape controversy" references a participant and a topic, "the Brent Spar controversy" uses a place name, and "the Gulf War illness controversy" references another event along with a topic.

Journalists need named controversies in order to establish cohesive links between the events in a given news article and the ongoing events of news coverage. This is indicative of the news article genre. Although we sometimes speak of news "stories," journalists rarely tell stories in the manner of spontaneous spoken narrative. Research on narrative structure suggests that storytellers strategically exploit NP individuation as a way of introducing new information and later deploying anaphoric references back to them. In the textbook case, storytellers use a less definite NP at the first mention, and then more definite NPs for subsequent mentions in order to establish "new files" for auditors (Du Bois 1980, pp. 220–222). For instance, a storyteller could begin by saying "a kid comes by on a bicycle," using the indefinite NPs as a way to indicate to the audience that the kid and the bicycle are new elements that the storyteller will later refer to anaphorically in more definite terms, using the pronouns "he" and "it" or definite NPs like "the kid" and "the bicycle" (Du Bois 1980, pp. 206–207). Given that they are in the business of reporting events, we might expect news stories to display a similar sort of pattern. Journalists would seem to face the same problem that any writer faces in introducing new information and establishing a navigable reference chain through text. At least two qualities of the news article complicate this: the role of any given article in the larger "coverage" of an event, and the orbital (non-chronological) structure of the information in news articles.

Journalists face a problem of managing old and new information across many short reports. The features of the news article genre itself complicate this further. It is designed for an audience who may read only fragments of the text, and who may read only fragments of the ongoing coverage of any particular event. News writers are in the business of "knitting diverse events together" (Bell 1991, p. 168). This requires a discursive repertoire of formulas for placing present events in relation to past events in order to create cohesion across coverage, all within the scope of a few sentences. This challenge may help explain why syntax in news writing can become quite complex (Bell 1991, p. 155). Named controversies allow journalists to refer to a particular controversy, nominating a unique identifier in the form of a premodifier. They help to establish a "continuity of identity" for the event over a number of articles that constitute coverage (Du Bois 1980, p. 209). This is a continuity that depends on not only the textual cohesion constituted by various repetitions of the name within and across news reports but also on dedicated readers of these reports who can be presumed to share knowledge of the event denoted by the name.

But from the perspective of textual cohesion, how and where does a particular use of the named controversy refer? One answer is that it is an anaphora, directing readers back to prior coverage to trace its many prior repetitions and reiterations. In this sense, the named controversy establishes a kind of endophoric reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 33). But there is a sense in which the named controversy refers to something beyond the text, something historical or cultural. In this

sense, it is a homophoric reference. This is the particular sort of exophoric that does not depend on any particular situation, as with a deictic, but instead sends a reader to his or her world knowledge in order to resolve the reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 71). Examples include "the moon," "the stars," or "the child" (as a generic reference), references that do not depend on the particulars of a given situation and may be common to all speakers of a language (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 71). They can also be grounded in a more specific, shared "context of culture," where generic references to "the president" or "the Department of Education" or "the cat" can be resolved through knowledge of and membership in nations, states, and families (Martin 1992, p. 122). As a kind of proper name, the named controversy both denotes and indexes (Agha 2007, p. 65). So it has text cohesive functions and situation cohesive functions. Neither the anaphoric reference nor the homophoric reference seem completely adequate explanations for the named controversy, at least in part because both apply but also because a given mention of a named controversy does not simply refer to some tidy and autonomous historical and cultural phenomenon, but contributes to its shape and existence. The problem is that journalists and their readers (among many others) participate in the baptizing and circulating process. So journalists use the named controversy to refer back to other specific textual reiterations from the previous coverage, and they index the event as if it already had historical, cultural, or world permanence by presupposing reader knowledge, and in doing so, they do not simply refer to some already existing historical event but design and shape one through their acts of naming and reiteration. Like other proper names, named controversies are deictics that depend on the constraints of particular speech events and their participants. Historical event names that have be heavily reiterated and circulated, like "the Civil War" in the speaking and writing within a US context, for instance, we regularly take to refer unproblematically to an autonomous historical event with well-demarcated time and space boundaries, but all of these stereotyped relationships are a function of the reiterated name along with the many other relevant utterances and texts (e.g. cardinal narratives). Events like these, for a given community of speakers, have entered *historiae*, something that increases their seeming autonomy from particular speech events and therefore their transcendent status. They are event names that have been promoted from *propagatio* such that their dependence on text and situation has been severed. The named controversies in Table 4.10 are less established, less stereotyped proper names, with a more conspicuous presumptive dependence on the local temporal experience of readers, so perhaps their status as acts of writing rather than transcendent and fixed event names is more conspicuous.

If the named controversy formula denotes a controversy that is a relatively permanent, autonomous, and unique historical event, the emergent controversy formula denotes one that is a historical event that is ongoing or has only recently emerged. One of the text cohesive features that writers use in this formula is the esphora. Esphoric reference is a highly local kind of cataphora, with the head noun of an NP referring forward to its own postmodifier (Martin 1992, p. 143). In the paradigm case, a writer uses an "of" prepositional phrase in this position; for example, see the NP "the end of the year" in sample 28.

28. Telecommunciations Commission before the end of the year, he said, adding that the implementation of the restructured rates could coincide

While the named controversy formula presumes to some extent that a reader can recover the referent from experience with prior texts, the emergent controversy formula presumes that the reader cannot recover it there. To address this situation, the esphoric reference directs the reader to an elaboration in the postmodifier. This is a common formula among controversy NPs in the corpus, and serves the purposes and needs of news discourse more generally as it addresses one of the central challenges of news writing, which is to report and relate a number of diverse events in a short string of discourse (Bell 1991, p. 168). Both the named and emergent formulas provide a compact way for journalists to index historical events in news articles. Esphora create explicit endophoric references which support the portability of event names and news reports across situation. These explicit references contribute to the informational register of news discourse, and help realize the purposes of the news article genre (Biber 1988, pp. 142–144).

Among controversy NPs, the "over" prepositional phrase is the most common iteration of the esphora. Of the 292 controversy NPs with a definite article and a postmodifier, 140 of them feature an "over" prepositional phrase. The second most common iteration of this formula features "surrounding" as a non-finite clause postmodifier. There are 59 of these. That these are the two most common patterns is interesting, as both provide a way for journalists to characterize the topics of controversies. Besides its spatial meaning, one of the common uses of the "over" prepositional phrase is to name a topic. It can answer the question, "What is a controversy about?" The complements to the "over" prepositional phrases in this formula suggest that controversies are often about ongoing policies 29, people 30, statements 31, and issues 32:

29. costs the state 130,000 marks a year, Westerwelle said, underscoring the controversy over coal subsidies that has brought Kohl's coalition close to
30. MGAM. LONDON 1997-01-17 The controversy over pension fund manager Nicola Horlick is not damaging the
31. Later, a top Peruvian official travelling with Fujimori played down the controversy over the president's comments about the guerrillas' negotiating
32. Commission to ban broadcast advertising of hard liquor, adding to the controversy over whether liquor ads should be allowed on television and radio.

The "surrounding" formula tends to work in a similar way to the "over" formula, but its complements feature people 33 more often, along with places 34 and punctual events 35:

33. of."Up until now the group had not spoken publicly but the controversy surrounding the former bishop who resigned just days after vanishing
34. in July and 14,000 tonnes in August, traders said. As a result of the controversy surrounding the Mathura refinery, India has started to use the clean
35. the rescue operation carried out on Japanese territory but did not refer to the controversy surrounding the attack, in which troops reportedly executed two

Though some of the postmodifiers in these formulas can be brief, as in 34 for instance, others can be quite long and involved, like 29. These longer postmodifiers link a number of modifying phrases and clauses together, as in 33, where the "surrounding" non-finite clause modifies "controversy" with a "who" relative clause modifying the object of the non-finite clause, i.e. "bishop." These amount to synoptic controversy narratives, presented in order to introduce or reintroduce the event to readers.

Other iterations of the emergent controversy formula build on and expand beyond esphora, and in these, controversy NPs feature both pre and post modifiers. In many of these cases, the premodifier is a generic indicating time duration, as in 36 and 37, or intensity, as in 38.

36. NEW YORK 1997-06-26 The two-year long controversy over Swiss handling of Jewish and Nazi assets during the Second
37. considerable attention because of a ratings drop at ABC TV and the ongoing controversy involving embattled ABC Entertainment President Jamie Tarses, posted
38. high and it is likely to provoke passionate debate and threaten the fiercest controversy in the Church since the 1992 decision to ordain women priests.

In another variation, the premodifier is a classifier and the postmodifier is a relative clause that identifies the particular instance of this class:

39. executive did not elaborate or make any direct reference to the fund-raising controversy that has engulfed President Clinton, to whom he lost in 1992.

This formula, illustrated by 39, is one that reflects a common narrative strategy for definite initial mentions (Du Bois 1980, p. 223). This complicates the standard assumption that initial mentions will be indefinite, "a bicycle," while subsequent mentions will be definite, "it," or "the bicycle." Esphoric references allow the speaker or writer to use a definite mention in order to introduce information, but this pragmatic function relies heavily on the postmodifier. In 39, for instance, the writer cannot presume that the reader will be able to resolve a reference to "the fund-raising controversy" so he or she adds the postmodifying relative clause "that has engulfed President Clinton, to whom he lost in 1992." This is another way of saying that the writer does not present "the fund-raising controversy" as a proper name for an event, does not presume that the reader can recover the referent for this from his or her world knowledge, and does not presume that the relation between this name and some event is sedimented as *historiae* within the speech chain network involving the writer and readers. With the postmodifier, the NP instead presents an esphoric reference, allowing the reader to recover the referent from the immediate subsequent text.

It is in this way that the esphora can function as an initial mention. Since it is a self-contained text cohesive structure, it provides all of the reference information that the writer presumes is necessary. When this formula is used to make an initial mention, the information in the postmodifier will not be especially noteworthy, however necessary it may be for identifying the head noun. Du Bois calls this the

"principle of new information presupposition" (Du Bois 1980, p. 223). He provides these examples, samples 40 and 41, to illustrate the point.

40. The woman Bill passed on the street last night was nasty to him.
41. The woman Bill married last night was nasty to him.

In both cases, the reduced relative clause identifies which woman is being discussed; however, the noteworthiness of the postmodifier in 41 seems to disqualify it from this formula. If the information in the postmodifier is new, it must be specific but cannot be "particularly noteworthy" (Du Bois 1980, p. 223). This formula can be used for initial, or "file establishing" mentions only if it balances the need to identify the particular referent of the NP with the need to maintain focus and topical priority in the clause (Du Bois 1980, p. 224). Though Du Bois focuses on a particular sort of postmodifier, the relative clause, in developing the "principle of new information presupposition," most the esphora among controversy NPs function in this way. The common "over" formula, for example, routinely balances the need to identify a particular controversy with the requirement that the postmodifier not be particularly noteworthy.

But what counts as an initial mention, or new information in the news? The periodicity of the news article means that journalists are constantly challenged to update and reiterate reports of emerging events across many separate texts. Add to this constraint the generic structure of the news article itself. Not only must each text function as an independent entity that simultaneously positions itself in a patchwork of "coverage," each paragraph within each text, with the exception of the headline and lead, must be relatively autonomous and interchangeable, ensuring the "radical editability" of the genre (White 1997, p. 116). Given these requirements, we should expect journalists to be especially vigilant and masterful makers of initial mentions, and introducers of new information. Unlike speakers in conversation who with the benefit of physical co-presence can presume and even confirm, through gestural and aural markers of attention such as backchanneling and facial grammar, that their audiences have heard their initial mentions and have presumably "established new files," journalists must operate under the very conservative assumption that every mention is potentially an initial mention, or new information, for their readers. For this reason, they must explicitly denote the context for news events in their writing. A journalist cannot publish an article about a fire on Monday, for instance, and then presume that the reader of his or her Wednesday follow up story about the arson investigation by police detectives has read Monday's article. Though both stories could be said to be part of "coverage," either one needs to function autonomously. If they want to successfully reproduce the genre and maintain professional standards, journalists, then, cannot presume that every event mention is will be durable across coverage, that any mention has "established a new file," beyond the current text. Esphora provide an economical way for a journalist to make reference to an event reported in a prior text, for instance, without presuming too much about the reader's knowledge, something that may help explain the commonness of this formula among controversy NPs.

Another way that journalists index emergent historical events is by reiterating event categories within and across texts. Lexical reiteration is a text cohesive strategy, where a lexical item is repeated in order to make a reference to a preceding mention of that item, and the reiteration may take the form of a synonym, a superordinate term, a general noun, or a pronoun (Halliday and Hasan 1976, pp. 278–279). In this formula, a controversy NP refers back to a repetition or a synonym that is mentioned in the preceding text. For example, sample 42 contains the first two sentences, which are also the first two paragraphs, of a news article from the Corpus. The lead sentence mentions "a row," and the following sentence makes an anaphoric lexical reiteration in the form a controversy NP.

42. [1] U.S. Vice President Al Gore headed to Beijing on Monday on a trip suddenly strained by a row about possible Chinese efforts to influence U.S. elections.
43. [2] The controversy cast a cloud over hopes the four-day visit would start to heal ties damaged by recent disputes ranging from human rights to trade and Taiwan.

This is a case of lexical reiteration because readers can take "controversy" to be a synonym for "row." In addition, in this case we have the case of an initial mention with an indefinite article, followed by a definite second mention. The initial mention also exploits an esphoric reference, one of the predictable features of news discourse, where compact reports of background information must be delivered to readers in lead paragraphs. The second mention, then, can operate without its own esphoric reference, pointing anaphorically as it does to the lead paragraph. The proximity in the text of the two mentions also supports the cohesive function of this formula.

The formula can also operate without the benefit of this proximity, especially if it is combined with extended reference (see Sect. 4.6 for more about this). In Sample 44, the lead paragraph of the article introduces "the dispute over the fate of Jewish funds" as an orientational element to the main event being reported in the article, the signing of a petition.

44. [1] A petition signed by Swiss professionals decried on Wednesday the stance of the country's leaders and bankers in the dispute over the fate of Jewish funds, calling it an insult to Jews.
45. [10] The controversy was fanned this month when Union Bank of Switzerland was caught destroying historical documents days before a law banning the destruction of data that could be used in investigating Jewish assets came into force.

Much farther down in the article, in paragraph 10, the writer uses a controversy NP as an anaphora referring back to "the dispute" mentioned in the lead. This is an instance of lexical reiteration by synonym because readers are presumed to take "the controversy" to be a synonym for "the dispute." Here, as in Sample 42, the initial mention contains its own esphoric reference, predictable, perhaps, from its position in the lead paragraph. The fact that these mentions are both relatively

selective and individuated with definite articles adds to their cohesive function as they help maintain the identity of the event across the text. They also contribute to representing the event as an accomplished fact as the initial mention is already individuated and is modified through esphora, contributing to its selectivity. Readers are presumed to know, or to take for granted, that this dispute exists, that it has in some prior text previously been introduced and established as part of coverage. The second mention, also individuated and cohesively linked to the first, continues this reference chain within the text. Paragraph 10 (Sample 45) more broadly functions much like the event category in the lead in that it provides background information for the reporting of the main event of the story. In between the lead and paragraph 10, we have a series of paragraphs that report on the details of the petition signing and represent the speech and standpoints of participants in the controversy. So while the primary reference here is the lexical reiteration between paragraph 1 and 10, there is a secondary, extended reference between "the controversy," pointing anaphorically to paragraphs 2 through 8, and between "the dispute," pointing cataphorically to those same paragraphs. It is through these chains of reference that the writer can present the main event of the article, the signing of the petition, as part of a larger, ongoing event.

Though samples 42 and 44 feature synonyms, journalists also use repetition in their lexical reiteration of event categories. For instance, in Sample 46, a controversy NP is mentioned in paragraph 5 and it is repeated in paragraph 18, establishing a cohesive link. The main event of this article, "a shudder through Britain's scientific establishment" that was created by the first cloning of an adult animal, is introduced in the lead paragraph. Paragraph 2 reports on the cloning itself while paragraph 3 reports the comments of doctors about the implications. Paragraph 4 introduces the event category "debate" in the context of a low individuation esphoric reference, "debate about whether monsters or miracles had been created." While its esphora provides a local, within-text reference for "debate," the fact that it lacks determination reduces its selectivity. That is, readers cannot expect to resolve this mention by tracing it to any particular, identifiable debate event narrated in this text or prior texts.

46. [4] Wilmut's group, who report their findings in the journal Nature this week, cloned their first sheep last year and excited debate about whether monsters or miracles had been created.
47. [5] The controversy was re-born on Monday, with images of Aldous Huxley's novel "Brave New World" in which both animals and humans were produced on a eugenic assembly line.
48. [18] But the controversy is sure to continue as Europe debates the desirability of genetically engineered organisms, with fears over modified foods such as maize and soya leading the list.

The lexical reiteration by synonym in paragraph 5, then, forms an anaphora linking "the controversy" to "debate about whether monsters or miracles had been created." Readers are expected to take "controversy" to be a synonym for "debate," which is how this instance contributes to textual cohesion via lexical reiteration, and the use of

the definite article in the second mention, along with its lack of esphora, reinforces the link between them by indicating to readers that they will need to look beyond this mention in order to resolve the reference. Much farther down in the article, in paragraph 18, the writer repeats the controversy NP, creating another anaphoric reference using lexical reiteration, this time by repetition rather than by synonym. As in Sample 44, this late mention functions as an anaphora to the previous mention in the paragraph higher in the article, but it also functions as an anaphora making an extended reference to paragraphs 4 through 17, which report the speech of a number of participants, doctors and other experts, who offer commentary about cloning.

Lexical repetition can be a overriding feature of event category reference chains in news writing. Sample 49 shows the many controversy NP repetitions in an article about "the Democratic fund-raising controversy involving President Clinton." This elaborate esphoric reference forms the first mention in the article, in the lead paragraph. Not only is it an esphoric reference, it also has many of the features of a named controversy, with its highly selective premodifiers. It is an example of the sort of first-mention esphora that Du Bois identifies, where the NP may be individuated with a definite article, which we might not expect in an initial mention in narrative, but the esphora helps to provide enough information to resolve the reference locally, and prevents the individuation of the NP from creating ambiguity.

49. [1] U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno said on Thursday that she so far sees no reason for an independent counsel to investigate the Democratic fund-raising controversy involving President Bill Clinton.
50. [7] There has been a chorus of calls in Congress from Republicans and even some Democrats for Reno, a member of Democrat Clinton's Cabinet, to seek an independent counsel to take over the Justice Department's criminal investigation of the fund-raising controversy dogging the president.
51. [8] The controversy escalated this week when Clinton's staff released documents showing he took an active role in wooing political supporters in the 1996 election campaign, inviting top contributors to overnight stays at the White House.
52. [10] Clinton, who insists the White House invitations were proper and within the law, suggested on Wednesday that there was no reason for an independent counsel in the fund-raising controversy because there was no "legal issue" involved.

As in samples 44 and 46, there is a series of paragraphs between the initial and second mention that form an extended reference, secondary to the lexical reiteration at work (see Sect. 4.6 for more about this). In this case, paragraphs 2 through 6 report comments from Janet Reno, the Attorney General, about her decision not to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the fund raising practices of the Clinton administration, and alternatively, the comments of Senator John McCain, who is calling for an independent counsel. The second mention, in paragraph 7, repeats the head noun, "controversy," with some slight variations in the modifiers within the NP. The premodifier is reduced to "fund-raising" and the post modifier is reduced to "the president." This is an anaphoric reference back to the initial mention in the lead paragraph, by lexical reiteration, and it maintains the esphora of that first mention. The third mention, in paragraph 8, repeats only the event category and

determiner. The proximity to the second mention, no doubt, supports this reduction, expecting that readers can easily recover the referent from the previous paragraph. The fourth mention, two paragraphs later, returns the premodifier "fund-raising."

The lexical reiteration by repetition and the pattern of modification in the event category reference chain of Sample 49 indicate a more historically mature and well-demarcated controversy than some of the other samples in this case. Journalists seem to have settled on "controversy" as the appropriate way to categorize this event. In the naming and referring to the event, the controversy NP is repeated consistently while in other cases, it is one of several synonyms that journalist interchange within the text. The modifiers that accompany the controversy NP also are fairly consistent across the text, with the premodifier "fund-raising" appearing in 3 of the 4 mentions. This repetition, of both the head noun and the premodifier, suggests that "the fund-raising controversy" may have developed enough historical and cultural salience at this point in the coverage of this ongoing event to function more as a proper than a common noun. That is, during the period when the ongoing event is being covered extensively, journalists may presume, more than they might in other cases, that a mention of "the fund-raising controversy" would be resolvable by readers by reference to cultural and historical knowledge based on their experience with common prior texts, along with the repetitions within the present, local text.

The lexical reiteration formula, where writers repeat or use synonymous event categories to create cohesive links within a text, contributes to the representation of controversy as a historical phenomenon by further individuating previous mentions, and by force of repeating already individuated mentions. These are ways that journalists develop textual histories of events, a "collocational environment" within which they can report new events, a function that is particularly important in the news article genre, given its purpose and journalists' need to report new events in relation to a backdrop of existing coverage (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 289). Sample 42, for instance, shows a transition from a less individuated initial mention, to a more individuated anaphora. While this performs an important textual function, contributing cohesive links between the first and second sentences of the article, it also performs the representational function of contributing distinct boundaries and definition to the event as a historical fact. The many reiterations do not only contribute to the coherence of texts and coverage, but also to the sustained referential identity of controversial events over time for the members of particular speech chain network (Agha 2007, p. 67). With enough successful replications of a formula, a controversy may seem to simply be a fact of history or culture unmoored from the particular texts and networks of circulation that have contributed to it (Urban 1996, p. 21). This is due in part to the registerial and genre features of the news article, many of which aim to overtly code news writing as impersonal and objective, the faithful transmission of public events rather than the unique expression of the journalist. These features, examples of which are the many formulas discussed here, increase the likelihood that the discourse will be replicated by readers and others, rather than eliciting their responses (Urban 1996, p. 40). It is in this way that historical event formulas contribute to our experience of controversies as facts of culture.

4.6 Pragmatic Event

The named controversy formula presents a controversy as a unique historical event, presuming that it is part of prior textual experience of readers. The emergent event formulas presents it as an event that is ongoing or has only recently emerged by presuming that readers need elaboration, which it provides through esphora and through lexical reiteration. The pragmatic event formula also takes it to be emergent, but typically provides a more detailed narrative than the historical event formula. It does this by combining two text cohesive devices, extended reference and lexical reiteration, in order to refer to a stretch of preceding or succeeding text. In textual cohesion, an extended reference is a special kind of anaphora that capitalizes on the flexibility of the pronouns "it," "this," or "that" to refer to either a specific, preceding NP, as in the paradigm case, or to any stretch of text that a reader could identify as distinct, as in the case of extended reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 52). In the paradigm case, for instance, "it" might refer back to "a bicycle," mentioned in the previous sentence. In extended reference, "it" refers back to a whole clause or series of clauses, serving a kind of summative and condensing function. Sample 53 reproduces an example from Halliday and Hasan which illustrates this kind of use (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 52).

53. [The Queen said:] 'Curtsey while you're thinking what to say. It saves time.' Alice wondered a little at this, but she was too much in awe of the Queen to disbelieve it.

The first instance of "it" in 53 is an extended reference pointing back to the entire preceding clause rather than to a relatively selective NP with referential identity, like "a bicycle." The extended reference is a particularly useful device for referring to narratives, since they tend to be temporal and complex, often involving multiple participants and episodes that unfold over time. Compare the problem of referring to narratives to the problem of referring to things or people, for instance; our typical ways of speaking about these presuppose that they constitute discrete entities. It is the temporality and complexity that makes it so difficult to imagine narrative events as primitive entities (Bennett 1988, p. 12). Primitive or not, extended reference provides a device for writers to indicate them by pointing back to stretches of preceding or forward to succeeding text. Reporting an accident, for instance, is a situation ripe for an extended reference, where the eyewitness might say "It all happened so quickly," using "it" to refer to the whole complex of individuals and episodes that constitute the "accident" (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 52). Writers use a number of pronouns including "it" and demonstratives like "this" and "that" along with other lexical items as referring devices in extended reference. Extended reference can only function if readers are able to determine the boundaries of the passage in question, so a passage needs to be internally cohesive if the reference is to succeed (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 53). Without strong cohesive links in the preceding text, defining the text that is being presupposed, readers could be lost in ambiguity.

We might expect the extended reference to be especially useful in news discourse as it is in the business of reporting events. But not only does news discourse exploit

extended reference through this formula, it simultaneously accomplishes a certain amount of work in classifying events. The pragmatic event formula combines the extended reference with lexical reiteration, the latter contributing a classifying function to the extended reference. The textbook case of the extended reference uses a pronoun to refer to a preceding passage. In news discourse, this reference often takes the form of a superordinate lexical item, a category term, rather than a pronoun. This seems to be a perfectly grammatical substitution in an extended reference. Compare 54, which is the textbook example of an extended reference to an event, to 55, where a superordinate lexical item is substituted for the pronoun.

54. It all happened so quickly.
55. The accident happened so quickly.

In 55, the extended reference functions in the same way it would in 54, but it contributes a category term to the reference. In this way, the writer not only directs the reader to the appropriate passage in order to resolve the cohesive link, he or she also classifies what the reader is supposed to find in that passage. This is only a reiteration to the extent that the writer presumes that what appears in that preceding passage is an instance of the category. The writer adds to the cohesive function of the extended reference by substituting the superordinate term for the pronoun. As a function word, the pronoun depends entirely on the internal cohesion of the preceding passage to define the textual boundaries of the reference. Though it does depend on the textual coherence of the preceding passage, the superordinate lexical item in extended reference also requires readers to draw on prior text about the category in order to detect the boundaries of the reference.

Sample 59 is an example of extended reference from the corpus, featuring a controversy NP. It occurs in paragraphs 8 through 11 of an article entitled "Philippine committee upholds land deal-official."

56. [8] Last year, Senate president Ernesto Maceda alleged the government entered into a disadvantageous deal since the property was grossly underpriced. He urged for the cancellation of the deal which was already approved by Ramos.
57. [9] Other members of the consortium include Centennial's parent Guoco Holdings (Philippines) Inc.
58. [10] Guoco Holdings president Micky Yong earlier defended the deal saying it was not underpriced. The valuation of 1,250 pesos per square metre was based on appraisals made by three independent appraisers, he said.
59. [11] Both Centennial and Guoco shares had slumped when the controversy broke out late last year.

In this case, the controversy NP refers back to the narrative related in the previous three paragraphs, background information for the central topic of the article which is the announcement that a real estate development deal has been finalized. The cohesive link between the controversy NP and the preceding passage depends on both the textual cohesion of the passage itself and on readers' expectations about the conventional meaning of the lexical item "controversy." The internal cohesion of the passage exploits a combination of temporal, adversative, and causal conjunction

(Halliday and Hasan 1976, pp. 242–243). The adverbials "last year" and "earlier" contribute to the internal cohesion of the passage by linking paragraph 8 with paragraphs 10 and 11 in time. "Last year" introduces the passage as background information to the central topic of the article. "Earlier" reiterates that in paragraph 10 we remain in this background narrative, that the comments of Mickey Yong reported in that paragraph were made sometime last year rather than in the recent past. "Last year" is reiterated at the end of paragraph 11, adding a temporal link to the extended reference created between the controversy NP and the rest of the passage. Given that the passage is dominated by simple past tense verbs, these adverbials help to distinguish this passage as presenting an earlier episode in contrast to the recent past events that comprise the central topic of the article. In addition to this temporal conjunction, the passage depends on an adversative conjunction between "grossly underpriced" in paragraph 8 and "not underpriced" in paragraph 10. The adversative pair "grossly" and "not" in turn depend on the lexical reiteration of "underpriced" in order to function cohesively. Another lexical reiteration across paragraphs 10 and 11 contributes to the internal cohesion of the passage and makes a cohesive link between the passage and the central topic of the article. "Guoco Holdings" is first mentioned in paragraph 9 and then is reiterated in paragraphs 10 and 11. The sole purpose of paragraph 9 seems to be to introduce the proper name "Guoco Holdings" into the text, placing it in hyponymic relation with "Centennial." This is necessary in order to create a link between Micky Yong, its president, and the company that the writer names as a central participant in the lead paragraph, displayed in 60.

60. [1] A presidential committee has upheld the multi-million peso land deal entered into by Centennial City and Ital-Thai Development Plc with state-owned Philippine Estate Authority, press secretary Hector Villanueva said on Friday.

Once "Guoco" is introduced, the writer can then reiterate it in paragraph 10 as a way to identify the speaker whose statements he or she wants to report, and can reiterate it again in paragraph 11 in additive relation with "Centennial." Routine anaphoric references also contribute to the internal cohesion of individual paragraphs within the passage. The pronoun "he" in paragraph 8 refers back to "Ernesto Maceda" while "he" in paragraph 10 refers back to "Micky Yong." All of these strategies contribute to the internal cohesion of the passage, and this internal cohesion supports the extended reference between the controversy NP and the passage.

The pronoun anaphora within paragraph 8 and paragraph 10 along with the adversative conjunction between them collaborate to depict this controversy as a discursive conflict between two parties. Paragraph 8 reports the standpoint of Maceda, who says that the property was "grossly underpriced." Paragraph 10 reports the standpoint of Yong, who says that the property was "not underpriced." The modifiers to Maceda, "Senate president," establish him as a representative of the government. The modifiers to Yong, "Guoco Holdings president," establish him as a representative of the developers. The adversative conjunction identifies what is at issue in their discursive conflict: whether or not the property was correctly priced.

This is a pragmatic event formula, where the writer constructs a dialogue among interlocutors in order to narrate a discursive conflict. This is formula that is familiar in the discourse arts as a strategy for defining an issue and a problem by analyzing the standpoints of interlocutors and thereby creating a "literate conversation" (Geisler 1994, pp. 144–145). (See Sect. 3.4 for a discussion of this strategy as a feature of the philosophic essay genre). The journalist defines an issue by reporting the speech of principal representatives of conflicting camps or "profiles." In choosing the speech to report, he or she focuses on those statements that conflict with one another. Since constructed dialogue is a way to relate a narrative of a discursive conflict, temporal conjunction makes a contribution to this formula as well. The writer must exploit textual resources in order to give the event discrete boundaries in time. Chapter 5 explores this strategy in controversy coverage in more depth.

In combination with constructed dialogue, which represents the controversy as a conflict between interlocutors, the journalist uses causal conjunction, which represents some of the reasoning of the parties in the dialogue. In paragraph 8, the journalist uses "since" to introduce a reason for Maceda's conclusion that the deal was not in the government's advantage: "since the property was grossly underpriced." In paragraph 10, Yong's conclusion that the property was accurately priced seems to be backed up with evidence in the sentence that follows: "The valuation of 1,250 pesos per square metre was based on appraisals made by three independent appraisers, he said." The proximity and ordering of these sentences contributes to the causal conjunction that links them, along with the anaphora that links them to a common speaker (i.e. Yong) through indirect reported speech.

4.7 The Busang Case

The historical event and pragmatic event formulas contribute to spatial and temporal boundaries of controversies as narrated events. The named controversy is a particular historical event formula that increases individuation and deictic selectivity by baptizing the event with a proper name. These typically feature attributive adjectives and definite articles. The study of controversy as an event category in the previous sections discovers a number of named controversies in the Corpus and the following section discusses one of these cases in detail. The Busang case is an interesting one because the coverage about it is so persistent in the Corpus. The first mention of "Busang" appears in an article dated September 5, 1996, the last in an article dated August 15, 1997, with 4616 mentions appearing across a total of 991 articles, making this term and by extension this case an ongoing concern in Reuters coverage during the period covered by the Corpus. There is a particular fit between this term and this case in coverage because of the high selectivity and restrictiveness of the term against the lexis of the Corpus more broadly. It is an English proper name that speakers and writers use to refer to a river in a remote part of Borneo, and it is a term that Reuters journalists use to denote that river and, as a constituent of named event noun phrases, an ongoing mining venture and associated discursive conflict. In the narrated

universe of the Reuters Corpus this term is productive as a unique identifier for the coverage of this ongoing news event, a pattern that perhaps speaks to the remoteness and novelty of the place in relationship to other place names in the Reuters news universe which would require further disambiguation, for example "New York" or "London." These terms are ubiquitous in the Corpus and by no means function as unique identifiers of particular news events. The restrictiveness and selectivity of event names is not a natural or inherent quality of terms or language, but is a matter, in the case of the news for instance, of a series of choices by journalists based on predictions of readers' presumptions and world knowledge, and on the larger narrated universe of news reporting readers can be expected to experience.

As it was reported over the year covered by the corpus, the Busang case features many episodes that are given coherence across coverage by consistent use of the place name "Busang," and consistent use of the corporate name "Bre-X" to identify the mining company that established a gold claim there. Many of the episodes of the ongoing event reported in coverage, and beyond, have been reiterated as parts of a cardinal narrative in retrospective book-length histories of the case and in at least one novel, so the case narrative has gained a certain amount of historical and cultural fixity through reiteration. News coverage in the Corpus, then, has been part of a larger process of "referential normalization" whereby speakers and writers create narrative coherence from the complex and "raw" phenomena of human experience (Haviland 1996, p. 74). The use of historical event formulas in the reporting of this ongoing story has contributed to this process by providing selective handles for writers, readers, speakers and listeners to use in lending and presuming coherence to and for the event. By no means are the uses of these kinds of formulas a unique or efficient cause of the process of entextualization but are instead one feature whose use and repetition by speakers and writers contribute to the fixity of this case as an historical event. While retrospective histories of the case benefit from and build on the perceived boundaries of the event established by prior texts, including news texts, the news coverage contemporary to the case reports the event episode-by-episode, as is typical of news reporting practice. Among other things, what is interesting about cases like these is how daily reporting of isolated events becomes reporting on an ongoing large-scale event, in other words, how reports become coverage.

Relatively late in the coverage represented by the Corpus, the Busang case is being depicted by journalists as a background episode of other news events that are made relevant in reporting. In an article published on July 10, 1997, K.T. Arasu reports the predictions of mining industry experts for future exploration in Asia. The lead sentence, sample 61, topicalizes the fall of prices but does not mention the Busang case. After several paragraphs that report the speech of industry experts and narrate the fall of prices in markets, the article mentions the Busang case in paragraph 11 using an historical event formula "the Busang debacle." See sample 62. This paragraph provides historical background to the current news event, performing a function typical of the genre (Dijk 1988, pp. 54–55). It does this, in part, by naming the overall event using an historical event formula and reporting a causal connection between the "debacle" and the problem in markets.

61. [1] Miners exploring for gold in Asia will be undeterred by the sharp price fall of the metal but output from high-cost operators could slow down until values improve, regional industry sources said on Wednesday
62. [11] Indonesian industry sources said foreign mining companies were showing great interest in exploring for gold in Indonesia, despite the Busang debacle that made it difficult for junior exploration companies to raise funds in capital markets.
63. [12] Canadian exploration firm Bre-X Minerals Ltd touted its Busang property as the biggest gold find this century with reserves of some 71 million ounces, but it turned out to be the biggest mining swindle in history, and worth almost nothing.

The mention of the larger historical event in 62 then forms a textual link to the brief case narrative via lexical reiteration, and an extended reference to the minimal narrative of the event delivered in paragraph 63. These two paragraphs are the only mentions of the Busang case in this article, and their deep position in the article and background genre function reinforce the historical valence of the named event formula. In addition, their use of the past tense is a change from the prior paragraph which uses a progressive aspect and other complex MAVE constructions, and from the lead sentence, where the speech reporting clause uses past tense but the reported clause exploits future modals. Narratives employ a variety of verbal constructions and the use of the past tense should be considered one particular kind of narrative choice among many others. Hopper has shown that storytellers often exploit complex verbal constructions not easily describable in traditional grammatical categories; he calls these Multiply Articulated Verbal Expressions (MAVEs) (Hopper 1995, pp. 146–147). This tense profile, along with the named event formula and the minimal event narrative in extended reference, contributes to the sense of this as an historical account of the Busang case. This whole collection of features might be said to contribute, then, to the spreading systematicity of this historical event formula.

Historical event formulas are one of the text features that contribute to coverage coherence. The noun phrase "the Busang controversy" and its variations is one of the named event formulas that journalists use, though a number of other event categories are used to name and narrate the larger ongoing event such as "the Busang debacle" from sample 62. Collocations of "controversy" and "Busang" appear spread across the middle of the coverage, from January 7, 1997 to May 5, 1997. The earlier mentions of "Busang" in the coverage tend to collocate with "deposit," "discovery," or "property" all denoting the gold claim of the Bre-X corporation in Borneo. Of particular interest is how and when the coverage begins to name the larger, ongoing news event, denoting a kind of discursive event indicated by "the Busang controversy," "the Busang debacle," or "the Busang saga." Given the naming patterns, in the early reports about Busang, journalists use NPs like "the Busang deposit" or "the Busang discovery" to identify a gold deposit there, taking this for granted. Later reports center an ongoing event of discourse there, and the fact of the gold deposit has been challenged and has become one of the questions posed in that talk, as it is narrated by news coverage. Over the course of coverage, a series of routine reports about the Bre-X corporation and its investments and prospects has given way to a series of reports about an

ongoing discourse event about its Busang property. In the earlier reporting, the deposit is granted a degree of deictic selectivity through the use of the definite article and the attributive adjective in the NP. The definiteness and individuation of the NP contribute to the reader experience of the deposit or discovery as a fact, in the ground. In later reporting, the same formula is used to contribute to the reader experience of the discourse event as a fact in public space. In an article published on April 27, 1997 with K.T. Arasu in the byline, the headline, sample 64, names the ongoing event with the NP "Busang gold saga" and the lead sentence shows how the selectivity of the NPs denoting the discovery has changed from earlier reporting.

64. Busang gold saga nears moment of truth.
65. [1] The world mining community is waiting with bated breath for results next month that may show whether a controversial discovery deep in the Borneo jungle is the biggest gold strike this century or an elaborate hoax.
66. [2] At the heart of the controversy is Canada's Bre-X Minerals Ltd, which went from penny-stock exploration firm to darling of the Toronto Stock Exchange, only to come crashing down when doubts emerged over how much gold is at the Busang property.
67. [3] "There are two possibilities. There is either a gold mining project…or there isn't," said Simatupang, vice-chairman of the Indonesia Mining Association.
68. [4] "If there is no gold there, Indonesia and the mining industry will indeed suffer a loss," he told Reuters "But at this point in time, we will have to wait for the results."

The headline, in 64, topicalizes the event as a "saga" and positions the event category as the low potency agent in a low volitionality clause contributing to a natural phenomenon formula. No human agents are depicted in the headline, and instead the event category "saga" and the "moment of truth" appear as the clausal participants. In this, the headline narrates the event as if it were a naturally occurring and gradually evolving discursive event with a low potency agency of its own, above and beyond any individual human speakers or writers or individual speech events.

In the lead sentence, 65, the mention of the "discovery" is less selective than the mentions early in coverage. Rather than mentioning "the Busang deposit" or "the Busang discovery," the lead here uses an indefinite article and the attributive adjective "controversial," depicting a matter of dispute rather than a geological fact. The following paragraph, presented in 66, topicalizes the event using "controversy" as an event category, and establishing a cohesive link with the prior paragraph through lexical reiteration, though the part of speech has changed. This change is instructive in that it is a way that the writer can increase the selectivity of the event, even while the discovery or the deposit is represented as increasingly vague and less certain. So if the headline topicalizes the ongoing saga and announces a particular narrative milestone in it, this paragraph topicalizes the more particular episode as a controversy. In addition, it begins to sets the issue, describing how "doubts emerged over how much gold is at the Busang property." The writer, Arasu, uses a natural phenomenon formula here to depict the development of the controversy as a gradual and evolutionary process beyond human agency and to place the controversy in

time, using the past tense. The depiction of the controversy in 66 is a minimal narrative in the past tense, with Bre-X the primary participant. It is a background paragraph to the main events reported here about predictions of findings, positioning "the controversy" as a particular episode in a larger Busang "saga." Note the contrast in tense between this paragraph and the headline. The present tense of the headline, a common feature, helps the writer depict the event as ongoing or rather than complete. This is one of the linguistic choices that headline writers make in order to foreground the timeliness of the report and to position the reader in relation to a larger social world by pointing to emergent discursive processes at work in public space. The main clause in 66 is also in the present tense, using a verb of existence to denote a fact and to index epistemic certainty, presenting a sort of immanence that constitutes a nomic truth about the public world (Agha 2007, pp. 41–42). This is presented in the reporting discourse of the journalist rather than being explicitly attributed to a source, and it articulates the issue or problem that is at "the heart" of the controversy. In other words, the journalist here is designing or structuring the controversy for reader by using the present tense and an event category. In the relative clause of 66, the tense shifts to past, and this contrast between the tense of the main clause and tense of the relative clause contributes to the background function of the paragraph in relation to the rest of the report. Within that paragraph, readers are presented with a fact about the public world that is little bound by time followed by a brief narrative of a particular historical event that is complete and bound in the past relative to the reader and his or her reading situation.

After this background paragraph, the writer then nominates Simatupang, and reports his speech in paragraphs 67 and 68. That reported speech specifically outlines the open question and shapes the controversy into a dyadic split between two possible outcomes. Through this section of the article, Arasu designs the controversy for readers, using an extended reference that depends on cohesive ties among "the controversy," "doubts," and the dilemma or conflict introduced through reported speech. With much of the early coverage of the deposit or the discovery taken up with reports of its estimated, and growing, value, and with reports of negotiations among mining concerns and investors in Indonesia, Canada, and elsewhere in the world seeking to exploit this, doubts about the legitimacy of the deposit itself would certainly qualify as newsworthy at the very least on the basis of the news value of unexpectedness. The journalist is in a position to narrate these doubts and must find ways to do so that will create cohesive ties to the rest of coverage. In this article, the event categories "saga" and "controversy" both contribute to this by reiterating a name for the ongoing event that can be again reiterated later in the article and in coverage. In this, event categories help to creating textual cohesion within articles and across coverage, and help to point to discursive events in public space.

The term "scandal" is another meta discursive event category with a number of reiterations as a collocate of "Busang" in coverage. These collocations appear in a time range overlapping but beginning somewhat later than "controversy," from March 25, 1997 to August 15, 1997. The first mention of "scandal" in the Busang coverage appears in the eighth paragraph of an article that catalogues a series of news briefs including capsule stories of a few sentences in length that report, for

instance, on a British film winning an Academy Award and the prospects for the English Pound in currency trading. The capsule report on the Busang case is introduced with the headline in 69 followed by the capsule report in 70. These two paragraphs make up the entire report on the Busang case in the text.

69. [8] MINE MYSTERY DEEPENS IN THE BORNEO JUNGLE
70. [9] The intrigue over Borneo's Busang gold mine deepens. The scandal involving the world's biggest gold deposit and the manoeuvrings of two of President Suharto's children appeared to be over with Canadian company Bre-X winning its battle with a compatriot. Now a puzzle hangs over the true value of the mine whose deposits are said to contain 12.5 billion stg worth of gold.

This is an interesting textual artifact for a number of reasons. Because they are delivering a capsule report, the writers are faced with a particularly difficult design challenge which demands that they narrate the case in only a sentence or two. This is requires a high degree of reduction and abstraction, even by news writing standards. The report names the larger, ongoing event an "intrigue," and then in the second sentence of 70, a "scandal." This particular use of "scandal" though is an esphoric formula rather than a named historical event formula, with an attributive adjective: "The scandal involving the world's biggest gold deposit and the manoeuvrings of two of President Suharto's children." There are a number of event categories used by the writer in this short report: "mystery," "intrigue," "scandal," "manoeuvrings," "battle," and "puzzle." All denote and index the larger ongoing event, or some episode of it, and they are of particular value to the writers of this report as they are charged with summarizing and abstracting many months of daily coverage prior to the publication of this text. The term "scandal," however, is more heavily reiterated than the others in later coverage as a collocate of "Busang," suggesting that it achieved a special status of usefulness and/or appropriateness for later writers as they reported on the ongoing event in coverage. The cluster of event categories in this short report describe at least two levels of event abstraction, with "mystery," "intrigue," and "scandal" functioning as synonyms, denoting and indexing the largest level of ongoing event. These terms are used as single participants in the clauses where they appear, clauses that feature low-kinesis and low-telicity, contributing to the sense that the event is unfinished, continuous. The term "battle" denotes a particular past episode within the larger event, the contest among mining companies for ownership and control of the gold claim in Busang. The term "puzzle" denotes a present and potentially future episode within the larger ongoing event, the framing of and attempts to answer the question about whether or not the property actually contains any gold. This capsule report provides a particularly condensed illustration of how journalists make use of event categories to establish event cohesion across coverage. This text names the ongoing event, reports a past episode, and introduces a present episode and potentially future episode that future reports can build on.

The next mention of "scandal" in proximity to "Busang" in coverage appears in another article that catalogues news briefs. This one was published on April 4, 1997, and the Busang report begins in the seventh paragraph. The headline, 71, reports the

firing of an Indonesian mining official, and the report itself, 72, narrates this event in more detail.

71. [7] BUSANG CHIEF FIRED
72. [8] There has been a further development in the Busang gold scandal with Indonesia sacking the top mines department official overseeing the Bre-X project, Kuntoro Mangkusubroto.

As with the previous capsule report, the writers here connect the present episode to a larger ongoing event. In 72, the writers narrate the firing of Mangkusubroto as an episode of a larger ongoing event, "the Busang gold scandal." Unlike the previous case, where "scandal" appeared in an esphoric formula, the mention here is a named historical event, with "Busang" and "gold" as attributive adjectives. Among other things, this report is interesting in that it narrates the larger event not at all, using the named event formula "the Busang gold scandal" as the sole denotation of the event. This report presumes that readers can resolve this reference with knowledge of the public world gained from prior coverage from Reuters or elsewhere. That is, the use of this named event formula indexes the ongoing event for readers. This is not to say that all readers will experience this name in the same way, or that it points to that ongoing event in some unambiguous way. Indexicals depend on the particular circumstances of their utterance or reception, and because of this are necessarily ambiguous in their focus and scope (Silverstein 1985, p. 226). In this case, a reader who is well acquainted with the Busang story or the world of financial news reporting in English during the early months of 1997 will have a different experience than one who does not have this experience, for example. As with much of news reporting, this story is designed for this kind of reader, one who is reading the text on or near its publication date and in a place where some prior experience could be presumed. This kind of index is part of a much larger set of stylistic choices that Bell calls "audience design" (Bell 1984). The journalists have used this named event formula to anticipate their readers' needs and their presumed state of public knowledge, calculating that a mere mention of this particular name for the ongoing event will function as a successful index of that event for the intended reader.

Later coverage of the Busang case follows and builds on the use of the named event formula, "the Busang scandal" and its variations. Its use is quite consistent across subsequent collocates of "Busang" and "scandal" in coverage. After these first two articles that name the event a "scandal," 63 more mentions appear in the corpus in articles published between March and August of 1997. All but four of the mentions appear in named event formulas. An article published on May 5 contains one of the exceptions. In this case, 73, the term "scandal" is used as an attribute adjective in a past participle construction "scandal-hit," where "project" is the event category and nominal head.

73. [1] Indonesia's Nusamba Group, linked to President Suharto, said on Monday it was withdrawing from the scandal-hit Busang gold project.
74. [5] Bre-X Minerals Ltd released a report from Strathcona in Canada on Sunday night in which Strathcona said assays of test cores from the key area of Busang had shown no commercial gold content.

75. [6] The Strathcona report also referred to falsification of assay values at Busang on an unprecedented scale.

The main event reported by the article is the withdrawal of Indonesian mining interests in the Busang project. The final two paragraphs of the article, in 74 and 75, present a background narrative to the main event. These narrate the findings of the Strathcona report, which explains that there is no gold on the property and that the long standing claims to the contrary constitute large-scale fraud. This report would seem to resolve the "mystery" and "puzzle" narrated in the reporting of 69 and 70. Another article published on the same day, May 5, reports as its main event the release of the Strathcona report. The lead and following paragraph, 76 and 77, narrate the findings of the Strathcona report, explicitly attributing to it the assessment of "spectacular fraud."

76. [1] Canada's reputation as a hotbed for international mining finance got hammered on Monday after a report revealed that Bre-X Minerals Ltd.'s celebrated Indonesian gold find was a spectacular fraud.
77. [2] The Busang discovery – touted by Calgary, Alberta-based Bre-X as the richest find of the century – was falsified on a scale "without precedent in the history of mining," according to a report released late on Sunday by consultant Strathcona Mineral Services Ltd
78. [3] But Canadian analysts and regulators said the scandal, which is being called the biggest mining fraud in history, would not permanently damage the country's position as one of the biggest sources of mining venture capital in the world.
79. [7] Although market watchers said more rigorous rules might not have averted the Busang scandal, the drama sparked renewed calls for a national securities regulator.

In the lead sentence, the writers use the event categories "find" and "fraud," and use "discovery" and "find" in the second. In the third paragraph, they use "the scandal" in an interesting way. Though it has a relatively high degree of selectivity, it does not seem to point with a great deal of focus. It seems to function simultaneously as a synonym for "fraud," particularly the mention that follows in the third paragraph, an anaphoric extended reference to the first two paragraphs of the article, where the findings of fraud are narrated, but also to the larger ongoing news event reported in prior coverage. In this, "the scandal" in paragraph 3 plays an important role in linking the ongoing Busang event with the present discovery of fraud. If the scandal has been ongoing, this report of fraud is another episode. Later, in paragraph 7, 79, the writers use the named event formula "the Busang scandal" to denote the larger, ongoing event, abstracting it in order to narrate in the following paragraphs the comments of regulators about how they might have prevented it. As in other uses of the named event formula, this mention presumes reader knowledge either from the immediate prior text of the article, or from prior coverage. As reporters publish reports of new episodes, and connect these to prior episodes, they develop a taxonomy and hierarchy of events and episodes that provide resources for creating and maintaining coherence across coverage. A named event, like "the Busang scandal" can function independent of any explicit narrative about it to the extent that

journalists (among other writers and speakers) judge that their readers can be presumed to know the narrative from their prior experience. This use of the named event formula emphasizes the degree to which the narrative is taken to constitute cultural or historical knowledge independent of any particular text or utterance.

Another article published on May 5, this one with a dateline of Johannesburg, reports on the implications of the Busang event on the African mining industry. The lead paragraph, in 80, positions "Indonesia's Busang gold scandal" as a participant in a natural phenomenon formula, combining it in this case with the named event formula.

80. [1] Junior mining companies, hit by Indonesia's Busang gold scandal, will find it much harder to raise capital for African projects in future, leaving majors to scoop up prospects on the cheap, analysts said on Monday.
81. [2] Due to its lack of infrastructure and political risk, Africa is expensive to mine and small Canadian and Australian companies exploring the continent have mostly operated on tight budgets.
82. [3] Now those small players are likely to take a hammering as investors give them a wide berth in the wake of the Busang catastrophe, which earlier on Monday was said to be the biggest fraud in the history of mining.
83. [4] What could have been the century's biggest gold find by Canada's Bre-X Minerals Ltd of 71 million ounces deep in Borneo's jungles, is now said to be uneconomic after consultants Strathcona Mineral Services Ltd said they found evidence of tampering with Busang core samples.

The lead positions the "scandal" as an agent which has "hit" the "mining companies." In this account, the larger, ongoing event not only has been given a kind of fixity and coherence, but has also been granted an agency of its own. From the perspective of textual and coverage cohesion, the writers here link one news event from May 5, the reports that verify the fraud in Busang, to other events, in this case speech events by financial analysts commenting on the prospects for mining projects in Africa and other parts of the world. The comments of these analysts are being recontextualized from what were likely phone conversations between them and the reporter, Melanie Cheary, to the text of this article. And as part of the event narrated by the text, their comments have are linked to the Busang scandal, and through this Cheary has nominated them as participants. The use of the named event formula in 80 provides little immediate narration of the scandal, presuming reader knowledge by simply mentioning it as a participant. However, later paragraphs, for instance those in 82 and 83, provide minimal narratives of the case as background to the main event of the article. The third paragraph reiterates the named event formula from the lead, calling it "the Busang catastrophe." The fourth paragraph reiterates the findings of the Strathcona report narrated in the other articles published on May 5. This reiteration in each article is necessary given the constraints of the news article genre, which designs information for quick skimming and requires that each article be able to function relatively autonomously. In addition, the Strathcona report remains very new on May 5, and for this reason journalists cannot afford to presume knowledge of the scandal narrative as a cultural or historical given.

Across coverage, journalists use a number of meta discursive event categories to name the ongoing Busang event or its episodes (Table 4.11). The most common are "scandal," "dispute," "saga," and "controversy." The mentions of "scandal" on May 5 appear to inaugurate a broad shift in usage among these most common categories from "dispute," "controversy," and "saga" to "scandal." The news on that day of the Strathcona report, which found no gold at the Busang property along with evidence of tampering and conspiracy to mislead investigators, has provided writers with an opportunity to reclassify the event. The coverage marks May 5 as a milestone in the ongoing event in other ways as well.

Reuters publishes an article on that day that narrates the whole of the ongoing event up to that point using a time-line, under the headline "Chronology of Busang

Table 4.11 Busang event categories across coverage

Date	"scandal" mentions	"dispute" mentions	"saga" mentions	"controversy" mentions
October 10, 1996		2		
October 17, 1996		2		
October 18, 1996		2		
October 25, 1996		1		
October 28, 1996		4		
October 29, 1996		4		
October 30, 1996		1		
November 3, 1996		2		
November 13, 1996		2		
November 18, 1996		1		
November 22, 1996		1		
November 25, 1996		1		
November 26, 1996		3		
November 29, 1996		2		
December 2, 1996		2		
December 3, 1996		2		
December 4, 1996		2		
December 10, 1996		1	2	
January 6, 1997			1	
January 7, 1997				2
January 15, 1997		1	1	
January 17, 1997		1		
January 24, 1997		2		
February 2, 1997		2		
February 17, 1997		3		
February 18, 1997		2	6	
March 11, 1997				1
March 21, 1997			1	
March 25, 1997	1			
March 26, 1997		1		
March 27, 1997			3	4
March 28, 1997			1	

(continued)

Table 4.11 (continued)

Date	"scandal" mentions	"dispute" mentions	"saga" mentions	"controversy" mentions
March 31, 1997			2	
April 1, 1997				4
April 2, 1997				1
April 3, 1997				2
April 4, 1997				4
April 5, 1997				1
April 7, 1997	1	1	5	2
April 8, 1997		2	1	3
April 9, 1997				1
April 10, 1997			4	1
April 11, 1997			4	2
April 14, 1997			1	
April 15, 1997			1	
April 17, 1997				1
April 18, 1997			1	1
April 21, 1997	1		1	
April 24, 1997			1	1
April 25, 1997				1
April 27, 1997			3	1
April 28, 1997				6
May 2, 1997			2	1
May 5, 1997	9	2	1	2
May 6, 1997	5	1		
May 7, 1997	8			
May 8, 1997	4			
May 9, 1997	4			
May 10, 1997	1			
May 11, 1997	1			
May 13, 1997	3			
May 14, 1997	5			
May 15, 1997	1			
May 16, 1997	4		2	
May 19, 1997	1		2	
May 20, 1997	1			
May 21, 1997	1			
May 27, 1997	1			
June 11, 1997	1			
June 12, 1997	1			
June 26, 1997	5			
July 1, 1997	1			
July 4, 1997	1			
July 7, 1997	1			
August 8, 1997	2			
August 13, 1997			2	
August 15, 1997	1			
Total	65	53	48	42

gold find in Indonesia." The nineteenth paragraph, shown in 85, mentions "the Busang title dispute," a named event formula that points to a particular episode of the ongoing event. The forty-fifth and final paragraph of the article, shown in 86, narrates the issuing of the Strathcona report, an event reported in many other articles published by Reuters on the same day as this time-line.

84. [1] Following is a chronology of what was touted as one of the world's biggest gold discoveries, in the Busang area of Indonesia's East Kalimantan province, but what has apparently become a falsification without precedent in the history of mining:
85. [19] Jan. 14 – Placer Dome offers $5.0 billion merger with Bre-X. Jusuf Merukh files C$2 billion (US$1.48 billion) lawsuit in Canada against Bre-X over Busang title dispute.
86. [45] May 5 – Strathcona Mineral Services Ltd. issues report on Busang. It says the gold find of the century was falsified on a scale "without precedent in mining history."

The time-line is itself an interesting attempt to summarize the ongoing event in news capsule form. It reiterates the many prior episodes from coverage and links them to one another through graphic proximity, the use of an ordinal list, and other text cohesive means. If routine coverage of the Busang case, like other ongoing news events, links the present news event to prior news events through use of event categories and minimal background narratives that appear in the later paragraphs of articles, this article uses the chronological list to summarize and delimit the temporal boundaries of the ongoing event. Though its lead sentence, shown in 84, announces the present news of May 5, the discovery of fraud, the chronological organization of information in the rest of the article violates the standards and expectations of the news article genre. However, given the many episodes of this ongoing event in coverage and the many months of that coverage, journalists on May 5 cannot presume that readers will be acquainted with this. This time line is a kind of provisional history of the event published at what is presented as a milestone in coverage. It is a bid by journalists to shape the temporal boundaries of the case for readers by drafting a comprehensive, cardinal narrative.

Across coverage, journalists change their classification of the Busang case in an effort to account for new episodes and new information they deem relevant. As writers, they are in the difficult position of narrating an event they presume to be ongoing, rather than one whose temporal boundaries are presumed to be fixed. Early in coverage, they report on the "Busang dispute," a mention of which is shown in 85. The first collocation of "Busang" and "dispute" appears in a headline from an article published on October 10, 1996, shown in 87.

87. Bre-X negotiates to resolve Busang dispute.
88. [1] Lawyers for Bre-X Resources Ltd are negotiating "around the clock" to resolve a dispute with one of the company's Indonesian partners, a Bre-X spokesman said on Thursday.
89. [12] The dispute has prompted a re-evaluation of exploration in Indonesia, analyst Jim Taylor at Yorkton Securities said in an interview from London.

Prior to this, the coverage collocates "Busang" with terms that denote land or geology, like "discovery," "deposit," or "property," and, in a few cases, those that denote discursive events. An article published on October 4 reports on the fall of the stock price of Bre-X, the company that claimed the Busang property. The second paragraph of that article, shown in 90, provides a background narrative to the price fall, reporting "snags" between the company and an Indonesian business with interest in the property.

90. [2] Bre-X, operator of the massive Busang gold property in Indonesia, was halted to allow the company to explain its position after a Canadian newspaper reported it hit snags with an Indonesian partner and the country's government.

Another article published on the same day topicalizes the discursive conflict in its headline, shown in 91, reporting "Busang issues." As its lead sentence, 92, shows, this mention of "issues" is a lexical reiteration of "snags" in the other article, indexing the same event.

91. Bre-X expects to resolve Busang issues.
92. [1] Bre-X Minerals Ltd said on Friday that it has been told by a law firm advising it that the claims of one of its Indonesian partners to a 10% participation in Busang II and Busang III are without merit.

These mentions of meta discursive event categories in relation to the Busang find are the beginning of a reference chain that is reiterated a week later on October 10 when Reuters publishes the article announcing the "dispute" in its headline, shown in 87. Coverage continues to narrate an ongoing conflict between Bre-X and the Indonesian firm, and journalists regularly use the term "dispute" to name it. The initial mention of "Busang dispute" in 87 and following mention of "a dispute" in 88 are interesting for their relatively low deictic selectivity, the first appearing without an article and the second with an indefinite article. Though articles are sometimes elided in headlines, the use of the indefinite article in the lead sentence suggests that this may not be a case of elision. The indefinite initial mention is a common way that speakers and writers introduce participants into a narrative, and this seems to be an initial mention of this sort. The prior mentions in the reference chain are plural – "snags," "issues," – and in 87 and 88 we have a singular indefinite mention. This increases the deictic selectivity within the reference chain. Later in the article, the writer makes a definite mention of "the dispute," shown in 89. Here the deictic selectivity increases further, with the use of the definite article. This is the common second mention shift to a definite article, supporting the anaphoric reference to the indefinite initial mention earlier in the article. Here also the writer exploits a natural phenomenon formula, positioning the event itself, "the dispute," as a participant in the clause, the agent prompting the "re-evaluation of exploration." A week later on October 17, an article reports on claims on the Busang deposit by Golden Valley, an Australian mining company.

93. [17] Bre-X shares fell sharply in Toronto on Wednesday on news of the dispute over Busang.

Late in that article, there is another mention of the ongoing event at Busang, calling it "the dispute over Busang," an esphoric historical event formula. This mention is also part of the reference chain and continues to increase the deictic selectivity by maintaining the definite article and by using the esphoric qualifier.

94. [1] Australia's Golden Valley Mines NL is expected to break its public silence on the ownership dispute over the big Busang Indonesian gold discovery majority owned by Canada's Bre-X Minerals Ltd, a company official said on Thursday.

On the same day, another article is published that reports on the Golden Valley complaints, mentioning the ongoing event in its lead, shown in 94. Here the writer combines both attribute adjectives and esphora to produce a complex historical event formula indexing the event: "the ownership dispute over the big Busang Indonesian gold discovery majority owned by Canada's Bre-X Minerals Ltd." Here the "snags" and "issues" reported some days earlier have been granted clearer boundaries and a modicum of fixity and through the increasing deictic selectivity of the name. There are many reiterations of the "ownership dispute" as the coverage goes forward, some more or less selective. Over coverage of the ongoing dispute, articles report on a number of parties that approach Bre-X to make ownership claims on the Busang property, Indonesian, Australian, and Canadian, and American. Journalists have developed a useful event name that can accommodate stories involving these new and changing participants.

In the middle of the coverage, following the reporting on the "ownership dispute," journalists begin classifying the Busang case as a "saga" and a "controversy." These terms appear together in the article shown in 64, with "controversy" serving as a way to specify a particular episode within the ongoing "saga." As that earlier discussion of these terms indicated, they denote a new and distinct stage of the ongoing Busang event from the early "dispute." With the reports about doubts over the legitimacy of the gold claim, in the coverage on March 27 and beyond, writers use "controversy" to denote the talk about this unresolved question. Four articles published on March 27 mention "controversy" in proximity to "Busang," all of them using esphora and all presented late in the articles, with the mention of the Busang case providing background to other news.

95. [16] However, a return to stability at the same time as the controversy over the supposedly huge Busang gold deposit in nearby Indonesia had also created a window of opportunity.
96. [11] Brokers also said local gold groups were likely to benefit from any foreign capital flight from Indonesia in the wake of controversy over the legitimacy of Busang resource estimates.

In 95, the mention of the Busang case appears in paragraph 16 of a story whose main event concerns the performance of stocks in Papua New Guinea contextualized by a political crisis there. Much of the story addresses the natural resource investments in that country, and in 95 the writer presents the Busang controversy as part of the context of stock performance there. The paragraph shown in 96

appears late in a story about the performance of Australian stocks. The other two articles from March 27 are slightly different versions of these same two stories, with nearly identical mentions of the Busang case. The mentions in these articles thematize the open question using the esphoric references "over the supposedly huge Busang gold deposit in nearby Indonesia" and "over the legitimacy of Busang resource estimates." Here journalists presume that their readers are not aware of the issue in controversy at Busang, and narrate it using this historical event formula.

A few days later, on April 1, Reuters publishes three versions of a story reporting on the Busang case as its main event, all of which share an identical headline and lead paragraph. This story mentions a "Busang mystery" in the headline, 97, and then "the Busang gold controversy" in the lead sentence, 98, establishing a cohesive link via lexical reiteration.

97. Tiny Canada consultant aims to solve Busang mystery.
98. [1] While the Busang gold controversy panics investors and crashes trading computers, a tiny Canadian consulting firm is quietly working to answer a crucial question – Is the gold there?
99. [2] Strathcona Mineral Services Ltd. is maintaining a strict silence as it performs a critical audit of Bre-X Minerals Ltd's gold project in the jungles of Indonesia.

In the lead sentence the writer makes use of both a historical event and a natural phenomenon formula, positioning the named event "the Busang gold controversy" as an agent in the clause, depicting the controversy as a natural force acting on investors and their computers. In addition, it nominates "a tiny Canadian consulting firm" as a participant in a pragmatic event, the effort to resolve the open question at the center of the controversy. In the second paragraph, the writer uses "Strathcona Mineral Services Ltd." to create an anaphoric reference back to "a tiny Canadian consulting firm," producing a common pattern of indefinite first mention followed by a more definite second. Finally, it explicitly poses the open question, "Is the gold there?" Here, the writer shapes the controversy for readers in several important ways, by contextualizing it as an ongoing process with an agency independent of and acting upon individual human beings, as a historical event with some degree of deictic selectivity, and as a pragmatic event involving an open question and an inquiring interlocutor who is attempting to resolve it.

In the month or so between the publication of these initial reports and the last collocations of "controversy" and "Busang," journalists use a number of variations of the historical event formula to denote the ongoing controversy and open question. In some cases, they use a named event formula and presume that readers can resolve the reference based on their previous experience with coverage or other texts. In this sense, they both presume the event "the Busang controversy" has taken on an independent existence in public knowledge, and they contribute to this impression through their use of the formula. For instance, in an article published on April 8, writers use the named event formula "the Busang gold controversy" in a lead sentence, 100, narrating the comments of officials about reporting standards in the international mining industry.

100. [1] Australian mining industry officials believe the Busang gold controversy which is rocking stock exchanges is likely to bring maverick Canada into line with mineral reporting standards adopted by leading mining countries in the Western world.
101. [12] Bre-X Minerals Ltd. fell 0.17 to 2.50 on 7.5 million shares. The Ontario Securities Commission and TSE announced a task force on Friday to study tougher rules for Canada's mining sector in the wake of the Busang gold controversy.

This named event formula denotes and indexes the ongoing talk about the doubts over the legitimacy of the gold claim. Building on this historical event formula, the writer depicts the event as an agent acting on international stock exchanges, and in doing so exploits a natural phenomenon formula. In a story on April 11, a writer mentions "the Busang gold controversy" late in a story about a declining stock market in Toronto. Here, as in 100, the writer presumes that readers can resolve the reference to this named event. These historical event formula mentions increase selectivity and contribute to the experience of the event as a fixed historical and cultural phenomenon. On May 5, Reuters publishes the last story that collocates "controversy" and "Busang." The lead paragraph, 102, reports the speculation of analysts about the possible impact of the impending Strathcona report which is expected to answer the open question about the gold content of the Busang property.

102. [1] A shock statement that Indonesia's Busang deposit, once thought to contain 71 million ounces of gold, was not economic would scare investors away from small Canadian and Australian gold explorers, analysts said on Monday.
103. [6] The stock has swung wildly in recent months as the controversy about the Busang deposit affected investor sentiment in the Australian and Canadian markets.
104. [10] The Australian Mining Industry Council said it had no official comment on the latest Bre-X statement or the wider Busang controversy.
105. [14] ANZ's Kauler said the impact of the Busang controversy would affect both the gold price and the more speculative stocks listed in Australia as well.

In the article, the writer makes a number of references to the controversy using historical event formulas. In 103, the writer uses an esphoric reference "the controversy about the Busang deposit" in a paragraph providing background to the story. Here the controversy is positioned as an agent affecting "investor sentiment," and the use of the past tense contributes to the function of this paragraph as background information to the story, orienting the effects of the controversy in time prior to the publication of the story and the presumed reading situation. In a later paragraph, shown in 104, the writer reiterates the "controversy" this time in a named event formula. Here the writer uses the attributive adjective "wider," denoting the scale of the "Busang controversy" as an ongoing event in public space, above and beyond the speech events of particular human beings or parties, for instance the company Bre-X mentioned here. In a subsequent paragraph, shown in 105, the writer mentions "the Busang controversy" again depicting its impact as an agent affecting the

Australian stock market. Through these mentions and the many prior mentions over the course of the month of coverage leading up to this story, writers have used historical event formulas along with others to narrate "the Busang controversy" as an ongoing discursive event.

However, May 5 also seems to be the milestone day in coverage where the classification of the ongoing event changes. It is the day when nine articles are published that categorize the Busang case as a "scandal." For instance, one of these, shown in 76, reports the findings by Strathcona that the Busang property contained no gold. The ongoing event is classified as a "fraud" in 76, and later in the article, 78, as a "scandal." From May 5 forward, "scandal" generally replaces "controversy" as a "Busang" collocate. This is an interesting result because it suggests that journalists present the Strathcona report to have resolved the open question at the center of the controversy, the question reported, for instance, in 98, and that their classification of the event changes in a relatively systematic way after May 5. The results of this Busang case study overall suggest that journalists classify the ongoing event in fairly consistent ways that divide the ongoing narrative of discursive conflict into stages for readers. From mid-October to mid-December, they regularly classify it as a "dispute" over the ownership of the property. From mid-December to early-May they classify the overall, ongoing event up to that point as a "saga" while simultaneously classifying the talk around the open question about the legitimacy of the gold claim itself as a "controversy." From May 5 onward, after coverage reports on Strathcona's findings, it is classified as a "scandal."

4.8 The Clinton Campaign Financing Case

Another case that is persistent across coverage in the Corpus is the Clinton campaign financing controversy. Journalists use a number of historical event formulas to index and denote it, like the one reiterated in the previous sentence, contributing to its spatial and temporal boundaries as an ongoing narrated event. As with the Busang case, journalists use the named controversy, a particular kind of historical event formula, to increase individuation and deictic selectivity by baptizing the event with a proper name. These typically feature attributive adjectives and definite articles. Compared to the Busang case, the campaign financing case offers a different set of problems for writers. While the named formulas in the Busang coverage commonly use the place name "Busang" or the company name "Bre-X" as restrictive modifiers, the situation presented by the campaign financing case is more complicated. In the narrated universe of the Reuters Corpus, none of the terms commonly used to build named event formulas that index this case are alone selective enough to serve as unique or restrictive identifiers. The proper name "Clinton," is mentioned 47,951 times in the Corpus, and as the name of the president of the United States, collocates with all manner of news event across many domains. Unlike "Busang," the proper name in this case is exuberantly non-restrictive against the larger texture of Reuters coverage; where the Busang River on the island of Borneo is mentioned

in coverage almost exclusively in relation to the Busang case, Bill Clinton is mentioned in coverage on a daily basis in relation to stories about US foreign policy decisions, economic policy, campaign events, decision making within the White House, routine press conferences, and state visits, among many others. The term is not productive as a unique identifier for the coverage of the ongoing campaign financing controversy event, which suggests something about the relationship of "Clinton" to the geographical, political, and economic center of the narrated universe of the Reuters Corpus. The other two attributive adjectives in the named event formula are similarly non-restrictive. The terms "campaign" and "financing" are mentioned in the reporting of many isolated and ongoing events unrelated to the Clinton campaign financing case. Collocations of the two terms are more restrictive, but even here, they do not exclusively select for the Clinton case.

There are 2005 collocations of "campaign" with various lemmas of "financ*" and "fund*" in the Corpus, and while many of these denote and index the Clinton case, others appear in the reporting about, for instance, "the industry-funded National Automobile Occupant Protection Campaign," ongoing coverage of a controversy over charges that Colombian President Ernesto Samper used drug money to finance his run for office, and a report about a "scandal over campaign funding" involving Alexander Korzhakov, a bodyguard of Boris Yeltsin. In some of these articles, for instance, writers use historical event formulas that are identical or nearly identical in form to some used in the coverage of the Clinton case. In an article published on September 10 about the charges against Samper, the writer refers to the ongoing event halfway through the story as "the campaign finance scandal." This event name can be disambiguated by readers based on their experience reading the prior two paragraphs, which narrate the events of the scandal as background to the story, forming an extended anaphoric reference. Journalists deploy this formula in this case with the presumption that readers can resolve the reference based on their experience of prior text, at the very least that prior text which immediately precedes its mention in the article. This use of a common form of event name also suggests that the "the campaign finance scandal" formula is by no means a unique identifier and may belong to a more general event taxonomy of news discourse. Among the clusters of "campaign" and various lemmas of "financ*" and "fund*," "controversy" and "scandal" are the most common the meta discursive event categories that collocate. This case study will examine the formulas that include these two event categories, tracing their mentions in the Corpus across coverage. Though this approach provides no guarantee of comprehensiveness in capturing every formula used by journalists to narrate the campaign financing case, it provides an account of two of the most common as they are used across coverage (Table 4.12).

The array of named event formulas that use meta discursive event categories such as "scandal" and "controversy" in order to index the Clinton case presents a somewhat different picture than that of the Busang case. Rather than serving to distinguish boundaries among specific episodes in an unfolding event narrative, these terms seem to be used somewhat interchangeably in lexical reiteration to refer to the ongoing event across coverage. That is, writers do not seem to fundamentally reclassify it using this particular formula within the stretch of coverage represented

Table 4.12 Clinton campaign financing event categories across coverage

Date	"scandal" mentions	"controversy" mentions
October 9, 1996	1	
October 21, 1996		1
November 1, 1996		2
November 2, 1996		1
November 6, 1996	2	
November 18, 1996		1
November 20, 1996		2
November 22, 1996	1	
December 11, 1996		2
December 12, 1996		1
December 13, 1996		1
December 18, 1996	1	
December 24, 1996		3
January 15, 1997	1	
February 12, 1997		1
February 18, 1997	1	
February 26, 1997		3
February 27, 1997		1
February 28, 1997		2
March 4, 1997	1	
March 6, 1997	1	3
March 9, 1997	3	
March 10, 1997		4
March 11, 1997	1	5
March 12, 1997	2	1
March 14, 1997	1	
March 17, 1997		1
March 18, 1997	2	1
March 20, 1997	2	
March 26, 1997		1
March 27, 1997	1	1
April 2, 1997		1
April 8, 1997	1	1
April 12, 1997		1
April 14, 1997		1
April 17, 1997		1
April 21, 1997	1	
April 25, 1997		1
April 27, 1997		1
May 15, 1997		1
May 21, 1997		1
May 29, 1997	1	
June 5, 1997		1
June 11, 1997		1
June 12, 1997	6	1

(continued)

Table 4.12 (continued)

Date	"scandal" mentions	"controversy" mentions
June 13, 1997	1	
June 15, 1997	1	
June 19, 1997	1	
July 1, 1997		2
July 7, 1997	1	
July 9, 1997	1	
August 15, 1997	1	
Total	36	52

by the Corpus. This may suggest something about the success of the Clinton administration in managing access to the records that would help to resolve the questions and doubts associated with the case and the persistence of the challenges to the administration over those questions, and may suggest something about the role of this ongoing event in an even larger series of narrated events in coverage involving investigations of Clinton and the Clinton administration. The narrated event in the Busang case, in contrast to the Clinton case, was punctuated with dramatic discoveries, such as the Strathcona report, which fully revealed a surprising, long standing, large scale fraud.

In an article published on June 12, whose headline is shown in 106, Alan Elsner reports on the plans by the U.S. Senate to begin hearings to investigate the Clinton campaign financing case. In the third paragraph of that article, shown in 107, Elsner presents a minimal narrative of the case that thematizes the issue the committee will seek to resolve.

106. Senate to start hearings on campaign funds scandal in July.
107. [3] The committee was probing whether Asian business interests or the Chinese government tried to influence the 1996 presidential election by illegally donating funds to the Democratic Party.

This article is published near the end of the coverage of the ongoing event as it appears in the Corpus. As the coverage narrates it, this case is an episode in an even larger ongoing series of events involving investigations of President Clinton. The investigation of the Whitewater land deal, a lingering sexual harassment lawsuit by Paula Jones, and suspicions over the suicide of an administration staff member Vincent Foster are among those presented in coverage of this case as the prior background establishing this case as the next episode in the larger ongoing series. In an article published on February 18, Gene Gibbons reports on a decision by Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel who had been investigating many of these issues, to accept a job at a university, a move that, according to the article, will presumably put an end to his work on the many Clinton-related investigations. Many of the later paragraphs of the article, shown in 109 through 114, provide minimal background narratives of these cases, presenting them as the relevant historical context for

Starr's career move and linking them with one another under the category of "Clinton's legal problems" mentioned in the lead sentence, 108, and reiterated in the mention of "legal challenges" in 111.

108. [1] Kenneth Starr's imminent departure as Whitewater independent counsel will remove an irksome thorn from President Bill Clinton's side, but Clinton's legal problems are far from over.
109. [5] The probe grew out of questions about the involvement of the Clintons in the failed Whitewater real estate venture in Arkansas, where Clinton served as governor in the 1980s.
110. [6] It has since branched into such issues as the firing of seven White House travel office workers shortly after Clinton became president in 1993 and the suicide of deputy White House counsel Vincent Foster later that year.
111. [15] Whatever the meaning of Starr's departure, Clinton still has plenty to worry about from legal challenges.
112. [16] The Supreme Court is expected to decide by June if a sexual harrassment lawsuit filed by Paula Jones, a former Arkanasas state employee, can proceed while Clinton is president. Jones claims Clinton made unwanted advances toward her when he was governor.
113. [17] And a flurry of potentially damaging probes are under way in Congress into the freewheeling 1996 campaign fundraising tactics of Clinton and his Democratic party.
114. [18] Rothstein said the campaign fundraising scandal was potentially more serious than Whitewater because it went to the very heart of the U.S. system of government while "a lot of what happened in Whitewater is particular to this president and past history in Arkansas."

The later paragraphs arrange the narrative in a rough reverse chronology, beginning with mention of the investigation of the Whitewater deal, 109, followed by a paragraph that depicts two other events including the Foster suicide as subsequent episodes in the same narrative. In particular, the writer uses a natural phenomenon formula, presenting "the probe" in 109 as a single-participant in a clause featuring the verb "to grow," depicting Starr's investigation, "the probe" and its "questions," as a evolving process with a kind of low-potency agency beyond that of individual human participants. In 110, the "probe" is referred to via pronoun anaphora and the natural phenomenon formula continues, with the writer depicting its initial questions branching into the particular issues involving the firing of the travel office workers and the Foster suicide. Across these two paragraphs, the ongoing investigation of Clinton is depicted as a series of events with a natural evolution. After the larger, ongoing event is reiterated with the mention of "legal challenges" in 111, the writer continues the chronology with a minimal narrative of the Paula Jones lawsuit in 112, and then with mention of the campaign financing case in 113 and 114. The writer uses a named event formula in 114, "the campaign fundraising scandal" to denote and index the ongoing case, providing it a degree of individuation and deictic selectivity against the other ongoing investigations. The writer joins this case to the

others by depicting it as the present instance of a temporal process that has developed from a past origin point in 109 – "the probe grew" – through ongoing episodes – "it has branched"; "Clinton still has plenty to worry about"; "The Supreme Court is expected to decide" – to the campaign financing case whose investigation is only beginning – "probes are under way." From the use of the simple past tense in 109 to more complex MAVES that combine perfect forms and modality in order to denote event incompleteness and future prediction, the writer exploits a number of verbal constructions in order to present a kind of unfinished historical narrative that locates the reader in a particular moment by pointing to events from past coverage and anticipating events in future coverage. The background paragraphs of this article narrate a temporal sequence of related events, "Clinton's legal problems," depicting a series of investigations as a naturally evolving process that grows and branches from a past origin point. The campaign financing case appears as the latest episode in an ongoing series of related events.

While the campaign financing case is depicted as one of many ongoing investigations of Clinton and his administration, it is also presented as an episode in a series of events with more extensive temporal reach. In particular, the case is linked with the Watergate scandal. An article published on October 9, a month before the national election, announces accusations of campaign finance violations, narrated by its headline in 115, by an advocacy group against both the Clinton and Dole campaigns. In the lead and second paragraphs, the article nominates both the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns as participants, and links the present case with Watergate through reports of the speech of Common Cause.

115. Clinton, Dole campaign finance violations alleged.
116. [1] A citizens' lobbying group called on Wednesday for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate alleged "willful violations" of finance laws by the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns.
117. [2] The group, Common Cause, said "the violations that occurred during the 1996 presidential election are the most massive violations of the campaign finance laws since the Watergate scandal."

The direct reported speech in 117 links the present case to Watergate by narrating it as the latest episode in a continuous series of events related by a shared categorical identity as "violations of the campaign finance laws." Unlike the February 18 report about Kenneth Starr's new job and the June 12 story about the Senate hearings, this article locates the present case in a wide-ranging history of campaign finance violations, punctuated by the Watergate case as a milestone and special origin point. The article uses the event category "scandal" in order to denote the Watergate case, rather than the present case, using the named event formula "the Watergate scandal." The reported speech in 117 denotes the present case with the event category "violations," calling it "the violations that occurred during the 1996 presidential campaign," and then later using the subordinate clause "since the Watergate scandal" to place these present violations in temporal relation to Watergate. As an early report of the case and the first collocation of "scandal," this article shows how journalists narrate present news events in extended temporal contexts using historical

event formulas, and how early reports can use historical event formulas with lower selectivity to narrate the present event as something whose boundaries are not yet fixed or certain. What later reports would come to call "the Clinton campaign financing scandal," among other variations on this named event formula, this article narrates as "the violations that occurred during the 1996 presidential election." By reporting the speech of Common Cause, the article links these "violations" to a named historical event, "the Watergate scandal." While the present campaign financing situation is not yet classified as a scandal, it has been placed in temporal relation with a prior campaign finance scandal of such historical significance that writers can presume that a mention of it through a named event formula will be adequate to index it for readers.

Even after the case has become a named event that is well-established in coverage and has been often contextualized with other of Clinton's legal troubles, reports narrate it as an episode in the more extensive historical context of Watergate. In an article published on June 15, Gene Gibbons uses a natural phenomenon formula to narrate an autonomous historical process that links Richard Nixon to Bill Clinton. The occasion of the article is the anniversary of Watergate, mentioned in the second paragraph, shown in 120, and the main event of the article involves that scandal itself as a central participant. Gibbons uses natural phenomenon formulas in order to depict the Watergate scandal as a cause of a number of later events, most generally the decline of respect for the U.S. presidency, and in particular the rise and persistence of independent prosecutors, like those who investigated presidents Reagan, Bush and Clinton, and an increasingly cynical public and aggressive news industry. Within this sweeping historical narrative, Gibbons mentions the Clinton campaign financing case as an illustration of the laxity of the reforms that lawmakers enacted in response to Watergate.

118. 25 years on, Watergate a cancer on U.S. presidency.
119. [1] Twenty-five years after a botched burglary started an avalanche that ultimately swept Richard Nixon from the White House, the Watergate scandal is still a cancer on the U.S. presidency.
120. [2] As America marks the ignominious anniversary of the worst political scandal in U.S. history, those who lived through it say it left a weakened presidency, a public cynical and distrusting of politicians and a press that goes for the jugular at the slighest excuse.
121. [8] The scandal also triggered campaign financing reforms that have since been blamed for encouraging abuses, like Clinton's freewheeling quest for limitless "soft money" contributions to fund his drive for re-election in 1996.
122. [9] Under Watergate-inspired regulations, wealthy donors, corporations and labour unions can get around federal limits of $1,000 to individual candidates by donating as much money as they want to the Republican or Democratic parties.

In 121, "the scandal" is depicted as an agent that caused "campaign finance reforms." This is a lexical reiteration of "the Watergate scandal" that is mentioned in 119, establishing a text-cohesive link that is part of a more general reference

chain that topicalizes the Watergate case throughout the article. This mention of "the scandal" also contributes to the larger pattern of natural phenomenon formulas in the article. Beginning with the headline and lead, Gibbons creates a narrative that depicts the Watergate case as the origin point of an autonomous natural process. While in 121 the Watergate event is presented as an agent of campaign reform, in 118 and 119 it is depicted alternately as an "avalanche" and a "cancer." The lead paragraph presents the particular event, "a botched burglary," as the initial cause of this series of historical events, but then depicts a natural phenomenon "an avalanche" as the agent that "swept" Nixon out of office. The article narrates a large-scale natural process by which related historical events, such as Watergate scandal and the Clinton campaign financing controversy, appear as participants who cause change, redirecting policy and history.

If the article published on October 9 fails to name the case but instead creates temporal links between the suspected "violations" of the Clinton and Dole campaigns to "the Watergate scandal," later reports delimit the boundaries of the case more sharply through named event formulas. In an article published on October 21, Gene Gibbons reports on a campaign stop by Clinton in Cleveland, Ohio. In the lead paragraph, shown in 123, he mentions "a campaign financing controversy," the earliest collocation with "controversy" among the Corpus results. Though the headline and the second paragraph both narrate Clinton's campaign speech at a rally in Cleveland, much of the article is given over to narrating the controversy as part of the background to the rally and as a feature of the ongoing election campaign. The article uses a named event formula in the lead sentence to refer to the controversy but presents it with an indefinite rather than a definite article. This is a common pattern for a first mention of a narrative participant and suggests that this article is a possible first mention of the case name in the reference chain that extends across coverage.

123. [1] With just two weeks of campaigning left before voters elect a leader, President Bill Clinton played it safe on Monday and let his surrogates duel with the Republicans in a campaign financing controversy.
124. [7] Dole, who was campaigning in Michigan on Monday, issued the reform call on Sunday in an effort to exploit a potential liability for his front-running opponent – charges that the Democratic Party took contributions from foreign fat cats.
125. [8] Dole said only U.S. citizens eligible to vote should be able to give money to candidates and he also urged other reforms including a ban on "soft money" donations from corporations, labour unions and other groups to help political parties finance campaign advertisements and other activities.
126. [9] Clinton surrogates said Dole was guilty of hypocrisy since he had accepted contributions from foreign donors himself.

In addition to the historical event formula, this article uses pragmatic event formulas to narrate the controversy. Unlike some later reports, this article narrates the case as a discursive conflict between two candidates, Dole and Clinton, with late paragraphs presenting an indirect constructed dialogue between the two. In 124, the writer reports the speech of Dole, attributing to him "charges that the Democratic

Party took contributions from foreign fat cats." In 125, he continues this speech report, attributing to Dole a number of endorsements of campaign finance rules and reforms that conflict with the reported behavior of Clinton. Then in 126, he narrates a dialogue between Dole and Clinton using an address citation (see Sect. 5.6), reporting the speech of "Clinton surrogates" as they comment on Dole's accusations. This article reports "a campaign financing controversy" as a discursive conflict between competing candidates for president.

After the election is decided, the reports about the campaign financing case narrate it less as a systemic problem or a problem of the 1996 presidential campaigns and more as the special property of Clinton. In an article published on November 6, Steve Holland reports on the results of the federal election, announcing the victory by Clinton in seeking his second term as president and the continuing control of Congress by the Republican party. In the later paragraphs of that article, he reports on some of the implications of their continued control of Congress, and in 128 mentions "recent revelations on campaign fundraising from foreign interests" followed by a named event formula in 130, where he mentions "the campaign finance scandal." The mention in 128 is an initial mention of the case within this article and reintroduces it for readers, and the second mention, in 130, uses a named event formula to reiterate it.

127. [19] Winning Congress for a second consecutive term for the first time in 68 years, Republicans will keep control of the congressional committees investigating alleged Clinton administration wrongdoing.
128. [20] They made clear they would pursue inquiries into the president's political, business and personal affairs, including recent revelations on campaign fundraising from foreign interests.
129. [21] Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi said voters were sending a Republican Congress back to keep Clinton under political lock and key.
130. [22] In an NBC interview, Lott suggested the campaign finance scandal would be the subject of hearings in the Senate Commerce Committee and possibly by an independent counsel.

Using a named event formula with definite determination increases deictic selectivity, depicting the scandal as a particular event with fixed boundaries. In addition to this change of definiteness in the named event formula, the article recontextualizes the case as an instance of "alleged Clinton administration wrongdoing," mentioned in 127. Whereas early reports narrate the case on the one hand as a systemic problem with both the Dole and Clinton campaigns and on the other as an accusation by one candidate about the other, here the case is classified as a new legal problem for Clinton, and it reports the speech of Trent Lott, shown in 129 and 130, who vows to use the Senate to investigate Clinton's campaign fund-raising. Unlike the prior reports of the case, Dole is not nominated here as a participant.

The coverage of the case over the months following this November 6 story reiterates variations of the named event formula "the campaign financing controversy,"

as in, for instance, 106 and 114. In part through this formula, journalists narrate the case as an ongoing news event, one that they regularly contextualize as another of Clinton's "legal problems," mentioned in 108, alongside the Whitewater land deal, Vincent Foster's suicide, and the Paula Jones lawsuit. Though they are reported after the end date of the Corpus, journalists would ultimately add the Monica Lewinsky affair and the impeachment of Clinton to this growing category. While journalists narrate the case as one in a series of legal troubles for Clinton, they also report details and episodes particular to the case. Later articles use named event formulas earlier in the text, in headlines and leads, a pattern that suggests that journalists are presuming more reader experience and familiarity with the case through prior reporting or other text or talk. An article published on February 26 does this, and it catalogues the participants in the case up to that point. The headline, 131, calls the ongoing event "Clinton funds case" and the lead, 132, "the campaign fund-raising controversy involving President Bill Clinton's Democratic Party." Like the time-line published about the Busang case, shown in 84, this text is not a prototypical news article.

131. Clinton funds case has long cast of characters.
132. [1] Here are some of the key figures named in the campaign fund-raising controversy involving President Bill Clinton's Democratic Party.
133. [2] John Huang – Naturalised American of Chinese descent. Former top Democratic fundraiser who raised several million dollars from Asian-American groups, much of it returned after controversy broke. Joined Democratic National Committee, party leadership group, after stint as Commerce Department official. Before joining Commerce in 1994, was top U.S. executive of the Lippo Group, Indonesia-based financial conglomerate.

Rather than reporting on a timely main event and narrating the context of that event through a series of later paragraphs that provide commentary by news actors and background from related and prior news events, it simply presumes basic reader knowledge of the ongoing event and catalogues a number of participants in the controversy, detailing their biographies as they are relevant to the case. After introducing this conceit in the lead paragraph, 132, the article delivers a list of 11 names of individuals or couples beginning with John Huang in the second paragraph, shown in 133. The listed participants are primarily donors to the Clinton campaign who were suspected of involvement in violations, and include Mochtar Riady and James Riady, Soraya and Arief Wiriadinata, Hsing Yun, Webster Hubbell, Charles Yah Lin Trie, Wang Jun, Pauline Kanchanalak, Yogesh Gandhi, John H.K. Lee, and Johnny Chung. In this article, the writers contribute to a cardinal narrative of the ongoing event by reiterating the named event formula and by nominating a number of participants and providing minimal narratives of each that link them to the alleged fund-raising violations. What is interesting about the list is its coherence; unlike some earlier reports, it does not include Dole, Lott, the Republican Party, the independent counsel, or any U.S. Senate Committee. The participants in the controversy, as it is depicted here, are strictly those who are suspected of wrongdoing or contributing to it, rather than, for instance, those who have brought charges or

accusations. Compared to the post-election report on November 6, for example, this article backgrounds the pragmatic interaction between Clinton and those investigating him. What had been narrated as a systemic policy question on October 6 and a pragmatic exchange between candidates and parties on October 21 and November 6 is here presented as a forensic investigation of violations.

In March, journalists report a new episode within the ongoing campaign financing case involving a conflict between the Clinton administration and the FBI and an implication that the government of China tried to influence the outcome of the election through campaign donations. On March 11, for instance, an article reports on this episode using natural phenomenon formulas in both the headline and lead paragraph. The headline, shown in 134, presents a named event formula "U.S. political campaign funds controversy" as the participant in a single-participant clause with a low-telicity, low-kinesis verb "to heat up." This clause uses a named event formula in coordination with a natural phenomenon formula, depicting the controversy as a force of nature that is developing independent of the actions of individual human agents.

134. U.S political campaign funds controversy heats up.
135. [1] The campaign financing controversy dogging President Bill Clinton and his Democratic Party escalated on Monday, with the White House and the FBI publicly at odds over an FBI warning that China might try to funnel money into the U.S. election campaign.

In the lead paragraph, 135, the writer reiterates this pattern, presenting the named event formula "the campaign financing controversy dogging President Bill Clinton and his Democratic Party" as the participant in a single-participant clause with a low-telicity, low-kinesis verb "to escalate." In addition, the esphora formed by the non-finite clause "dogging President Bill Clinton and his Democratic Party" positions the controversy as an agent which is relentlessly following Clinton. A number of things are interesting about the use of these formulas in this case. This article is published at a time at which there has been considerable prior coverage of the ongoing event, at least since October, and the writers presume reader knowledge and experience with the case enough to use variations on the named event formula "the campaign financing controversy" in the headline and lead paragraph. The headline topicalizes the event and backgrounds its human participants, and while the lead paragraph names Clinton and some other individuals and groups, the event itself places a central role as an agent. The reliance on and positioning of the named event formula suggests that both the event and the name may have achieved a certain degree of historical and cultural fixity in the estimation of the writers, and it perpetuates that impression of fixity through reiteration. In addition, the event is depicted as a kind of inevitable autonomous process with a momentum of its own. Who has created this controversy? In the narrated event in this article, this is an irrelevant question. The controversy is presented as an orientational feature, a fact of the situation, something readers are expected to take for granted. These formulas do not mention the Republican accusers of Clinton, among other human agents, and present instead the controversy event as a participant.

These formulas help journalists solve the problem of abstracting the ongoing campaign financing case in order to report a recent episode that they deem relevant. The combination of historical event and natural phenomenon formulas provides a narrative strategy for depicting the durability and persistence of the event over time, and reiterates a relatively selective identifier for that event that can be further reiterated by other writers in later coverage. While this abstraction is a productive narrative strategy for journalists, who contribute to an emergent taxonomy of ongoing events and episodes in order to solve the problem of delivering a coherent account of present news events, it contributes to a depiction of a controversy as a historical fact that is the result of an evolving natural process. Use of these formulas contributes to an experience of public controversy, like the campaign financing case, as an event with a fixity and inevitability conventionally associated with historical facts and natural processes.

This chapter has explored the natural phenomenon, historical event, and pragmatic event formulas that journalists use in narrating controversy. Among controversy NPs in the corpus, there is a wide range of selectivity and identifiability, attenuating between controversy as a natural phenomenon and as an historical event. At the level of genre, controversy NPs, along with other event categories, would seem to help journalists meet one of the central challenges of the news article, "knitting diverse events together" (Bell 1991, p. 168). In order to write a news article that will achieve its purpose and reproduce the genre, journalists need to name events at a relatively high level of abstraction. Not only do event categories perform a classifying function that reflects the genre requirements of the news article, they perform a cohesive function within and across texts. Because the headline and lead paragraph function as an abstract for a news article, event categories provide an essential lexicon for very briefly summarizing a complex event with many episodes and participants. This lexicon proves useful also in natural phenomenon, historical event, and pragmatic event formulas, where past events must be summarized and abstracted. It is in this sense that event categories help support the cohesive function across texts, what we colloquially call "coverage."

These formulas contribute not only to textual and coverage cohesion in news discourse, but also contribute to our experience of controversies as public events. The term "controversy" is a meta-discursive label, and as with many others, it imposes social classifications onto particular repertoires of talk and text (Agha 2007, p. 193). The use of the term "controversy," then, does not reflect a fixed social or cultural entity but contributes to the design, the existence, and the perpetuation of such an entity. With its registerial and genre features, much of the writing in news articles is well designed for replication rather than response, making it shareable, detachable from its context of production (Urban 1996, p. 40). With enough successful replications of a formula, a controversy may seem to emerge as a fact of history or culture unmoored from the particular texts and networks of circulation that have contributed to it (Urban 1996, p. 21). However, particular instances of news writing and reading, among many other speaking, auditing, writing and reading events, contribute to the existence and shape of public controversies. Writers of news articles narrate controversy as a natural phenomenon, an historical event, and

a pragmatic event through a number of language and text formulas, yet their own involvements and the involvements of readers in the speech chain that contributes to the public event receive less attention, something that is supported in part by the design of news discourse and the news article genre. In depicting a controversy as a natural phenomenon, for instance, the journalist is in the curious position of indexing an ongoing, autonomous, autopoietic process in the reader's environment while actively contributing to the existence and shape of the controversy in the most concrete, particular, and mundane way, by writing and publishing a news article about it. Public controversies come to seem facts of culture to the extent that we elide the many particular discursive interactions that contribute to them. Particular news reading events, along with the many discursive events in the news writing process involving interviewing, editing, writing, revising, laying out, publishing, and others, are some of the many mundane events that contribute to the existence and shape of public controversies.

Chapter 5
Reporting Controversy in Constructed Dialogue

As an exemplar of decision making dialogue, the philosophical dialogue genre narrates a spoken interaction amongst classical participants in a classical speaking situation. Interlocutors in the narrative perform speech acts and, ultimately, mount arguments over brief conversational turns, and make their contributions relevant to previous turns and to common issues. However, the philosophical dialogue is not the only genre that narrates decision making dialogue; a number of professional and institutional genres, whether spoken or written, design dialogue for specific purposes. The conversations between attorneys in a courtroom, for instance, represent a carefully structured kind of decision making dialogue that is subject to explicit institutional norms and genre constraints, and it is structured for the specific purpose of producing a just decision or solution to a problem. Though most legal decision making is hypothesis oriented, that is, concerned with resolving specific cases, while those of the philosophical dialogue genre are often thesis oriented, that is, aiming to discover a primitive truth about some matter, both narrate dialogues among interlocutors for the purpose of structuring a decision. News discourse also narrates dialogues among interlocutors, depicting controversy as a pragmatic event, as well as a natural and historical one.

News articles narrate events in ways that are structured by norms of genre and register, and standards of news worthiness that are relevant to professional journalism, rather than, for instance, to scholarship. While journalists use event categories to name controversies, to give them historical boundaries and solidity, to create textual and coverage coherence, and to satisfy the communicative purposes of the news article genre, they use constructed dialogue to narrate them. From a traditional perspective, a constructed dialogue is the sort of conversation that novelists or playwrights manufacture for the sake of narrating fictional characters in fictional events; however, constructed dialogue is a common feature of narration in general, whether it involves "real" interlocutors or fictional ones (Tannen 1986, p. 311). In actual spoken interaction, for instance, there are basic human memory constraints that make verbatim reporting of speech impossible, and in most sorts of narration, whether written or spoken, verbatim reporting would run contrary to a speaker or

P.A. Cramer, *Controversy as News Discourse*, Argumentation Library 19,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1288-1_5,

writer's purposes of presenting a coherent story for an audience (Tannen 1986, p. 313). Despite our conventional distinctions between fiction and non-fiction, the reported speech in both kinds of discourse is necessarily a kind of constructed dialogue. That is, story tellers elaborate, elide, position, and invent speech and turns to suit their purposes, and the ways that they report the speech, in the form of direct or indirect quotations for example, may represent it in a variety of ways far from verbatim (Kaufer et al. 2004, pp. 177–180; Tannen 1986, p. 313). Summarizing, paraphrasing, and abstracting the gist of a stretch of speech, along with quoting, is a constructive process that both violates a strict sense of verbatim accuracy and is an essential and perhaps unavoidable part of creating an account of an event (Geisler 1994, p. 180; Kaufer et al. 2004, pp. 177–180). Even in those genres where accuracy is a central value, like the initial assessment in a psychiatric evaluation, speech is not reported verbatim, and the use of constructed dialogue is a way of satisfying, rather than violating the purposes of the genre (Berkenkotter and Ravotas 2002).

The process of constructing dialogue necessitates the entextualization of some stretch of discourse, selecting it, shaping it, and delimiting its boundaries against the larger ongoing flow of talk or text, and the movement of this entextualized stretch to a new context, for instance, some present narrative. This is a process of recontextualization (Linell 1998, p. 144; Ochs 1992, p. 345). Artful and genre-appropriate recontextualization is one of the skills of an experienced journalist. In order to narrate an event in the form of a news article, a journalist must transform his or her reporting, the interviews, conversations, reading, and other prior text, into a coherent report that will satisfy the genre expectations of the profession, the news outlet, and the audience (Linell 1998, p. 144; Ochs 1992, p. 345). In this process, the speech or writing of a source is recontextualized as a constituent of a news report. If the resulting news article does not violate genre and register constraints and expectations, calling attention to the terms of its own construction, and readers approach it with a particular sort of genre of reading in which they expect to extract an unmediated meaning from it, it may be taken to be a veridical account, functioning for readers as a surrogate for that event (Blommaert 2004, p. 654; Tuchman 1980, p. 203). Constructed dialogue is a routine part of news writing and of controversy reporting. The fact that this results in something that is far from a transcription is compatible with the general commitment to journalistic objectivity and the specific norms of accuracy and balance (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. vii). This despite the fact that dialogues presented in news articles construct conversational turns between interlocutors who may never have been physically co-present or participated in any actual spoken interaction.

The constructed dialogues of news discourse typically foreground the reporting speech of journalists. They appear as narrators in the text through matrix clauses, nominating event participants and explicitly introducing and recontextualizing their speech. This is, at least in part, a function of the footing of journalists as authors who commit themselves to the accuracy of their reports of others' statements, without also committing themselves, as principals, to the beliefs and positions that those statements represent (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, pp. 136–137). By foregrounding their reporting speech, oriented as narrators in the text, journalists make clear their footing and draw boundaries between their commitments and those of

their sources. This is a way of indexing journalistic objectivity. Eliding or backgrounding the reporting apparatus in the narrative, however, can help to make an account more vivid, to transform it from a story into a drama or to highlight climactic moments in a story. Journalists are aware of this phenomenon and are instructed to exploit direct quotation in their writing for these ends (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. 122). But news articles are not dramas in any fully realized sense, and cannot afford to trade too heavily the demand for vividness against the indexing of objectivity. Even in those stretches where direct quotation appears, it appears as explicitly reported speech in the context of the journalist's reporting apparatus, denoted by orthographic punctuation and matrix clauses. A genre like the play allows fully-realized direct dialogue which can do away with the reporting apparatus of the narrator and present characters' speech as if they are unmediated. This creates a strong sense of involvement between characters which is why direct dialogue can seem so vivid (Tannen 1986, p. 330).

Complaints about a lack of accuracy or balance in news often focus on particular word choices or patterns of "selective quotation" that are judged to violate norms of journalistic objectivity. These are the kinds of pitfalls that professional training and style books explicitly warn against and anticipate (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, pp. vii–viii, 123). While these kinds of pitfalls are a routine locus for popular complaints about and for professional training in journalism, more rare are second-order complaints about the fact that a news article programmatically presents constructed rather than verbatim or transcribed dialogue. That is, constructed dialogue seems to be an accepted feature of the news article genre while the common pitfalls function as complaints about the details of its implementation. Perhaps this indicates the degree to which the journalist's reporting discourse in the news article genre invites more replication than response (Urban 1996, p. 40). The reported speech of nominated sources in constructed dialogue, on other hand, invites more response and comment, perhaps because it often displays the markers of spoken involvement and interaction, grounding it as a unique and ephemeral stretch of talk.

Other genres in journalism that present constructed dialogues seem to be more vulnerable to second-order complaints. The question-and-answer interview genre is an example. In this genre, typically the interviewer's words and the interviewee's words appear in direct dialogue with each other, forming script-like, question-answer turns identified by the proper names of each interlocutor and by typographic conventions like line breaks and typeface changes. The New York Times publishes a Sunday feature called "Questions For" that is an example of this genre. The story is told through a series of question and answer pairs, where the interviewer's question appears in boldface, followed directly by the interviewee's response in a direct dialogue form. Neither interlocutor's discourse is introduced through quotative clauses or reported with quotation marks. That is, there is little or no narrating or reporting discourse of the sort that is typical in the news article genre.

In 2007, some of the interviewees who have been sources for this feature complained to the ombudsman of the New York Times that the articles published from their conversations with Deborah Solomon, the interviewer, were distortions. In particular, they complained about the turns in the constructed dialogue that was

published. It seems that some of the questions that appeared in the published article were never asked in the original speech event, and some of the question-answer pairs that appeared in the published article were not pairs in the spoken interaction between them and Solomon (Hoyt 2007). In response to these complaints, the Times developed some norms and standards that would govern this particular feature, a move that is consistent with the routine practices of professional news organizations, which regularly create style guidelines in order to meet the exigencies of reporting. This kind of ad hoc standard setting grows from and contributes to the more fixed and institutionalized house style guides that function as references for most professional news outlets. Among the new standards for the "Questions For" feature that grew out of these complaints were that the dialogue pairs that are published must be the same as those in the conversation, though writers are still expected to augment and elide the conversation in various ways in order to create a coherent published article, a "narrative flow" (Hoyt 2007). In addition, the Times decided to publish a standard disclaimer at the end of each "Questions For" feature indicating that the "Interview has been condensed and edited" and to systematically archive digital audio recordings of the conversations that serve as the source material for these articles (Hoyt 2007). While news sources seem to ignore or take for granted that information is condensed and edited in a news article, and that its dialogue is constructed, this question-and-answer genre seems to invite more scrutiny because its direct dialogue presentation mimics the pragmatic engagements of spoken interaction. Because characters seem to be speaking for themselves and directly to one another in a way that increases verisimilitude, sources and readers may expect this genre to meet a perceived verbatim accuracy standard of a transcript from an audio recording. Of course, even transcripts from audio recordings are necessarily incomplete and selective and are run through with inclusions and exclusions that reflect the goals and theories of the transcriber.

The philosophical dialogue genre is much like a drama or play in that it features direct dialogue with script-like turns. The narrator footing and the reporting apparatus is routinely elided, so characters' speech is presented as direct and unmediated. Deciding who counts as a participant in a philosophical dialogue is generally not a problem that needs to be investigated and solved, as the genre itself nominates characters by name and makes them interlocutors by putting them into direct dialogue with one another. While it may be a problem to decide which interlocutors are more or less central, deciding who counts as a participant in the first place is a problem that is solved by the writer of the philosophical dialogue. What counts as an issue in the dialogue is another problem that the writer solves by structuring turns around queries, assertions, and rebuttals that foreground the argumentation of participants. This designs the dialogue in such a way that allows readers to focus attention on the argumentative moves taken by participants, for instance, without being distracted by the problems of simply identifying participants and issues in the first place. In other genres of decision making dialogue, like courtroom exchanges for instance, these problems are solved via institutional norms and standards that constrain who will participate and how the dialogue and their contributions to it will be shaped. The dialogue model takes these to be the prerequisites of argumentation more

generally, making the dialogue form a primal scene of argument (Blair 1998, p. 326). So long as we are analyzing discourse that is shaped by a genre of decision making dialogue, then this assumption remains relatively transparent.

With other kinds of discourse, other genres, and other situations, however, the investigator must solve the problems of who counts as a participant and what counts as an issue. Argumentation does not have a theory of participant that goes much beyond a reiteration of the dialogue model, positing only that there will be two participants, proponent and respondent, and that they will perform speech acts and argumentative moves that are appropriate to the procedural constraints and norms relevant to their sort of dialogue (Walton 2004, p. 205). This is a problem even in cases that present evidence of something like direct address or a relatively explicit exchange among interlocutors, where the researcher can document participants addressing each other directly and specifically in writing or speech. This helps ground design decisions about what counts as a standpoint and who counts as a participant in a controversy. Dascal, for instance, examines a series of epistolary exchanges between Antoine Arnauld and Nicolas Malebranche in the 17C philosophical controversy about ideas (Dascal 1990). Dascal is able to draw his data for the controversy from letters where Arnauld and Malebranche explicitly address one another and the standpoints and arguments of the other. This provides a basis for his presentation of the controversy as a dialogue between Arnauld and Malebranche, for his identifying these two as the participants in the controversy. Of course, Dascal's cast of participants still rests on some choices, despite the textual evidence of epistolary exchange between two writers. Was the 17C controversy about ideas limited to this exchange between Arnauld and Malebranche? Dascal himself characterizes this controversy as much wider spread, explaining that it "raged throughout the century and beyond" and he justifies his choice of Arnauld and Malebranche as participants because they were "main contenders" (Dascal 1990, p. 61). In these comments, Dascal raises the issues of diachronic participation and intertextuality, as well as highlighting the more synchronic problem of which of their contemporaries might be included or excluded. The entitlements and reputations of these participants seem to have played some part in their selection, their letters having been deemed worthy of maintenance over the centuries through archiving, translating, printing, and publishing. What participation role, if any, should the 18C editors and publishers of his letters, Gabriel Dupac de Bellegarde and Jean Hautefage, be assigned? And should Dascal himself be considered a participant? Should his readers count, including you and me? What of other European philosophers of the 17C, or those from other parts of the world, and what of the many philosophers, never mind other writers or speakers, who died long before the 17C? For a given controversy, there are many, many participants that could be considered relevant, and the investigator is faced with the problem of choosing some and leaving others out. Whatever cast of participants the investigator selects when describing a controversy will necessarily reduce the in-principle complexity of the event and will contextualize it in a particular way.

The investigator is routinely placed in a position to design the controversy by narrating it, deciding who counts as a participant and what counts as an issue. While this problem would exist regardless of the particular data, it is especially conspicuous in the case when the investigator is confronting discourse that is not already shaped in the form of a direct dialogue. Who counts as a participant in a public controversy, for instance? What are the relevant procedural dialogue rules? And what is the issue? If an event and problem is "poorly" formed according to argumentation norms, and if it is distributed, and/or emergent, for instance, then the challenge to the investigator is to design the event and problem him or herself, recontextualizing the speech and text from prior situations into, for instance, a direct dialogue form. This is the kind of synthesis strategy that is central to academic literacy. Writers design a constructed dialogue among participants in order to provide a decision making dialogue setting in which to locate their own arguments (Geisler 1994, p. 180). Designing constructed dialogues is also what journalists do in order to report controversy. This is one of the senses in which news articles are locations of public controversy. Public controversies likely have some uncountable number of possible participants, considering the masses of people who constitute *opinio*, along with the better documented creators of *res gestae*, *historiae*, and *propagatio.* Journalists solve the problem of selecting participants from among this mass by preferring entitled speakers who enact *res gestae,* those who are entitled to "make history" (Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 158). They are the participants who tend to become cited sources in news discourse.

This chapter shows how journalists address the participation problem as they design constructed dialogues to report controversy. In a general formula of issue based encampment, journalists recruit interlocutors and standpoints into profiles that will depict a dialogue. In constructing these profiles, they must balance a need to create a vivid drama with the need to index their own objectivity through their own reporting apparatus in text. Journalists solve this problem primarily through reported speech, reporting various comments and standpoints that can be attributed explicitly to individual or collective interlocutors. The norms of sourcing in journalism play a central role in deciding who will appear as an interlocutor in these news dialogues. For journalists, the focus lies on finding a source who counts as authoritative, who "exercises real authority on the issue in question" (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. 137). Of course, they are limited to those sources who are willing to speak with them on the record as well. The upshot of this guideline is that many of those who appear as interlocutors in news dialogues are elite people, something that is true of news discourse more generally. So journalists solve the participation problem by reporting the speech of authoritative sources as profiles in constructed dialogue. Despite the norms of sourcing, however, not all controversy interlocutors are authoritative individual human speakers who are nominated by proper name (Sinclair and Brazil 1982, p. 50; Van Leeuwen 1996, p. 52). Some reported speech is attributed to categorizations, camps that journalists demarcate and name (Van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 52–53). In other words, not all interlocutors in the narrated events of controversy reports represent individual human agents.

It is important to keep in mind that the interlocutors denoted by news articles are participants in the narrated events of a story world. This distinguishes them from the

participants of the interactional world, for instance the text artifact and the reader. That is, the controversy, along with the interlocutors in the constructed dialogue in which it is located, are elements of a story that a journalist has designed and published in the form of a text artifact, with which a reader interacts through a visual channel. The reading situation is where the discursive interaction among participants is taking place. To the extent we take the narrated event to be the object of study, these interactional participants may be overlooked. Let us consider the implications of these distinctions for the problem of participation in public controversy. Who or what counts as a participant in the narrated events of news reports is a function of what and how journalists decide to write, and like other writers and speakers, they enjoy a number of options for introducing and managing participants in narrative. In news articles, journalists sometimes denote unique, individual human beings as participants, but they also introduce a host of other kinds of participants some of which denote human collectives, and some of which denote abstract entities or forces. From the perspective of the dialogue model, this seems peculiar.

It seems this way because in the classical speaking situation, there is one kind of participant, an individual human agent who simultaneously occupies the footing of principal, author, and animator, and acts as an interlocutor in a direct decision making dialogue with others who occupy similar footings (see the discussion in Chap. 3). This indicates the traditional solution to the participation problem: Limit the object of study to classical speaking situations or situations that can be re-designed as such. By drawing this boundary, the problem of deciding who qualifies as a participant or describing the many different kinds of participant in a given stretch of discourse disappears. However, there are many different kinds of participant besides the classical sort, and despite its use of constructed dialogue, news discourse presents a range of participants both in narrated events and in interaction. In a traditional solution, the investigator might bracket news discourse as irrelevant because it fails to narrate a classical speaking situation, or might seek to re-design it, recontextualizing the discourse of the denoted interlocutors from coverage who most closely resemble classical participants into a classical speaking situation. In controversy reporting, there are participants denoted in the narrated events who are not positioned as "interlocutors" in a constructed dialogue, for instance. These could be overlooked in the traditional solution. With this in mind, the following analysis shows how "interlocutor" is only one kind of participant that journalists introduce and manage in controversy narratives, and it emphasizes that this is not a transcendent role above and beyond the text but is instead a role defined within the narrated event of the text.

5.1 Topicalizing Controversy

In the Reuters Corpus, there are 117 articles that feature a controversy NP in the headline. These headline mentions are worth attention because of the abstracting function of headlines in the news article genre. Headlines abstract from the lead paragraph, which is itself an abstract of the article (Bell 1991, p. 150; Dijk 1988, p. 53). In concert with their summarizing function, headlines and leads identify the major

Table 5.1 Functions of controversy NPs in headlines

	Example	Total
Object	Mapplethorpe exhibition sparks London controversy	59
Subject	Controversy stalls U.S. Senate disaster aid bill	19
Adjunct	Armenian leader sworn into office amid controversy	35
Reported speech	No controversy in G7 meeting – Waigel	4
Total		117

topics of news articles (Dijk 1988, p. 53). In the history of the genre, headlines and leads developed along with the professionalization of journalists and the objectivity norm; journalists are expected to summarize the central events and facts for readers to support their skimming across many reports and in anticipation of their rarely reading entire articles (Schudson 1978, p. 78). Because headlines and leads present the major topics of an article, we can examine the headlines and leads that contain controversy NPs in order to identify articles in which controversy is topicalized.

Table 5.1 shows the breakdown of controversy NPs in headlines by grammatical slot. Of the 117 NPs, 78 are clause participants and 35 are adjuncts to the clause. One of the interesting things about this result is that the controversy NP is itself sometimes functioning as a clausal constituent and sometimes playing an agentive role in some headlines in the corpus.

Given their purposes and constraints, headlines and leads might be expected to regularly host controversy NPs. Since headlines and leads express the major topics of articles, abstracting from the details of the report, event categories like "controversy" provide a useful lexicon for headline writers to draw upon in order to classify a complex news event. While the genre requirements of the news article help to explain why controversy NPs would appear in headlines and leads, we are left with the problem of why they appear as agents. The genre can also help shed light on this. News values put a premium on unambiguous events that involve human beings. This helps to explain why fires, accidents, and crimes tend to be considered the prototypical "hard news" events. Bell notes that because of the premium on hard news, "journalists spend much of their energy trying to find an angle which will present what is essentially soft news in hard news terms" (Bell 1991, p. 14). In terms of particular language features, then, the challenge for journalists would seem to be discovering how to write about events in the most transitive way possible, given their constraints. Among other features, this can involve preferring a 2 participant clause with a high degree of agency, punctuality, and telicity. No matter the particular news event, the journalist is faced with narrating it in a single sentence, i.e. the lead, a sentence that makes its newsworthiness explicit (Bell 1991, p. 79). Because of its parallels with news values, higher transitivity clauses would seem to be a valuable resource for a journalist writing a news article. Though news values are usually presented as the norms by which editorial decisions and story assignments are made, we might consider the way that they impact the writing itself.

While many other sorts of clauses appear in headlines and leads, the high transitivity clause would seem to provide the language resources for upholding important

news values. Besides the focus on unambiguity and on individual, agentive human beings, the overall purpose of the news article is to narrate events, and the paradigm narrative clause structure is a transitive one. Given this purpose, it would seem likely that news articles would contain clauses that represent a material, causal event, a high transitivity, prototypical event clause where an agent acts on a patient and where this act results in a complete change of state (Croft 1998, p. 89; Hopper and Thompson 1980, pp. 252–253). These are the sorts of clauses that help to draw distinct boundaries around individual events in a causal chain (Croft 1998, p. 89). In actual stretches of speaking and writing, however, events are narrated in a number of different ways that may lie far from the paradigm case (Croft 1998, p. 89; Hopper 1995, p. 143).

While news values would seem to predict highly transitive headlines, for instance, news articles rarely deliver event clauses quite like the hypothetical sentence that commonly serves as a textbook event report, "Mary broke the window." However, there are some headlines that are highly transitive. Sample 1 is a headline from an article published in the *New York Times* in 2007, and it displays some key features (Associated Press 2007).

1. Man Throws a Log at a Bear, Killing It
2. Man Throws a Log at a Bear
3. A Bear Dies

In 1 the subject, "man," is a volitional agent of a punctual verb in the historical present, "throws." The object, "a log," is an instrument of the event, and is followed by a locative whose complement is the patient of the event, "a bear." The main clause is followed by a non-finite clause that provides to the event a highly telic aspect and complete affectedness of the object, "killing it." Among the interesting things about this event narrative is the fact that none of the central participants, neither the man nor the bear, denotes an elite person or a celebrity. This is interesting because reference to elite people is a news value, and political figures and celebrities tend to be some of the most common news actors (Bell 1991, p. 194; Galtung and Ruge 1965, pp. 70–71). This event may qualify as newsworthy because of its unexpectedness, a news value, and foregrounding the unexpectedness in 1 depends on narrating it with a high degree of transitivity. If it were narrated with lower transitivity, it would be less likely to qualify as newsworthy. Samples 2 and 3 are revisions of the headline that lower its transitivity in two different ways. Sample 2 removes the non-finite clause that provides the telicity to the event in the original headline. If the narrative involves a man throwing a log at a bear without killing it, its newsworthiness as an event seems to disappear. If the narrative includes a different non-finite clause from the highly telic and affected "killing it", one that is lower in telicity, for instance, like "scaring it," then the event would also be less likely to qualify as newsworthy. Sample 3 decreases the transitivity further, reducing the headline to a single participant clause where that participant is the patient of the event and the agent, if any, is not expressed in the clause, and where the verb has lower kinesis than the original headline, "to throw" versus "to die." Though it could be a legitimate way to narrate the event reported in 1, this way of narrating it would seem to depress its

newsworthiness even further than the version in 2. In reducing its transitivity, it fails to foreground the news values that the original capitalizes on, reference to people and unexpectedness.

If the revision in 3 illustrates the role of transitivity in realizing news values like unexpectedness and reference to people, a related example can show how other news values can deliver newsworthiness in a low transitivity clause. Sample 4 is a headline from the *Toronto Sun* from 2008 (Puxley 2008). In terms of transitivity, sample 4 is very similar to 3, a single participant clause with an elided agent.

4. 'Great' polar bear dies at 41

Despite its low transitivity, the headline foregrounds the newsworthiness of the event because it denotes the unique identity of the bear in question, along with the bear's age. The headline achieves this through the modifier "great," as direct reported speech, and the prepositional phrase "at 41." The article explains that the bear, who had been given the proper name "Debby," had lived in a Winnipeg zoo and had been the world's oldest living polar bear. This is one example of a set of circumstances that could allow a writer to foreground newsworthiness in a low transitivity headline clause like 3. While the death of a bear, or a human being, may be routine, the indication that this is a "celebrity" bear who was the world's oldest contributes to the death qualifying as newsworthy based on its reference to elites (an animal, in this case), and its meeting of a threshold (of age, in this case) (Galtung and Ruge 1965, pp. 70–71).

While human beings can represent prototypical agents in headlines, and therefore contribute to their transitivity, there are many cases of headline clauses that do not foreground human agents, despite their contributions to newsworthiness. There are a number of reasons for this: Sometimes, the journalist cannot identify an agent to which the cause of the event can be ascribed, and to report an agent in lieu of this information would violate professional norms of objectivity. As the *Reuters Handbook for Journalists* puts it, "The cardinal principle which should underlie the work of any news agency is honesty. Its file should be accurate as to fact and balanced as to the selection of facts and of background and interpretation used in putting these facts in context" (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. vii). In a shooting where police detectives have not determined who pulled the trigger, as in the story that accompanies the headline in 5 for instance, it would professionally irresponsible, and even libelous, for a journalist to report the agent of the event (Lieberman and Moran 2008).

5. Phila. man shot to death outside his house

In other cases, the journalist may be able to identify an agent to which the cause of the event can be ascribed, but it not as relevant or as newsworthy as some other feature of the event. This is the situation where a non-elite person is an identifiable agent and an elite person is an identifiable patient, or where the circumstances are what makes the event newsworthy, rather than the participants. In many cases, the salient features of the event, from the perspective of the reporter, do not easily lend themselves to being easily and accurately represented by a clause that

foregrounds two individual human beings, with one acting as an agent who performs a telic act on a patient, who is completely affected. The fact that "hard" news and "spot" news tends to feature events that are more conventionally represented in clauses like this may reflect a consonance between news values and prototypical transitivity.

But despite the prototypicality of this sort of "hard" news, a great many headlines, and news articles, foreground discursive events rather than physical ones, like shootings. This creates a curious tension in newswriting. On the one hand, journalists value hard news – narratives that feature events like fires, accidents, and crimes – as the prototype for all stories, yet much of the narrating in news discourse foregrounds speech events rather than physical events. This tension helps to explain why controversy NPs sometimes function as clausal constituents in headlines and leads. It provides journalists a way of reporting what is speech event in the terms of hard news, allowing them to satisfy this professional and genre priority. Because hard news is the genre prototype, journalists aim to report all news in the terms of hard news, and the style of reporting controversy in headlines and leads is one example of this (Bell 1991, p. 14). Another reason that controversy NPs perform clause participant roles is due to the topicalizing function of headlines and leads. The topics of a news article are expressed in the headlines and leads and that they cue readers for the type of situation and event they should expect to read about in the article (Dijk 1988, p. 40). If headlines and leads are to identify topics, they need to employ categorical abstractions, like event categories, in order to economically guide reader expectations and successfully reproduce the news article genre. Using an event category as a clausal participant can simultaneously classify the main events of the article for the reader while satisfying the need to express what may be soft news in hard news terms.

In headlines, controversy NPs tend to be non-selective, rarely feature determiners, and often appear in natural phenomenon formulas. Newswriting lore suggests that headline NPs always elide determiners, but this happens much more rarely than lore would suggest (Mardh 1980, pp. 113–114). Controversy NPs are particularly likely to appear in headlines without determiners because they are so routinely used in their non-selective senses in news discourse more generally. Whether this constitutes an elision is a difficult question to answer, but comparison to other cases can contribute to an at least partial explanation. Other NPs that often appear in headlines, like "White House" in Sample 6 for instance, appear without determiners (Harris 1996). Cases like these are good examples of elision, since the NP in this case is a proper name that conventionally includes the definite article. Against the standard established by this sedimented usage, the headline mention in 6 can be considered an elision of the definite article.

6. White House Admits Having Background Files

The case of controversy NPs is more complicated because of the greater variety of uses and levels of individuation. Headline controversy NPs without determiners rarely support the kind of presumption of high individuation available in the case of highly conventionalized proper names. In Samples 7 and 8, the controversy NP is

used as the subject of a clause, and both are low-potency agents of the action with low-volitionality. In 7, the object is individuated by a string of attributive adjectives, if not a determiner, "U.S. Senate disaster aid bill," and a non-individuated mention of "controversy" is positioned as the agent which is delaying its passage. Sample 8 is lower in transitivity, but still positions the controversy NP as a clausal subject. In this case, "controversy" is an agent with even lower potency who is not acting on any object, individuated or otherwise. In other words, this is a single-participant clause. Because it is such a low-potency agent and features the verb "to rage," a low-telicity verb that denotes natural, autopoietic processes associated with fires and other natural disasters, this participant is best characterized as a "force" (Fillmore 1977, p. 71).

7. Controversy stalls U.S. Senate disaster aid bill
8. Controversy rages in France over immigration bill
9. Mapplethorpe exhibition sparks London controversy
10. Controversy over sacking of Belgian sex case judge

Sample 9 features a controversy NP as a clausal object. Here it is individuated to a certain extent by an attributive adjective, if not a determiner, "London controversy," and functions as the object in a clause where "Mapplethorpe exhibition" is the subject and agent of the action. As a two-participant clause with a somewhat individuated object, 9 has higher transitivity than Sample 8. While both employ verbs that denote natural processes, Sample 9 selects a more punctual verb than 8, indicating an event with a clearer beginning and end. The punctuality of "to spark" compared to "to rage" helps to account for why a clause like 9 can take an object. Here "Mapplethorpe exhibition" may be the agent, but it is a low-potency one and has low-volitionality. Finally, Sample 10 is non-clausal headline, composed entirely of the controversy NP. As the only NP in the headline, it is the only participant. Some interpret this sort of headline as an elided state clause, e.g. "[There is] Controversy over sacking of Belgian sex case judge," and interpreted this way, it would be a non-agentive participant in a very low transitivity clause (Dijk 1988, p. 36). Despite journalistic lore about "the all important verb" in headlines, nominal headlines are relatively common in news discourse (Mardh 1980, pp. 80–81).

Deciding whether these controversy NPs are instances of determiner elision is difficult in part because of the low deictic selectivity in the headlines more broadly. The controversy NPs themselves are not highly individuated, and the clauses in which they function as participants display low transitivity. This distinguishes them from the individuation and transitivity profile of Sample 6, for example, where it is easier to arrive at a conclusion of determiner elision. Language patterns that lack definiteness markers on nouns, lack interrogative mood, lack past tense, and lack number indicators are the ones speakers and writers routinely use to represent universal, general, and timeless phenomena like those associated with natural forces, processes, or facts (Agha 2007, pp. 43–44). At the most extreme, a pattern of "nomic truths" uses features of non-selectivity to index timeless, generic, facts about the world in which the discourse is occurring (Agha 2007, p. 44). In samples 7 through 10, the lack of determination contributes to the larger patterns

of low selectivity of the clauses. As with many headlines, they are declaratives and their verbs are present tense. They lack number indicators. Despite the individuation contributed by attributive adjectives, they index relatively general and timeless processes. At the same time, some headlines where the controversy NP is a sentence subject, like 7 and to a lesser extent 8, depict it with a degree of agency. In headlines like these, not only is controversy topicalized, but it is positioned as a kind of agent in the event narrated by the headline. Headlines like 7 where an abstraction is granted some agency through the particular transitivity choices are not unusual in news articles, and offer journalists a productive way to simultaneously index the news worthiness of a story, and to economically abstract the longer narrative, a central function of headlines and leads.

5.2 Narrated Participants

The decision-making dialogue, the prototypical location of controversy, emphasizes the role of human agents who function as classical participants taking brief turns making relevant argumentative contributions to a discussion with the purpose of resolving a problem. News discourse, however, often depicts controversy as a kind of natural force that is beyond human agency, locating it far beyond the pragmatic and dialectical interactions of individual human agents. There are good reasons for this pattern, given what we know about the news article genre. Headlines must summarize and abstract articles, and therefore are likely to use abstractions to classify and topicalize events. At the same time, journalists look to "hard" news events as prototypes of news in general, and tend to look for ways to characterize all news in hard news terms. Together, these two seemingly contradictory priorities help to explain why controversy appears as a clausal participant in news headlines. While headlines like 8 use particular transitivity profiles to narrate controversy as a fire or disaster, a prototypical hard news event, the controversy NP occupies the participant role that would be occupied by a fire NP in a hard news story. With this sort of headline, journalists simultaneously meet two goals of the news article genre.

This pattern is not unique to controversy NPs; it is productive in depicting an event where more than one human agent can be conventionally foregrounded as a clausal participant, especially when cause and responsibility is not apparent or is multi-directional, and when the event is non-punctual. Sample 11, from the Reuters corpus, is an example of a headline that exhibits these features.

11. Heavy shooting erupts in Sierra Leone capital

Here the event category "shooting" is the low-potency agent (or force) of a verb depicting a natural process, "to erupt" in a clause that represents low volitionality. Like Sample 8, it presents the event as a self generating and self perpetuating process. Although conventionally we associate human agents and patients with shooting events, as in 5, headline 11 abstracts from any particular exchange of

bullets between one human being and another in order to represent a collection of individual exchanges as an autopoietic eruption.

Among controversy NPs in headlines, there is a pattern where NPs denoting individual human beings fill clause participant roles when the controversy NP is in an adjunct position. Headlines in which the controversy NP fills a participant role itself are more likely to appear with a variety of other participants, some denoting human beings but many to an issue or another event, as in Sample 9 where an "exhibition" is the subject and the controversy NP is the object. Where the controversy NP is a constituent of an adjunct, as in 12, the headline more regularly uses NPs denoting human beings as clausal participants. In this case, "Iran president" is the subject of the clause, while the controversy NP serves as a complement in the adjunct "amid controversy." Here, the adjunct serves as an orientational element, denoting the wide-scale social circumstances of the narrative element denoted by the clause, the arrival of the president.

12. Iran president arriving in S. Africa amid controversy
13. Pope skirts controversy in France, avoids protests
14. Cronenberg courts controversy anew with "Crash"

In Samples 13 and 14 a human being serves as the clausal subject and the controversy NP as the object. The construction "courts controversy" is a formula among controversy instances in the Corpus, and it often takes an NP denoting an individual human agent as a subject. In addition, professional and genre standards contribute to this formula; the particular individual agents in these cases are elite and famous people, identified by proper names, which perhaps explains why they appear as clausal participants. Those headlines where a controversy NP serves as a clausal participant are ones that topicalize controversy more strongly than those where it serves as an adjunct. Yet it is in these cases that individual human agents are backgrounded, and where the headline denotes a naturally occurring and evolving event.

If controversy headlines often depict it as a natural rather than a historical event, an act of god rather than an act of human agency, the news article genre routinely denotes many individual human agents, authorized sources who are more or less particularly named and whose speech is regularly and explicitly reported. This is typical of news discourse in general, which is strongly marked by explicit attributions in order to establish the legitimacy and credibility of its reports (Bell 1991, p. 191). The *Reuters Handbook for Journalists* emphasizes the importance of making sources explicit in news articles: "You should source every story clearly and explicitly for two reasons: to enable your readers or listeners to form their own judgment of its credibility and to protect your company's reputation if a story is challenged" (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. 136). Reported speech provides a way for the writer to convey something without asserting it, to commit oneself to the fact that it was uttered by not necessarily to the assertion that it expresses (Sperber and Wilson 1985, p. 154). This is why it is especially useful for journalists in clarifying their footing, distancing themselves from the commitments and beliefs of their sources. Attributing statements explicitly to sources is a central feature of the

news article genre because it provides a way for journalists to index the objectivity norm that guides the profession.

Journalists select sources based on their access and availability and based on their ability to contribute legitimacy and authority to their narratives. The *Reuters Handbook* provides an explicit hierarchy of sources based on their value to news-writing. The best source is the journalist him or herself or a reliable eyewitness. Short of an eyewitness, the journalist should find a named source. An unnamed source is the weakest option (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). When it comes to referring to sources in the text, the *Handbook* emphasizes that the writer should identify them by name and position because this "carries more weight" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). As a matter of practice, journalists rarely have the opportunity to be eyewitnesses to news events themselves, so the named source is the strongest sourcing option available in many cases. Even when a journalist is an eyewitness, the writing guideline to identify sources by name and position pushes him or her to emphasize others, using "institutional sources for authoritative confirmation of the data he reported" (Roshco 1975, p. 41). As a result of this guideline and the professional norms that undergird it, news discourse is marked by many references to elite and authoritative people. In this way, the guidelines for sourcing and attribution strongly cohere with the news values, and both help to shape news discourse.

Though from a professional and genre standpoint there are many good reasons that journalists seek out elite people as sources and explicitly cite them regularly, this practice plainly privileges the elite, the famous, and the powerful over those with less social, political, and economic power, a bias that some complain violates a basic democratic value of equal access and representation, a value that many apply to news outlets on the grounds that they are a civic institutions. Journalists develop relationships with elite sources and contact them regularly, focusing their attention there because it is the most efficient and effective way for them to do their jobs. It helps them solve the difficult problem of reporting both quickly and authoritatively on news events. Elite people often make the news because they occupy positions that grant them special knowledge about issues and policies of public concern and because they often do things that can have significant effects on a great number of people (Roshco 1975, p. 75). Given the limited resources that an individual journalist or news organization can devote to coverage, then, they tend to focus on elite people because their decisions tend to impact large groups, because they are valuable sources of expert knowledge, and because they count as authorities in sourcing stories, something that is an explicit requirement of news writing. So not only does news fail to represent every person and viewpoint that could be deemed relevant, in principle, to every news narrative, it programmatically prefers a small elite. Though this violates ideals of categorical openness and access posited by many theories of liberal democracy, it resonates in many ways with the participation framework of the classical speaking situation.

While nominating elite people and reporting their speech, journalists simultaneously background their own perspectives. To a great extent, the footing of the journalist is as someone who describes and reports the commitments and standpoints of

sources. This is basic to the indexing of objectivity in news discourse. This is why even when a journalist is an eyewitness to an event he or she will still regularly cite an authoritative source, explicitly naming it and report its speech. While not every part of an article is explicitly attributed, all of the discourse has been borrowed in some sense, sometimes with little rewriting, from prior text, whether it issues from interviews, press releases, other news coverage, official documents, or public addresses, to name a few examples (Bell 1991, pp. 56–57). This is a special case of the situation we all find ourselves in, of course, as every speaker or writer draws explicitly or implicitly on prior text (Becker 1988, p. 26). Journalists draw from many kinds of sources, but typically they only explicitly nominate and report the speech of those that qualify according to sourcing guidelines. So, with all of these things in mind, some large part of the journalist's reporting work is not narrated by news articles. As a result, he or she is left with a dilemma when it comes to writing: Which statements should be explicitly attributed and which should not? The *Reuters Handbook* counsels journalists in this way: "Ideally you should source every statement in every story unless it is an established fact or is information clearly in the public domain" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 136). Most news amounts to what an authoritative source tells a journalist, and newswriting norms explicitly encourage journalists to identify named sources by name and position because this "carries more weight" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). For all of these reasons, we should expect many sentences in news articles to nominate elite human beings and report their speech.

The constructed dialogue formula used by journalists in narrating controversy is one of the ways that they address the controversy participation problem. They use reported speech to construct dialogues among speakers in narrated news events. Determining the cast of participants is a challenge faced by the narrator of any presumably complex social, historical, and discursive conflict. This is a thorny problem because so many parties might be relevant and legitimately claim participant status, yet trying to develop an account that depicted them all would be impractical and perhaps impossible. Choosing a cast of participants is part of the larger problem of determining and delimiting context, where for any given event some uncountable number of statements, locations, and frames of reference at many scales of abstraction might, in principle, apply (Dijk 2008, pp. 19–20; Irvine 1996, p. 157; Schegloff 1997, pp. 165–166). This presents a daunting challenge to the writer or speaker who aspires to present an accurate and complete account of a controversy.

One way of addressing this problem is to narrate the event, nominating participants by composing sentences that name them and position them as agents of actions that count as central to the narrative, but this is more a way to bid for a particular cast of participants than a justification for such a cast. In traditional practice, there is little need for a justification, especially when the event has developed a cardinal narrative, its cast of participants well established through entextualization and recontextualization (Haviland 1996, pp. 73–75; Park and Bucholtz 2009, p. 492). By replicating well established narratives that reiterate a particular cast of participants, the investigator contributes to the canonization of the event (Urban 1996, p. 33). When a cast is well-established or the selection principles for

determining one are codified by well-established generic or professional norms, there would seem to be little reason to bother deciding why it is a relevant or to otherwise justify including some participants while excluding others. Doing so would not only upset narrative coherence, but it would raise questions about the veridical status of the narrative by drawing attention to its principles of inclusion and exclusion and its other necessary limitations.

Well-established or not, a cast of participants in a narrated controversy is the result of a series of choices rather than an objective and comprehensive accounting. Journalists nominate and report the speech of participants in controversy narratives based on the professional norms of journalism, and they depict controversy, in part, as a pragmatic event involving these participants as interlocutors in a narrated dialogue. As a matter of professional practice, reporting work involves recruiting, nominating, and reporting the words of participants for news narratives. By contacting sources and asking for comment, journalists recruit participants. By naming them explicitly in their texts, they nominate them (Sinclair and Brazil 1982, p. 50; Van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 52–53). When they report their speech, journalists occupy an author footing in relation to their sources, even in the case of so-called direct reporting, because they select the words they will re-use and recontextualize those words toward their own purposes within their texts (Bell 1991, p. 42). Constructing dialogue is a process of recontextualization, and in many cases entextualization whereby particular stretches of the speech or writing of sources are selected – sometimes transcribed from speech to writing and sometimes summarized and paraphrased – and these stretches are presented in the new context of a news article and its silent reading situation (Haviland 1996, pp. 73–75). So when journalists report on controversy, they nominate and report the speech of particular speakers as participants in the narrated event.

5.3 Profiles

The participants in the narrated event are the various speakers and actors denoted by news articles. Other participants include those involved in the reading situation, the interaction between text artifact and reader, and, for instance, those involved in the production and delivery of the text artifact, like reporters, editors, sources, and the many other people involved in publishing and delivering news articles. Who or what counts as a participant in the narrated events of news reports is a function of what and how journalists decide to write, and like other writers and speakers, they enjoy a number of options for introducing and managing participants in narrative.

Among the ways that journalists nominate speakers in news narratives, individually and collectively, is by constructing profiles. A profile is a pattern of reported speech attributed to a specific speaker or a collectivity that speaks on his or her behalf (Bergler 2006, p. 14). Bergler's paradigm case of a profile occurs in an article about a conflict between Democrats and Republicans in the US Senate. The profile structure in her example shows how the news article functions to create a coherent,

Table 5.2 Bergler's profile structure

Source: Sen. Packwood **Verb**: acknowledged **Reported speech**: "We don't have the votes for cloture today."	
	Source: The Republicans **Verb**: contend **Reported speech**: they can garner a majority in the 100-member Senate for a capital-gains tax cut. **Source**: They **Verb**: accuse **Reported speech**: the Democrats of unfairly using Senate rules to erect a 60-vote hurdle
Source: Democrats **Verb**: asserted **Reported speech**: the proposal, which also would create a new type of individual retirement account, was fraught with budget gimmickry that would lose billions of dollars in the long run.	

narrated standpoint called "Democrats" and one called "Republicans." The profiles in her kernel article are summarized in Table 5.2.

The initial profile coheres through a meronymic link between "Senator Packwood" and "the Republicans," for instance, where Packwood is an individual member of the superordinate class, a cohesive link that presumes prior knowledge of the reader. The third mention in the Republican profile uses a pronoun anaphora, "they," to reference "the Republicans." The fourth instance of reported speech attributes to "Democrats" a complaint about the Republican proposal, an instance that introduces a new speaker. As Bergler notes in her analysis, this is a case where the profiles narrated by the text and the conventional standpoints and relationships associated with them conveniently overlap. In other words, if there is a high degree of coherence to the each of the standpoints narrated by the article "Democrats" and "Republicans," it is both a matter of the text helping to craft this coherence and also a matter of our experience with prior texts which narrate and presume political party coherence. Of course, political parties have varying degrees of coherence, the orientation of a given member of a party can change depending upon the particular problem or issue, and even the strongest consensus is often built on a wide range of motives, commitments and expressions of loyalty.

Bergler's example is convenient in that it happens to report on two parties that are conventionally represented in the news and other discourse as internally coherent and externally polarized in their orientation to one another; based on prior text, readers approach a news report like this with some presumptions about their coming pre-packaged with relatively discrete boundaries. All of this contributes to a sense that there is a sort of natural coherence to a news profile, and that the work of the

Table 5.3 Reported speech profile for Birnbaum

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine); said	
Sen. Mitchell; said	
	Sen. Bob Packwood (R., Ore.), the leading Republican proponent of the tax cut; didn't disagree
	he; said
	he; had said
	Sen. Packwood; acknowledged
	they; threatened [Republicans]
	Kansas Sen. Robert Dole, the Senate Republican leader; said
	The Republicans; contend
	They; accuse
Democrats; counter	
Democrats; asserted	
	Republicans; countered

news writer is reflective rather than constructive. Beyond this, her example is convenient in that the article is ordered in such a way as to suggest conversational turn taking in a decision making dialogue; all of the reported speech of one party occurs in serial order within the article (i.e. Packwood, the Republicans, they) and then it is followed by a response from the other (i.e. "the Democrats"). This dialogue structure is also represented by the reporting verbs used, "acknowledged," "contend," "accuse," and "asserted." These contribute to the sense that the parties are addressing one another directly, in a point by point fashion. They also are marked as non-neutral choices compared with "to say," which tends to dominate the reporting verbs in news discourse precisely it is usually taken to be neutral. In the Reuters Corpus, for instance, "to accuse" is quite rare compared to "to say."

Given all of these features, Bergler's example would seem to be a very unusual news article, hardly representative of the genre. In fact, strictly speaking the text is not a news article, as it was published, but an example that has been adapted and recontextualized from a news article originally entitled "Democrats Plan Tactic to Block Tax-Cut Vote" (Bergler 2006, p. 12). The original article was published in the *Wall Street Journal*, and is longer and more complicated than Bergler's redesigned version (Birnbaum 1989). While the adaptation may be appropriate for Bergler's purposes, developing a formal model for computational analysis, the differences between it and the original are instructive for the purposes of understanding narrated participants in news articles. If we analyze the original article, we can see that the selected portions focused heavily on speech act quotatives, rather than the more routine verbs of saying that dominate reported speech in news discourse. Table 5.3 presents the reported speech attributions and verbs from Birnbaum's original article, with the speech act quotatives in **bold**, and the routine verbs of saying in regular text. Because the original text does not necessarily present all of the reported speech from one profile in order, followed by all the reported speech from the other, I have shifted from Bergler's conventions to a side-by-side layout. Each row presents an

instance of reported speech in the order in which it appears in the article, while each column presents a profile.

The analysis of the original article shows that while it contains a number of speech act quotatives, it also contains a number of routine ones, with "to say" predominating. The redesigned version in Bergler highlights a section late in the article, which is dominated by speech act quotatives and uses these to construct a conflict dialogue between the profiles. This section of the article serves as a useful example of a profile because it a case where the parties, their interests, and the way that their statements are represented all cohere. The journalist in this passage has constructed a relatively direct dialogue among profiles, one that approaches the engagement of the dialogue prototype. The work of the journalist in this case helps clarify the profiles of "Democrats" and "Republicans," making this late section of the article particularly attractive as an object of study for investigators with a priority on dialectical exchange.

However, the early instances of reported speech in the article, the ones that are elided in Bergler's adaptation, are also interesting and certainly contribute to the narrated event. The first two instances of reported speech are attributed to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who is discussing the tactics that his party will use to block a vote in the Senate. In the first instance, the journalist writes that Mitchell "said he intends to use Senate procedures to force advocates of the tax cut to come up with at least 60 votes"; in the second instance, the journalist directly quotes Mitchell, writing, "'The 60-vote requirement will be there and they don't have the 60 votes,' Sen. Mitchell said. 'They don't have the votes to get it passed'" (Birnbaum 1989). In the next paragraph, the journalist cites Republican Bob Packwood, writing, "Sen. Bob Packwood (R. Ore.), the leading Republican proponent of the tax cut, didn't disagree. 'I'm not sure what's going to happen,' he said" (Birnbaum 1989). These first several instances of reported speech in the article are quite different than those from the section that concerns Bergler. They use routine speech verbs, and do not contribute to a constructed dialogue depicting a conflict between two profiles. Ultimately both Mitchell and Packwood agree that the Democrats can force Republicans to marshal 60 votes, and that the Republicans probably will not be able to do this. That the first four instances of reported speech in the article function in this way should not be surprising since this reported speech provides the evidence for the main event being reported in the article, the blocking of the vote which is foregrounded in the headline and lead. The analysis of the original article helps to show how the journalist has attempted to achieve the central purpose of the genre, reporting events, while maintaining professional norms of sourcing. The first instances of reported speech in the article serve a basic accountability purpose, one that the *Reuters Handbook* ascribes to sourcing: "to enable your readers or listeners to form their own judgment of its credibility and to protect your company's reputation if a story is challenged" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 136). Especially in the first two citations of Mitchell, the journalist is performing this witnessing of his sources for the event reported in the headline and lead, the witnessing recommended by professional norms and guidelines.

5.4 Witness Citations

In highlighting the witnessing function, the journalist attributes a statement to a source in order to clarify his or her lack of commitment to its truth value while simultaneously highlighting his or her strong commitment to the fact that the statement was uttered by the source that he or she has referenced. The *Reuters Handbook* puts this in both positive and negative terms, emphasizing on the one hand how attributing a statement to a source helps "to enable your readers or listeners to form their own judgment of its credibility" and on the other hand how it helps "to protect your company's reputation if a story is challenged" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 136). In this way, reported speech and attribution naturally serve the needs of the profession, allowing journalists to index the objectivity norm by limiting their commitments to the veracity of statements that they report by drawing careful and explicit lines of responsibility between their own statements and those of their sources.

The *Reuters Handbook* ranks the eyewitness as the best kind of source possible for the journalist (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). This guideline is telling, in that it seems to assume that all news events are like hard news or spot news, where the role of eyewitness can be particularly important, functioning like it might in a courtroom. At the scene of a murder, the reporter should seek out a neighbor who heard shots fired, or a police detective who just walked out of the house after having documented the crime scene and interrogated suspects. In lieu of eyewitnesses, the *Handbook* advises journalists to seek out an authoritative source, someone who has the authority to make decisions on the matter, or an official source, who is often a spokesperson for an authoritative source (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). There are two kinds of entitlement that are relevant for reporters in this kind of situation, one that grants authority to engage in public discourse and one that grants history-making authority; typically speakers with the second sort also have the first sort, but those with the first do not always have the second (Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 158). This explains the case of the official spokesperson, who often is authorized to speak to a reporter in the footing of author, but does so only on behalf of a principal, a history-making authority or an eyewitness. Consider sample 15 where an official spokesperson is cited, but reports the experience of an eyewitness (Associated Press 2009).

15. An American fighter jet crashed early Saturday in central Afghanistan because of mechanical problems, killing two crew members, officials said. Col. Greg Julian, a United States military spokesman, said the pilot of a second fighter aircraft flying alongside saw no evidence of hostile fire.

The eyewitness from the other plane is presumably not authorized as a public speaker, so the reporter has narrated the event by attributing it to the best source available given a number of constraints likely involving military policy and procedure. The jet crash in 15 is just the sort of event that can be addressed through the handbook guidelines that recommend eyewitnesses as the best sources. It is a highly punctual and telic action. The central participants in the event, the two crew members in the plane that crashed, are dead and therefore unavailable for comment.

5.5 Interlocutor Citations

Not all reported speech depicts an event witness, however. For some news events, for instance those that develop relatively slowly, sources are available for comment on the record as the event happens. In these cases, journalists can cite them not only as witnesses to events but as interlocutors. This distinction is important in order to understand how reported speech supports journalists' building of profiles and constructed dialogues. Bergler's kernel example is made up exclusively of interlocutor citations, featuring the standpoints and speech of narrated participants and attributions to same. One important assumption made in the discussion of profiles is that all instances of reported speech are this kind, that the source to which the statement is attributed is the principal who is describing his or her argumentative standpoint and commitment in a decision-making dialogue rather than an eyewitness describing what he or she saw. Bergler makes this explicit when she notes that her kernel example where two profiles are interleaved in a constructed decision-making dialogue representing brief alternating turns is typical of the news article genre (Bergler 2006, p. 14). As we have seen, there may be good reasons to be suspicious about how typical the example is. Although it may not typify the news article genre, it does illustrate how journalists construct profiles in dialogue using one particular kind of reported speech, among other types of citation and their functions.

One of the textual features of interlocutor citation is a common identity established between the clausal participants in the matrix clause and in the reported clause. This is an important feature of profile building. Sample 16 presents one of the sentences that Bergler uses as an example of a merged profile. Note the cohesive link between the subject of the reported clause and the subject of the matrix clause. In this case, the first is an anaphoric reference to the second.

16. The Republicans contend that they can garner a majority in the 100-member Senate for a capital-gains tax cut.

This anaphora helps establish the overlap between the source and the standpoint expressed in the reported speech. In this case the Republicans are being cited as sources for a decision making event that they also directly participate in (or might in the future). Sample 17 is a two-sentence passage from later in the article, where the Democrats are being cited. In this case, there in no anaphora between the subject of the matrix clause and that of the reported speech clause, but instead a case of lexical cohesion between the subject of the previous sentence "the two sides" and the subject of the matrix clause, "Democrats." This is a subordinate lexical reiteration.

17. The two sides also traded accusations about the cost of the Packwood plan. Democrats asserted that the proposal, which also would create a new type of individual retirement account, was fraught with budget gimmickry that would lose billions of dollars in the long run.

As for the subject of the reported speech clause, it also points back to the previous sentence. Here "the proposal" is a lexical reiteration of "the Packwood plan." With

the first sentence, the journalist summarizes the constructed dialogue he has been presenting in the text, and provides a way to integrate the reported speech of the Democrats with that of the Republicans. By presenting the "Democrats" as one of the "two sides" in this event, and "the Packwood plan" as the problem, the journalist is citing a source, "the Democrats," to report a decision making event in which they are engaged interlocutors.

The overlap between cited source and interlocutor in constructed dialogue that is so prominent in this example does not represent all reported speech in news discourse. When Republicans are cited as a source for the contentions of Republicans, it is naturally because they are the most authoritative source available to the journalist on this topic. But this speaks to the particular kind of events that are in play in this example, slowly unfolding with a number of transitional phases, and to the particular entitlements of the sources. It is not only that Bob Packwood, for example, "exercises real authority on the issue in question," as the *Reuters Handbook* puts it, but that, as a Senator, he can say and do things that create, modify, and resolve the issue (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). This is a particularly strong sense of authority and owes, in part, to the fact that this is a matter of legislative policy and that he is a legislator. Like many other kinds of entitled political leaders, he has a recognized and codified authority to change and intervene in the news events that the journalist wants to narrate; he is a participant in *res gestae* and therefore has the power to make and change history (Harris 2004, p. 171; Kaufer and Butler 1996, p. 158). The Republicans who are cited in the example are not simply eyewitnesses to the events being reported, but they are entitled interlocutors who are directly involved in creating those events through their talk.

5.6 Address Citations

A particular variety of interlocutor citation is the address citation, where the journalist attributes to one profile a comment about another profile. This formula provides a way for journalists to depict the addressing of one profile by another in the manner of interlocutors in a constructed dialogue. Address citations commonly exploit speech act quotatives, as these often allow or even require some indirect object in addition to the speech that is being reported. Bergler's kernel example presents a address citation; note this in the structure of 18, where the subject of the matrix clause is a pronoun anaphora referring back to "the Republicans" and the indirect object, the narrated addressee, is a collective name for the other profile in the article, "the Democrats."

18. They accuse the Democrats of unfairly using Senate rules to erect a 60-vote hurdle.

Though the matrix subject, the narrated addresser, and the indirect object, the narrated addressee, represent different and even conflicting profiles, the reported speech

itself represents the standpoint of the matrix subject. It is for this reason that the address citation is a variety of interlocutor citation.

5.7 Irrealis Citations

Some instances of reported speech negatively attribute to speakers statements they did not make. In these cases, the journalist narrates a speech event by reporting speech that was not uttered, but may have been expected to be uttered based on the reputation of the speaker or on the circumstances of the main events of the article. In 19, the journalist uses an irrealis citation when he or she attributes to Salla his failing to explain "what percentage of farm earnings the taxes constituted."

19. in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi, Salla urged the government to review taxation policies to save the sector. He did not say what percentage of farm earnings the taxes constituted. The TCB is a parastatal body that acts as a government

The irrealis citation provides a way for the journalist to demonstrate his or her bona fides by simultaneously hewing to the guideline that all statements should be sourced while informing the reader that even if he or she might expect the information in the irrealis citation to appear in this article, an authoritative source specifically did not provide it (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 136). The outcome is a kind of paralipsis, where the journalist narrates a speech event even while simultaneously acknowledging that it did not occur. In the matrix clause, the journalist uses a negator with the verb of saying in order to produce an irrealis citation. Note that the irrealis qualities denoted by this formula are qualities of events as they are narrated by journalists. Whether Salla actually did or did not address the issue of farm earnings in taxation in some talk or writing in some other place besides the passage from the news article is irrelevant to identifying 19 as an irrealis citation. What is relevant is the way that the event is narrated in the news article and how this helps to shape our experience of public controversy.

5.8 Profiles in Controversy Stories

In the Reuters Corpus, there are 117 articles with a controversy NP in the headline, and 114 articles with a controversy NP in the lead sentence. Of these, 16 articles contain a controversy NP in both headline and lead. These articles are strongly topicalized controversy stories. The profiles in these articles include a number of constructed dialogue formulas that journalists use to narrate controversy. Sometimes journalists are in the position of narrating a spoken interaction that actually occurred, for instance a staged debate among political candidates, a deliberation among legislators, or a courtroom exchange. In other cases, they use the news article to narrate a dialogue among speakers who may have never interacted with one another.

They design constructed dialogues that will narrate the talk and writing of sources, from interviews, press conferences, and official documents, etc., as a pragmatic event, as a kind of dialogic interaction among them. In either case, the journalist participates in controversy by recontextualizing the talk and writing of sources from earlier times and other places to the narrated event of the news article and, by extension, to a silent reading situation. The following sections present case studies of constructed dialogue formulas at work in controversy reporting.

5.9 Engaged Dialogue Formula: Cargo Air

A strongly topicalized controversy story entitled "Controversy grows over cargo air collision gear" narrates a participation framework from the headline and lead into the body of the article that begins by foregrounding the event as a participant and ultimately nominates and categorizes human beings as interlocutors in a constructed dialogue. The headline 20 and lead 21 make "controversy" the sole participant in single-participant clauses, a natural phenomenon formula, and the lead presents the controversy NP as a subject of clause within reported speech.

20. Controversy grows over cargo air collision gear
21. The controversy over collision avoidance equipment on cargo aircraft is heating up in the United States with Congress scheduling hearings on the issue later this month, cargo executives said Tuesday.

In the headline, the controversy NP in the natural phenomenon formula is not highly individuated and the formula has low selectivity while in the lead it more individuated, with a definite article along with a post modifier and is more selective, an historical event formula. This instance functions like an esphoric initial mention, a definite NP postmodified with a relative clause that contributes enough definition to the NP for it to function independently enough to not require considerable world knowledge or a previous or subsequent mention in the text (Du Bois 1980, p. 223). In this case, the event NP in the headline is deictically non-selective; it doesn't refer to any particular controversy. However, the event NP in the lead does. Does that make the NP in the headline the initial mention?

This is a difficult question that underscores the ways in which news articles are different from unplanned spoken narratives, for instance. Because each news article should be designed to function autonomously from the rest of news coverage, and because of the abstracting function of headlines and leads, we should expect mentions of participants to be somewhat independent of their order in the sequence of text. This helps to explain the commonness of esphoric reference in historical event formulas. The relationship between headline and lead, however, is unique in the sense that both have the same function, the headline being an abstract of the lead, and the lead being an abstract of the article. So the lexical repetition that we see in strongly topicalized controversy stories is predicted by the genre. This repetition is evidence of the topicality,

in that the writer of the headline, who by professional convention is not the writer of the article, read the lead sentence and decided that the controversy NP was relevant enough to the central events of the article to reiterate in the headline.

By comparing 20 and 21, we can see how the headline writer abstracts from the lead. In this case, the historical event formula of the controversy NP in 21 is abstracted into a natural phenomenon formula featuring the controversy NP in 20. In the process the "over" prepositional phrase, a postmodifier in 21, becomes a clausal adjunct in the headline. The headline foregrounds the event type, i.e. "controversy," and its topic and backgrounds circumstances that the lead mentions, like the location, "in the United States"; "Tuesday," the motivating events "with Congress scheduling hearings," and the attribution to sources "cargo executives said." By abstracting from the more selective NP in the lead to a less selective one in the headline, the writer decreases the selectivity of the NP, leaving it to index not a particular event, but a general state of affairs, venue, or scene setting that readers might anticipate in the article. The headline NP is not so much an initial mention of any narrative participant but a generic topic name that has been positioned as the single clause participant. The lead NP reiterates the event category and the classifying function but increases its selectivity through the historical event formula. Though they are related by their order, proximity, and function, both operate as autonomous mentions, designed to be read as free-standing accounts. This is in keeping with the overall design of the genre. A news article should be consumable by readers at many degrees of commitment and interest, including very shallow headline scanning.

Early in the article, in the lead paragraph, we see the first instance of reported speech. Here, the journalist attributes the account of the main event of the article, the fact that a controversy is heating up, to "cargo executives." As the subject of the matrix clause for the reported speech, "cargo executives" is also the first of the article's reported speech profiles (see Table 5.4). As in many cases where controversy is used as a clausal subject, the headline and lead here join it with verbs that denote gradual physical processes (i.e. "to grow", "to heat up"). The first instance of reported speech is a witness citation which attributes to a source the fact that the main event of the article is happening, the heating up of the controversy, while many of the later instances are interlocutor citations where statements and standpoints are reported and attributed to the narrated participants themselves.

The reference to "cargo executives" is what Bergler calls a "merged profile" and what van Leeuwen calls "categorisation," a way of naming a collection of narrated participants who are presented as if they all speak together and for one another (Bergler 2006, p. 14; Van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 52–53). Tracing down the first column, note other nominations and categorizations of individual and collective representatives of and spokespeople for the executives, Steve Alterman, Ken Shapero, and "the carriers." This profile itself is also part of a higher-level profile, which categorizes the "industry participants," a term that refers within the narrated event to both cargo executives and pilots. Column 2 represents the merged profile for "the pilots" and their representatives and spokespeople, such as Bob Flocke. Columns 3 and 4 present the profiles for two experts that are neither executives or pilots, nor are they positioned as representatives of any common organization or identity.

Table 5.4 Reported speech profiles for cargo air

cargo executives; said			
Steve Alterman, president of the Washington-based Air Freight Association; said			
Alterman; said			
interviews with industry participants; showed			
	Airline Pilots Association spokesman Bob Flocke; according to		
	The pilots; favour		
	They; have called for		
		Tom Mullinix, senior program manager for Allied-Signal Commercial Avionics Systems for Airborne Collision Avoidance System (ACAS) and TCAS; said	
Alterman; said			
the carriers; said			
		Mullinix; said	
Ken Shapero, a spokesman for United Parcel Service in St. Louis; said			
Shapero; said			
			Tom Williamson, the Federal Aviation Administration's Traffic Alert and Collision Avoidance Systems program manager; said

Unlike the profiles in Bergler's kernel example, political parties, these are not conventional for news readers and therefore the journalist must make a number of explicit text cohesive links among them in order to make them function within the event narrative as profiles. It is through proximity in the text and through the post-modifier "president of the Washintgton-based Air Freight Association," for instance, that the reader learns that Steve Alterman can be taken to be a member of

the profile of "cargo executives." In a similar way, readers learn through a premodifier that Bob Flocke is an "Airline Pilots Association spokesman." These modifiers not only create cohesive links within the text that support the journalist's profile building strategies, they also help to index credibility for both the journalist and for the source. The *Reuters Handbook* encourages journalists in this: "A source identified by name as well as by position carries more weight" (Macdowall and Reuters ltd. 1992, p. 137). So the journalist uses pre and post modifiers in order to create the textual cohesion that in turn supports the cohesion of the profiles that are being narrated by the text.

Along with the pre and post modifiers that contribute to the cohesion of profiles across the text, many of the instances of reported speech within profiles use interlocutor citations. The structure of the interlocutor citation itself provides cohesion at the sentence level. In Sample 22, for instance, the pronoun subject of the reported speech clause, "we", forms a cataphoric reference to the proper name subject of the matrix clause "Steve Alterman." The journalist presumes the reader will take Alterman to be a member of the collectivity indicated by the pronoun, and by attributing the statement to him, the journalist narrates him as a spokesperson. Of course, the post modifier that indicates his role as president of an industry group underscores his social identity as an entitled participant.

22. "We recognise the need to put in collision avoidance systems," Steve Alterman, president of the Washintgton-based Air Freight Association, said.

In the case of the other profile in the constructed dialogue, the pilots, the journalist also uses interlocutor citation. In Sample 23 for instance, the subject of the reported clause "several airline pilots groups" coheres with the NP in the adjunct that creates the attribution, "Bob Flocke." Flocke is made to count as a participant because he is linked meronymically as a member and spokesman of the collectivity represented by the subject of the reported clause.

23. Several airline pilots groups have asked the Federal Aviation Administration and the White House Commission on Aviation Security and Safety to require collision avoidance equipment on cargo aircraft, according to Airline Pilots Association spokesman Bob Flocke.

Interlocutor citations are important elements of profiles because they are those places in the text where the journalist can narrate the comments and standpoints of speakers, and join those speakers to larger collectivities. By linking speakers with one another across the text and by linking statements and standpoints with speakers through reported speech attributions, journalists can simultaneously draw the boundary between themselves and their sources, which is so important to the norms of the profession, and narrate a coherent profile and its standpoint in a constructed dialogue.

While journalists could use a profile in isolation, representing a single standpoint, they often also use interlocutor citation to construct dialogues among profiles. Sample 24 is an example from the air cargo article where the journalist uses interlocutor citation to narrate the dialogue itself.

24. [5] While all sides seem to agree that installing collision avoidance systems on cargo aircraft was a worthy goal, exactly what system is hotly disputed, interviews with industry participants showed.

This passage narrates exclusively categorizations, abstractions, and collectivities, with the journalist introducing "all sides" and "industry participants" as a superordinate profile. While "interviews with industry participants" is the subject of the matrix clause, it represents a lexical reiteration, by synonym, of the subject of the subordinate clause in the reported speech "all sides." Both of these references cohere by elision with the backgrounded agent of the main clause, "exactly what system is hotly disputed." Presumably the reader can recover "all sides" as the agent that is doing the disputing. In 24, then, the journalist creates a superordinate participant called "all sides" and attributes its standpoint to the interviews that he or she has conducted with people in the airline industry. From those standpoints represented by specific profiles of the executives and pilots to the superordinate standpoint represented by "all sides" and "industry participants," the journalist has introduced a number of speakers at many levels of individuation and abstraction, from nominating by proper name, denoting individual human beings, to categorizing by proper name, pronoun, and generic plurals, denoting organizations and abstract standpoints.

In 24, the journalist brings all participants together in order to set the issue for the constructed dialogue, explicitly articulating the general points of agreement and disagreement. Having narrated the point of agreement in the dialogue, that they need collision avoidance system on cargo aircraft, and the point of disagreement, the question of which system should be implemented, the journalist then narrates the standpoints of each profile, executives and pilots, along with the comments about the technical qualities of each system delivered through witness citations.

25. [7] The pilots favour a system called Traffic Alert and Collision Avoidance Systems (TCAS), which is used in passenger aircraft. They have called for all U.S. cargo planes to be so equipped by the end of 1998.
26. [8] The Traffic Alert system costs between $100,000 and $200,000 per aircraft, including labour, Tom Mullinix, senior program manager for Allied-Signal Commercial Avionics Systems for Airborne Collision Avoidance System (ACAS) and TCAS, said.
27. [9] The industry thinks a different system, the Automatic Dependent Surveillance-Broadcast (ADSB), would be better, Alterman said.
28. [10] The Automatic Dependent system is still under development, but the carriers said it could be deployed as quickly as the Traffic Alert system and at much less cost. Although not technically a collision avoidance system, it could be used for that purpose.

Sample 25 is the seventh paragraph of the article, where "the pilots" appear as a subject of a speech act quotative "favour," and their preference for one system is highlighted, TCAS. Sample 27 presents the other profile as an opposing standpoint

in a dialogue, by positioning "the industry" as the subject of a cognitive verb "thinks" and highlights their preference for a different system, ADSB. In the reported speech clause, the journalist uses "different" and "better" as adversative conjunctives to draw a cohesive link between 27 and 25 (Halliday and Hasan 1976, pp. 242–243). In this case the standpoint is narrated with a interlocutor citation, with Alterman as the subject of the matrix clause. Samples 26 and 28 present technical details about each system, creating cohesive links with the standpoint sentences through lexical reiteration of system names. The information about TCAS presented in 26 is attributed to Tom Mullinix in a witness citation, and the information about ADSB in 28 is attributed to one of the profiles, "the carriers," in a witness citation. Perhaps because the profiles themselves are not qualified to witness for the value of the systems and/or because they have been narrated as interlocutors in a decision-making dialogue about the issue which appears to present a conflict of interest, the journalist follows 28 with 29 and 30, witness citations that attribute information about ADSB to Mullinix, and to Shapero.

29. [11] There are "years of work to do (on ADSB)," Mullinix said.
30. [12] "The difference is that ADSB is more accurate, it works at less than 1,000 feet (333 meters), which the other does not," said Ken Shapero, a spokesman for United Parcel Service in St. Louis.

While the information provided in Mullinix's reported speech seems to serve the interests of one of the profiles, he is not presented as a member of either. Shapero, on the other hand, would seem to be a member of the "executives" profile, given his title. With this in mind, 30 reiterates the combination of a dialogue interlocutor delivering a witness citation that seems be at work in 28. Of course, the journalist must work with his or her limited access to sources and limited time to report, write, and publish the article. Despite the fact that some liberal democratic ideals of fairness and balance would insist on the citation of a non-interlocutor witness for the ADSB system, the journalist did not provide one in this case. Whatever the limitations of this passage against such ideals, the journalist has constructed a decision-making dialogue between two profiles, narrating, through the building of profiles and the use of interlocutor citation, two argumentative standpoints that she has put in opposition.

5.10 Irrealis Dialogue Formula: Pope

Another controversy story entitled "Pope skirts religious controversy in France" narrates a different pattern of participation. Unlike the cargo air article which foregrounds the event category, making it the single participant in the clause, this one places the Pope as the agent of the action in the headline and the lead and makes the controversy NP is the grammatical object in both. Unlike the cargo air article, this one narrates a controversy as an event that did not happen. In fact, its having failed to occur helps to make this a newsworthy story. Given the reporting in this article, the Pope getting involved in this controversy is characterized as expected, so his

Table 5.5 Reported speech profile for Pope

he; said		
he; said		
the Pope; praised		
he; hailed		
Neither the Pope nor Chirac; used		
the Pope; used		
	Chirac; said	
	Chirac; said, **praised**	
		Unknown attackers; had scrawled
he; praised		
he; balanced		
the Pontiff; told		
the Pope; joked		
he; avoided suggesting		

avoiding it would qualify the event as newsworthy on the news value of unexpectedness. And since it features the Pope, the event, or irrealis event, is justified as newsworthy based on the involvement of an elite person.

31. Pope skirts religious controversy in France
32. Pope John Paul, on the first day of a gruelling four-day trip to France, skirted controversy over the role of the Church and his moral teachings on Thursday to stress solidarity with the poor and the sick.

The headline 31 and lead 32 make the "Pope" the grammatical subject and agent of an action "to skirt," with the controversy NP as the grammatical object. The headline and lead denote the main event of the article with relatively high transitivity, an action involving the Pope as an agent and controversy as an object. As is generally the case with news discourse, however, much of the rest of the article uses verbs of saying to report the speech of authoritative sources, and uses witness and interlocutors citations to construct dialogues among them. What is interesting in this case is that much of the reported speech from sources resists easy incorporation with the main event reported in the headline and lead. Table 5.5 presents the reported speech profiles for the article.

The first instance of reported speech comes in paragraph 4, where the journalist uses a interlocutor citation to characterize the Pope's standpoint. This is a case of interlocutor citation because the subject of the reported clause "I" is an anaphoric reference to the subject of the matrix clause "he."

33. [4] After private talks with Chirac in Tours, he said: "I am mindful of the fact that French society faces many problems as, for example, an economic crisis which is also the case for many countries throughout the world.
34. [5] "My thoughts go first to all those who are suffering trials of all sorts, particularly those who must bear with poverty, to those who are victims of prejudice, or bias, those who lack security and those who are ill," he said.

In both 33 and 34, the journalist reports the Pope's standpoint on problems of poverty and injustice, his efforts "to stress solidarity with the poor and the sick" that the journalist mentions in the lead. However, the Pope's profile here would not seem to present a coherent standpoint in a dialogical opposition to some other profile, as was the case in the air cargo article. The Pope's talk from an earlier time and other place presents some relevance problems to the journalist in the effort to recontextualize it into a constructed dialogue in the news narrative. As the headline and lead illustrate, the article narrates the Pope as a participant in a religious controversy, a role that the Pope's recontextualized talk does not necessarily ground.

The second profile in the article features the reported speech of Jacques Chirac, who also seems to be "on message" and whose comments demonstrate solidarity with the Pope. In samples 35 and 36, the journalist cites Chirac as an interlocutor, where he speaks for France.

35. [9] Chirac said France was "proud of its roots" as a nation that blended secular traditions of the 1789 Revolution, respectful of religious freedom, with a history of spirituality. Most of France's 58 million people are nominal Catholics.
36. [10] Chirac said the Holy See and France stood together to promote "tolerance, dignity, justice and peace", and praised the Pope as a "tireless pilgrim of the absolute".

In 35, the subject of the reported clause "France" is an anaphoric reference to the subject of the matrix clause "Chirac," with Chirac nominated as the entitled speaker to represent the country's standpoint. Sample 36 combines a interlocutor citation with a witness citation, where Chirac is speaking for France while speaking about the Pope. This is a way for the journalist to narrate the two profiles in dialogue, but in this case it is a dialogue of accord rather than opposition. This accord is represented in the text through the mixing of interlocutor and witness citation itself, through the speech act quotative "to praise," and through the additive conjunctive relation "together."

The third profile in the article consists of one instance of reported speech attributed to "unknown attackers." It is part of a paragraph that provides background information to the main event of the article (Dijk 1988, p. 53). In 37, the journalist makes "unknown attackers" the subject of the matrix clause while the reported speech comes from the graffiti that they wrote. While the graffiti itself is not a clause, per se, the Pope is topicalized and the attackers do not directly refer to themselves, making this is a witness citation.

37. [11] After visiting Tours, the Pope made a helicopter pilgrimage to a shrine in Saint-Laurent-sur-Sevre where a crude bomb was defused two weeks ago. Unknown attackers had scrawled "In nomine-Pope-BOOM!" on the wall of the crypt.

The fact that this graffiti presents a threat to bomb a shrine in the name of the Pope connects the attackers to the Pope in what would have to be considered an adversative relation. But while it is a bomb threat, the reported speech does not present an explicitly articulated argumentative standpoint, to say the least, beyond some general sense of aggression and contradiction. As part of a background information paragraph,

this profile is less a contribution to a constructed dialogue that the journalist has narrated than it is one of the orientational elements of the article. Through the use of temporal conjunctives like "after visiting Tours" and "two weeks ago" and the use of the witness citation featuring the graffiti writers, the journalist narrates the profile at some remove in both time and space from the narrated participants in constructed dialogue that form the main events of the story.

In spite of some incongruities with its reported speech profiles, the article uses constructed dialogue to narrate the controversy that is topicalized in the headline and lead as its main event. Because the source speech from its prior situations, interviews, press conferences, or written texts, fails to directly engage the participants or issues in the journalist's constructed dialogue, it is instead narrated through the journalist's own third person reporting discourse, and through irrealis reported speech. In 38, for instance, which is the third paragraph of the article, the journalist reiterates the events of the lead paragraph, creating an initial mention of Chirac, which he joins with the Pope as grammatical subjects of a lexical reiteration of the main event of the story "dodged French feuding."

38. [3] The Pope and French President Jacques Chirac, who met the Polish Pope on his arrival in Tours, both dodged French feuding over the separation of Church and State and criticisms of the conservative papal teachings such as against birth control.

This repeats the historical event formula from the lead, which has the Pope avoiding "controversy over the role of the Church and his moral teachings." In 38, he and Chirac together have "dodged French feuding over the separation of Church and State and criticisms of the conservative papal teachings such as against birth control." Among the many ways that repetition helps to link this paragraph with the lead is the lexical reiteration by synonym between "feuding" and "controversy." This paragraph amounts to an expanded and more detailed version of the lead paragraph, adding Chirac as a participant and detailing the particulars of the issues presented by the esphora in the historical event formula featuring the controversy NP. This paragraph narrates the issues in the controversy, as the journalist does in 24 in the air cargo article. However, as we have seen, the profiles do not provide the journalist with much in the way of interlocutor citations that present talk that is relevant to the issues he has thematized in 38.

In order to address these issues, the journalist uses irrealis citations that are relevant along with the interlocutor citations that may be relevant to the issues but do not provide evidence of direct dialogical engagement with other profiles. In 39, for instance, the journalist creates an irrealis citation by reporting speech that was not uttered, but was expected to be uttered based on past behavior. The title that neither Chirac nor the Pope mentioned would seem to be relevant to the issue of separation of church and state thematized in 38. By attributing this title to them in the negative, and by attributing a past positive use of the term to the Pope in the following sentence, the journalist brings the profiles into contact with the issues he has foregrounded in 38. Sample 40, from the end of the article, is another irrealis citation, wherein the journalist attributes the "traditional Catholic view" to the Pope, but in the negative.

Here, the expectation is that the Pope should present this view, but since he did not actually say anything as far as we can tell, the journalist is left to create this irrealis citation that represents it as something he is strategically withholding.

39. Neither the Pope nor Chirac, accused of violating a 1905 law separating Church and State by helping fund the visit, used France's traditional Catholic title of "eldest daughter of the Church". The Pope used the title on his first visit in 1980.
40. The Pope will be in Reims for the 1,500th anniversary of the baptism of Clovis, the first pagan king in western Europe to convert to Roman Catholicism. But he avoided suggesting the traditional Catholic view that Clovis's conversion was the baptism of France as a nation.
41. He also hailed French Catholics' dialogue with the country's large Moslem and Jewish communities. Moslem leaders welcomed the Pope and wished him well in a mission to foster dialogue between all faiths.

Sample 41 is a interlocutor citation where the journalist presents an anaphora for the Pope as the subject of a speech act quotative. While this is an interlocutor citation, with the Pope celebrating French Catholics' openness to other faiths, it does not present a standpoint in decision-making dialogue with other profiles in the article even while it does seem potentially topically relevant to the issues foregrounded by the journalist in 38.

In addition to these textual calisthenics that the journalist engages in to construct a dialogue around issues that he has reported on in 38, there is a telling pattern in the form of the reported speech across the text. Those cases where the profiles address the issues of poverty, like 34, are often narrated using direct reported speech and routine speech verbs like "to say." Those cases where the journalist has the profiles engage the issues in 38 are necessarily more complicated, employing indirect reported speech, speech act quotatives, and negatives. Even as he is able to discover ways to connect the profiles with his issues, the journalist has a difficult time constructing a dialogue with another profile as there seems to be little evidence from their prior talk and writing that any of the profiles have directly addressed one another or have addressed common issues. Because of journalistic norms and guidelines, he tells the story of the controversy but must do so as a kind of background to the reporting of the comments about poverty and solidarity from the Pope and Chirac. Whether they are cooperating with his efforts to narrate the controversy about church and state, for example, Chirac and the Pope are the most authoritative sources cited in the article, and it may be no surprise that their direct reported speech in the form of interlocutor citation appears earlier in the article than the later irrealis citations.

5.11 Antistasis Dialogue Formula: Westwood

A controversy story entitled "Westwood courts controversy at London Fashion Week" resembles the Pope article in that it narrates an elite person as the primary agent of the action and the event, in this case a celebrity fashion designer. Like the

Table 5.6 Reported speech profile for Westwood

a spokeswoman for Westwood; said	
	[elided agent]; was criticised
	A British member of Parliament; accused
	Lady Olga Maitland; said
Westwood's marketing manager Victor Patino; dismissed	
he; said	

Pope article, the headline 42 and lead 43 present Westwood as the agent of an action, "to court," with the controversy NP serving as an object.

42. Westwood courts controversy at London Fashion Week.
43. British fashion designer Vivienne Westwood courted controversy on Sunday when she used girls as young as 13 years old to model her winter collection at the start of London Fashion week.

Whereas the Pope is presented as avoiding a controversy, and his reported speech provides evidence for his lack of direct involvement with other profiles in the story, Westwood is narrated as the causer and central participant in this case. It is her act of using young girls as models, rather than anything she is shown to have said, that the journalist highlights as the problem that motivates the controversy, and by making her the agent of the action "to court" in the headline and lead, the journalist positions Westwood as the central causer and planner of the controversy (Table 5.6).

The profiles in the article feature interlocutor citations, with Westwood's spokespeople on one side of a constructed decision-making dialogue and an MP on the other. In the first instance of reported speech, 44, the pronoun "we" is the subject of both of the clauses in the direct reported speech, and the journalist creates a cataphoric reference from these to "spokeswoman for Westwood" in the matrix clause.

44. "We are using the girls because we think they would go with the aim of the collection," a spokeswoman for Westwood said.

In 44, the journalist narrates the Westwood organization advancing its standpoint on the main events reported in the article, providing a reason for the action. With the next instance of reported speech, 45, the journalist creates a turn in a constructed dialogue by using the speech act quotative "to criticize." This is a passive construction where the agent of the criticism is elided, making the source and extent of the criticism ambiguous. By making "Westwood" the subject of the matrix clause, the journalist brings the central participant of the main event of the article into dialogue with her critics, represented by the other profile and the elided agent in this clause.

45. Even before the young, inexperienced models sashayed down the runway, Westwood was criticised for her decision to use children to model adults' clothes.
46. A British member of parliament accused her of abusing teenagers by using them in a show when adult models were perfectly suitable.
47. "I think it is quite awful," said Lady Olga Maitland, a sponsor of the Conservative Family Campaign.

The following paragraphs nominate a individual agent of the criticism using a proper name, Lady Olga Maitland, first reporting her speech through a speech act quotative "to accuse" in 46 and then using a routine speech verb in 47 to introduce her direct reported speech. Sample 46 reiterates the dialogic relationship between the profiles by making "a British member of parliament" the subject of the clause and a pronoun anaphora for Westwood the object of the speech act quotative "to accuse." This is an address citation where Westwood appears as an addressee and the MP as an addresser. The journalist uses this formula in both 45 and 46 to narrate the profiles of Westwood and the MP as interlocutors in a constructed dialogue.

While this formula contributes to the narrating of the two the profiles in a constructed dialogue, it is not clear that the article is narrating a decision-making dialogue. If there is an issue in conflict, it is not clearly stated or defined. Compared to 24, for example, which clarifies the points of agreement and disagreement among the profiles, and specifically articulates that the problem concerns which system should be adopted, the problem put forth by the journalist in 45 simply narrates the existence of conflict, the fact that someone does not like what Westwood has done. In 46, the journalist summarizes the standpoint of the MP who does not like Westwood's actions by reporting her accusation that Westwood is "abusing teenagers." While this accusation could be set in relationship to some issue, "Does using young girls as fashion models constitute child abuse?", the journalist has not defined or clarified it in the article. The MP's direct reported speech in 47 introduces her negative assessment of the decision into the constructed dialogue, but it does not elaborate any reasoning, for instance, that might shed light on the issue of child abuse. With the Westwood profile, on the other hand, the journalist narrates a standpoint that features reasons for Westwood's actions, reasons that could be set in relationship to some issue, like "Which models are appropriate for the aims of the winter collection?"

48. "Vivienne wanted to create something really fresh and vibrant, and that is what youth does. In the future, maybe there will be a baby line. Who knows?," he said after the show.

In 48, for instance, the journalist reports the speech of a Westwood spokesperson, who provides some reasoning that seems to address this issue. Given these recontextualizations, we can conclude that the journalist has designed a constructed, decision-making dialogue, but that he or she has not defined or clarified the question at issue. As in the Pope article, the journalist has gathered source material for the article, the talk and writing of on-the-record authoritative sources from interviews, press conferences, and written texts, and has attempted to construct a dialogue between profiles by recontextualizing stretches of discourse that do not necessarily bear evidence of direct address one to the other or evidence of engagement of a common issue.

Though the dialogue model plays an important role in normative frameworks and critical approaches of the discourse arts, journalists also exploit it as a narrative device for controversy reporting. They use constructed dialogue to depict controversy as a pragmatic event, in addition to the language and text features that they use

in depicting it as a natural phenomenon and as an historical event. While holding to the central purpose of the news article genre, to report events, journalists nominate interlocutors, voice them by reporting their talk and writing, and recontextualize it by organizing it into profiles and by constructing dialogues among them. Unlike many normative models of decision-making dialogue, however, the constructed dialogues in news discourse are not designed to resolve the controversies they narrate. For journalists, constructed dialogue provides a framework for narrating a news event, for nominating interlocutors and other kinds of narrated participant, and in some cases, for characterizing the issues in controversy. To this purpose, however, they must balance the aim of constructing a coherent dialogue among interlocutors with their professional empirical constraints of reporting what can be attributed to a source, preferably an authoritative one. In seeking to simultaneously meet these two goals, journalists construct dialogues that would fall well short of the pragmatic and argumentative cohesion and relevance expectations of normative dialogue models. Considering that often their sources have neither shared physical proximity nor been involved in any demonstrable spoken or written interaction, nor demonstrably engaged a common issue, journalists are in a position to construct a dialogue that may lie quite far from the direct engagement of dialogue prototype. With this in mind, the narrated events of news articles constitute the location of the pragmatic engagements of many public controversies. Journalists are encouraged by professional mandate and exigence to nominate participants based on economic, political, cultural, and social authority. In seeking out the most authoritative sources, and by grounding their reporting in explicit attributions to these sources, they ensure that their controversy participants will be elite. For journalists, then, the dialogues that appear in controversy articles are constructed from their reporting on distinct sources, separated from one another in time, location, and sometimes by issue. The dialogues that they construct are contributions that journalists make to locating and structuring public controversy.

Chapter 6
Locations of Controversy

News discourse depicts controversy as a natural phenomenon, an historical event, and a pragmatic event, with journalists constructing dialogues among interlocutors whom they recruit, nominate, and voice. It is the depiction of pragmatic events that brings news discourse closest to the classical speaking situation, a traditional setting of controversy. Chapter 5 examines a number of formulas by which dialogues are constructed in news discourse. Though journalists do not realize or attempt to realize the all of the ideals of liberal democratic dialogue through their reporting and writing, nor meet or attempt to meet the standards or form of the philosophical dialogue genre, they do rely on the dialogue model as they construct public conversation among interlocutors in profile. Both the philosophical dialogue and news article locate controversy in a narrated pragmatic interaction. An ideal pragmatic interaction among interlocutors with parallels to the kind depicted in the philosophical dialogue genre has come to play a part in a wide reaching folk dialectic, a popular conception of dialogue as a necessary good, a civic panacea for misunderstanding and pathological communication. Journalists labor under the professional norms and standards that emphasize objectivity and, by extension, accuracy and balance, and they construct dialogues in coverage to narrate a conversational setting for controversy as a news event. These same norms restrict a journalist from explicitly adjudicating the conflict depicted in the dialogue or explicitly presenting him or herself as an interlocutor in the constructed dialogue. However, by recruiting, nominating, and voicing the contributions of interlocutors and setting issues around which these narrated participants speak, journalists make a number of important decisions about the shape of public controversy.

While these choices are not of the sort that have traditionally gained central attention in the discourse arts, they are choices nonetheless, and they indicate the ways in which journalists participate in public controversy. Treating news discourse and other speech and writing which narrates public controversies as veridical accounts elides these choices and this role. The problem of identifying participants and issues has traditionally garnered less attention in the discourse arts than the problem of evaluating arguments and the speech performances by ratified participants.

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This may be because these problems are upstream from traditional objects of study. The tendency to treat these problems as a priori preliminaries to the central concerns of evaluating arguments has contributed to the difficulty in researching public controversy. The writing of journalists and other chroniclers provides useful data for researching public controversy because so much of the concern of news discourse is precisely in these upstream matters, narrating controversy as an event and recruiting, nominating, and voicing the contributions of participants.

Treating questions about the shape of controversy as an event and the constitution of its roster of participants as a priori preliminaries to analysis contributes to an impression that they simply present themselves by fiat, that they are brute facts of the social world or metaphysical givens. However, they are not vague and transcendent constructs that exist beyond routine acts of speaking and writing, listening and reading. Everyday interactions in talk and text contribute to our experience of public controversies. It is through repetition and replication – that is, circulation through chains of speech and writing – that they seem to acquire fixity as transcendent social, cultural, or metaphysical phenomena (Agha 2007, p. 228; Urban 1996, pp. 21–22). News reports contribute to our experience of public controversy by both narrating it as an event and by orienting readers in public space. That is, they both denote a controversy by narrating it, and index the public space in and beyond which the reader of the text artifact sits, where the reading event takes place. That it both denotes and indexes an event through narration depends on a particular genre of reading, one in which readers take the narrated event of the news article to be a reflection of social facts in their environment.

6.1 The Narrated Event as a Controversy Location

The news article uses constructed dialogue to narrate controversy, and in this it locates controversy in a pragmatic interaction between narrated interlocutors. While news articles construct dialogue, it is not the direct dialogue of published drama or transcripts of legislative debate, which depicts script-like turn taking. In the news, the standpoints of interlocutors and profiles are routinely attributed through "introducers," or matrix clauses that explicitly introduce reported speech (Tannen 1986, pp. 318–319). The prevalence of these introducers makes the constructed dialogues of news indirect, and foregrounds the reporting discourse of a narrator. Direct constructed dialogue reports speech in turns without introducers, without denoting the reporting of a narrator, and interlocutors' speech appears in turns which must be tracked by readers in other ways, as through changes in narrated standpoint, by line or section breaks, and/or through explicit nomination by proper name. Because of the limitations of writing, a medium so much less embodied than speaking, written texts routinely exploit introducers in order to orient readers to turns in constructed dialogue and to provide commentary about the qualities of the speech (Tannen 1986, pp. 323–324). Like the speech act

quotatives discussed in Chap. 5, graphic introducers feature reporting verbs that help to explain the qualities of the speech, the event, or the speakers, verbs like "suggest," "tell," "demand," "grimace," or "complain." These are characteristic of literary constructed dialogue and exceedingly rare in spoken conversation, where the physical proximity of interlocutors and therefore richness of spoken interaction provide much of the information that these graphic introducers aim to provide, and more (Tannen 1986, pp. 322–323). That news articles are written and designed for a reading situation, like many other kinds of written texts, helps to explain why their constructed dialogues are indirect, featuring matrix clauses that denote the reporting of a narrator, to orient readers about who is speaking and about the qualities of that speech.

Another reason that news discourse features indirect constructed dialogue concerns genre. The purpose of the news article is to report events, and to do so in a way that will respect the objectivity norms of the profession of journalism. Writing direct dialogue would frustrate these purposes. Though direct dialogue might increase the vividness of the narrative, it would also completely background the work of the journalist, work which needs to be made explicit if a report is to index objectivity and qualify as responsible journalism. Sourcing standards for journalists make this demand explicit and directly link it with their credibility and legal liabilities (Macdowall and Reuters Ltd. 1992, p. 136). "Sourcing" in this sense means not just securing authoritative sources through the reporting and interviewing process, but explicitly attributing each part of the news narrative to its source within the text. This amounts to an explicit requirement to use introducers in news articles, and by extension, in their constructed dialogues. This foregrounds the reporting situation of the journalist, and places it in explicit relationship to speech situation being reported. In other words, it marks an explicit toggle between a narrator and a character footing in news discourse (Tannen 1986, p. 319). Sample 1 presents an example of reported speech from the Pope controversy story discussed in Chap. 5. It uses a graphic introducer, "the Pope praised," to report the mixed quotation, indirect and direct reported speech, that follows.

1. On his sixth visit to France, including a trip to the Indian Ocean island of La Reunion, the Pope praised French aid to developing countries in a "long tradition of solidarity and fraternity for their fellow men".

The use of an introducer itself indexes the reporting situation, and by extension, the work of the journalist and his footing as a narrator. It is a third-person reference to the Pope, and a past tense speech act quotative, both of which position the journalist as narrator and foreground the reporting situation rather than the character and the original speech situation in which the quotation was uttered. In addition to this graphic introducer, there are elements that denote the original situation and circumstances of the Pope's utterance. The long circumstantial element that begins the sample, "On his sixth visit to France, including a trip to the Indian Ocean island of La Reunion" orients the character in shallow historical time and space, highlighting the relationship between his reported speech and some larger geographical and

temporal context in which it was uttered. This also foregrounds the reporting situation and the narrator footing of the reporter, and serves a dual purpose for the journalist of forming cohesive links between this passage and other events reported in this story, and establishing a background of events in which his reporting has taken place. The reported utterances of the Pope have been located in three ways: through the indexing of the reporting situation of the journalist, through the denoting of the social and historical situation of the Pope's visit to France as it has been narrated by the journalist, and in the constructed dialogue situation among profiles in the article, narrated by the journalist.

Where and when this string of discourse was uttered is relevant to the purposes of the journalist and to his efforts toward describing it in the news article genre. The challenge of the news article is to bring together a number of often disparate events, situations, and utterances into a coherent narrative. Journalists coordinate multiple embeddings in their news articles, distinguishing among various footings that represent a number of speakers, places, and times (Bell 1991, p. 41). In the case of the news article, this coordination is made explicit in the text through features of speech reporting, as in Sample 1. Other elements of the genre that contribute to this coordination are the byline, 2 and the dateline, 3. These are features of the news article genre that developed in the mid 20C when journalists began to be seen as specialists or expert interpreters of public events, a shift that warranted more explicit narration of their role as participants (Schudson 1978, pp. 144–145).

2. Paul Holmes
3. TOURS, France 1996-09-19

Both of these elements locate the story in the reporting situation, and contribute to the narrator footing of the journalist. The byline does this by naming the reporter, "Paul Holmes" as the author of the text. The dateline does this by orienting the story to the city where and date when the journalist filed the report. In telling this story, Holmes toggles among narrator and character footings and embeddings of many situations and events. In order to construct a dialogue among his characters, he must coordinate and recontextualize utterances that he may have recorded from different sources and from a number of times and places. Because of the norms of the profession and the constraints of the genre, he must denote many of these embeddings explicitly in the text according to the dictates of sourcing guidelines. This means that the dialogue he constructs will be indirect and explicitly narrated. While dramatizing the reporting situation helps him to index journalistic objectivity and to satisfy genre requirements, it creates a tradeoff between vividness and attribution and makes direct dialogue impossible.

Working under other kinds of constraints, speakers and writers routinely construct direct dialogue. It is common in certain kinds of casual spoken narrative, and is used to create vividness in drama and fiction. The narrated conversation in the philosophical dialogue genre is generally direct and turns are typically depicted in script-like fashion. In *The Republic*, for instance, the text is dominated by a character footing, as in this passage in 4 that depicts an exchange between Socrates and Polemarchus (Plato et al. 1996, bk. I.332e–333a).

4. I see. All this leads me to conclude that when we are well and safely on dry land, we have no use for doctors and captains.
   True.
   But how about justice? Will it be useless in peacetime?
   I don't want to say that.
   Then justice has its uses in times of peace?
   Yes.
   Just like farming and shoemaking?
   Yes.

The exchange is depicted as a direct dialogue between the two interlocutors. There is no mediation by a narrator and are no explicit markers of a reporting situation, like introducers, reporting punctuation, or orientational elements. Some passages do present shifts to a narrator footing, like the one in Sample 5 which occurs just before the exchange depicted in Sample 4. Here the narrator footing helps to clarify who is speaking, as Polemarchus is attempting to gain the floor from Cephalus, who has been involved in a dyadic exchange with Socrates (Plato et al. 1996, bk. I.331d).

5. Polemarchus broke in. Yes they can, Socrates. At least that is what Simonides says.
   Well, said Cephalus, I think I shall bequeath the argument to you. I must attend to the sacrifices.

Here there are graphic introducers, "broke in," and more routine reporting verbs, "said," both past tense, with third person references to the speakers. For much of the dialogue, however, the exchanges are direct and squarely narrating the speaking situation, rather than the reporting situation. Characters regularly address one another using first and second person pronouns, and appear to speak "for themselves," posing questions to one another, offering rebuttals, conceding points though commissives, and making assertions, participating in a host of narrated adjacency pairs. In this character footing, of course, the text does not report these speech acts to the reader using graphic introducers like "Socrates inquired" or "Polemarchus conceded," for instance, though some of Plato's dialogues are framed as the narrative reports of Socrates or other characters. The characters perform these speech acts in the speaking situation denoted by the text. The location of the dialogue is this dramatic speaking situation narrated by the text.

Both indirect and direct constructed dialogue present locations of controversy, but while one coordinates a shifting focus on the reporting situation and the speech situation, the other focuses more squarely on the constructed dialogue. As a more direct dialogue, more strongly oriented to the character footing, the philosophical dialogue leaves little question about who counts as a participant in the speaking situation. Characters are depicted "on stage," directly addressing one another through first and second person deictics and directing speech acts at one another in short speaking turns. They display features of "fully-engaged" dialogue and an "involved" register (Biber 1988, p. 131; Blair 1998, pp. 328–329). By contrast, indirect constructed dialogue splits attention between the reporting situation and the speech situation, toggling between narrator and character footings. Though it reports

on participants in a speaking situation, the news article foregrounds the reporting situation in order to satisfy its genre requirements and the professional norms of journalism. In the genre, highlighting the reporting situation is important because it is a way to explicitly cite the sources which are so central to journalistic authority. In order to construct a dialogue among participants, reporters routinely bring together a collection of utterances gathered from speakers who do not otherwise directly address one another and may have never been physically co-present. If they were writers of fiction, journalists might feel free to take such material and construct a direct dialogue among participants, but as writers of a particular kind of non-fiction, where sourcing and quotation practices are important indexes of their professional norms of objectivity, they carefully detail the terms of the reporting situation along with the dialogue situation that they construct in the text. Through this focus on the reporting situation, journalists insert themselves as participants, narrators of public controversy.

The situation of controversy narrated by the news article is complex; it is distributed across temporal, geographic, and pragmatic locations. Controversy in the philosophical dialogue is narrated in predominantly one location, the pragmatic. In the dialogue that it denotes, it maintains a relatively consistent deictic center (Silverstein 1996, p. 96). It presents the scene as a coherent unfolding drama, a classical speaking situation featuring classical participants. The first and second person references among participants help achieve a sense of direct address along with the brief turns that feature relevant speech acts. In *The Republic*, for instance, those moments of narration that do appear are presented as the footing of one of the characters in the dialogue. Socrates is depicted at the opening of the dialogue as a first person narrator, locating himself and some of the other characters in the dialogue in temporal and geographical space. Sample 6 is the opening of the dialogue (Plato et al. 1996, bk. I.327a-b).

6. Yesterday, I went down to the Piraeus with Glaucon, Ariston's son, to offer my devotions to the goddess. I also wanted to see how their new festival would turn out. Our own citizens staged a fine parade, but even the Thracians were good. Once we had made our devotions and seen the whole festival, we started home. But at that moment Polemarchus, Cephalus's son, saw us hurrying on and had his boy run to stop us. He grabbed my cloak from behind and said that Polemarchus hoped that we would wait for him to catch up.

This opening narration, along with the periodic shifts from character to narrator footing exemplified by 6, for example, show how a philosophical dialogue sometimes denotes a setting beyond the narrated pragmatic situation of the dialogue among characters. However, as the aim is to air and test arguments in dialogue, the bulk of the text denotes the pragmatic location of controversy. The purpose of the dialogue is not to tell the story of Socrates' trip to the Piraeus, presumably, but to articulate his arguments about the ideal state. Helping to achieve this purpose, the constructed direct dialogue focuses attention on the pragmatic interactions among characters by depicting a classical speaking situation in which they play roles. The geographic and temporal locations of the characters in relationship to the larger reporting situation stay in the background. A kind of consonance is achieved

between purpose and form: Arguments that aim for transcendence are depicted in a pragmatic situation that transcends the particulars of time and place.

Constructed dialogues leave out many features of talk that are prominent in actual spoken interaction such as pauses, overlapping talk, hesitations, repetition, repair, and highly presupposing deictic reference. Writers of constructed dialogue, along with the many people who serve complementary production and delivery roles like editors, publishers, and printers, regularly operate under constraints that require them to produce linear written discourse that is free from these features as a matter of style and correctness standards particular to the written mode. These omissions or elisions are not mere clerical details, but have consequences for the way that dialogue is narrated and for our experience of and expectations about controversy. Omitting these features, writers conduct a kind of pragmatic bleaching, and this depicts the spoken interaction among characters as if it were occurring in an idealized speech context (Haviland 1996, pp. 58, 63). Dialogue narrated in this way seems to occur in an ontic realm that transcends the ordinary constraints and circumstances of human communication (Silverstein 1993, p. 52). The interactional details of actual conversation tend to ground it in a unique spatio-temporal context by pointing to and presupposing the existence of and shared experience of physically proximate interlocutors and surroundings. To the extent that readers of written constructed dialogues approach them as transcriptions of actual speech events or veridical accounts of such events, then, such idealized speech contexts can take on the status of actually existing spaces.

6.2 The Reading Situation as a Controversy Location

Among other places, public controversy is located in the narrated events of news articles. Journalists depict controversy as a natural phenomenon, an historical event, and a pragmatic event and by doing so, contribute to our experience of it. This is not to say that journalists are single-handedly responsible for public controversies, in the manner of "pseudo-events," or that public controversies are "mere constructions" or "mere fictions," the pure product of journalistic narrative, or anything like that. The conclusion here is much more limited and does not seek out a single agent and designer who controls and shapes public controversy. As a matter of routine professional practice, journalists contribute to public controversies by narrating them in texts and working with news organizations to publish those texts. It is in this sense that they are participants, among many others. News readers are participants as well, contributing to public controversy by reading news articles and other texts that narrate them and talking to others about them as social and cultural events. In this way, journalists, news organizations, and news readers are a few of those who contribute to participant-linked speech chains, networks of senders and receivers in speech events, whether spoken utterances heard through a aural channel or inscribed language viewed via the visual channel (Agha 2007, p. 67). With this in mind, then, the news reading

situation is another location of controversy, one that features an interaction between reader and text artifact.

There is an interesting passage in the landmark essay by rhetorician Herbert Wichelns called "The Literary Criticism of Oratory," originally published in 1925, a passage in which he addresses the question about where to locate public controversy. In this passage, Wichelns struggles with the investigator's problem of determining the object of study in a criticism of oratory, situated as he is in a newly expanded mass media environment of the 1920s. In the essay more broadly, Wichelns is concerned with articulating the proper method and object of the rhetorical critic, using comparisons to historians and literary critics in order to isolate oratory as the principal jurisdiction of the rhetorician (Wichelns 1966, pp. 5–6). His historical circumstances and the essay's larger purpose may help to explain his perspective on news discourse. Wichelns acknowledges the limitations of studying oratory in its classical speaking situation, given his modern mass mediated environment. He writes, "It is true that other ways of influencing opinion have long been practised, that oratory is no longer the chief means of communicating ideas to the masses. And the change is emphasized by the fact that the newer methods are now beginning to be investigated, sometimes from the point of view of the political student, sometimes from that of the 'publicity expert'" (Wichelns 1966, p. 7). In his agenda for rhetorical criticism, however, Wichelns defends the continued relevance of oratory in its classical speaking situation for the transaction of public discourse and, therefore, as the object of study for the rhetorical critic: "But, human nature being what it is, there is no likelihood that face to face persuasion will cease to be a principal mode of exerting influence, whether in courts, in senate-houses, or on the platform. It follows that the critical study of oratorical method is the study, not of a mode outworn, but of a permanent and important human activity" (Wichelns 1966, p. 7). What is interesting and relevant about this passage is its effort to shore up a locus classicus for rhetoric, "face to face persuasion," even while acknowledging its complicated relationship to the large audiences of readers and listeners who experience "oratory" as it is reported by news organizations. He limits the location of the object of study to a classical speaking situation in spite of evidence that additional locations exist.

The difficulty of reconstructing a classical speaking situation from written sources is one that Wichelns discusses, even as he maintains that it is a necessary prerequisite for criticism. The critic is dogged by "the difficulty of reconstructing the conditions under which the speech was delivered; by the doubt, often, whether the printed text of the speech represents what was actually said or what the orator elaborated afterwards" (Wichelns 1966, p. 6). Wichelns' solutions to the problems of determining the critic's object of study and method strongly value the authenticity and significance of the spoken interaction in which the orator is a ratified participant, encouraging critics to seek out transcriptions of public speeches and to reconstruct their original circumstances. This way of locating the object of study emphasizes the agency and significance of the entitled public speaker and disregards the reports of journalists and other chroniclers. This is not a problem, per se, but it is a very exclusive way of demarcating public discourse. Transcripts and recordings of the speeches of entitled public officials are important objects of study. The reports of public events

published by journalists, among the talk and text of many, many others, are another. The editors of the volume in which is it republished, *The Rhetorical Idiom; Essays in Rhetoric, Oratory, Language, and Drama*, suggest that Wichelns' essay "set the pattern and determined the direction of rhetorical criticism for more than a quarter of a century and has had a greater and more continuous influence upon the development of the scholarship of rhetoric and public address than any other single work published in this century" (Wichelns 1966, p. 5). Its exclusive focus on the classical speaking situation and the agency and arguments of classical participants tend to bracket or background the role and influence of journalists and other professional writers and speakers who contribute to public discourse. These and many other "vernacular" locations of public discourse have since been recognized and theorized by researchers in the discourse arts (cf. for example Hauser 1999).

In the early 20C, the news industry finds itself reporting on an expanding public domain that many consider too complex for ordinary readers to fathom, and addressing an audience that many take to be an irrational crowd. In these years following the large waves of immigration to North America, the "urban masses" are considered by many a powerful force for irrationality and a threat to democracy, with researchers in the burgeoning social sciences developing theories of "the crowd," "the mob," and "the public" in order to explain these social and historical conditions (Schudson 1978, pp. 128–129). The development of the public relations profession also makes journalists' relationships to their sources more complex and by extension citizens' relationships to their public officials. In this environment, journalists assume the task of providing more background reporting on and interpretation of events in their news articles while assiduously maintaining their "objective" writing style (Schudson 1978, pp. 145–146). This charge and its attendant responsibilities puts journalists in a position to act as social scientific analysts on behalf of their readers and further motivates their professionalization through the development of journalism schools and awards for excellence like the Pulitzer Prizes (Schudson 1978, pp. 152–153). These are the conditions of publicity and mass media that concern Wichelns when he writes that oratory "is no longer the chief means of communicating ideas to the masses."

In the 1920s and 1930s, academic social scientists are struggling to understand what "public" could mean in a heterogeneous modern mass society where the classical speaking situation featuring face to face persuasion among a select group of citizens seemed less and less relevant. How could an agora function in a mass society with such diversity of language, geography, and class? Solving this problem meant negotiating the tension between public as universal and public as specific and material, a problem at the center of Lippmann's and Dewey's oft-cited texts on the subject (Dewey 1927; Lippmann 1925). For their part, Lippmann and Dewey both engage this problem as they offer attempts to specify and ground the public sphere empirically while recognizing its existence as a universal. Dewey grounds it in a hypothetical communicative situation when he suggests that a body public is formed around an issue of common interest, and exists as a function of entitled speakers who represent it: "Those indirectly and seriously affected for good or for evil form a group distinctive enough to require recognition and a name. The name selected is The Public.

This public is organized and made effective by means of representatives, as executives, judges, etc., care for its especial interests by methods intended to regulate the conjoint actions of individuals and groups" (Dewey 1927, p. 35). Dewey also emphasizes the emergent nature of the public sphere: "Transactions between singular persons and groups bring a public into being when their indirect consequences – their effects beyond those immediately engaged in them – are of importance" (Dewey 1927, p. 64). Dewey's notions find precedent in Lippmann, who describes "random publics" that seem to emerge from the exigencies of social conditions: "These conclusions are sharply at variance with the accepted theory of popular government. That theory rests upon the belief that there is a public which directs the course of events. I hold that this public is a mere phantom. It is an abstraction. The public in respect to a railroad strike may be the farmers whom the railroad serves; the public in respect to an agricultural tariff may include the very railroad men who were on strike. The public is not, as I see it, a fixed body of individuals. It is merely those persons who are interested in an affair and can affect it only by supporting or opposing the actors" (Lippmann 1925, p. 77). Although Dewey ultimately wants to recover a single unified, and materially real public in a historical moment that seems to him littered with too many publics, and Lippmann maintains that this is impossible because such a unitary public is a mere abstraction, both distinguish between a single, unitary public and the specific, material publics that emerge around a particular interest or as a particular audience in a communicative situation.

Sociologists and political scientists of the 1920s and 1930s formalize these notions of specific publics as key parts of their theories of society and public opinion. Clark, for instance, distinguishes between general and specific publics, pointing out that specific publics are demarcated by interest, identity, and field of expertise: "The whole body of active participants and 'interested' supporters or followers share in an ongoing collective act and become a public with reference to the special undertakings in the given field" (Clark 1933, p. 317). Allport offers a psychological formulation, echoed in contemporary approaches that specify and ground the public in the mind of a speaker within a communicative situation: "Psychologically speaking, 'the public' means to an individual an imagined crowd in which (as he believes) certain opinions, feelings and overt reactions are universal" (Allport 1924a, p. 308). While the idea of specific publics becomes formalized in the conceptual vocabulary of the expert discourse communities of sociology and political science, some begin to challenge the legitimacy of the specific and operational definition of public. They argue that "public" is like other "group concepts" that were popular in sociology, like "crowd," and that it suffers from a vagueness that made it problematic as a way of referring to a specific and material object of study (Allport 1924b; Elliott 1931; Eubank 1927; Lunberg 1930). Allport calls this the "group fallacy," the tendency of social scientists to treat group concepts as if they had specific and material referents (Allport 1924b, p. 688). In their discussion of the methodological problems of measuring public opinion, conferees at the Second National Conference on the Science of Politics even go so far as to discourage members from using the term "public opinion" because of the vagueness of the term "public": "It was decided therefore that the round table might well proceed to consider the problem of measuring

opinion, especially that relating to political matters, and avoid the use of the term public opinion, if possible" (Holcombe 1925, pp. 123–124).

Dewey's notion of a specific public addresses the problem of finding the agora in modern mass society by making "public" an dynamic sociological entity rather than a singular group with static membership. A public would emerge whenever the conditions were ripe, when relevant interests were piqued by "transactions between singular persons and groups" (Dewey 1927, p. 64). In conceptualizing the public in this way, Dewey grounds the formation of a public in the classical speaking situation of face to face persuasion. He shares the anxieties of his time about the loss of small, local, heterogeneous communities to the complexities of "the machine age" (Dewey 1927, p. 126). Describing the problem of identifying the public in modern mass societies, he writes, "It is not that there is no public, no large body of persons having a common interest in the consequences of social transactions. There is too much public, a public too diffused and scattered and too intricate in composition." (Dewey 1927, p. 137). Imagining a public as a dynamic, organic, and specific entity allows Dewey to retain the focus on the local in a mass society: If modern mass society is too complex to sustain a singular, coherent public, then that coherence must exist at a smaller grain size, in more local communicative transactions. He appeals to the agrarian form of American life from earlier decades and centuries, writing, "The township or some not much larger area was the political unit, the town meeting the political medium, and roads, schools, the peace of the community, were the political objectives" (Dewey 1927, p. 111). The notion of the dynamic, organic, and specific public makes it possible to simultaneously acknowledge the myth of the singular, coherent public in modern mass societies while preserving the kind of face to face civic persuasion that was thought to bring such a public into being at a more local level.

For all the concerns of early 20C academic social scientists and philosophers over the ontic status of social collectives like the public and social spaces like the public sphere, journalists occupied a position as professional writers for mass audiences that required them to narrate this public space through their routine reporting of news events. This new 20C public domain was considered much more expansive and complex than the one that had preceded it, too ponderous and heterogeneous for ordinary readers to fathom, and news writing needed to find ways to depict it. The news article genre provided some ways for them to do this. The many orientational elements of news reports help to locate the narrated events in a spatio-temporal context; they help to join the current news report with prior news reports, and they help to orient readers to their reading situation. That is, they both denote news events for readers and index the public space in which they read. Some of these orientational elements point to spatial relationships, as in "in the Middle East" in 7, and others, like "yesterday" in 8 point to temporal positions.

7. Much of the U.S. activity in the Middle East since Netanyahu was elected – an event that apparently took Washington by surprise – has been devoted not to advancing the peace process but to keeping it from going backwards.
8. Shell Oil Co yesterday pulled non-essential workers off its Auger platform as a precaution, but widespread evacuations were not expected unless the storm changes direction.

These kinds of orientational elements depend on their relationship to the dateline of the article, e.g. 3, that marks the publication date and the place from which the reporter filed it and to the particular circumstances in which the reader interacts with the text. Other features of the text also contribute to the orienting of a reader to news events and the situation in which the interaction between them and the text artifact takes place. The use of the past tense, for instance, which is common in news articles but less so in headlines, assumes a particular kind of temporal order between the reading event and the narrated event (Silverstein 1976, p. 24). These orientational elements are deictics to the extent that they are taken to point to entities in the reader's situation. They index public space by pointing to places and times that presumably exist in the larger situation of the reader and the text, space that he or she may not be able to experience fully and immediately in the local and immediate environment, but which the reading experience helps to constitute. The reputation of an expanded, complex, heterogeneous public sphere is reiterated in part through these features. News articles orient readers to many contexts at many presumed distances from the reading situation. The way that newspapers and news broadcasts organized and categorize their reports reinforce this idea. The Sunday New York Times, for instance, routinely publishes a front section, under the banner "The New York Times," followed by news sections entitled "International," "National," and "New York." In addition to the orientational elements within the individual story, this sectioning provides a spatial orientation for readers.

While news articles conventionally use place names and categories to denote spatial context, and adverbials and verb tense to denote temporal context, they also use controversy formulas, among others, to denote and index mass discourse as a part of public space. The low deictic selectivity displayed by many controversy formulas contributes to this. In 9, for instance, the amid formula is used as an orientational element which points to the larger public space of the narrated event, and, perhaps from a different trajectory, of the reading event.

9. New Zaire notes released amid controversy.

Here the controversy formula depicts some mass talk which is part of the context of the narrated event. It is both discursive and spatio-temporal, in the sense that it is used as a way of orienting the reader to larger situation of the release of the new notes. Journalists use other meta-discursive terms in this formula, like "talk" and "battle" for instance, to denote mass talk (cf. Sect. 4.4). These contribute to a depiction of the speech events reported by the present article as constituents of some larger context of talk, mass talk which is part of the narrated event, and presumably part of the reader's own situation, if seemingly distant, nebulous, and not immediately accessible. These formulas, and the news articles in which they function, for their part, often constitute readers' primary experience of such context.

The news article genre, then, uses a number of orientational elements to denote and index the context of news events for readers, and controversy, along with other terms denoting talk, is used in orientational formulas. The context of news events must be explicitly narrated in the text in part because of the limitations of the written mode, the mass circulation of the texts, and the kinds of readers and genres of

reading that are presumed; journalists cannot assume that readers share a common world of immediate reference. Instead, news articles provide a variety of spatial and temporal markers that position the reader in relation to the journalists' reporting situation (e.g. the dateline) and the situation of the narrated event (e.g. orientational prepositional phrases, locatives). The contexts denoted by news reports reiterate many of the features of the traditional view of context exemplified in certain varieties of textual analysis. In this view, any given text exists in an expanding set of concentric contexts, beginning with the "textual context" and moving outward to the "situational context" and the "social and/or cultural" context (Andrus 2011). Andrus explains that this is a limited view of context because it fails to account for the many particular and shifting circumstances of a given utterance or text, the many ways in which it may be transformed and recontextualized. Context, then, is something that is figured and refigured from moment to moment by particular people as they communicate rather than a fixed set of relationships that are true for all texts in all situations. By recontextualizing the speech of sources from interviews, public speeches, documents, and other materials to a news article, constructing a narrative in which this speech plays a part, and denoting a context in which this narrative takes place, journalists' practice illustrates Andrus' point even while their stories reiterate the traditional picture of context. The world depicted by news articles is one where "situational" and "social and/or cultural" contexts are regularly denoted in the narrative. These concentric circles of context parallel the levels of abstraction depicted by the controversy formulas, as a natural phenomenon, an historical event, and a pragmatic event. They depict controversy as an element of an extended public space as they locate it at many levels of abstraction within the news narrative.

Meta discursive event categories used in news reporting denote public speech events, both the individuated and mass sorts, and in doing so contribute to our experience of a large scale social system of coordinated and interrelated public events. The news contributes to this experience by narrating public controversy not just as a matter of the pragmatic interaction between interlocutors, for example, but also as a vague, natural, ongoing process divorced from human agency. In the world narrated by the news, controversies themselves have a degree of agency and independence from human speakers and writers. They erupt, cloud, and rage, for instance, presented not as the products of human speech acts but as autonomous natural processes that act upon individuals. The many reiterations of meta discursive event categories in news discourse contribute to the sense that the traditional model of context described by Andrus depicts an autonomous social structure independent of particular speaking events. However, social structures, like those depicted in news reporting, are, in part, ontological projections from the systems of meaning among terms used to classify and denote the social world (Agha 2007, p. 243). That a controversy is narrated in news discourse as an autonomous, natural process, on the one hand, and as a pragmatic exchange between interlocutors on the other, contributes to readers' experience of a public space stratified in much the same way depicted by traditional models of context.

This is not to say that this particular way of narrating and denoting controversy in public space is an accurate or inaccurate reflection of some autonomous set of

relationships among events, places, and times. It is at the very least part of a narrative about public space and a way of describing public events, a particularly stereotyped one, and in this way the news article genre contributes to readers' experience of public controversy. When we talk and write in practical situations we tend to presuppose some reality that our language refers to, beyond the interactional communication event in which we participate, and our awareness of that reality depends to some extent on that referential use of language (Silverstein 1979, p. 203). The reading of news accounts is one of these sorts of practical uses of language. News coverage helps to constitute public controversy when readers make the presupposition that its narrated events refer to some social, public, and discursive reality beyond the reading situation. However, by making that presupposition, by adopting that particular genre of reading, they do not form a conduit to access that autonomous reality but instead participate in a particular reading event, a particular interaction with a textual artifact, which helps to constitute public controversy in their experience. Among other locations, public controversy is located in a reading situation because readers often interact with news articles and other texts in this way. It is the situation in which many have their only experience of many public controversies.

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