

The Metadiscursive Formation of Intersubjective Stance in Chomsky's Opinion articles

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**التشكيل الميتاديسكفيري لوقف intersubjective في مقالات
تشومسكي**

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المخلص

تسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء على تحليل الموقف في الخطاب السياسي كونه أحد أهم الأشياء التي تمكنا اللغة من القيام بها. ويمكن للموقف أن ينسب قيمة للأشياء والأفراد، و يحدد مكانة الأشخاص بالنسبة لهذه الأشياء والأفراد، و يقيس المواقف المشتركة، و يبين القيم الاجتماعية والثقافية للفرد والمجموعة.

و بيد أن مفهوم الموقف واسع ومتشعب و يتضمن شبكة معقدة من المقاربات و هذه الشبكة ضرورية لتحليل مادة البحث خطائياً دلاليّاً فقط طور البحث نموذجاً تحليلياً انتقائياً لما وراء الخطاب مبنياً على نماذج من دراسات متعددة لتحليل مادة البحث. و يتكون نموذج التحليل من مكونين:

١- إستراتيجيات اتخاذ الموقف

٢- وظائف الموقف

بينت نتائج الدراسة أن موقف جومسكي مبنياً على الحكم الأخلاقي في تحليله للسياسة الأمريكية، و أن موقف جومسكي ليس موقفاً شخصياً بل هو موقف مشترك، و أن مشكلة أسلوب جومسكي في الخطاب السياسي تعزى إلى مصادر الموقف التي يستخدمها في الحجاج و التي تشرح أسلوبه "بسيط الفكرة" في الخطاب السياسي.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الموقف؛ مقالات

الرأي؛ التقى الخطاب؛

Abstract

This study investigates the concept of stance in political discourse as one of the most important things we do with language which can ascribe values to objects, position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate intersubjectively two stances, and to show the values of the sociocultural system of the individual or social group.

The study aims at investigating the linguistic basis of Chomsky's opinion articles. Secondly, it aims at describing the communicative strategies of Chomsky's opinion articles. Thirdly, it aims at clarifying the relationship between style and identity construction.

The concept of stance adopted in this study involves a complex web of approaches which includes evidentiality, metadiscourse, appraisal, evaluation, and the stance triangle. This complex net is necessary for a discourse semantic account of Chomsky's opinion articles. To do that, a multi-perspectival model is developed in the light of the objectives of the study. The model contains two components: strategies of stance realisation and the functions of stance.

Keywords: stance; opinion articles; met discourse; intersubjectivity; dialogically

1. Introduction

Du Bios (2007: 139) states that “One of the most important things we do with words is to take a stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value”. There are three distinct modes of stance-taking; subjective, intersubjective and objective. This paper is concerned with the intersubjective mode which stands between the two extremes. Intersubjectivity is understood here as the calibration between two or more stances taken by social actors. In comparison, (White, 2003) conception of intersubjectivity is much broader than the one adopted here. White (2003) extends the term to include modality, polarity, hedging, evidentiality, attribution, concession and consequentiality. This is because White (2003) conceives intersubjectivity as not just the calibration of two stances but also includes intersubjective positioning. Thus, the above categories of intersubjectivity are subsumed by (White, 2003) under the rubric of dialogism which explains the inclusion of those resources. As a result, this paper is limited to the common strategies used by Chomsky. These include attitude markers, hedges, boosters, negation expressing counter-expectancy, and evidentiality/attribution as the primary metadiscursive strategies of intersubjective stance.

The term intersubjectivity proposes the existence of subjectivity which is defined as the “expression of self and the representation of a speaker's (or, more generally, a locutionary agent's) perspective or point of view in discourse -what has been called a speaker's imprint” (Finegan, 1995). Evaluation is, perhaps, one of the basic forms of subjectivity and constitutes an important part of this paper ⁽¹⁾. Thus, the political stance, in this view, is concerned with two components: conveying subjective stance and the calibration of two or more stances to achieve intersubjective consensus (Hart, 2014: 43).

This paper tackles a disputed issue. Chomsky is a controversial figure in politics and his opinion articles are criticised by some writers (Kamm, 2005; Hitchens, 2011). More particularly, Chomsky's opinion articles are “relegated” by scholars and described as “blunt, lacks sophistication, and fails to meet the requirement of a proper academic approach, which should be cool, objective, and detached.” (Edgley, 2015: 4). For example, (Kamm, 2005) characterises Chomsky's opinion articles as being based on “crude and dishonest arguments”. Fewer writers such as Kamm and Hitchens focus on Chomsky's articles and analyse them. Consequently,

there is a noticeable paucity in the literature of Chomsky's articles that deserves a serious and carefully articulated investigation.

One of the problems is the contradiction that lies in the role of identity in persuasion; while Chomsky is voted "the world's top public intellectual", a status by which it can be inferred that he has an epistemological authority and credibility, his opinion articles are characterised as being nonsensical. Another discrepancy is pointed out by (Botha, 1973: 30) in which he ascribes Chomsky's domination of theoretical linguistics to the skilful use of persuasive rhetoric which runs counter to his experience in the political arena.

The importance of the study of stance can be attributed to the plethora of perspectives from which stance or "the expression of personal opinion" is directly or indirectly alluded to. There is a tangled web that relates stance to other approaches. Groundbreaking studies include, but not limited to, evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols, 1986), stance (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Jaffe, 2009), evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 2000), metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005a), appraisal (Martin & White, 2005). Particularly, it contributes to the linguistic individual style of Chomsky, the understanding of the formulation of Chomsky's stance in politics and to explain the difference between Chomsky's textual persona in politics and linguistics.

Therefore, the paper addresses the following questions:

- What is the linguistic basis on which Chomsky presents his stance?
- What are the communicative strategies by which Chomsky constructs an allegedly objective stance?
- How do different uses of stance resources used by Chomsky act to construct different authorial and textual persona?

2. The Concept of Stance

The concept of stance and its social, political, pedagogical dimensions have attracted the attention of many scholars who have different and diversified interests ranging from a homogeneous field like semantics to heterogeneous ones like pragmatics and discourse analysis.

In defining the concept of stance, the main concern is the range of meanings associated with the multi-functional nature of this concept. The range of possible meanings of the concept of stance is constrained and limited to the interpersonal realm. Stance constitutes a facet of the interpersonal meaning. SFL (systemic functional linguistics) is, perhaps,

one of the most influential theories in linguistics that offers a functional characterization of meaning as “metafunctional”. Meaning, therefore, operates simultaneously on three levels: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational meaning acts to construe kinds of external reality. It construes a reality of participants, processes and the relationships these enter into. The interpersonal meaning acts to characterise the participants in the linguistic exchange and negotiates social roles, relationships and attitudes. The textual meaning acts to organise the flow of interpersonal and ideational meanings as they unfold in the text.

Earlier studies such as Chafe & Nichols (1986) dealt with stance with reference to the concept of evidentiality and its role in reflecting epistemological knowledge of human awareness and the linguistic resources that enable the language users to mark the source of information as reliable, possible, or somewhat in between. The semantically and epistemically oriented work of Chafe and Nichols classifies linguistic evidentials into two types. The first one is concerned with marking the source of information as more or less reliable. The second one is much wider in coverage that includes, in addition to sourcing information, the speaker/writer’s attitude towards the source of information and the status of the obtained knowledge. Biber & Finegan (1989) relate the latter sense of evidentiality to stance by developing a rudimentary view of the relationship between evidentiality, affect and styles of stance. The primary aim of the lexico-grammatical research of (Biber & Finegan) is to scrutinise the textual signals that mark the speaker/writer’s epistemology and attitude toward the source of the information. In later work, Biber et al. (1999: 966) define stance as the expression of “personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments”. This is, perhaps, the most general definition of the concept of stance.

The concept of stance has further received a considerable attention in academic writing as one of the metadiscoursal components. Stance in this approach is dealt with as a non-propositional and pragmatic aspect of texts. Under the heading of metadiscourse, stance is considered a quantifiable object which can be compared and contrasted across genres. Hyland’s extensive work in metadiscourse is one of the best representatives of this approach. Hyland (1998b) investigates the functions of hedges and boosters in academic writing, focusing on their role in the negotiation and adaptation of claim(s). Hedges and boosters are, therefore, rhetorical devices that are deployed by writers to

strengthen or weaken the claims presented to the reader. The basic functions of hedges are: (a) they are reader-oriented, (b) mitigating the force of novel claims, making them more negotiable to motivate other researchers to either accept or refute them (Myers, 1989), (c) reducing the shortcoming of claim(s) (Hyland, 1996b & 1998a; Nash, 1990; Salager-Meyer, 1994). By hedging a claim, the writer is less committed to the claim and that his/her claim is based on reasonable rather than absolute knowledge.

In contrast, the primary function of boosters is to strengthen the claim and to limit the amount of negotiation. More importantly, boosters play a vital role in the “construction of authoritative persona” by showing that the presented claim is generally accepted.

The theorization of the concept of stance has also been an object of interest to some scholars. For example, it is subsumed under the heading of evaluation by (Hunston and Thompson, 2000) which: (a) expresses the speaker’s or writer’s opinion and reflects the value system of that person and their community; (b) it constructs and maintains relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader; and (c) it organises the discourse. Evaluation is defined as:

...the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values.

(Ibid, 2000:5)

The relationship between stance and evaluation is explained based on two dichotomies: abstract/actual, and broader/narrower. Stance is abstract and broader than evaluation and it exists prior to evaluation. Someone can adopt a stance by remaining silent, however, an evaluation of any idea, entity, or object demands an actual use of language.

Although the concept of stance has been tackled from various perspectives, it receives its most fine-grained treatment in appraisal theory (Thompson & Alba Juez, 2014: 6). It subsumes the concept of stance under the parameter *instantiation* which is conceived in terms of cline. The “cline of instantiation” comprises two extreme points: *appraisal* (the global meaning potential) and *reaction* (the take up of text). Between the two extremes, stance is treated as one of the sub-selections of key (register) and represents one of the possible options of

the evaluative meaning provided by “key”. Key is also a sub-selection of appraisal (system) and represents one of the possible options of the evaluative meaning.


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1. appraisal (system)–the global potential of the language for making evaluative meanings, e.g. for activating positive/negative viewpoints, graduating force/focus, negotiating intersubjective stance
 2. key (register)– situational variants or sub-selections of the global evaluative meaning-making potential–typically reconfiguration of the probabilities for the occurrence of particular evaluative meaning-making options or for the co-occurrence of options
 3. stance (text-type)– sub-selections of evaluative options within text; patterns of use of evaluative options within a given ‘key’ associated with particular rhetorical objectives and the construction of authorial personae
 4. evaluation (instance)– instantiation of evaluative options in text
 5. reaction (reading)– the take-up of evaluative meanings in a text according to the listener/reader’s subjectively determined reading position; the attitudinal positions activated by the reader as a result of their interaction with the text

Table (1) Cline of instantiation– evaluation adopted from (Martin & White, 2005: 164)

The key in this study is political discourse which comprises several sub-selections such as opinion articles, parliamentary debates, interviews, newspaper. Stance operates on text type; it is the author’s style in exploiting the evaluative options offered by the key to persuade the reader to accept his/her viewpoint. (Martin & White, 2005) identified three patterns of taking a stance. The first is called *damning* stance which is associated with the polemic style. The second is *excusing* stance which is associated with the mitigated style. The third is *sceptical* stance which is associated with the misgiving style.

Putting the treatment of stance in appraisal aside, the concept of stance has also received an attention in conversation analysis. Du Bios (2007) offers a sociocognitive approach to the study of stance entitled “The Stance Triangle” in which stance is conceived as a conceptual

entity composed of three interconnected acts: evaluation, positioning, and alignment. Those acts are not separable and they constitute different aspects of a single macro-stance act. Stance-taking involves three subsidiary acts that form a “unified stance act”. Du Bios (2007: 163) defines stance as:

... a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

The definition can also be glossed as “I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you” (Ibid). The stance act involves four key components: (a) stancetaker, (b) stance marker, (c) an object of evaluation, (d) stance function (evaluation, positioning, alignment). The identification of those components is also methodologically important to our object of study because they organise and prioritise logical connection between the three subsidiary acts of taking a stance.

After reviewing the relevant literature on the concept of stance, it is clear that appraisal theory is the most compatible framework for the analysis of stance (Martin and White, 2005: 40) since it offers a feasible toolkit that can be utilised fruitfully as we will see in section 5. However, the concept of stance has not been given a satisfactory definition in appraisal theory. This is because the theory is concerned primarily with the appraisal system (the global potential of the language for making evaluative meanings) and stance is only one of the possible sub-selections of key which is also one of the possible sub-selections of appraisal. Thus, it is necessary to adopt an operational definition of the concept of stance. Perhaps, Du Bios definition of stance mentioned earlier is the most applicable one to our object of study.

3. Strategies of Stance Realisation

Appraisal system is divided into three main components: *attitude* which includes affect, judgement and appreciation; *engagement* includes heteroglossic and monoglossic resources, and *graduation* includes force and focus. The locus of the concept of stance is squarely fitted under the heading of *attitude* while *engagement* and *graduation* situate the taken stance intersubjectively with respect to other dialogistic alternatives. Figure (1) sketches appraisal theory.

Attitude is concerned with “feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things” (Martin and White, 2005). It comprises three semantic components: affect which is concerned with expressing positive and negative feelings; judgement which is concerned with the evaluation of behaviour in terms of admire/criticise or praise/condemn; and appreciation which is concerned with evaluating aesthetic quality, processes or products. We will concentrate on judgement because affect and appreciation are not common characteristics of Chomsky’s opinion articles.

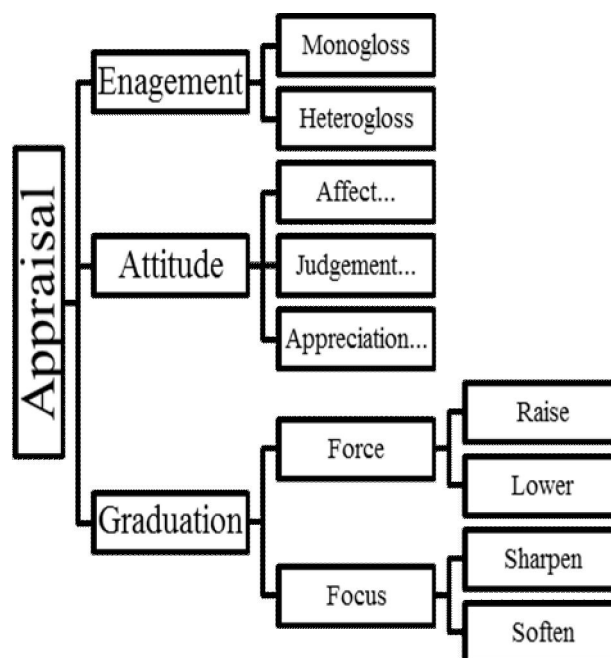


Figure (1) Appraisal resources adopted from (Martin & White, 2005:38)

Appraisal theory distinguishes between two types of norms of judgement: judgement of social esteem and judgement of social sanction. Social esteem can be divided into normality (how usual/unusual someone is), capacity (how capable someone is), and tenacity (how resolute someone is). While social sanction is divided into veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is). These are concerned with the moral evaluation of human behaviour and each type can be positive or negative.

Social esteem	Positive	Negative
Normality	lucky, fortunate, charmed, natural, ...	unlucky, hapless, star-crossed, ...
Capacity	powerful, vigorous, robust, experienced, ...	immature, childish, helpless, ...
Tenacity	plucky, brave, heroic, wary, patient, ...	timid, cowardly, gutless, hasty, ...
Social sanction		
Veracity	truthful, honest, credible ...	dishonest, deceitful, lying ...
Propriety	good, moral, ethical ...	bad, immoral, evil ...

Table (2) Norms of Judgement System (Iedema et al. 1994)

The communicative function of *attitude* is evaluation since it explicitly evaluates human emotions, human behaviour or aesthetics according to some standards. Regarding the resources of norms of judgement, they are subsumed under the heading of attitude markers which is a metadiscursive strategy that shows the author's personal stance towards an entity by lexical and/or phrasal items.

4. Dialogic Contraction and Expansion

After locating the concept of stance in appraisal theory and presenting the lexical and phrasal resources for the expression of stance, it is necessary to present the dialogic resources for the expression of stance which are included under the heading of *engagement*. Engagement includes heteroglossic resources that position the author's stance with respect to other stances which may or may not counter the author's stance.

White (2003, 2012) offers a dialogical taxonomy of resources of engagement and the reporter voice which constitutes an operational model to the object of the present study. According to White (2003), There are two types of dialogic engagement: dialogic expansion and contraction. The former includes two components: *entertain* and *attribute*; while the latter includes *disclaim* and *proclaim*. The communicative function of dialogic expansion is that it opens the space for alternative positions and creates a multi-layered discourse. The category *entertain* includes hedges and questions which construes a proposition as just one among many possibilities. *Attribute* grounds a proposition in the subjecthood of some external source through reporting. It performs the function of "fending off" the author's stance. It also construes a heteroglossic context by showing that the proposition is contingent. *Attribute* can be further divided into *acknowledge* and *distance*. The subcategory *acknowledge* includes a neutral reporting of

words or viewpoints of external voices such as (say, report, state, and according to x). While the subcategory distance includes reporting that disassociates the author's stance from the proposition by framing it with verbs or expressions such as (claim, maintain, contend, the myth is that...). These categories (entertain and attribute) are dialogically expansive in that they introduce alternative voices into the text.

On the other hand, dialogic contraction limits the dialogic space by rejecting alternative positions. It, therefore, includes *disclaim* which consists of two sub-components: *deny* and *counter*. The function of *deny* is that it sets the author's stance in some opposition to a position. It is represented by a direct negation to a position. In contrast, *counter* includes an indirect negation to some expected position. The resources of *counter* are concession, adversatives, counter-expectancy, etc.

The second component of dialogic contraction is *proclaim* which performs the function of "head off or rule out actual or potential dialogic alternatives" by representing the proposition as warrantable, reliable and agreed upon. *Proclaim* can be divided into three components: *concur*, *pronounce*, and *endorse*. *Concur* includes boosters which rule out and confront alternative stances. It represents the author's interest in advancing his/her viewpoint by heading off alternative views. As a result, the author's viewpoint is represented as generally agreed upon. *Pronounce* also includes boosters which shows the author's intervention and his/her "heightened personal investment" into the argument. It is dialogically contractive because it acknowledges alternative stance while simultaneously seeking to challenge it. *Endorse* represents the author's alignment with another author's stance. Endorsement acts to construct positive solidarity by foregrounding the subjecthood of some external source and aligning with his/her viewpoint through attribution. The following figure summarises the dialogic model of stance.

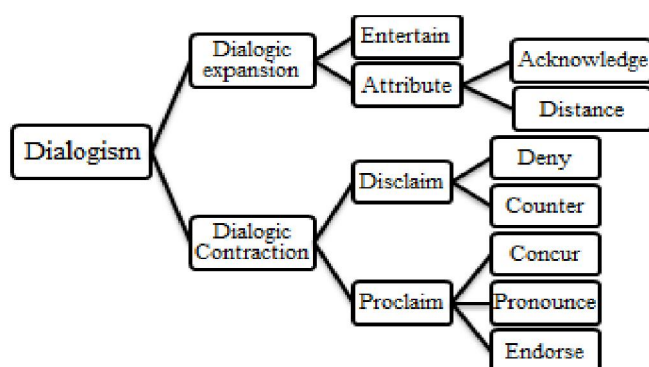


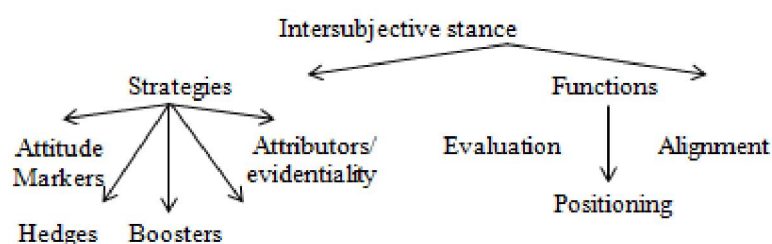
Figure (2) A dialogic model of stance (White, 2003)

The diversified resources of the concept of stance can be grouped under a multi-perspectival metadiscursive model which is developed from three authors (Hyland, 2005; Dafouz-Miline, 2008; Khabbazi, 2013). The category *entertain* is subsumed under hedges and *attribute* under attributors/evidentiality. *Disclaim* is subsumed under negation expressing counter-expectancy. *Proclaim* is subsumed under boosters. Accordingly, the adopted metadiscursive strategies of stance in this paper are attitude markers, hedges, boosters, attributors/evidentiality, and negation expressing counter-expectancy.

Concerning stance functions, Du Bios (2007) recognises three interconnected functions: evaluation, positioning, and alignment which constitute a single macro-stance act. Those acts are not separable and they constitute different aspects of a single macro-stance act.

4. The Model of Analysis

The model of analysis, accordingly, is concerned with two components: the strategies of stance realisation and the functions of taking a stance.

**Figure (3) The multi-perspectival model of analysis****5. Data Analysis**

The selected data are three articles from Chomsky's personal blog (Chomsky.info). Sampling is random purposive because it depends on the most relevant examples to enrich the study with information (Yin, 2016: 93). Sample size in qualitative research is problematic. Patton (2002a: 244) states that "there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry". Thus, there is a need to follow a key principle such as that offered by Lincoln & Guba (1985: 202), which is "selection to the point of redundancy". This principle restricts the data selection to the ones that offer new findings.

Concerning Chomsky's opinion articles, some articles are published in magazines and others are shared on *Chomsky.info* (Chomsky's personal blog). The selected articles are the published ones because they are subjected to evaluation and review and also subjected to editorial intervention to maintain the generic integrity of opinion articles as a political genre (Bhatia, 2014: 217).

5.1 Article 1

The first article is entitled "Chomsky: Paris attacks show hypocrisy of West's outrage" and published in *CNN.com*, January 20, 2015. Chomsky's stance in the first article is concerned with the evaluation (judgement) rather than affect or appreciation. It is primarily concerned with the judgement of social sanction which is mainly negative (expressing condemnation).

Social esteem	Positive	Negative
Normality		ultra-Zionist extremist and Islamophobe
Capacity	as independent journalist, veteran	
Tenacity	famous for his forceful defense, the courageous	
Social sanction	Positive	Negative
Veracity	described vividly, prominently,	Lauded, barely reported, striking omissions, collapse instantly on examination,
Propriety		the terrorist attack, the atrocities, brutal violence, The crimes, the murderous wave of Islamic terrorism, the assault, the attack, the worst single terrorist atrocity, slaughtered, the most extreme terrorist campaign, the condemnation, Marine assault against Fallujah, one of the worst crimes, a major war crime, Israel's vicious assault, many journalists were murdered, the assassination of three more journalists, the military coup.

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The negative evaluation is further supported by counterexamples that received little attention in the western media. These include evidence that is encountered in historical records.

Evidentiality

- 1- There are many other events that call for no inquiry into western culture and history — for example, the worst single terrorist atrocity in Europe in recent years, in July 2011, when Anders Breivik, a Christian ultra-Zionist extremist and Islamophobe, slaughtered 77 people, mostly teenagers.
- 2- The crime was reported prominently on the front page of the New York Times, accompanied with a photograph depicting how “Patients and hospital employees were rushed out of rooms by armed soldiers and ordered to sit or lie on the floor while troops tied their hands behind their backs.”
- 3- Thus, prominent among those who face an “enormous challenge” from brutal violence are Palestinians, once again during Israel’s vicious assault on Gaza in the summer of 2014, in which many journalists were murdered, sometimes in well-marked press cars, along with thousands of others,...
- 4- Also ignored was the assassination of three more journalists in Latin America in December, bringing the number for the year to 31.
- 5- There have been more than a dozen journalists killed in Honduras alone since the military coup of 2009 that was effectively recognized by the U.S. (but few others), probably according post-coup Honduras the per capita championship for murder of journalists.

The factual instances or counterexamples are one of the major strategies by which Chomsky attempts to expose the elites’ dishonest rhetoric and the deceptive propaganda model that focuses only on the “other” crimes.

Other counterexamples are given through negation expressing counter expectancy (Khabbazi, 2013) which shows that something has not fulfilled the author’s expectations.

- 6- There were no demonstrations or cries of outrage, no chants of “We are RTV,” no inquiries into the roots of the attack in Christian culture and history. On the contrary, the attack on the press was lauded.
- 7- The International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia considered the NATO attack, concluding that it was not a crime, and although civilian casualties were “unfortunately high, they do not appear to be clearly disproportionate.”

8- The assault opened with occupation of Fallujah General Hospital, a major war crime quite apart from how it was carried out...The occupation of the hospital was considered meritorious and justified:

...

Concerning attributors, Chomsky makes use of attributors to give the source of information, expand the discourse, and to enrich the argument with different voices, making it sounds objective. Attributors are dialogically analysed after (White, 2003) as discourse expanders.

Dialogic expansion

Entertain	The more <i>we can</i> blame some crimes on enemies, the greater the outrage; the greater <i>our responsibility for crimes</i> — and hence the more <i>we can</i> do to end them — the less the concern, tending to oblivion or even denial.
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Attribute

Acknowledge	French Prime Minister Manuel Valls <u>declared</u> “a war against terrorism, against jihadism, against radical Islam, against everything that is aimed at breaking fraternity, freedom, solidarity.”
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Distance	<u>Contrary to the eloquent pronouncements</u> , it is not the case that “Terrorism is terrorism. There’s no two ways about it.”
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The categories *entertain* and *attribute* open the dialogic space for alternative positions and construct a multi-layered discourse. The author creates a space to entertain alternative positions which may concur with the author’s stance or counter it. For example, counter stance to the author’s stance can be, for example, “a war FOR civilization” or “Serb TV is as much a part of Milosevic’s murder machine as his military is, hence a legitimate target of attack”. These views are introduced into the text through hedges and attributors.

In contrast to dialogic expansion, there is another set of categories that are intersubjectively oriented to contract the discourse. These are subsumed under the heading of dialogic contraction.

Dialogic contraction

Disclaim

Deny	These last quotes, however — as independent journalist David Peterson reminds
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	us — are <u>not</u> from January 2015.
Counter	<u>Rather</u> , they are from a report by Erlanger on April 24 1999, which received far less attention.
Proclaim	
Concur	Abrams is <u>right</u> in describing the Charlie Hebdo attack as “the most threatening assault on journalism in living memory.”
Pronounce	There <u>definitely</u> are two ways about it: theirs versus ours. And <u>not</u> just terrorism.
Endorse	The crime was <u>reported prominently</u> on the front page of the New York Times, accompanied with a photograph depicting how “Patients and hospital employees were rushed out of rooms by armed soldiers and ordered to sit or lie on the floor while troops tied their hands behind their backs.”

Disclaim shows that the author positions his stance against the views reported in the western media. Thus, *deny* and *counter* activate the position of the author as dialogically opposed to the agreed upon views of the media. *Counter* expresses the author’s scepticism about the reported view and also expresses the author’s alignment with David Peterson as an authoritative and external source of information. However, attributing the source of information to an authoritative individual is subjective and individualistic because it represents only one position. Thus, it is contingent and not absolute.

Under *proclaim*, the author shows his position with respect to other voices. Although the author explicitly concurs with Abrams’ stance, he criticised it indirectly through mentioning other instances that are not considered as part of the “living memory” such as “Marine assault against Fallujah in November 2004”, “those who face an enormous challenge from brutal violence are Palestinians”, and “the assassination of three more journalists in Latin America”. Thus, the author establishes a negative solidarity with Abrams and decided not to criticise his view directly. Instead, he subjected what is called the “living memory” to different events and let the reader draws the conclusion. The careful investigation and the analysis of events from different approaches show

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the author's interest in developing and consolidating his viewpoint against the alternative views. Thus, *pronounce* expresses the author's explicit intervention to convey his stance which includes foregrounding the author's subjective view. The latter is further enhanced through the *endorsement* of another subjective view which functions as "I plus some authoritative source" share the current view in developing the proposition that "Paris attacks show hypocrisy of West's outrage"

5.2 Article 2

The second article is entitled "The Greatest Threat to World Peace" with the subtitle that explicitly names the stance object, "The United States polls higher than Pakistan, Iran and China as a perceived menace to peace". The second article is also primarily concerned with the judgement of social sanction.

Social esteem	Positive	Negative
Normality		
Capacity	masterful scholarly inquiry	
Tenacity		
Social sanction	Positive	Negative
Veracity		scarcely reports the fact
Propriety		poverty, drone murder campaign, global hegemony, that aggression, "the supreme international crime," all the evil, the current atrocities, the U.S. assaults on Fallujah, the most vicious and disgraceful war crimes of the aggression, apartheid, United States continued to support vicious opposition terrorists, murderous depredations, shameful episodes, supreme power

The judgement of social sanction is further enhanced by evidentiality which provides information that supports the claim that U.S. is the "greatest threat".

9- The U.N. report shows that far-reaching reforms have sharply reduced poverty in Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela and some other countries where U.S. influence is slight, but that it remains abysmal in others—

- namely, those that have long been under U.S. domination, like Guatemala and Honduras.
- 10- A look at the news reports of the U.S. assaults on Fallujah in 2004 quickly reveals that these were among the most vicious and disgraceful war crimes of the aggression.
- 11- And it cannot be too often repeated that aggression was defined at the Nuremberg Trials as “the supreme international crime,” differing from others in that it encompasses all the evil that follows, including the current catastrophe.
- Furthermore, Chomsky strengthens his argument by attempting to achieve intersubjective consensus. This is accomplished through attributors.
- 12- Few Latin Americans are likely to question the judgment of Cuban nationalist hero José Martí, who wrote in 1894, “The further they draw away from the United States, the freer and more prosperous the [Latin] American people will be.”
- 13- Sometimes the reasons for the world’s concerns are obliquely recognized in the United States, as when former CIA director Michael Hayden, discussing Obama’s drone murder campaign, conceded that “Right now, there isn’t a government on the planet that agrees with our legal rationale for these operations, except for Afghanistan and maybe Israel.”
- 14- A normal country would be concerned by how it is viewed in the world. Certainly that would be true of a country committed to “a decent respect to the opinions of mankind,” to quote the Founding Fathers. But the United States is far from a normal country.

The dialogic expansion of Chomsky’s intersubjective stance is given below.

Dialogic expansion

Entertain	As the year 2013 drew to an end, the BBC <u>reported</u> on the results of the WIN/Gallup International poll on the question: “ <u>Which country do you think is the greatest threat to peace in the world today?</u> ”
Attribute	
Acknowledge	In some parts of the world the United States ranks even higher as a perceived menace to world peace, notably in the Middle East, where

overwhelming majorities regard the U.S. and its close ally Israel as the major threats they face, not the U.S. -Israeli favorite: Iran.

Distance

The U.S.-approved version is quite different. From the first days after South Africa agreed to withdraw from illegally occupied Namibia in 1988, paving the way for the end of apartheid, the outcome was hailed by the Wall Street Journal as a “splendid achievement” of American diplomacy, “one of the most significant foreign policy achievements of the Reagan administration.”

The dialogic contraction is given below.

Dialogic contraction

Disclaim

Deny

In some parts of the world the United States ranks even higher as a perceived menace to world peace, notably in the Middle East, where overwhelming majorities regard the U.S. and its close ally Israel as the major threats they face, not the U.S. -Israeli favorite: Iran.

Counter

But when the world persists in believing that the United States is by far the greatest threat to peace, the American press scarcely reports the fact.

Proclaim

Concur

When Mandela at last obtained his freedom, he declared that “During all my years in prison, Cuba was an inspiration and Fidel Castro a tower of strength. ... [Cuban victories] destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the white oppressor...”

Pronounce

Though these shameful episodes may be wiped out of internal U.S. history, others are likely to understand Mandela’s words.

Endorse As Gleijeses convincingly demonstrates, South Africa's aggression and terrorism in Angola and its occupation of Namibia were ended by "Cuban military might" accompanied by "fierce black resistance" within South Africa and the courage of Namibian guerrillas.

5.3 Article 3

The third article is entitled "The Leading Terrorist State". The article is also concerned primarily with the negative judgement of social sanction of U.S. foreign policy.

Social esteem	Positive	Negative
Normality		
Capacity	a prominent commentator	
Tenacity		reluctance
Social sanction	Positive	Negative
Veracity		hardly ever heard in the U.S.
Propriety		leading terrorist state, a major terrorist operation, apartheid regime, Jonas Savimbi's terrorist Unita army, horrendous, aggressors, illegally, a murderous and destructive campaign, the terrorist war, The atrocities, a crisis, American terrorist attacks, the long terrorist war, crushing embargo, condemned, a terrorist unit, carnage, deported, jihadism, ISIS, murderous caliphate, the world's greatest terrorist campaign.

The evaluative act is further enhanced by evidentials which again provide a strong support to the claim that U.S. is "a leading terrorist state".

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- 15- A 1989 U.N. inquiry estimated that South African depredations led to 1.5 million deaths in neighboring countries, let alone what was happening within South Africa itself.
- 16- Nicaragua need hardly be mentioned. President Ronald Reagan's terrorist war was condemned by the World Court, which ordered the U.S. to terminate its "unlawful use of force" and to pay substantial reparations.
- 17- Washington responded by escalating the war and vetoing a 1986 U.N. Security Council resolution calling on all states – meaning the U.S. – to observe international law.

Dialogic expansion

Entertain "It's official: The U.S. is the world's leading terrorist state, and proud of it."
That should have been the headline for the lead story in The New York Times on Oct. 15, which was more politely titled "CIA Study of Covert Aid Fueled Skepticism About Helping Syrian Rebels."

Attribute

Acknowledge The article reports on a CIA review of recent U.S. covert operations to determine their effectiveness. The White House concluded that unfortunately successes were so rare that some rethinking of the policy was in order."

Distance The article quoted President Barack Obama as saying that he had asked the CIA to conduct the review to find cases of "financing and supplying arms to an insurgency in a country that actually worked out well. And they couldn't come up with much." So Obama has some reluctance about continuing such efforts.

Dialogic contraction is given below

Dialogic contraction

Disclaim

Deny	The first paragraph of the Times article <u>cites</u> three major examples of “covert aid”: Angola, Nicaragua and Cuba.
Counter	<u>In fact</u> , each case was a major terrorist operation conducted by the U.S.
Proclaim	
Concur	Former CIA analyst Paul Pillar <u>warns</u> of the “resentment-generating impact of the U.S. strikes” in Syria, which may further induce the jihadi organizations Jabhat al Nusra and the Islamic State toward “repairing their breach from last year and campaigning in tandem against the U.S. intervention by portraying it as a war against Islam.”
Pronounce	To this <u>we may add</u> the world’s greatest terrorist campaign: Obama’s global project of assassination of “terrorists.” The “resentment-generating impact” of those drone and special -forces strikes should be too well known to require further comment.
Endorse	“I think the United States is one of the key creators of this organization,” <u>reports</u> former CIA analyst Graham Fuller, <u>a prominent commentator on the region</u> . “The United States did not plan the formation of ISIS,” he adds, “but its destructive interventions in the Middle East and the War in Iraq were the basic causes of the birth of ISIS.”

5.4 Concluding Remarks

Chomsky’s stance in the three articles is dogmatic and sharp. This kind of stance-taking can be called moralist stance which foregrounds social sanction and proclaims the writer’s position. Concerning the presentation of claims, Chomsky does not present his claims as completely accurate. Rather, he depends on plausible argument, evidentiality and attributors. These intensify the force of the claims, making them hard to be converted or denied.

Chomsky’s stance toward American foreign policy can be called *damning* stance. This kind of stance expresses three main functions. It

expresses Chomsky's exasperation about the political situation. It shows the author's denigration of American wars the negative political interventions. Finally, it exposes the truth by naming the transgressors who anticipate amoral actions.

6. Conclusion

The key findings of this paper are the following.

- 1- The analysis shows that resources of the judgement of social sanction are the primary basis of Chomsky's stance. This conclusion is supported by Mikhail (2017: 251) who provides a careful review of Chomsky's moral philosophy. Chomsky believes in moral universalism as opposed to moral relativism. He assumes that the moral faculty is invariant among humans. Thus, he appeals to the moral discourse as factual evidence of "atrocities or other human rights violations," which proclaims his stance towards "principles of justice, equality, and human rights".

The combination of moral judgement and factual evidence should not be considered contradictory. This is because the description of actual circumstances alone enables us to draw a moral conclusion about the given state of affairs. This is what Chomsky's called the "responsibility of the intellectual" which aims at exposing the dishonest rhetoric and saying the truth. According to Chomsky, although the purported policies of U.S. are presumably moral, however, factual evidence and experiences suggest otherwise of what is claimed. This discrepancy is one of the targets of Chomsky's political analysis which is arrived at by the comparison between what is claimed and what happened in the real world.

- 2- The main communicative strategies which act to construct an allegedly objective stance are evidentiality and attributors. The problem of objectivity and the characterization of the individual style of Chomsky's stance as "blunt" and "lacks academic rigour" is rejected. The rejection is based on two reasons. Subjects like political analysis are challenging to be dealt with objectively. The second one is that the data of analysis shows that Chomsky makes use of different strategies to keep the discourse impersonal and objective. As an alternative to objectivity, the political stance is influenced by two components: the author's subjective stance and the attainment of intersubjective consensus. Regarding Chomsky's stance, it is intersubjectively oriented. Intersubjectivity is achieved by attributors. As a result, this strategy enables Chomsky to enact an allegedly objective discourse by

individuating and portioning his (subjective stance) to different political actors to achieve intersubjective consensus.

- 3- The moralist judgement of Chomsky's stance is conveyed through a non-diplomatic style which justifies the absence of excusing stance. Thus, he regularly intensifies his claims and sharpens the moral judgement. Chomsky's style is polemic in that it mainly depends on factual evidence and description of real circumstances that are challenging to be denied. The polemic style is reminiscent of Frankfurt school. Advocates of the Frankfurt-style examine a certain social, political, or economic issue by subjecting it to detailed observation and analyses. Through this process, the analysis and observation make "the judge itself". Chomsky applies a similar method in that he provides historical records, evidence and authoritative opinions and let the reader draw his/her own moral conclusion. As a result, "The Chomsky problem" (being complex and persuasive in linguistics while "simple-minded" in politics) is influenced by the stance resources which he uses. The moral judgement is simple and not complex. Adopting damning stance requires a clear and straightforward argument. To put it differently, taking a stance directly influences identity construction. The moral evaluation, the formation of allegedly objective discourse, and the polemic style can be conceived as "syndromes" of Chomsky's stance- his stance signature (Martin & White, 2005: 203).

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Appendix

Article 1: *CNN.com*, "Chomsky: Paris attacks show hypocrisy of West's outrage". Author: Noam Chomsky. Published: 2015-20-1

Article 2: *In These Times*, "The Greatest Threat to World Peace". Author: Noam Chomsky. Published: 2014-5-2

Article 3: *Truthout*, "The Leading Terrorist State". Author: Noam Chomsky. Published: 2014-3-11