Marek Hampl

The representation of social actors in conflicting discourse

Abstract

This paper focuses on George W. Bush´s political speeches delivered in the period from September 11, 2001 to May 2003. In this period of time, the speaker rhetorically attempted to create a dichotomous representation between the "Us" (the USA) and "Them" (terrorists, enemies) groups. The aim of the paper is to analyze the patterns of transitivity related to Material processes and the involvement of respective social actors in these patterns. The theoretical part of the paper discusses the main features of the system of transitivity within Systemic - Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the properties and participants in Material processes. In the process of analysis, the focus will be placed on the discursive representation of the "Us" and "Them" groups and on how these groups and respective social actors were portrayed in the speaker´s discourse.

Key words: transitivity, Material process, political speech, "Us" and "Them" groups.

1. Introduction

As a result of 9/11, the administration of George W. Bush adopted a specific and consistent type of discourse aimed at the justification of military actions in Afghanistan and in Iraq. One of the rhetorical features of the Bush administration in the process of the justification of military operations was to create a dichotomous representation of "Us" and "Them." In this respect, Chilton (2004, p. 159) notes that an important part of President Bush's discourse in the period after 9/11 was to "assert that there was no neutral ground: the world and leaders from other countries were told [...] to be either "with us" or "against us."

The aim of the study is to identify and analyze the patterns of transitivity of Material processes in the discourse of George W. Bush. In the process of analysis and discussion, the focus will be placed on the discursive representation of the "Us" and "Them" groups and on how these groups are presented and portrayed as collective blocks and entities. In order to investigate the representation and construction of various social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 32) in G.W. Bush's speeches with the help of the system of transitivity, the focus will be placed on Material processes with the help of which the nature of collective identities such as "Us" and "Them" was created and presented in political speeches.

The theoretical part of the paper briefly introduces the concept of the system of transitivity within Systemic - Functional Linguistics (SFL), the properties of Material processes as well as the presentation of participants in Material processes. This discusssion

will be followed by methodological part that presents the research procedure, research questions and the character of data for analysis. The analytical part of the paper will focus on the construction of opposition between "Us" and "Them" in George W. Bush's discourse in the period from Sept. 11, 2001 to May 2003. In this period of time, it was necessary to delimit a clear - cut boundary between "Us" and "Them." This opposition could be also effectively conveyed with the help of Material processes that were employed in the discourse of the speaker.

In linguistic terms, the representation of social actors could indicate in what way particular parties, camps, or individuals are portrayed in discourse. According to Krzyżanowski (2013, p. 117), the presentation of social actors deals with how "certain social and political actors are represented, portrayed and positioned in discourse, as well as endowed with social and political agency by means of different discursive moves." Social actors, and activities associated with them can be encoded within the system of transitivity. Jeffries (2014, p. 410) notes that transitivity is a "model of meaning based on verb choice." Martin (2000, p. 276) suggests that this model "allows us to ask questions about who is acting, what kinds of actions they undertake, and who or what or anything they act upon." Therefore, the analysis of the representation of social actors with the help of the system of transitivity may indicate how political actors (in this case George W. Bush) in their discourse develop certain ideological picture of the world.

2. Theoretical framework: Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the system of transitivity within SFL

The general theoretical framework for the study is informed by Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) which was developed by M.A.K. Halliday. This approach views language as a social phenomenon taking place in a social context. In her analytic framework of Critical Stylistics, which is designed to the investigation of operating of ideologies in discourse, Jeffries (2014, p. 413) draws on Halliday´s Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) in adopting various analytic tools, e.g. the system of transitivity. Jeffries (2014, p. 410) notes that "Halliday´s work has taken the idea that language is a "social semiotic" and made this the centre of his model of human communication." According to Young and Fitzgerald (2004, p. 16) "SFL is a way of understanding the functions that language performs and the choices people make when they speak/write to exchange meaning with readers/listeners." In

Halliday's Systemic - Functional Linguistics, language is a resource for making meaning and it fulfils three metafunctions: interpersonal, textual, and ideational. Jeffries (2014, p. 409) considers the three metafunctions "a general model of linguistic meaning."

Halliday (1973, p. 39) suggests that "the whole of the transitivity system in language – the interpretation and different types of processes of the external world, including material, mental and abstract processes of every kind – is part of the ideational component of the grammar." The types of processes that are classified in language include Relational, Material, Mental, Behavioural, Existential and Verbal processes. Each process consists of participants and also of circumstances (Halliday, 1985, p. 101). Processes have a certain potential for the reflection of events and actions in discourse – in this respect, Jeffries (2014, p. 413) observes that "the representation of processes [...] has the power to make events, actions and states more or less connected to particular participants and create the impression of much (or little) activity."

The analysis of the system of transitivity is also effective in exposing of how processes are linguistically marked in texts and therefore, it exposes how processes and agencies are assigned to participants in texts. Positive, as well as negative representations of participants could be conveyed by promoting and sustaining certain patterns in discourse. Consequently, the analysis of transitivity may provide an effective tool for the investigation of dichotomous representations in discourse.

2.1. Material processes and overview of participants in Material processes

Material processes are characterized by the involvement of physical action or by an active participation in an event. Material processes belong to "the most salient types of processes" as they are "involving physical actions" (Thompson, 1996, p. 79). A typical interpretation of the verb is that of "a doing word" (Thompson, 1996, ibid.). Thus, the "figures of ´doing´ represent material actions: "what people do or what happens" (Martin and Rose, 2003, p. 72). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 170) state that in Material processes, "things happen and people or other actors do things, or make them happen." Verbs that can realize Material processes are provided by verbs such as "kick", "kill", "attack", etc. The "doer" in this type of process is referred to as "Actor" and this entity can be animate or inanimate. The Actor "does the deed" (Halliday, 2013, p. 224) or performs the action and is responsible for causing the action or event. As a result, Actors are considered powerful

entities – as they are, according to Halliday (ibid.) "the source of energy bringing about the change." Generally, Actors are powerful entities, initiators of actions and usually those responsible for particular activities and "doings."

Another participant in Material processes is referred to as "Goal" - this is because the actions and activities are directed at this entity, which is the most affected. Goatly (2000, p. 288) describes Goal as "the victim of the power of Actors." Despite the fact that Goals are "autonomous" participants, they are usually the least powerful entities because the activity of Actors is performed on them. Goals most usually take the form of direct objects. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 167) "the Goal is impacted in some way by its participation in the process; the "impact" either (i) brings a participant into existence or else (ii) manipulates one that already exists." Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 153) present the following scheme which exemplifies the relationship between Actor and Goal, together with the process:
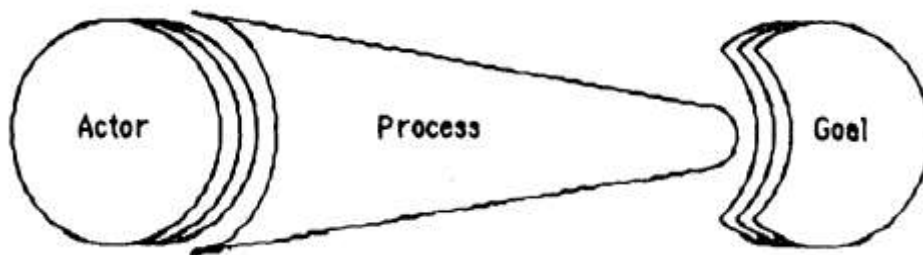

Figure 1: The relationship between Actor and Goal
(source: Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, p. 153)

The aim of the analysis of Material processes is to expose who is presented as the most powerful entity in discourse. In the process of the analysis, processes are of essential importance, as they deal with forms of verbs and therefore with the character of particular actions. Processes (and the participants associated with them) have the essential responsibility for expressing and conveying the actions and states to which texts refer (Goatly, 2000, p. 75). Generally, the processes illustrate important aspects about the manner in which actors and the world are presented in any type of discourse, and also in political speeches. A brief illustration of Material process is presented below, taken from the discourse of George W. Bush (November 21, 2001).

We	fight	the terrorists
Actor	**Pr.: Material**	**Goal**

3. Methodology and data

The process of analysis of the corpus of political speeches focuses on the analysis of the representation of respective social actors in the speaker´s discourse. The nature of analysis in the study is qualitative - within the analysis the focus was placed on the patterns of transitivity that feature the involvement of social actors - "Us" and "Them" in Material processes. The following questions are associated with the analytical approach and may be helpful in the process of analysis of patterns of transitivity: What types of actions are presented? What is the nature of involvement of the social actors in these actions?

The methodology for the organization of the patterns of transitivity follows the idea proposed by Thompson (2010, p. 19). Thompson (2010, p. 19) proposes the process of "schematic representations of transitivity structures in which there are recurrent patterns of one or more of enitites [...] in particular participant roles." According to Thompson (2010, p. 17) this process "is designed to highlight the key patterns and to make the movement from the identification of these patterns to interpretation of their significance in ideological terms." Similarly, Jeffries (2014, p. 418) suggests that in the process of analysis "the focus should be on linking the textual features [...] to the ideological landscapes of the text."

Although the nature of qualitative research may inevitably lead to the "cherry-picking" (Baker and Levon, 2015, p. 2) procedure, it is believed that this type of analysis may also capture certain patterns that appear in the speaker´s discourse. Baker and Levon (2015, p. 12) also argue that qualitative analysis as such "enables the analyst to discover subtle, and perhaps unexpected, patterns of socially meaningful language use, and to situate those patterns within a broader social, historical and ideological context."

Jeffries (2014, p. 48) also discusses the problem related to qualitative nature of analysis and notes that "[e]ven with small quantities of data the comprehensive analysis [...] can be overwhelming." As a possible solution to this problem, Jeffries (ibid.) recommends a procedure whose aim is to "select extracts or limit the tools of analysis by not employing all the textual-conceptual function in the process." Similarly, Mautner (2009, p. 35) suggests that "if a purpose-built corpus is used as the starting point of an inquiry" one point of departure for

the analysis "is to begin with a close reading of selected texts in the corpus" and to "identify salient terms and patterns" (ibid.).

As it is indicated above, the qualitative approach cannot capture the selected phenomena in their full complexity, however, the tools for analysis have been adopted in an attempt to identify the principal patterns that are employed by the speaker and which characterize the involvement of Actors in Material processes.

In line with the ideas proposed by Jeffries (2014) and Mautner (2009), in the process of analysis the focus was placed on the selections of extracts and on the identification of principal patterns that were systematically employed in the discourse of George W. Bush and that featured the involvement of social actors in Material processes.

3.1 Data for analysis – amount and characterization

The research presented in this paper has been conducted on the corpus of 33 speeches whose transcripts are available on the official website of the White House (georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov). The corpus comprises the speeches delivered by George W. Bush in the period from September 11, 2001 to those given several weeks after the beginning of the war in Iraq (March 2003) in May 2003.

Political speeches delivered by the speaker enact the conflicting discourse through their articulation of the process of demonization of the enemy and through emphasizing the positive presentation of the "Us" group. The speeches by George W. Bush that were delivered after September 11, 2001 also created a type of enemy that is "devilish" - by its factual and ideological affiliation. The speeches that are analysed originate from the speaker who intends to materialize policies influenced by particular ideological stances – the ideology of a strong polarization into two opposing camps. This aspect has provided the rationale and the motivation for the choice of speeches that were delivered by the speaker.

The variation of political speeches which are presented in the corpus may be also associated with what Cap (2010, p. 119) calls "*interventionist discourse*" (italics in original). According to Cap (ibid.), this type of discourse involves "legitimization of actions which a political speaker/ actor chooses to undertake in order to neutralize a threat to his or her geopolitical camp." In this type of discourse, political leaders also intend to identify who is "us" and who is "them" - this is an essential aspect and objective of their discourse. In the following table, there is a description of register of political speeches that were delivered by the speaker:

Table 1: Description of register of political speeches delivered by the speaker
(based on Hasan 1999, qtd. in Urbach 2013, p. 304)

FIELD OF DISCOURSE	"institutional" content, reporting of what happened on 9/11, 2001, and formulating the response of the USA to the events, adding judgements about the enemies ("Them") and their actions, assuring the citizens of the USA that the country is still strong, support of the in-group solidarity with the "Us" group, explaining why to initiate military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, presenting "Us" as active agents, creating negative image of the "other"
TENOR OF DISCOURSE	Social relation: there is little or no direct interaction between the speaker and the audiences, there are occasional interruptions by the members of the audience, the distribution of power between the speaker and his listeners is unequal, it is grounded in the institutional status of the speaker
MODE OF DISCOURSE	Role of language: language is used as a reflection of events that took place on 9/11 and it is used as a part of the action against the enemy as well
	Medium: combination of written and spoken mode, the speaker´s speeches are written to be read aloud, they are not spontaneous, but planned, drafted and rewritten in advance

4. Analysis and discussion

The social actors that will be analysed in the following include The United States, its enemies and their respective "role allocation" (Van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 42-43) - in the roles of Actors and Goals of their actions within Material processes in the discourse of George W. Bush. Representation can contribute to either active or passive presentation of social actors and they may be depicted as "agents", "patients" (goals) with regards to the actions that are performed (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 43). In the following tables there will be a presentation of social actors ("Them" - terrorists, the Taliban regime, Saddam Hussein and his regime, Iran, "Us" – various branches of power, government, army, intelligence) and of their involvement in Material processes in the roles of Actors and in respective Goals of their actions.

4.1 "Them" in the role of the Actors

Table 2: The Representation of enemies ("Them") in the role of Actors in Material processes in the discourse of George W. Bush

N	Date/ Speech		Actor	Process: [Material]	Goal
1	21/11/01		They	**have killed**	thousands of our citizens
2	21/11/01	And		**seek to kill**∗[7]	many more
3	21/11/01		They	**seek to kill**	friendly governments
4	21/11/01		They	**seek**	weapons of mass destruction
5	8/11/01		This new enemy	**seeks to destroy**	our freedom
6	8/11/01	And		**impose**	its views
7	17/10/01		The evildoers	**have struck**	our nation...
8	17/10/01		People	**have struck**	us
9	29/1/02		Iran	aggresively **pursues**	these weapons
10	29/1/02	And		**exports**	terror
11	29/1/02		The Iraqi regime	**has plotted to develop**	anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons
12	10/11/01		They	**kill**	thousands of innocent people
13	10/11/01		They	**kill**	fellow Muslims
14	10/11/01	and then	They	**gloat**	
15	6/11/01		These terrorist groups	**seek to destabilize**	entire nations and regions
16	6/11/01		They	**are seeking**	chemical, biological and nuclear weapons
17	10/11/01		The terrorists	**are violating**	tenets of every religion
18	20/9/01		The terrorists	**practice**	a fringe form of Islamic extremism
19	10/10/01		They	**plan, promote, and commit**	murder
20	7/10/02		The Iraqi regime	**produces**	chemical and biological weapons
21	7/10/02		It[8]	**is seeking**	nuclear weapons
22	2/10/02		It	**has sponsored and sheltered**	terrorists;
23	2/10/02		The regime	**has developed**	weapons of mass death
24	7/10/02		This same tyrant	**has tried to dominate**	the Middle East,
25	7/10/02			**has invaded and brutally occupied**	a small neighbour,
26	7/10/02			**has struck**	other nations...
27	20/9/01		They	**want to overthrow**	existing governments
28	4/10/01		Terrorists	**hope to change**	our way of life
29	6/2/02		The enemy	still **wants to get**	us
30	24/10/01		They	**wanted to diminish**	the spirit of America
31	7/12/01		They	**desire to concentrate**	power (in the hands of a few)
32	15/3/02		They	**want to hit**	us

---

[7] Martin et al. (1997, pp. 116-117) note that clauses such as "They *will start to enjoy*" are "realized by a complex of verbal groups. For example the Process *will start to enjoy* is realized by a complex of the two verbal groups *will start* and *to enjoy*. In a Transitivity analysis, the second (non-finite) verbal group is the relevant one for PROCESS TYPE" (italics and capital letters in original).

[8] Pronoun *it* refers to the Iraqi regime

33	20/9/01		It	is not only repressing	its own people
34	20/9/01		It	is threatening	people...
35	10/11/01		They	seek to overthrow	governments
36	10/11/01	And		destabilize	entire regions
37	6/10/01		The Taliban	promotes	terror (abroad)
38	6/10/01	And		practices	terror (against its own people)
39	3/1/03		The Iraqi regime	has used	weapons of mass destruction
40	11/11/02		The enemies of America	have killed	thousands of our citizens
41	11/11/02	And	They	desire to kill	thousands more

The table above (Table 2) focuses on the formation of the type of enemy – with the help of dynamic Material processes in which the opponents and the enemies participate. The enemies are presented as being active – they are presented in specific actions. However, their activities are associated with destructive actions and are considered inhuman. Thus, George W. Bush creates the ideological division between "Us" and "Them" on the basis of the destructive actions of the enemies. This is accomplished by situating of the agency, negatively evaluated Material processes and Goals of the actions of the enemies (Butt et al., 2004, p. 285). The enemies are involved in, e.g., acts of disruption of political situation, as it is presented in Goals of their actions in (27) and (35).

According to Butt et al. (2004, p. 274) in political discourse it is rather unusual "[t]o give the enemy such a material, dynamic grammatical profile through the transitivity selections." Butt et al. (ibid.) go on to argue that this aspect "is often not the choice of leaders speaking of political enemies." However, in the discourse of the speaker, the vivid and unfavourable depiction of the "other" with the help of Material processes serves to indicate that the world – under the effect of the enemy´s material actions is "a more dangerous place" (Butt et al. 2004, p. 274).

The presentations of enemies in their roles of Actors and their attempts to violate "freedoms", or to kill innocent people or to attack the USA and its people construct the enemy as a threat to the civilized world. The Goals of the enemies´ actions are realized through Material processes or "doings" performed over living entities ("thousands of our citizens", "thousands of innocent people"). Other Goals of the enemy´s action that are "under attack" or are targeted (in these instances it is the actions of Saddam Hussein) involve geographical areas such as "the Middle East" (clause 24) and "a small neighbor" (clause 25, referring to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990). In these clauses, Material processes are also used as a means of an indirect reference to events which took place several years ago.

Simpson (1993, p. 109) suggests that within Material processes, "lexical choices are just as strong an indicator of the respective political stances adopted." In the clauses in which the enemies are portrayed, George W. Bush makes use a whole array of words which activate negative connotations. Thus, the negative presentation can be seen in clauses with Material processes such as "kill", "invade", "occupy" or "destabilize", "repress", "overthrow", "violate" as they are usually negatively perceived.

The choices of tense in verbal groups in clauses (2) - (5), (12), (13), (18) - (20), (simple present indicates habitual action) indicate that the activity of the enemies, especially with regards to killing and seeking of weapons of mass destruction is constant and typical of the terrorists, which contributes to their demonization. The enemies are depicted as dynamic, dangerous and violent participants who have the ability to impact other participants and enitites and therefore, they have to be confronted. In this respect, Oddo (2011, p. 289) suggests that "by representing an enemy that is completely evil and ready to strike, the discourse practically necessitates only one course of action: wipe Them off the face of the planet. In this way, Us/Them polarization is […] an argumentative technique that rhetors employ to justify the violence", or the action against the enemy.

4.2 The United States in the role of the Actor

Table 3: The Representation of "Us"(the USA) in the role of Actor in Material processes in the discourse of George W. Bush

N	Date/ Speech		Actor	Process: [Material]	Goal
1	24/6/02		We	**defend**	freedom
2	11/12/01		We	**will defeat**	the enemies of freedom
3	17/4/02		We	**will defeat**	global terror
4	7/10/02		We	**defend not only**	our precious freedoms…
5	19/3/03		We	**will defend**	our freedom
6	1/6/02		We	**will defend**	the peace (against threats)
7	8 /11/01		We	**will defend**	the values of our counry
8	27/3/02	…	We	**fight to promote**	freedom (around the world)
9	8/10/01	…	We	**will confront**	the threat of terrorism
10	23/5/02		We	**defend not just**	America or Europe;
11	23/5/02		we	**are defending**	civilization itself
12	23/5/02		We	**will defeat**	the enemies of freedom
13	1/5/03		We	**will defend**	the peace
14	17/10/01		We	**will defeat**	terror (wherever we find it...)
15	21/11/01		We	**will fight**	these evil ones
16	21/11/01		We	**have defeated**	enemies of freedom (before)
17	21/11/01	and	we	**will defeat**	them (again)
18	26/3/03		We	**are opposing**	the greatest danger (in the war on terror)

19	26/3/03		We	**will not allow**	the triumph of hatred and violence
20	8/10/01		We	**will confront**	the threat of terrorism
21	17/10/01		We	**must stop**	the evil ones
22	17/3/03		We	**will tear down**	the apparatus of terror
23	14/2/03		We	**are tracking and confronting and defeating**	international terror
24	19/3/03		We	**will meet**	that threat (now)
25	21/11/01		We	**´re seeking**	them
26	21/11/01		We	**´re fighting**	them
27	17/10/01		We	**fight**	evil people
28	17/10/01		We	**are taking apart**	terrorist network...
29	17/10/01		We	**have destroyed**	many terrorist camps
30	1/10/01		We	**have frozen**	thirty al Qaeda accounts
31	21/11/01		We	**will find and destroy**	their network
32	21/11/01		We	**fight**	the terrorists
33	21/11/01	and	we	**fight**	all of those who give them aid
34	1/5/03		We	**´ve removed**	an ally of Al-Qaeda
35	1/5/03	and		**cut off**	a source of terrorist funding
36	21/2/02		We	**defend**	civilization itself
37	2/10/02		We	**must confront**	both terror cells and terror states
38	10/4/03		We	**will end**	a brutal regime...
39	11/12/01		We	**will discover and destroy**	sleeper cells
40	11/12/01		We	**will track**	terrorist movements...
41	15/3/02		We	**will defend**	the innocent lives of the American people..

(the passages in brackets present other semantic roles than that of Goal, they complete clauses and they are not analysed)

In all of the Material processes presented in Table 3, the United States takes the role of the Actor, and the processes are classified as those of the *action* type.

The United States is in all of these clauses firmly in control of all action that it performs – the clauses illustrate Material processes that are *intented.* Various branches of power in the USA are portrayed as "active, dynamic forces in an activity" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). In the examples above, the speaker presents a strong resolution to act and to defend values such as freedom, or to defeat "enemies of freedom" (clause 16) or "global terror" (clause 3). The United States is in its actions focused on fighting and defeating such social actors as "terrorists" (in the clause 32), or "evil people" (clause 27), as well as on the defence of positive values, such as "freedom" and "peace" that are positioned as Goals in clauses (1), (5), (6), (8), (13) and are essential for the United States. In these clauses, the speaker argues that these concepts and values are under the control of Actors. At the same time, the speaker presents the power and resolution of the USA to act against "global terror", "terrorist organizations", "enemies of freedom", or "the threat of terrorism." The use of the future tense in certain clauses (e.g., in clauses 2-3, 5-7, 12 - 15, 19 - 20, 31, 38 - 41) presents the strong resolution to take action and gives the power to act in the near term. The use of "will" may be observed in threats or promises, and George W. Bush, on the basis of his

institutional position can issue such threats as he has capabilities to carry out actions that would also include the use of power. The speaker´s discourse also underlines the capabilities of the USA to actively confront the enemies and to win – this can be seen in the choice of Material processes and Goals of the actions of the "We" group.

The "Us" group, in the role of Actor is referred to with the help of "We" – which may be classified as an "exclusive we" because the speaker refers to himself and to various sections of the administration, army, etc. and does not include his audiences. In George Bush´s discourse, exclusive "we" takes various functions, which depend on the scope of activity. The speaker manifests resolution to act – also with the help of the resources provided by the respective institutions with which he identifies in the scope of exclusive "we" (army, intelligence, administration, etc.). Exclusive "we" employed in this way may also indicate that the whole apparatus of power in the USA is actively involved in the process of the confrontation and elimination of the enemies.

5. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show the relevance of the system of transitivity within Systemic – Functional Linguistics (SFL) in the process of uncovering ideological positions and attitudes of the speaker - more specifically, the ideology of polarization into two opposing camps – "Us" and "Them."

The overall representation of social actors in the discourse of George W. Bush with the help of Material processes and participants that are presented in Material processes points out to the polarization between "Us" and "Them" on the basis of the processes of actional character. The roles of Actors and the negative, dynamic nature of Material processes attributed to the enemy indicate the effort of the speaker to refer to the enemy as the cause of the clash that threatens "our" way of life and "our" values. On the other hand, the role of Actor assigned to the USA foregrounds the resolution to act and to actively defend "our" position and values – as these aspects are presented as being under the control of Actors.

In the patterns of transitivity in Material Processes in his discourse, President George W. Bush uses a powerful way of establishing the image of the "other" – he portrays the enemies by referring to, e.g., their violent actions against other people and nations, and he also negatively presents "their" actions. Thus, he establishes a perspective that empowers "Us" in the activities against the enemies.

References

Baker, P., Levon, E., 2015. Picking the right cherries? A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity. *Discourse and Communication*, 9(2), 1–16.

Butt, D., Fahey, R., Feez, S., Spinks, S., and Yallop, C., 2000. *Using Functional Grammar. An Explorer's Guide*. 2nd ed. Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Reasearch, Macquerie University.

Butt, D., Lukin, A., and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., 2004. Grammar, the first covert operation of war. *Discourse and Society*, 15(2-3), 267-290.

Cap, P., 2010. Proximizing objects, proximizing values: Towards an axiological contribution to the discourse of legitimization, *In*: U. Okulska and P. Cap, eds. *Perspectives in Discourse and Politics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 119-142.

Chilton, P., 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse*: *Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Goatly, A., 2000. *Critical Reading and Writing: An Introductory Coursebook*. London: Routledge.

Halliday, M.A.K., 1973. *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K., 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K.., 2013. *Halliday´s Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed.), revised by Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. Oxon: Routledge.

Halliday, M.A.K., Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., 1999. *Construing Experience Through Meaning. A Language-based Approach to Cognition*. London and New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M.A.K., and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (3rd ed.) London: Arnold.

Jeffries, L., 2014. Critical Stylistics. *In:* M. Burke, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*. London and New York: Routledge, 408-420.

Krzyżanowski, M., 2013. Policy, policy communication and discursive shifts: Analyzing EU policy discourses on climate change. *In:* P. Cap and U. Okulska, eds. *Analyzing Genres in Political Communication.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 101-133.

Martin, J. R., 2000. Close reading: functional linguistics as a tool for critical discourse analysis. *In*: L. Unsworth, ed. *Researching Language in School and Communities: Functional Linguistic Perspective.* London: Cassell, 275-302.

Martin, J. R., Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Painter, C., 1997. *Working with Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Martin, J. R., and Rose, D., 2003. *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. London and New York: Continuum.

Mautner, G., 2009. Corpora and Critical Discourse Analysis. *In*: P. Baker, ed. *Contemporary Corpus Linguistics.* London: Continuum, 32-46.

Oddo, J., 2011. War Legitimation discourse: Representing "Us" and "Them" in four US presidential addresses. *Discourse and Society,* 22(3), 287-314.

Simpson, P., 1993. *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. New York: Routledge.

Thompson, G., 1996. *Introducing Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Thompson, G., 2010. From process to pattern: methodological considerations in analysing transitivity in text. *In*: C. Jones and E. Ventola, eds. *From Language to Multimodality. New Developments in the Study of Ideational Meaning*. London: Equinox Publishing, 17-33.

Urbach, C., 2013. ´Choice´ in relation to context: a diachronic perspective on cultural *valeur*. *In*: L. Fontaine, T. Barlett and G. O´Grady, eds. *Systemic Functional Linguistics: Exploring Choice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 300-317.

Van Leeuwen, T., 1996. The representation of social actors. *In*: C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard, eds. *Text and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 32-71.

Van Leeuwen, T., 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, L., and Fitzgerald, B., 2006. *The Power of Language. How Discourse Influences Society*. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.