

# **The construction of the Greek Crisis in the public sphere: discourses and emotions (pathos) under critical perceptions.**

Dimitris Serafis

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**Members of the Jury**

**Associate Professor Marianna Psylla** – Supervisor  
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Greece)

**Associate Professor Thierry Herman** – Supervisor  
University of Neuchâtel (Switzerland)

**Associate Professor Maria Kakavoulia** – Member of the supervising committee  
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Greece)

**Professor Argiris Archakis** – Member of the supervising committee  
University of Patras (Greece)

**Assistant Professor Sara Greco**  
Università della Svizzera Italiana (Switzerland)

**Associate Professor Marianna Kondyli**  
University of Patras (Greece)

**Assistant Professor Martha Michailidou**  
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Greece)

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*όσα δε ζήσαμε, αυτά μας ανήκουν...*  
Τάσος Λειβαδίτης, 25<sup>η</sup> ραψωδία της Οδύσσειας



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# Abstract

The present dissertation aims to examine how significant, Greek social actors and institutions (i.e. PMs, newspapers and protesters) represent social agency in different types of texts and discourses (i.e. parliamentary proceedings-parliamentary discourse, newspapers headlines-media discourse and graffiti slogans-protest discourse), and how this discursive representation gives birth to an emotional construction, shaping significant moments of the Greek crisis in the public sphere[s]. Drawing on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, see Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Van Dijk 2008), we study the interrelation between macro-level (dominant) values and views, and the micro-level of individuals and institutions positioning (Van Dijk 2008: 85-89), as retrieved from three types of texts, that is, parliamentary proceedings, newspaper headlines and graffiti slogans. In our theoretical discussion, following a transdisciplinary and integrationist CDA perception (see Fairclough 2010; Van Leeuwen 2005), we, also employ—and proceed to an examination of—the notions of public sphere[s] (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) and politics, as a discursively emerged process within the public sphere; a perception which seems to have significant impact on both political and (critical) discourse studies (see Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Focusing on the micro-level, we sketch and propose an integrationist framework of analysis based on two analytical pillars: We conduct a Systemic-Functional (SF) analysis to scrutinize the transitivity structures (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5) of different texts, and an analysis of emotions semiotization in discourse (pathos, see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014) in order to track constructed emotions and their argumentative force.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, public sphere, Systemic-Functional Linguistics, Rhetorical analysis of emotions (pathos), Greek crisis.



# Résumé

La présente thèse vise à examiner comment des importants acteurs sociaux et institutions grecques (MP, journaux et manifestants) représentent l'agence sociale dans de différents types de textes et de discours (travaux parlementaires-discours parlementaire, titres des journaux-discours des médias et slogans de graffitis-discours des protestations) et la façon dont cette représentation discursive donne naissance à une construction des émotions formant des moments significatifs de la crise grecque dans la sphère publique [s]. En nous appuyant sur le cadre de l'*analyse critique du discours* (CDA, Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Van Dijk 2008), nous étudions l'interrelation entre le *macro-niveau* des valeurs et les opinions (dominantes) et le *micro-niveau* de positionnement des individus et des institutions (Van Dijk 2008: 85-89), c'est-à-dire, des travaux parlementaires, des titres de journaux et des slogans de graffiti. Dans notre discussion théorique, à la suite d'une perception CDA transdisciplinaire et intégrationniste (Fairclough 2010, Van Leeuwen 2005), nous employons et examinons les notions de la *sphère publique* (Arendt 1958, Habermas 1989) et de la *politique*, en tant que processus discursivement émergé dans la sphère publique; une perception qui semble avoir un impact significatif sur les études politiques et les études (critiques) de discours (Fairclough 2003, Fairclough et Fairclough 2012, Laclau et Mouffe 1985). En nous concentrant sur le micro-niveau, nous esquissons et proposons un cadre d'analyse intégrationniste basé sur deux piliers analytiques: Nous menons une *analyse Systémique-Fonctionnelle* (SF) pour examiner les structures de *transitivité* (Halliday et Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5) de différents textes, et une analyse des *émotions sémiotisation dans le discours* (pathos, Plantin 2011, Micheli 2014) suivre les émotions construites et leur force argumentative.

**Mots-clés:** Analyse critique du discours, sphère publique, linguistique systémique-fonctionnelle, analyse rhétorique des émotions (pathos), crise grecque.



# Περίληψη

Η παρούσα διατριβή επιχειρεί να μελετήσει πως, σημαντικοί κοινωνικοί δρώντες και οργανισμοί (δηλ. πρωθυπουργοί, εφημερίδες και διαδηλωτές), αναπαριστούν την κοινωνική δράση σε διαφορετικά κειμενικά είδη και, πως αυτή η αναπαράσταση δίνει ώθηση σε μια κατασκευή συναισθημάτων, κατασκευάζοντας κρίσιμες στιγμές της ελληνικής κρίσης στη δημόσια σφαίρα. Αξιοποιεί τις θεωρητικές προκείμενες της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου (Critical Discourse Analysis - ΚΑΛ, βλ. Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Van Dijk 2008), και την αρχή εξέτασης της αλληλεπίδρασης μεταξύ του *μακρο-επιπέδου* (macro-level), που περιλαμβάνει τις κυρίαρχες αξίες και οπτικές και του *μικρο-επιπέδου* (micro-level), που περιλαμβάνει τη γλωσσική τοποθέτηση ατόμων και οργανισμών (βλ. Van Dijk 2008: 85-89), όπως αυτή πραγματώνεται σε τρία κειμενικά είδη, δηλαδή, σε κοινοβουλευτικά πρακτικά, σε τίτλους εφημερίδων και σε συνθήματα γκράφιτι. Στη θεωρητική μας συζήτηση, ακολουθώντας μια διεπιστημονική (transdisciplinary) και συνθετική (integrationist) προσέγγιση, εντός του πλαισίου της ΚΑΛ (βλ. Fairclough 2010; Van Leeuwen 2005), θα εξετάσουμε τις έννοιες του *δημόσιου χώρου* (βλ. Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) και της πολιτικής, ως διαδικασία που διαμορφώνεται μέσω της γλώσσας—λόγου—εντός της δημόσιας σφαίρας· αντίληψη που έχει σημαντικό αντίκτυπο τόσο σε πολιτικές μελέτες, όσο και σε μελέτες που εντάσσονται στο πλαίσιο της (κριτικής) ανάλυσης λόγου (βλ. Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Εστιάζοντας στο μικρο-επίπεδο σκιαγραφούμε και προτείνουμε ένα συνθετικό, αναλυτικό πλαίσιο, βασιζόμενοι σε δύο αναλυτικούς πυλώνες: εφαρμόζουμε μια Συστημική -Λειτουργική (Systemic-Functional - ΣΛ) ανάλυση για να μελετήσουμε δομές μεταβιβαστικότητας (transitivity, βλ. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5) των διαφορετικών κειμενικών ειδών και μια ανάλυση της σημειωτικοποίησης των συναισθημάτων (semiotization of emotions, pathos, βλ. Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014) με σκοπό να εντοπίσουμε την κατασκευή συναισθημάτων και την επιχειρηματολογική τους δυναμική.

**Λέξεις-Κλειδιά:** Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου, δημόσια σφαίρα, Συστημική-Λειτουργική Γλωσσολογία, Ρητορική ανάλυση συναισθημάτων (pathos), ελληνική κρίση.



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The present dissertation examines how Greek crisis was constructed via discourse and emotions (*pathos*) in the public sphere during focal points of its emergence. Consequently, the focus is on different discourse genres (i.e. parliamentary, media and protest discourse) that, as we will show during the data analysis, provoke dense emotive constructions, assisting the different social actors' intervention in the public sphere. It draws on the agenda of approaches belonging to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), following the principle of the interrelation between the macro-level (dominant) values and views and the micro-level of individuals positioning and texts. It then proposes an integrationist analytical framework for the approach of the micro-level based on two analytical pillars: Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) in order to scrutinize discursive representations in transitivity structures of different discourses and rhetorical analysis of emotions semiotization (*pathos*) in discourse, in order to track emotive constructions and their argumentative force. The texts under analysis have been divided into parliamentary, media and protest discourses. The main interest of the thesis is on how significant social actors and institutions (i.e. PMs, newspapers and protesters) represent social agency (e.g. how they represent themselves along with their opponents) in these texts and how this discursive representation gives birth to an emotional construction, shaping significant moments of the Greek crisis in the public sphere[s].

Many researches within the fields of social sciences converge to the broad perception of crisis as 'the emergence of malfunctions which may endanger the reproduction and the future' of the system under examination (see Aranitou et al. 2011: 39). In fact, the phenomenon of crisis has been under extensive and interdisciplinary examination during the past, almost ten years, since the crisis that stroke the United States (USA) in 2008, almost immediately, gave rise to a global financial crisis dispersed, among others, in the European Union (henceforth EU) and the Eurozone (see e.g. Vasilopoulou et al. 2014: 388).

An extensive discussion around the nature of this crisis goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the research effort presented would benefit from a selective examination of different approaches regarding the crisis phenomenon which, as it is argued here, 'has both material and semiotic properties' (see De Rycker and Mohd Don 2013: 5). In what follows, I will clarify this point discussing—selectively—theoretical conceptions regarding the

interconnection of crisis and discourse-communication (see e.g. De Rycker and Mohd Don 2013; Hay 1996, 1999; Jessop 2002, 2013).

In Jessop's (2002, 2013) work on crisis, within the framework of Critical Political Economy (henceforth CPE)—highly connected with CDA perspectives (see e.g. Fairclough et al. 2004; Jessop 2004)—crises 'emerge when established patterns of dealing with structural contradictions, their crisis tendencies, and strategic dilemmas, no longer work as expected and, indeed, when continued reliance thereon may aggravate matters' (Jessop 2013: 8). This view highlights the fact that crises result from contradictions and tendencies occurring in the sociopolitical ground, or, better, crises result from factors established in the socio-political and cultural level of contemporary social formations. Drawing on CPE approaches, De Rycker and Mohd Don (2013: 12) realize also crisis as 'shaped by the ensuing contestation and struggle over the meaning of the crisis (the crisis construals that tend to proliferate as a crisis emerges and develops)'. This point brings us to the next step; that of crisis realization as meaning constructions, as struggle and battle over meanings which are, primarily, discursively construed. In other words, crisis, provoked by socio-political contradictions and tendencies, emerge also as meaning constructions revealed by social actors and institutions discourse articulations. As a consequence, significant influence in CDA, have also, approaches determined by a constructionism view, such as the 'crisis narrative' of Hay (1996, 1999). According to this perception, crises do not occur apart from 'narratives and discourse' (Hay 1996: 254-255) but they emerge as *ad hoc* discursive constructions. Discussing Hay's perception, De Rycker and Mohd Don (2013: 11), highlight the discursive construction of events, relations etc within crisis, bringing to the fore the terms of 'social actors and human agency' that proceed to the discursive construction of the crisis. In other words, as I perceive it here, crises are not merely the outcome of contradictions and tendencies grounded on extra-linguistic, socio-political and cultural field but also, are the discursive construals of individuals and institutions within the socio-political and cultural field of their emergence.

Employing the aforementioned views, the starting point of this thesis is that crises are both a moment of rupture in the socio-political and cultural development, a result of discontinuities in the socio-political normality, and construals emerging from discourse and communication of different individuals and institutions within the socio-political and cultural environment. The emphasis is placed on the examination of the discursive construction of the Greek crisis in different types of texts and discourses alongside with the examination of emotions (*pathos*) revealing via discourse.

What proves to be important, for us to conceive the relation that binds crisis and discourse-communication, is the concept of *context*: the extra-linguistic elements of the sociocultural formation that interrelate with the discursive-emotive emergence. The concept of context, in which discourses reveal, has been of great importance in both CDA perspectives and in SFL and *pathos* analysis. For this reason, in what follows I will provide some evidence regarding aspects of the European and, specifically, the Greek crisis context.

Back in 2008, although the great majority of the European institutions rushed to assure that the European economy and integration apparatus were fully secured, countries of the Southern Europe (i.e. Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Spain, and Cyprus) were tossed under the tremendous economic and financial turbulence. Even though almost all the countries of the European South faced significant financial problems and signed bailout programs which consisted of strict fiscal reforms (see e.g. Kelsey et al. 2016: 5-7), the Greek case is still—while these lines were written—the epicenter of the European crisis, affecting European integration (see Pappas and Aslanidis 2012). In fact, the International Monetary Fund (henceforth IMF), since 2009, had already ‘strongly encouraged Greece to introduce strict fiscal reforms, including the freezing of salaries in both the public and private sectors to avoid entering a long period of recession’ (Vassilopoulou 2010: 96).

The so-called ‘Greek crisis’ was officially declared in early 2010 when ‘what was deemed to be a 9.4% deficit was actually a 15.4% deficit, making spreads to unprecedented levels that forbid further loans’ (Dinas and Rori 2013: 271) from the financial markets. Although the recently elected government of the Socialist Party (PASOK) won the national elections on a manifesto of extending social benefits (see Gemenis 2010, for the background of the elections), at the end of April 2010, the Prime Minister (PM) at the time, George A. Papandreou, announced Greece’s recourse to the European Stability Mechanism (ESM)<sup>1</sup> which would ‘activate stability support to Greece via bilateral loans’ (see Eurogroup 2010) under strict fiscal measures implementation.

In the past years, despite the successive bailout programs and the strict fiscal reforms that Greece undertook,<sup>2</sup> many authors still submit that Greece is ‘the sick man of Europe’ (see Exadaktylos and Zahariadis 2012) and that its crisis is a complex phenomenon emerging from

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<sup>1</sup> The precursor of ESM, in which Papandreou’s government appealed was the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF). See: <https://www.esm.europa.eu/efsf-overview>.

<sup>2</sup> See, for a summary, the official website of the ESM <https://www.esm.europa.eu/assistance/greece>.

both 'external' (see among others Lapavitsas 2009) and 'internal' reasons (see among others Pappas 2013a).

On the one hand, the authors who defend the view that, mainly, *external* reasons advocate the Greek crisis, the focus is on 'the failures of global capitalism and the imbalance this has created' (see Kouvelakis 2011; Lapavitsas 2009 as quoted in Vasilopoulou et al. 2014: 390) as well as 'on the weakness of the [E]urozone's institutional design and the lack of contingency measures to deal with a potential crisis' (see Featherstone 2011 as quoted in Vasilopoulou et al. 2014: 390). Respectively, this conception sees Greek crisis 'as a manifestation of the broader crisis of the global capitalism' which has been deteriorated due to the 'pressure exerted on the country by the IMF, the EU and Germany in the form of the introduction of a severe austerity program that does not focus on growth and has thus perpetuated economic recession and unemployment' (Vassilopoulou et al. 2014: 390).

On the other hand, authors supporting that Greek crisis results, mostly, from *internal* parameters, assume that the reasons for the emergence of Greek crisis 'may be found within Greece itself and its cultural, historical and institutional development' (Vassilopoulou et al. 2014: 390). Thus, the emphasis is on the 'weak democratic institutions, defined by clientelistic structures' (see Mitsopoulos and Pelagidis 2011; Mouzelis 1978; Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2002; Pappas 2013a as quoted in Vasilopoulou et al. 2014: 390) and 'the polarization of its party system' (see Pappas 2013: 40; Vasilopoulou et al. 2014: 391; see also Legg and Roberts 1997).

According to this perception, the crisis emerged because of the structural 'populistic' (Pappas 2013b: 5) attitude of the Greek governmental parties (i.e. PASOK-Socialists and Democrats and New Democracy-European People's Party) that construed a high-clientelistic state and society after the fall of the Colonels' dictatorship, known as *Junta* (1967-1974).

As it was already mentioned, a discussion around the core elements that made the Greek crises emerge, goes far beyond the aims of the present dissertation. Though, what the above discussion proves is that 'what we have all come to refer to it simply as the "Greek Crisis: [...]" is a long-term, multi-actor national drama' (Pappas and Aslanidis 2012: 153) with great importance, not only for the internal life of the country but, also, for the whole integrationist process of the EU project. This last danger (i.e. the EU disintegration) explains also the main reasons why all the involved parties in the Greek bailout programs (henceforth MoU for Memorandum of Understanding), namely, the European Central Bank (ECB), the EU institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Greek governments, had reasonable interests to

make Greece exit the crisis remaining in the dense core of the EU and maintaining the Eurozone's membership.

As Rogers and Vasilopoulou (2012: 780) submit, the ECB, 'was created in order to manage' with the financial stability of the enormous project of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and 'if one member [e.g. Greece] leaves its credibility will be questioned' as well as 'its very existence could potentially be undermined'. In the same line, according to the same authors, the EU and the EMU institutions have respective reasons for a 'Gremain' (i.e. Greece's rescue within the Eurozone): 'EMU is part of a much broader process of integration [...] within Europe', and thus, 'a failure to produce an orderly resolution to the current crisis would represent the failure of both an economic and political vision that has been at the very heart of European public policy making since the mid-1950s' (Rogers and Vasilopoulou 2012: 780). As for the third pillar of the MoUs, the IMF, had 'a clear opportunity [...] to re-establish its role in global economic governance [by] help[ing] the Greek state and European institutions pilot their way through the crisis without a breakdown in economic and monetary union' (Rogers and Vasilopoulou 2012: 780). Practically, the Fund wanted to restore its esteem since this was disputable within the process of globalization (see Rogers and Vasilopoulou 2012: 779-780). There was another, fundamental reason why the Greek state had to be rescued within the Eurozone in 2010: As Buiter and Rahbari (2010) have shown, the monetary union 'had a total exposure of their banks to Greece at the end of 2009'; especially German and French Banks (see Rogers and Vasilopoulou 782).

Because of the supranational institutions willing to assist Greece under the terms of strict fiscal rules as well as, from the incapacity of Greek state to draw on financial markets funding, Greek governments, agreed continuous stability programs (MoUs) with the aforementioned institutions, implementing continuous and strict austerity measures (e.g. welfare, pensions and salaries cuts).

The numbers, regarding the Greek economy and society during the MoUs implementation are literary nightmarish (see Pappas and Aslanidis 2012: 153 for a review of the socioeconomic circumstances): Among them, according to the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT)<sup>3</sup> and the Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (see INE-GSEE 2015: 73) the unemployment rate, from 8.3% in 2007, reached around 21% in 2012, and climbed to 26% at the end of 2014; This was translated into a loss of almost 700.000 jobs only until 2012 and

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<sup>3</sup> See the History of the Labor Force Survey (LFS) available at: <http://www.statistics.gr/el/statistics//publication/SJ002/2014-M12>.

around to 1.200.000 during 2014. At the same period, the incomes were decreased around 20% and the labor market was totally deregulated since the rates of flexible and uninsured employees were dramatically increased according to the INE-GSSE (2015: 58, 96-104). The unemployment stroke by majority the Greek youth which started again 'seeking for a better future abroad' (Pappas and Aslanidis 2012: 154). As it becomes obvious, the declared recovery of Greece's economy and the prosperity of the citizens have not been fulfilled even after three austerity packages. On the contrary, in many cases, the discussion revolving around Greece's expulsion from the Eurozone (see Wodak and Angouri 2014) was intense in the agenda of the European institutions and the public discussion within the EU frame.

The austerity shock and the scene of the social devastation, provoked massive indignation to social groups who, for the first time in the post-authoritarian Greece, saw their living conditions and standards decreasing. This, consequently, gave rise to a wave of massive demonstrations during the first years (2010-2011) of the MoUs implementation, as, for instance, the massive demonstrations of May 5, 2010 against the voting of the first adjustment program, during which three citizens lost their lives when Marfin Bank in Stadiou Str., Athens city-center, was set ablaze,<sup>4</sup> or the massive protests that took place between May and August 2011 in the central squares of the big Greek cities (see Giovanopoulos and Mitropoulos 2011).

On the same time, 'the tectonic plates of the Greek politics shifted considerably' (Pappas and Aslanidis 2012: 154), and, according to measurements of the public opinion (see e.g. Public Issue Barometer April 2011), the mainstream political personnel was totally disdained by the citizens: the traditional two governmental parties, that is, PASOK on the center-left of the political spectrum and New Democracy (ND) on the center-right, which had dominated the political life for almost four decades (see Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013: 525), almost collapsed during 2009 and 2012, being impaired by consequent scandals (see Gemenis 2010: 353). In their place, new political forces revealed and gain power (see e.g. Dinas and Rori 2013: 271-276 for an overview of the changes). More specifically, the implementation of successive austerity measures, due to the MoUs, gave rise to a new political division far beyond the traditional division of right versus left: That is, the 'pro- and anti-bailout camps' which was 'transend[ing] left-right politics, as parties of both the left and the right oppose the bailout' (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013: 528-529; see also Gemenis and Triga 2013). As a consequence, Greece witnessed coalition governments of the 'eternal opponents', PASOK and

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<sup>4</sup> See e.g.: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2010/may/06/greece-crisis-protest-killed>.



ND, which, then, gave their place to the left-wing SYRIZA (Coalition of Radical Left) and the populist right-wing party *Aneksártitoi Ellines* (Independent Greeks-ANEL), in power since 2015 (see Rori 2016).

Moreover, the tremendous socio-economic earthquake, modified also the scene in the mass media, that is, newspapers, TV Channels, etcetera. Among the most significant changes were those of *Eleftherotypia*, *Apogevmatini*, historic newspapers which collapsed during the first years of the crisis and were replaced by new attempts, such as the newspaper *Efimerida ton Syntakton* [Newspaper of the Editors] (see Liarou and Serafis 2013). In the same line, the first private TV Channel, Mega Channel collapsed at the end of 2015 after its shareholders' denial to finance its tremendous debts (for more details regarding the Greek public and private TV, see also Politis 2014). The aforementioned examples are only indicative of the changes occurred in the Greek media and their systemic failures (see Leandros 2010).

As it becomes evident, during the onslaught of the crisis, fundamental sectors of the Greek socio-political formation were affected. The respective changes created a fragile network of communication, a public space (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) within which, significant social actors (i.e. PMs, media institutions and protesters) were trying to intervene effectively in order to secure their interests and address the unprecedented changes.

Not surprisingly, due to significant rearrangements in the Greek public sphere, the emergence of specific discourses and counter discourses in times of crisis (see De Rycker and Mohd Don 2013; *Critical Discourse Studies* 2016), and, more specifically, within the context of the Greek crisis has been of great interest in the field of Discourse Studies and in Critical Discourse Analysis (see among others, *Discourse & Society* 2014; Hatzidaki and Goutsos forthcoming). In fact, many authors have highlighted the importance of different discourse genres in the construction of the Greek crisis (see among others Bickes et al. 2012; Boukala 2014; Lampropoulou 2014; Mitsikopoulou and Lykou 2015; Nikolopoulou and Cantera 2016).

However, no study exists to my knowledge that attempts to investigate discursive representations and emotive constructions (*pathos*), within the context of the Greek crisis, by conducting a comparative examination of different genres of discourse (i.e. parliamentary, media and protest). It is towards this direction that this study orients itself.

The dissertation is organized into two Parts, an Introduction and a Conclusion. Part I (Chapters 2-3) provides the theoretical framing and assumptions as well as the analytical models which form the integrationist approach employed for the analysis. Part II (Chapters 4-7) is concerned with the data under analysis.

Specifically, Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework followed in this dissertation: that of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, see among others, Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 2008). Within this framework special emphasis will be placed on the examination of the concept of *public sphere* (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989). Based on this examination, we will see how political science (see e.g. Laclau and Mouffe 1985) and CDA approaches may work together in a *transdisciplinary* manner (see Fairclough 2010) employing each other's logic in an *integrationist* way (see Van Leeuwen 2005). I will also proceed to a discussion revolving around the notion of *discourse* (see Fairclough 2003), and I will present one of the main principles followed by approaches belonging to CDA, that is, the principle of the interrelation between the *macro-level* and the *micro-level* (see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89).

Chapter 3 focuses on the micro-level and looks at the two analytical models, which are used to focus on the micro-textual choices of significant social actors and institutions within the public spheres of Greek crisis. Specifically, we draw on the paradigm of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL, see Halliday 1973, 1978; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) examining how *the system of transitivity* (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004: Ch. 5; Van Leeuwen 2008) is realized in different discourse genres. Special emphasis will be placed in the notions of *cohesion* and *coherence* (see Halliday and Hasan 1985). To that end, we discuss also the notions of *intertextuality* (see Fairclough 1992, 2003) and *recontextualization* (see Bakhtin 1986; Bernstein 1990). Based on the analysis of transitivity, a rhetorical analysis of emotions (*pathos*) will be conducted (see Micheli 2014; Plantin 2011). Overall, an integrationist, analytical framework will be proposed which, as we shall show, may be employed by CDA, extending its analytical and interpretative abilities.

In Chapter 4, I proceed to the presentation of the data comprising three distinct types of texts and discourses: (a) parliamentary proceedings, (b) newspapers headlines, and (c) graffiti slogans. I provide also the criteria based on which the data were selected. Then, in Chapters 5-7, we move towards the data analysis conducting the proposed, integrationist analytical framework in our data.

Chapter 8 engages a discussion revolving around the findings of the analysis, the synthesis of the data, providing also the main restrictions of the analysis. Based on this discussion, I outline future possible research directions to be developed.

## **PART I**



# Chapter 2

## Theoretical Framework

### 2.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, the theoretical framework followed in this dissertation will be presented and discussed: That of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, see among others, Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 2008). As it will become evident, CDA does not share a unified theoretical framework nor comprises a dense research and analytical paradigm. As a result, each CDA approach (as the present) must establish clear-cut clarifications before proceeding to the data analysis that will empower and illustrate it.

In the following sections, I will present the main assumptions and historical background of CDA approaches. Then we will move towards the discussion regarding CDA perceptions on interdisciplinary research (see e.g. Fairclough 2010; Van Dijk 2001; Van Leeuwen 2005; Weiss and Wodak 2003). We will place special emphasis on the examination of the concept of *public sphere* (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) and, based on this examination, we will see how studies belonging to political science (see e.g. Laclau and Mouffe 1985) and CDA approaches may work together in a *transdisciplinary* manner (see Fairclough 2010) employing each other's logic in an *integrationist* way (see Van Leeuwen 2005).

I will also discuss the notion of *discourse* (see Fairclough 2003), as well as present one of the main principles followed by approaches belonging to CDA, that is, the principle of the interrelation between the *macro-level* of dominant values and views (e.g. austerity) and the institutions who express them (e.g. Greek governments, the EU institutions, and the IMF), and the *micro-level*, which involves individual and institutional positioning and texts (see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89).

### 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): Assumptions and Background

Our theoretical framework is determined by the agenda of approaches belonging to Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) (see among others, Fairclough 2003, 2010; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 2008). CDA approaches aim to unveil the ways social inequalities are

discursively produced and reproduced – raising, at the same time, critical awareness and proposing ways of resistance (see among others, Fairclough 1992, 2014; Van Dijk 2008). In this sense, CDA, as a movement of scholars targeting main social problems (e.g. sexism, racism) in discourse, realizes itself ‘not as dispassionate and objective social science’. Consequently, it evades the edges of a clear-cut epistemological or scientific approach, while its practitioners are, for instance, ‘politically active against racism, or as feminists, or within the peace movement, and so forth’ (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258).<sup>5</sup>

More specifically, CDA perceives language as *discourse*, and, based on a Marxist dialectic, underpins the idea that discourse is a form of ‘social practice’, both ‘socially constituted and constitutive’ (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). Discourse as ‘social practice’ describes, as I perceive it here, the ways social reality is represented and organized linguistically (see Fairclough 2003, 2010). We will return to the discussion revolving around the term *discourse* in section 2.3.

CDA’s theoretical armory is rooted in the extensive research which has contributed to a critical investigation of how discourse (and more broadly, communication) functions within contemporary societies (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 260-262): Among them, CDA approaches are, mainly, influenced by the works of Michel Foucault, employing his construal of *power* (see e.g. Foucault 1991) and his conception of discourse as a set of institutionalized meanings (see e.g. Foucault 2011), by the legacy of the Western Marxism, the conception of *hegemony* of Antonio Gramsci (1971), the Frankfurt School (see e.g. Horkheimer and Adorno 1996) and, specifically, the discussion regarding the concept of *public sphere* (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997 [1989]).

The precursor of CDA was the research project of Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL) (see e.g. Fowler et al. 1979). CL’s project focused specifically on the ideological aspects of language, assuming that language structures allow the opaque production and reproduction of ideology. Therefore, language can be exploited by dominant groups (e.g. political parties, media institutions) in an attempt to control (and manipulate) other (dominated, oppressed) social groups. Hence, CDA approaches (as CL descendants) are permeated by the effort to track and

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<sup>5</sup> This core-perception of CDA has given rise to a wave of criticism against it, which disputes the scientific nature of CDA approaches (see among others, Widdowson 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998; Oswald 2010: 155-164); it describes CDA as a merely ‘activist’ or ‘socio-political’ agenda of approaches. However, I maintain that this fundamental perception traces CDA out of the ‘sterilized bowl’ of academia and distinguishes it as a framework which may speak in terms of (social) utility within the broader socio-political research; aiming to contribute to the mitigation of key-problems of contemporary societies. In the following section, I will place more emphasis on this point discussing (in more details) the fundamental perceptions permeating CDA approaches.

unveil the interconnection between language (and discourse), power and ideology (see e.g. Fairclough 2014; Wodak 1989; Van Dijk 2008).

The analytical model CL drew on was the one of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) and the Hallidayan Systemic-Functional Grammar (see Halliday 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The fundamental assumption of SFL is that *language* is the *system* employed in order to construe *potential meaning* within a given socio-cultural *context* (see among others, Halliday 1973, 1978). In this sense, the term *meaning* has a *functional hue* (see Halliday 1999) determined by the socio-cultural components with which it interrelates.<sup>6</sup>

In their attempt to unveil the ways language is employed by dominant groups to control dominated ones, CL found in SFL a powerful ‘analytical partner’ under which they proceeded to the linguistic analysis (see e.g. Fowler 1991: 68). Therefore, SFL is still one of the main linguistic paradigms employed by CDA approaches (see e.g. Young and Harrison 2004; Van Leeuwen 2008). In Chapter 3, I will extensively present the analytical principals and tools of the SFL approach which is also employed in the present dissertation as the main analytical paradigm.

In what follows I will draw very selectively on fundamental notions and perceptions that contributed to the establishment of CDA as an (heterogeneous) approach, and, in my opinion, should inevitably permeate every approach determined by the scopes of CDA. As I perceive it, each CDA scholar should define and explain the theoretical, methodological and analytical foundations that bind his/her approach as a unified CDA approach.<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2 CDA as a critical agenda of doing scholarship

As we already mentioned in the section 2.1, CDA is a framework formed by (heterogeneous) approaches which converge in order to study the ways social inequalities are discursively construed and (in order to) propose ways of resistance (see among others, Fairclough 1992, 2014; Van Dijk 2008). This perception and placement within social research has specific consequences regarding the *scientific nature* and the *socio-political significance* of the approaches belonging to CDA. I will illustrate this point immediately.

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<sup>6</sup> In Chapter 3, we will discuss, in more details, the main concepts and tools of SFL, since this approach is the main analytical apparatus employed in this dissertation.

<sup>7</sup> Additionally, this declaration should be done for reasons of transmission and comprehension of the CDA agenda. As Van Dijk (2001: 97) puts it ‘CDA must be teachable and hence comprehensible. If students do not understand us, they can never learn from us, nor criticize us. Complex theorizing and analysis do not require abstruse jargon and profound insights need no arcane formulations’. This principle is often (if not always) included in the guidelines of CDA-centered or CDA-friendly academic journals.

By aiming to contribute to the deconstruction of (linguistically formed and reproduced) social inequalities, CDA does not deny, rather implies that 'it is a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258) in favor of the dominated and oppressed groups or individuals. In this sense, CDA may be perceived, rightly, as an activist and political approach of language and discourse which has already chosen sides within social antagonism. This very positioning is among the main points of critique addressed against CDA. However, CDA scholars have all along declared this CDA positioning: One of the main distinctive declarations that the CDA agenda shares is that 'unlike other, implicitly political studies of discourse, CDA explicitly formulates its (oppositional) stance' (Van Dijk 1995a: 19; see also Van Dijk 2001: 96). In simpler words 'CDA is biased - and proud of it', proceeding in terms of 'a-critical-perspective on doing scholarship' which joins systematic analysis of language and discourse with an 'opposition and dissent against' the dominant societal groups who (ab)use language and discourse in order to make their dominance prevail (see Van Dijk 2001: 96; see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258-259). As Van Dijk (1995a: 19) puts it:

It is not surprising that such a view is often seen as 'political' (biased) and hence as 'unscientific' ('subjective') by scholars who think that their 'objective' uncritical work does not imply a stance and hence a sociopolitical position, viz., a conservative one that serves to sustain the status quo'.

If we try to think, carefully, about this 'biased' CDA stance, one could start from the fact that each scientist (and more specifically, each social scientist) is not exempted by his/her social, among others, restrictions. For instance, each scholar carries his/her class, his/her gender, his/her political positioning etc. while entering in the laboratory, the classroom and so on. As I see it, no one could argue that somehow, the scholar, entering academia, puts on a sterilized mantle which makes him/her formulate research questions and hypotheses which are, miraculously neutral. So, first of all, social scientists should *recognize* the socio-political, cultural bias that permeate their existence and their research efforts, trying each time to *soothe* them via a rigid theoretical, methodological and analytical framework.

Secondly, but equally important in my opinion, CDA approaches, apart from recognizing their bias, defend their (specific) socio-political positioning in favor of the oppressed groups. One could say that this is clearly against the so-called *objectiveness* that should permeate each scientific approach. However, if we seriously ask ourselves: does social science exist only as a description of social reality? Or, more provocatively, does it (should it) exist outside the borders of its utility? In other words, in each social period does the role of social scientists lie



only on describing social reality or should this very role involve an aspect of intervention in favor of a smoother social reproduction which would mitigate social inequalities and tensions?

This necessity for a critical intervention, for a critical social science (to which CDA is attached and contributes) has been highlighted since the beginning of the new century by various CDA scholars (see e.g. Fairclough 2000; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) while the 'neo-liberal political project' was prevailing through new institutions (e.g. the Eurozone), 'establishing new social transformations', for instance, 'an increasing gap between rich and poor' and, totally different terms of social life (see Fairclough 2003: 203-204). If the necessity for a critical social paradigm was significant back then,<sup>8</sup> then in periods of crisis, as the one we focus on, should social scientists play the role of a dispassionate observer of the social antagonism in favor of the dominant societal groups or should they intervene to unveil the ways social inequalities are reproduced, and thus, heal, as possible, these very inequalities? This thesis, clearly, defends the second view.

In terms of a clear example-question: during the Greek crisis, should social scientists only calculate and interpret, for instance, the vertical deterioration of Greeks living standards (e.g. how many salary cuts were made according to the MoUs implementation) or should they search how these cuts were, at least in part, legitimized in the consciousness of the Greeks, according to, for example, the 'blame game' (see Angouri and Wodak 2014) against the conceptualization of the 'otiose civil servants' that many Greek governments construed in order to cut salaries not only in the public sector? I argue that the second research effort is, at least, more (socially) efficient. The first one may (intentionally or not) allow the status quo to prevail.<sup>9</sup>

The (critical) political stance and social intervention that characterizes CDA agenda does not insinuate that it is 'less scholarly than other research: standards of careful, rigorous, and systematic analysis apply with equal force to CDA as to other approaches' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 259). And that for a quite simple (but very challenging reason): The contribution of CDA approaches to this critical social scientific project, as I see it, is to '*show* how language is doing the work' (see Fairclough 2003: 204, italics in the original); it has to show how language contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities (especially in periods of crisis). This

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<sup>8</sup> When, additionally, the financial growth of the EU and the Eurozone provided by the appearance of the Euro, was enormous. As an example, Greece, which since 2010 is subjected to continuous bailout programs and strict austerity measures, in 2004 organized the Olympic Games in Athens, having an almost 4% rate of financial growth.

<sup>9</sup> And this is also another (biased) option grounded in social sciences. A political approach, in favor of the dominant groups, which (tries to) hide itself under the veil of the 'objectiveness' avoiding declaring its stance.

presupposes that CDA approaches are grounded and involve concrete analysis, and requires the wide selection and study of data.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, the analytical fan that may support the stance and scopes of a CDA approach is quite expanded: During the past (almost) three decades, CDA has witnessed a flourishing development of analytical approaches that extend, among many others, to the areas of *Corpus Linguistics* (see e.g. Baker et al. 2008; Mautner 2005, 2008), *Cognitive Linguistics* (see e.g. Chilton 2004), *Frame Semantics* and *Pragmatics* (see e.g. Van Dijk 2001), *Social Semiotics* and *Multimodality* (see e.g. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006), *Text Linguistics* (see e.g. Fairclough 2003) and, of course, *Systemic-Functional Grammar* (see e.g. Van Leeuwen 2008). The crucial point here is that CDA incorporates the systematic analytical approaches (along with the diverse theoretical input, and principles) in the chariot of social utility. In other words, CDA aims to be *rigorous and systematic* in order to serve its emancipatory frame.

Under that prism, in what follows, I will selectively present and discuss the main steps that, in my opinion, a CDA approach should include: (a) the *transdisciplinary* perception and selection (see Fairclough 2001, 2010: Ch 15) of conceptual and theoretical frameworks, (b) the clear-cut conception regarding the terms *language* and *discourse* (see Fairclough 2001, 2003, 2010), and (c) the main principles of a CDA approach (in our case, the *micro/macro* interrelation, see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89). Under these provisional assumptions a CDA practitioner may proceed to his/her analytical approach that will strengthen the theoretical assumptions and scopes (in our case, see Chapter 3).

### **2.2.1 Transdisciplinarity: An integrationist meeting**

As one may reasonably infer, according to the theoretical mosaic in which CDA framework is grounded (see section 2.1), the respective approaches do not (and cannot) maintain that they form a dense theoretical and analytical framework (see Van Dijk 2001, 2008; Wodak 2006). However, this point differs during the development of CDA (see e.g. Fairclough 1995: 10, 2001: 121-122; Van Dijk 1995a; 2001: 95-96; Wodak 2006: 2, for conceptions of this issue).

As I see it, CDA is not (and neither can be perceived, nor can be criticized as) a single and unified theory, but a set of diverse (theoretically motivated) approaches sharing a common (critical) stance of studying and analyzing discourse (see among others Van Dijk 1995a, 2001,

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<sup>10</sup> In Chapter 4, before proceeding to data analysis (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8), I present the data selected, as well as the criteria on the basis of which the data were selected.

2008; Fairclough 2010; Wodak 2006) in order to endorse conscience and facilitate resistance of oppressed groups within contemporary social formations.

Rather, almost each CDA approach outlines a study of language and discourse which interweaves various theoretical perceptions, methodologies and analytical models in order to contribute efficiently to the deconstruction of the (discursively construed and reproduced) social inequalities. In this sense, CDA agenda reveals as the result of a heterogeneous input (of theories, methodologies and analysis) tied to its critical aims (see Van Dijk 1995a).

Consequently, according to the complexity of the phenomena CDA studies, it (should inevitably appear) appears as a 'transdisciplinary' (see below, Fairclough 2001, 2005, 2010) agenda/project, i.e. as a dialogue and integration of different disciplines and theoretical approaches which may support the critical aims of a CDA approach. The discussion revolving around the interdisciplinarity of CDA is quite extensive and, in some cases, contradictory (see among others Fairclough 1992, 2001, 2005, 2010; Van Dijk 2001, 2008; Weiss and Wodak 2003).

I choose to follow an 'integrationist' approach (see Van Leeuwen 2005: 7-10), underpinning a 'transdisciplinary' perspective (see e.g. Fairclough 2010). As I will show, the transdisciplinary-integrationist conception of interconnections established between different disciplines, apart from sketching 'a dialogue between two disciplines and frameworks' (i.e. CDA and Political Science), 'may lead to a development of both through a process of internally appropriating the logic of the other as a resource for its own development' (see Chiapello and Fairclough 2002 as quoted in Fairclough 2005: 53). In our case, the proposed transdisciplinary-integrationist approach may bring together, the 'logic' of the aforementioned disciplines on e.g. the concept of public sphere[s] (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997 [1989]), providing a mutual extension of their interpretative abilities. According to Van Leeuwen (2005: 7-8),

[An] integrationist model focuses on problems rather than methods and brings together researchers from different principles. [...] [Under this perception] it is recognized that no single discipline can satisfactorily address any given problem on its own. As a result, disciplines are seen as interdependent. [...] [The] important principle for the design of integrationist research programs [is that] the set of questions that defines a comprehensive investigation of a given problem requires a diverse set of methodologies, based in a diversity of disciplines.

As Van Leeuwen's definition informs us, firstly, an integrationist model/approach focuses on research *problems* and aims to contribute to solving them. In our case the central problem

around which the dissertation revolves is how focal moments of the Greek crisis (e.g. the voting in favor of the first MoU, May 5, 2010) are discursively construed within the public sphere[s] of the Greek parliament, the Greek media and the Greek social movements.

At the same time, the integrationist approach, recognizing the lack of capacity of one single discipline to respond to this problem/question, calls different disciplines and principles to contribute to the solution. In our case, in order for us to discuss the problem of the discursive construction of significant moments of the Greek crisis in its public sphere[s], we bring together the framework of CDA which regards discourse as socially constituted and constitutive (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997), along with the frame of Political Science which perceive *a priori* the public sphere[s] as a political space of dialogue where discourse plays a key-role (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997 [1989]; see also Lirintzis 2002; Psylla 2003 on this issue).

In more simple words, paraphrasing Van Leeuwen (2005: 8), as (critical) discourse analysts we may contribute to the formation of an integrationist approach by offering a critically/SF oriented frame of discourse analysis. However, admitting that we cannot proceed to a broader explanation of the question we are asking (regarding the emergence/construing of the Greek crisis in its public sphere[s], see above), we need to benefit from the input of other disciplines that will be called to contribute to the CDA investigation as a co-operating, theoretical apparatus.

Based on that conceptual ground, Fairclough (2010: 398; see also Fairclough 2001, 2005) develops a 'transdisciplinary way of research' [...] '[which] means that the logic of one theory can be put to work within (the logic of) another without the one being reduced to the other. This way of research is compliant to the criteria set by an integrationist approach (see Van Leeuwen 2005: 7-8): On the one side, it recognizes and respects the boundaries of the two disciplines that will contribute to the solution of the question/problem investigated. On the other side, respecting the boundaries of the diverse disciplines, it integrates the logic of the one to the other, in the sense, as I perceive it, that each one should fill in the missing points/angles of its co-operative theoretical perception/discipline.

In our case, it will be shown (see section 2.1.1.2) how CDA may be fertilized—in a transdisciplinary manner—from approaches belonging to the broader discipline of Political Science and Theory (see among others Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Mouffe 2005). As I will try to illustrate, this transdisciplinary integration advances the interpretative capacities of CDA approaches regarding the political quality of the discursive emergence within the public sphere[s] (with particular reference to the Greek crisis). In the

same, transdisciplinary manner, CDA may work as a powerful component side-by-side to political science, offering methodological, analytical principles and tools and, consequently, exemplifying, and thus strengthening, the critical, analytical capabilities of the respective approaches. I will explicate this point in more detail, in the following section.

## **2.2.2 CDA, public sphere and politics**

Significant (critical) discourse studies, concerned with the analysis of discourse within crisis, especially within the frame of the European Union and the Eurozone, have flourished during the last decades (see among others, De Rycker and Mohd Don 2013; Fairclough 1999, 2000, 2010: Ch. 15; Triandafyllidou et al. 2009; Wodak and Koller 2008; Wodak and Ludwig 1999). A significant point lying at their research center is the concept of the *public sphere*, as this was introduced in the seminal works of Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1997 [1989]). Despite the influence the concept of public sphere has in the respective research fields, some clarifications are necessary.

This section, following a transdisciplinary, integrationist view, encompasses a selective discussion regarding the perceptions that have defined the concept of *public sphere*. Based on this discussion, I will show how CDA and political studies may form an integrationist alliance which advances each other's operational and interpretative capacities, offering us (from different angles) a more holistic view of the characteristics of the—discursively construed—public spheres within crises (with special focus on the Greek paradigm).

According to Arendt's (1958: 181 ff) seminal 'communicative model of action', the public sphere (or 'space' of 'realm', see below) is the 'space of appearance' in which social actors participate and interrelate 'generat[ing] [a] praxis of speech' as the basic and prominent part of their socio-cultural life. In this broad sense, the public sphere can be, primarily, conceived as a space of dialogue (of communication) between individuals (see also Wright 2008, on this issue). '[T]he reality of the public realm relies on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives and aspects in which the common world presents itself and for which no common measurement or denominator can ever be devised' (Arendt 1958: 57). Consequently, we may primarily perceive the 'public realm' as a 'reality' of concentration, interaction of individuals (or social groups) perspectives formed via and during linguistic use (communication); the public sphere is a creation construed by individuals (or groups) in communication.

Moreover, Arendt (1958, 1970) conceives the public sphere as a 'space' of 'power'. 'Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking

men, in existence' (Arendt 1958: 200); it is the actual conjoiner of the public sphere. More specifically, '[p]ower corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert [and] when we say of somebody that he is "in power" we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name' (Arendt 1970: 44). Correspondingly, we may infer that, according to the author, 'power' is conceived as the achievement of consensus (of agreement) by an individual (or a group) regarding someone else (i.e. individual or group) within the public sphere. It is in this sense that the public realm is formed as a common world of dialogue and communicative interaction.

According to Arendt (1958), power is conceived as a legitimized, opaque phenomenon which emerges through communication (of agreement and consensus upon dialogue), forming and binding common (public) spaces. Power embraces and leads common action since it provides agreement, i.e. it distinguishes 'an opinion upon which many publicly are in agreement' (Arendt 1963: 71). As Habermas (1977: 6), clarifies, reviewing Arendt's conception, *power* is 'built up in communicative action; it is a collective effect of speech in which reaching agreement is an end in itself for all those involved'. It is the inextricable and binding concept of the public realm.

If that is so, in our case, we may infer that each social actor/group and institution (e.g. PMs, newspapers, protesters) is getting involved in the public realm in order to be 'in power', giving meaning to the existence of the public space. Each group, institution or individual seeks to obtain consensus and agreement from the other parts involved in the 'dialogue' of the public realm. In other words, each individual, group or institution participates in the public sphere of the Greek crisis in order to achieve consensus, making their power (the fact that they are empowered by others to act) opaque, invisible and thus legitimized.

More specifically, in our case, by examining the Greek public sphere in focal moments of the Greek crisis, we aim to show how powerful individuals, groups and institutions (i.e. Greek PMs, protesters and newspapers) attempt to gain power-consensus based on their discursive representations and emotions (*pathos*) provoked via these representations.

Drawing on Arendt's perception, Habermas (1997 [1989]), accepts the fundamental conception of the public sphere as space of communicative interaction and, moreover, argues that the public sphere should be perceived as a concentration of interactions and conflicts, of smaller, independent *public spheres* (see Habermas 1997: 9-48). As the author perceives it, that plurality of public spheres is 'antagonistic circles' construed as distinct 'fields of

[communicative] action beside the [each time] hegemonic public sphere'; excluding and being excluded in the communicative interaction (Habermas 1997: 13).<sup>11</sup>

More specifically, according to the Habermasian conception, this construal of different and antagonistic public spheres results from the 'mechanisms of exclusion', implemented by the (each time) hegemonic public sphere (Habermas 1997: 16). In other words, within the competition formed in the public sphere, the attempts of the hegemonic social actors (e.g. politicians) to exclude and oppress their opponents (e.g. protesters) forms the last one in a field that will provoke reaction to this exclusion; this procedure is the one that reshapes the public sphere according to the Habermasian perception (Habermas 1997 [1989]).

Following that perspective, our examination revolves around the following question: how the public spheres established by the political field (i.e. PMs in the Greek parliament), the media field (i.e. Greek newspapers), and the field of the collective action (i.e. protesters in antiausterity protests in Greece), interrelate and oppose each other—via the discursive and emotive construction of each social actor and institution—within the constantly transformed environment of the Greek crisis.

Moreover, Habermas (1984), in his 'theory of communicative action' places in the center of the dialogue, occurring in the public space, the concept of *polemic*. In this sense, he introduces the concept of 'strategic action' placing it 'alongside communicative action', 'in power struggles, in the competition for positions to which the exercise of legitimate power was tied' (see Habermas 1977: 17). As becomes obvious, Arendt and Habermas perceive differently the very concept of power: According to Habermas (1977: 17, italics in the original), 'the *acquisition* and *maintenance* of power must be distinguished from both the *employment* of political power—that is, rule—and the *generation* of political power'. In this sense, power is the very object of communicative action developed in the public spheres. Power does not equal consent but struggle and polemic (of groups, institutions and individuals) in order for consent to be achieved (or imposed).

Following the key conceptions of the theorists of the public sphere (Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997), political scientists lend weight to the *political* character of the public sphere: If, according to Arendt (1970) and Habermas (1989), the public sphere is the locus of power<sup>12</sup> exercised via discourse and communication, then special focus should be put on how *politics*

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<sup>11</sup> Habermas (1997) in his introduction, gives us examples about the 'antagonistic' public spheres construed by, for instance, feminist and anti-racist groups and movements, workers' unions.

<sup>12</sup> Without overlooking or ignoring the different conceptualizations the two theorists attribute to the notion of 'power' (see Habermas 1977).

reveal in the public sphere (see e.g. Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Mouffe 2005). Furthermore, viewing the public sphere[s] as the political arena of discursive/communicative (inter)action, studies belonging to the framework of political science highlight the importance of *discourse* in the study of politics, carried out in the public sphere[s] (see e.g. Gerstle 2008, 2010; Lirintzis 2001; Psylla 2003).

More specifically, many political scientists and theorists (see among others, Bauman 1999; Mouffe 2005; Rancie re 1995) defend the conceptualization of politics as a field or process of conflict within the democratic rules, power relations revealing in the public realm: Mouffe (2005: 52), developing her 'agonistic' conception of democratic politics, places specific attention to 'dialogue': she conceives 'dialogue as a real confrontation [among] [a]dversaries [who] do fight fiercely – but according to a shared set of rules, and their positions. In other words, according to Mouffe's (2005) 'agonistic' perception, politics are founded in ferocious dialogue among individuals or groups that share a common ground/space of communicative (inter)action. In this sense, politics may be seen as an ongoing work of articulations and disarticulations, working on two, conflicting 'logics' of 'equivalence' and 'difference' (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985 as appears in Fairclough 2003: 100-101) among individuals, groups or institutions that struggle under the (common) rules that shape the public sphere (or the public spheres) in order to gain power and consent (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997[1989]).

In our case, employing the logic of political studies and approaches, we grant the premise that the different public spheres (loci of power) on which we focus (e.g. parliament, media, protests) are the very spaces permeated by an exercise of politics in which discourse plays a key role.

Moreover, we grant the aforementioned premise about the integration of political sciences and CDA since, according to prominent scholars (see Van Dijk 1997; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012), CDA may offer a significant critical view and perspective in political sciences, that is, 'a perspective which focuses on the reproduction and contestation of *power* through political discourse' which, according to CDA perceptions is 'attached to political actors – individuals (politicians, citizens), political institutions and organizations engaged in political *processes* and *events*' (see Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 17, italics in the original).

Under this conception, for instance, a PM's speech in the parliament, the headlines of the newspapers, or graffiti slogans written during a protest, may be conceived as different forms of political discourse which aim to reproduce or contest power via discourse in the respective



public spheres, being part of the articulations and disarticulations on which politics are founded (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

At the same time, the public sphere, conceptualized as a space of power (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989), may define the specific political ‘institutional contexts’ (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 18; see also Van Dijk 1997) in which political discourses emerge. And this appears to be crucial for CDA interpretation since ‘outside political [institutional] contexts, the discourse of politicians or any other “political actors” is not “political”’ (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 18). Working under a transdisciplinary perception, we may witness the public sphere revealing as the political, institutional space of power which is reproduced and contested via discourse. Correspondingly, adopting the logic of a political ally, approaches belonging to the agenda of CDA may benefit from a broader conception of discourse as a political instrument of intervention in the public sphere, offering, at the same time, an insightful view of how discourse constitutes (and is constituted by) the exercise of politics in the public spheres.

In this sense, CDA and Political Sciences may form an integrationist, cross-fertilized frame within which each approach offers conceptual (and analytical) tools to the other, contributing to a more detailed and holistic, critical approach to social science. As we have already tried to highlight, each of the different disciplines offers to the other advancing the interpretative capacities. We, especially, as CDA practitioners, within this integrationist frame, may sharpen and deepen the tradition of political (and broader social) science, by offering a solid analytical example and approach to discourse informed by the parameters of political studies which focus on the concept of public sphere and political emergence within it (see Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 78-85 on that issue).

Under these assumptions, in the next section, I will discuss some significant points, which, in my view, should permeate each CDA approach. This discussion and clarification has an advanced importance, in our case: since discourse plays a key-role in the emergence of politics within the public space, a CDA approach should clarify how the term *discourse* is employed each time.

### **2.3 The notion of discourse: A CDA dialogue and conception**

As it was already heralded, the CDA approach underpinned in the present dissertation sees language as *discourse*, as the linguistic forms through which social reality is organized and represented (see Fairclough 2003, 2010).

As it was introduced (see section 2.1), although the conception of the notion *discourse* is the cornerstone of CDA approaches, its complex conception appears quite often (see e.g. Fairclough 2003, 2010; Wodak and Reisigl 2009). Therefore, an account and clarification of how each CDA scholar draws on the concept discourse proves to be necessary. In the present section, I will discuss the different positioning of CDA approaches regarding the term and I will explain in more detail the perception under which the term will be used in the present dissertation.

Norman Fairclough (2001, 2003, 2010), drawing on Systemic-Functional (SF) approaches to language (see e.g. Halliday 1978) regards language as simultaneously serving three main *functions*: (a) the *ideational function* in which language represents our inner and outer experience, (b) the *interpersonal function* in which language construes and organizes the social roles and identities and (c) the *textual function* which receives the ideational and interpersonal meaning[s] and transforms them in cohesive and coherent, contextualized discourse (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999).<sup>13</sup> In this sense, *discourse* may be seen as a way in which social reality is organized and represented linguistically in texts, and, as such, it constitutes and (vice-versa) is constituted by the society in which it reveals.

Wodak and Reisigl (2009: 89) regard discourse as ‘be[ing] related to a macro-topic [...]’.

Thus, [...] macro-topic-relatedness [appears] as [a] constitutive [element] of a discourse”. Under that perception, discourse can be identified as defined by a thematic criterion. This conception of discourse (as thematically defined) can be seen as continuously permeating the works of Ruth Wodak (see e.g. Wodak and Angouri 2014), offering us devices to recognize, for instance, how views of social actors, circulating in the public spheres, emerge as unified discourses: As for example, we may see the ‘Grexit’ discourse ‘launched around 2012 on Greece leaving the Eurozone’ (see Angouri and Wodak 2014: 541) by dominant officials and institutions of the EU and the Eurozone.

Although Wodak’s work is not inspired by SFL her definition of discourse, surprisingly, resembles a CL-SFL perception as this is revealed, for instance, in Kress’ (1985: 6-7) words: ‘a discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about’. Hence, we may perceive Wodak’s perception as ‘overlaid’ by Fairclough’s (SF oriented) definition; we may reasonably maintain that discourse appears as a dense linguistic organization and

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<sup>13</sup> See, in more details, Chapter 3.

representation of reality *defined around a macro-topic* (e.g. 'Grexit') (see Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 81, on that issue).

In what follows, the term discourse will be used to define the linguistic/textual ways in which social reality is represented and organized (see Fairclough 2003); which, in some cases may revolve around specific macro-topics (e.g. 'Grexit', austerity) within the public spheres of the Greek crisis (see Wodak and Reisigl 2009).

## 2.4 The principle of macro/micro-level interrelation

Since CDA does not form a dense theoretical framework and research direction, within its quite diverse agenda principles-guidelines of each CDA approach should be established and followed each time. One of the main principles followed by numerous CDA approaches applied in different genres of discourse (see e.g. Archakis 2014, 2015; Serafis and Herman 2017; Serafis et al. 2017, on data coming mainly from Greek) is the one of the study of the interrelation between the *macro-level* which includes dominant values and views and the *microlevel*, which refers to individuals and institutions, discursive strategies and texts (see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89).

Moreover, the need to establish principles that will guide the analysis of a CDA approach, results also from the fact that CDA approaches realize in different manners the two-fold interrelation between (a) texts, language and discourse and (b) the (mainly) extra-textual, (dominant) values, views, relationships that inform and influence linguistic use.<sup>14</sup> In what follows, I will present and discuss the main points of the micro/macro principle employed in this dissertation.

According to the main proponent of this guideline in CDA, in summary, the macro-level vs micro-level principle, firstly, aims to divide the analysis (which will follow) in two interconnected strata: the micro-level which includes (among others) 'language use [and] discourse' and the macro-level which typically refers to 'power, dominance, and inequality between social groups'; through this division the principle aims to show how each stratum

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<sup>14</sup> Other CDA principles are formed and developed (a) by Norman Fairclough labeled as the 'threedimensional socio-cultural model' for the approach of texts, discursive practice and social change (see e.g. Fairclough 1992, 2003, 2010; for recent applications of CDA scholars see, among others, Archakis et al. 2014; Kitis 2013), (b) by Ruth Wodak, labeled as 'discourse-historical approach' (see e.g. Wodak 2001; Wodak and Reisigl 2009; see for other recent CDA applications Wodak and Boukala 2015). The extensive discussion around the different models appearing in CDA approaches goes beyond the aims of this dissertation. For a review and application[s] of the aforementioned models see Wodak and Meyer (2001). What is more than obvious to me is that each CDA practitioner may (and is welcomed to) develop new approaches attached to CDA aims and principles (see among many others, Van Dijk 2001 on that issue).

interrelates with the other, aiming to 'bridge the well-known "gap" between micro and macro approaches' (see Van Dijk 2008: 87). More specifically, firstly, the principle of *micro vs macro level* recognizes one level (i.e. macro level) which includes the dominant values and views; for instance, dominant values and views may take the form of dominant discourses (see e.g. 'Grexit'), if we follow the conception of discourse revolving thematically around a specific issue; that is, a dense representation and organization of reality revolving around a specific thematic entity (see Section 2.3 of this Chapter). On the same time, the principle recognizes another level (micro level) which includes individuals and institutions (e.g. PMs, newspapers, protesters) texts and discursive strategies (e.g. 'we' versus 'they' group formation), related to the dominant values and views which are crystallized at the macro level.

In other words, the macro/micro principle realizing *discourses* as construed in the aforementioned bi-focal lens includes, on the one hand, the texts and the included micro- textual choices (e.g. nominal, verbal types and groups, clauses etc.) and discursive strategies, (e.g. 'we' vs 'they' group construing), while, on the other side, they function, enacting the dominant, crystallized values and views and the institutions that carry them out. For example, 'a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the micro level of social interaction in the specific situation but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro level' (Van Dijk 2008: 87).

In our case, for example, a speech given by a PM in the Greek parliament regarding the Greek crisis and the austerity measures implemented according to the MoUs, can provide a dense organization and representation of reality in the given situation, and thus, it can be seen as a discourse which, at the same time, interrelates (e.g. favors or confronts) with the dominant (within the EU institutions) values and views of austerity and may reproduce or juxtapose the dominant values and views which have been crystallized at the macro level. The same values (in general terms) for the headlines of the Greek newspapers as well as for the graffiti slogans written by the demonstrators in the city-center of Athens.

Under these provisional theoretical assumptions, in the following chapter we move towards the examination of the micro-level, presenting and discussing in detail the main analytical paradigms that inform our analytical approach: the SF approach to language (see Halliday 1973, 1978; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and the rhetorical analysis of emotions (*pathos*) in discourse (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). As it was already mentioned, one of the main aims of the present dissertation is to contribute to CDA approaches by providing an integrationist analytical framework (see e.g. Serafis and Herman 2017) which may extend the analytical and interpretative abilities of a CDA approach.

## Chapter 3

### Analytical Framework

#### 3.0 Introduction

In Chapter 2, we presented the theoretical framework followed in this dissertation; that of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, see among others, Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2014; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 2008). We also clarified how the term *discourse* will be employed in the present dissertation (see Fairclough 2003), as well as we presented one of the main principles followed by approaches belonging to CDA, that is, the principle of the interrelation between the *macro-level* of dominant values and views (e.g. austerity) and the institutions they express them (e.g. Greek governments, the EU institutions, and the IMF), and the *micro-level* which involves individuals and institutions positioning and texts (see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89).

It was also shown, how CDA approaches may be applicable, or better, co-operate in a *transdisciplinary* manner (see Fairclough 2010) with approaches belonging to the framework of Political Science (see e.g. Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Mouffe 2005; Gerstle 2008; Psylla 2003), offering a more insightful and detailed study of the concept of *public sphere* (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997[1989]); a concept which has been of high interest both in approaches belonging to CDA and Political Communication (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 1998, 1999, 2010: Ch. 15; Gerstle 2008; Lirintzis 2001; Psylla 2003).

Based on these theoretical assumptions, we focus here on the micro-level presenting the analytical framework of the study. Overall, an integrationist, analytical framework will be proposed which, as we shall show, may be employed by CDA, extending its analytical and interpretative abilities. Its efficiency will be illustrated in chapter 4, concerning the data analysis.

#### 3.1 Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL): Main conceptions

Although CDA has employed different analytical frameworks and tools during its development (see among others, Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Wodak and Krzyzanowski 2008; Machin and Mayr 2012), one of the most significant analytical framework

employed by CDA approaches is (still) that of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (see among others, Fairclough 2003; Young and Harrison 2004; Van Leeuwen 2008).<sup>15</sup>

The fundamental perception shared among approaches of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL), conceives *language* as a *system* employed in order to construe *meaning[s]* within a given socio-cultural *context* (see Halliday 1973, 1978; Hasan 2009; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004). In this sense, the term *meaning* has a *functional hue* (see Halliday 1999).

It was this very fundamental perception that distinguished SFL as a socio-linguistic paradigm, according to which, 'the scientific study of language was said to depend on an understanding of how language works in the social processes' (see Halliday et al. 1964, as quoted in Hasan 2009: 166).<sup>16</sup> Under the SFL prism, language is perceived as 'part of the social system' (see Halliday 1978: 39) and, specifically, as a 'social behavior': as 'a form of behavior *potential*' within a social-cultural formation.

'Convert[ing]' the speaker's *behavior potential* in actual linguistic terms, that is, what the speaker is able to do via his/her language within the social system, SFL support that language is, moreover, a '*network of options*' from which its user makes choices in order to create *meaning[s]* (see Halliday 1973: 51; see also Halliday 1978: 39). In other words, SF model regards language as a *system-network of choices* (e.g. verbal, nominal groups) through which 'meaning potential' is construed in a given socio-cultural context (see Halliday 1973: 51-54, 1978: 39-40, 2004).<sup>17</sup>

As a result, SF paradigm does not see language as a system, isolated from the context in which it is used, but instead tries to explain how language reveals, how it construes meanings in a specific (social-cultural) context, highlighting, in this way, the ways in which *context* and

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<sup>15</sup> Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) apparatus is also called 'Hallidayan linguistics', because of the main proponent of the SF approach, Michael A.K. Halliday. In what follows the terms SFL and 'Hallidayan linguistics', 'Hallidayan model' or 'Hallidayan paradigm', will refer to the same approach, i.e. Systemic-Functional (SF) approach of language.

<sup>16</sup> This conception creates clear-cut boundaries between the SFL model and other approaches of language (i.e. the Chomskyan approach or the Saussurean one). In brief, according to the SFL view, there are no boundaries between *langue* and *parole* (Saussure) or *competence* and *performance* (Chomsky); or, better, SFL does not find reasons for their existence. According to Hallidayan linguistics, 'the image of language as having a "pure" form (*langue*) that becomes contaminated in the process of being translated into speech (*parole*) is of very little' (see Halliday 1971, as quoted in Hasan 2009: 174). In the same line, following Hymes, Halliday (1978: 38) does not recognize the Chomskyan distinction between an 'idealized form' of language (*competence*) and its actual *performance*, since we simply 'can't use it' in order to study how language construes meaning in process of real life. According to the SFL perception 'we do not want a boundary between language and speech at all, or between pairs such as *langue* and *parole*, or *competence* and *performance*-unless these are reduced to mere synonyms of "can do" and "does"' (see, among others, Halliday 1971, as quoted in Hasan 2009: 174).

<sup>17</sup> We will pay special attention to the SF conception of *context* in the following section.

*texts*<sup>18</sup> interact in the construction of a single (socio-linguistic) reality (see among others Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004). In this sense, the Hallidayan paradigm, denies to see decontextualized, fragmentary linguistic forms, but, on the contrary, it aims to study the ways a range of possible *meanings* may be *construed linguistically* in a given *context* or, better, how these meanings may be *realized* (see, among others, Halliday 1973: 24, 29; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 3-7) and *instantiated* (see, among others, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 26-29; Hasan 2009: 168-170; Matthiessen 2009) in terms of the *language system-network of choices*. This discussion will become more specific in the following subsection where we deal with the conception of *context* under a SF prism.

### 3.1.1 Language and Context

The concept of *context* 'has played a crucial role throughout the development of SFL' (Hasan 2009: 166). The perception of the term varies also within SF approaches (see Martin 1985, 1992; Matthiessen 1995, 2007).<sup>19</sup> Although the aforementioned perceptions will not be extensively discussed, what proves to be significant in order for us to discuss the term *context*, is to 'understand the meaning of *instantiation* and *realization*' according to SFL (see Hasan 2009: 168-170). We will be more evident employing the following figure 3.1:

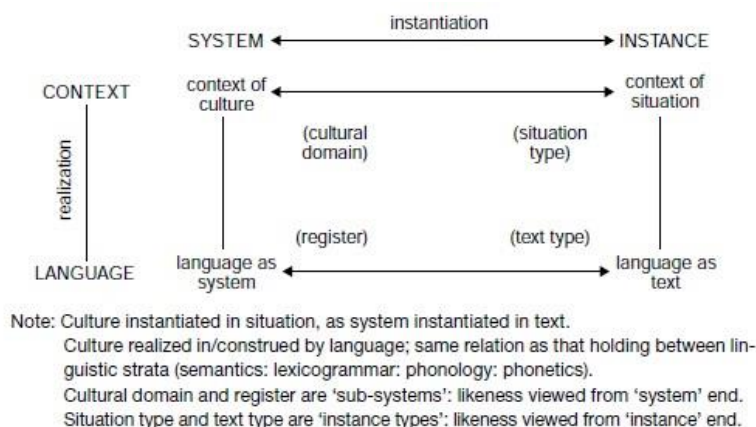


Figure 3.1: Language and Context: System and Instance (Halliday 1991, 2002–2007 volume 9: 275; as appears in Hasan 2009: 169)

<sup>18</sup> The term *text* is provisionally employed in order to 'refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole' [...] 'a semantic unit not of form but of meaning' (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 1-2; Halliday and Hasan 1985: Ch. 1; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 3-11). In the subsection 3.1.4, we will discuss, in more details, the ways the term *text* is perceived here (see Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Archakis 2005).

<sup>19</sup> See the overview and interpretation provided in Hasan (2009).

The figure is structured, primarily, upon two axis-‘relations’: the vertical one regarding the so-called *realization* and the horizontal one called *instantiation*. It also includes four ‘categories’, i.e. (a) context of culture and (b) language as system, as well as, (c) context of situation and (d) language as text which can be interrelated by reference to each of the two-mentioned axis. In other words, for example, the context of culture can be *realized by* the language as system (axis *realization*) and, on the same time, it can be *instantiated in* the context of situation (axis *instantiation*).

More specifically, following Hasan (2009: 169-170), ‘[i]nstantiation is the relationship between a potential and its instance’. So, according to the figure 3.1, it is the relationship between, for example, the language as *system* (potential) and the language as *text* (instance) or the relationship between *context of culture* (potential) and *context of situation* (instance)<sup>20</sup> (see also Halliday and Matthiessen 1999; Matthiessen 2009: 207-213 on the same issue). According to Halliday (1988, 1992, 1993, 2008; as quoted in Hasan 2009: 169):

‘Instance and system are not two distinct kinds of phenomena: they are in fact *the same thing* viewed from *different time depths*. Instance is what is immediate and experienced; system is the ultimate point of the theorization of what is experienced and imaginable by extrapolation’. [My emphasis].

Specifying this point, *instantiation* may be resumed as the ‘continuum extending from *instances*, from *texts* in contexts of situation over fairly short intervals of time [...] to the *potential*, to the *system* of language in the context of culture, evolving over long intervals of time’ (Matthiessen 2009: 207; see also, Matthiessen 2002, 2004). In our case, *instantiation* links the different texts (instances) produced in the public spheres of crisis (e.g. newspapers headlines/media discourse) with the language as system which could have been (potentially) employed. In more simple words, *texts* may be viewed as a ‘meaningful still’ of the *language system*. In the same way, instantiation links different contexts of situation (e.g. the context of situation of May 05, 2010-voting of the first Bailout Program) with the broader context of culture (e.g. the Greek socio-cultural context as this is historically construed). It links significant moments of the Greek crisis—and the respective public spheres—with the overall development

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<sup>20</sup> In our case, for example, we refer to *context of culture* (potential) as the term that captures the potential, non-linguistic characteristics which inform and determine the linguistic production during the historical development of the Greek socio-political and cultural formation. As for the term *context of situation* (instance), this refers to specific and significant instances-moments of the broader cultural context that give shape to this sociopolitical and cultural development, as for example, the crisis moments we examine here as parts of the Greek sociopolitical cultural development.



of the Greek sociocultural context. As before, the *context of situation* may be viewed a 'meaningful still' of the *cultural context*.

Moreover, following the same view, the 'system takes shape through the distillation of the relations among the significant properties of instances' (Hasan 2009: 169). In this sense, for example, the Greek culture context is shaped by the distillation of the significant properties of its contexts of situation within the Greek crisis. Likewise, for instance, Greek language as system may be shaped by significant properties of its texts (e.g. newspapers headlines, graffiti slogans, parliamentary speeches).

By examining significant dates of the Greek crisis and texts produced by significant Actors of the Greek society, in the present dissertation, we (primarily) aim to examine how language (system) as a system of meaning construction is captured in its significant instances (texts) and, respectively, how the Greek cultural context is captured in significant contexts of situation of the respective crisis. In more simple words, *we examine meaning construction in significant instances of language (texts) within significant instances of the Greek socio-cultural context*.

Subsequently, following again Hasan (2009: 169-170), and focusing on the vertical axes of the figure 3.1, SF approaches regard the 'relation'-*realization* as 'inherently semiotic', meaning that 'its roots lie in the nature of sign' which is 'necessarily stratified' (Hasan 2009: 170). According to Hallidayan linguistics (see among others, Halliday 1992; Hasan 1995; Matthiessen 1995; 2007; Butt 2008; as quoted in Hasan 2009: 170):

The concept of realization refers to that relation whereby the stratified phenomena are calibrated permitting language in use to be subjectively experienced as a seamless flow where meaning, wording and sound work together.

More specifically, SFL recognizes different *strata* of the aforementioned *seamless flow*. The 'highest' stratum of that *flow*, which is 'language external', is the one of 'context' (see Hasan 2009: 170; as depicted in Figure 3.1).<sup>21</sup> What is important to keep in our present examination regarding the language and the context, is the perception under which SFL view the relation

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<sup>21</sup> In what follows, we will examine more specifically the 'language internal' strata (semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology). Worth mentioning that, according to Hasan (2009: 170), the total strata recognized by SFL are five: (a) context ('language external') and the 'remaining four' (b) semantics, (c) lexicogrammar, (d) phonology, and (e) phonetics ('language internal'). However, in subsection 3.1.2, based on Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), the strata (d) and (e), are treated as one (i.e. phonology) and thus, the 'language internal strata' are three (semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology). We will not proceed to a discussion of the stratum-phonology since our overall focus is on the 'relation'-*realization* binding context, semantics and lexicogrammar providing us evidence on how *meaning* is construed via instances of *language* (texts) in significant *contexts of the Greek crisis* (contexts of situation). For a recent discussion about the relation of phonology and lexicogrammar (or grammar) strata see Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 11-19).

binding the strata context, semantics, and lexicogrammar.<sup>22</sup> According to SFL (see among others, Hasan et al. 2007; as quoted in Hasan 2009: 170):

At these three higher strata – context, meaning and wording – realization functions as a dialectic: looking *from above*, contextual choices *activate* semantic choices activate the lexicogrammatical ones; looking *from below* lexicogrammatical choices *construe* semantic choices construe contextual ones.

What proves to be significant for our present discussion is the *dialectical relation* (from *below* and *above*) that permeates the whole vertical axes-*realization*, depicted in the figure 3.1, giving rise to the conceptualization of the ‘relation’-realization as an up-down dialectical one that binds the *language* (as system and as instance) with the *meaning potential* (semantics) and the *context* (of culture or of situation). In Hasan’s (2009: 170) words:

[T]o explain why anyone says anything one must appeal to the context which exerts pressure on the speaker’s choice of meaning; and to explain why these patterns of wordings appear rather than any other, one must appeal to the meanings which, being relevant to the context, activated those wordings: semantics is thus an interface between context and linguistic form.

So, in our case, by examining significant texts produced by (significant) Actors in respective contexts of situation (e.g. dates of Greek crisis), we (primarily) aim to examine how patterns of wordings and texts appear in significant contexts of situation (Greek crisis contexts), and, moreover, how these texts construe meaning within these significant contexts of situation of the Greek crisis. In more simple words, *we examine how meaning is realized by wordings/texts within significant instances of the Greek socio-cultural context*.

Under these provisional premises, we proceed to the discussion of ‘realization’ in the ‘language internal strata’, employing the following figure 3.2:

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<sup>22</sup> As Hasan comments, (based, primarily, on her presentation to EESFLW), ‘that realization is one of the hardest working concepts in SFL; it has been used for interstratal relations; also for the relation between system and structure; and of course as an interstratal relation it is both a dialectic, as at the higher three levels strata, and works as “true” content expression where phonetics and phonology in relation to the content strata are concerned’ (Hasan 2009: 188, note 11).

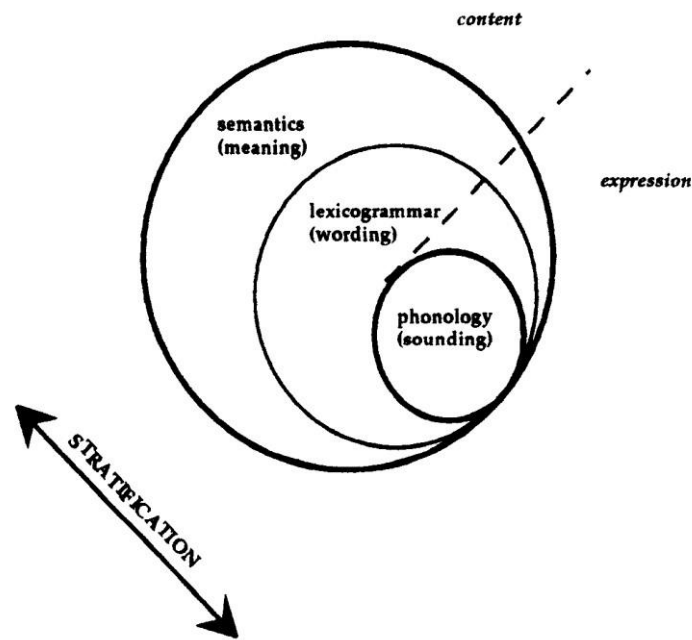


Figure 3.2: Language as a tri-stratal system (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 5)

In the above figure, language is depicted as a system composed by the three concentric circles/strata we discussed, in brief, before: semantics, lexicogrammar (or grammar), and phonology. The stratum *grammar* (wording) –in which we focus here- is located below the stratum *semantics* (meaning) and above the stratum *phonology* (sounding); so, in the tri-stratal system described in the above figure, we may, following the *dialectical relation of realization*, ‘look into grammar “from above” [semantic stratum] and “from below” [phonology stratum]’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 31, see also Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 3-7).

Focusing on the two upper strata of the figure 3.2, i.e. the *semantics* (meaning) and the *lexicogrammar* (wording), the ‘relation’-*realization* becomes an ‘*interstratal relationship*’ between the semantics and the lexicogrammar – the lexicogrammar “realizes” (looking *from below*) the semantics, the semantics “is realized by” (looking *from above*) the grammar’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 25, 2004: 32). In other words, every possible meaning (semantics) *is realized by* a ‘range of alternatives’ (Halliday 1978: 39) of the lexicogrammar or grammar and, on the same time, each grammatical choice *realizes* a meaning potential. In Halliday’s (1978: 39) words: ‘the lexicogrammatical system as a whole, operates as the realization of the semantic system, which is what the speaker *can mean*-what [he/she] refer[s] to as the “meaning potential”’.

Next, we will give more details about how lexicogrammar (or grammar) is able to construe meanings, discussing the relation that binds the system of language and the grammar as *intrinsic* part of it (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

### 3.1.2 Language, (Meta) Functions and Grammar

More specifically, language is seen as serving specific ‘functions’ (see Halliday 1973: Ch. 4). As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 31) put it, ‘functionality is *intrinsic* to language: that is to say, the entire architecture of language is arranged along functional lines’. It is through these ‘functions’ that language serves as construing potential meaning[s] in given contexts.

According to SFL, these functions are three: the *ideational*, the *interpersonal* and the *textual* function or ‘metafunctions’ since they are perceived as the ‘highly generalized functions of the linguistic system’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 7; see also Halliday 1978: 130133) within the socio-cultural context in which the linguistic system is used. Although we are not going to discuss extensively all the functions that language serves, in brief, these are perceived as the ‘distinct’ (ideational, interpersonal and textual) ‘modes of meaning’ in an ‘extend[ed] spectrum’ of the *meaning potential*, proceeding to an ‘ongoing creation of a semiotic realm of reality’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 7; see also Matthiessen 1992).

In other words, the aforementioned (*meta*)functions capture how meanings are—*simultaneously but differently*—constructed linguistically in a given context. Thus, language is, *on the same time*, concerned with: (a) ‘construing experience’, i.e. ‘as a recourse for reflecting on the word’ (ideational function) (b) ‘enacting interpersonal relations’, i.e. ‘as a resource for interacting with others’ (interpersonal function) and as (c) ‘organizing ideational and interpersonal meaning as discourse – as meaning that is contextualized and shared’ (textual function) (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 7, 11-12, 2004: 29-31). Therefore, under a SFL perception, language, simultaneously: (a) expresses the speaker’s experience, his/her idea for the inner and outer world, construing linguistically the reality in its ideational function (b) assigns the (permanent) social and (temporary) conversational roles (e.g. speaker and listener) in its interpersonal function, and (c) organizes the information (regarding the represented reality and the roles assigned) in a single (spoken or written) *text* in its textual function, producing a specific organization and representation of the social reality, (i.e. *discourse*, see Fairclough 2003).

Each of the abovementioned functions (modes of meaning), according to the Hallidayan paradigm, are *realized* in the level<sup>23</sup> of *lexicogrammar* or, better, the level of the *systemicfunctional grammar* (see Halliday 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Being a ‘functional grammar’ means that it is ‘a resource for making meaning – it is a “semanticky” kind of grammar’ giving the ‘priority to the “view from above”’, that is, from the *semantic*

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<sup>23</sup> The term *level* is used in the sense of *stratum* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999; see also Lamb 1965).

stratum/level. Being a 'system' means that grammar is composed by 'system networks' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 23) including 'meaningful interrelated choices' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 31, 1999: 4) which are 'semantically motivated' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 3).

More specifically, according to SFL, '[e]ach system [as, in our case, the grammar] has its point of origin in a particular *rank*' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 31; see also Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 3-7), i.e. in terms of functional grammar, this rank varies among the 'clause', the e.g. nominal, verbal 'phrase' and the respective 'group[s]' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 31). It is in the terms of these rank[s] that the *semantic* level (meaning) is (primarily) *realized by* the respective *grammatical* (wording). In other words, meaning[s] are primarily *realized by* (nominal or verbal) groups and phrases that consist a clause. We will become more specific on that issue in the following subsection, examining the realization of the ideational function in the grammatical level.

### ***3.1.3 Ideational function and Grammar – The system of Transitivity***

As it was already highlighted, the aforementioned *functions of language* are *realized* in the *grammatical level* by the respective systems of lexico-grammatical choices. Specifically, the *ideational function* of language (in which we focus) is realized at the grammatical level by the *system of transitivity* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5; see also Halliday 1998). So, the *system of transitivity* is, primarily, seen as the grammatical resource of the realization of 'the "ideational" metafunction, whereby language construes our experiential world' (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 511), i.e. it transforms our (inner and outer) experience into meaning (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004: 170; see also Halliday 1973: 99).

The *system of transitivity* (henceforth also *transitivity*) examines how experience is transformed into meaning, focusing (primarily) on the examination of the 'clause' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004). This examination is based on the SFL assumption that, 'experience [...] consists of a flow of events, or "goings-on" [and] this flow of events is chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause: each quantum of change is modeled as a 'figure'" in the words of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 170). In other words, the examination of 'clause' captures how each *quantum of change* of our experience occurs via the grammatical level, modeling it in (possible) *figures*. It is through these *figures* that our experience is transformed into meaning and this procedure takes place (primarily) at the level of clause.

Moreover, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 170) put it '[a]ll figures consist of a *process* and the *participants* which are directly involved in this process in some way; and in addition,

there may be *circumstances* of time, space, cause, manner or one of other types [which] are not directly involved in the process [but] they are attendant on it'. It is the system of transitivity (or the 'configuration of transitivity') that provides us with evidence of how the *process*, the *participants* and the (possible) *circumstances* interrelate as 'elements' of 'different status' in the 'transitivity structure' (clause), representing our inner and outer experience and transforming it into meaning[s]. The model of the clause is given in term of a diagram in the following Figure. It depicts the different elements (*process+participants+circumstance*) interrelating in the transitivity configuration *Can you tell us about the political and cultural makeup of Nigeria*.

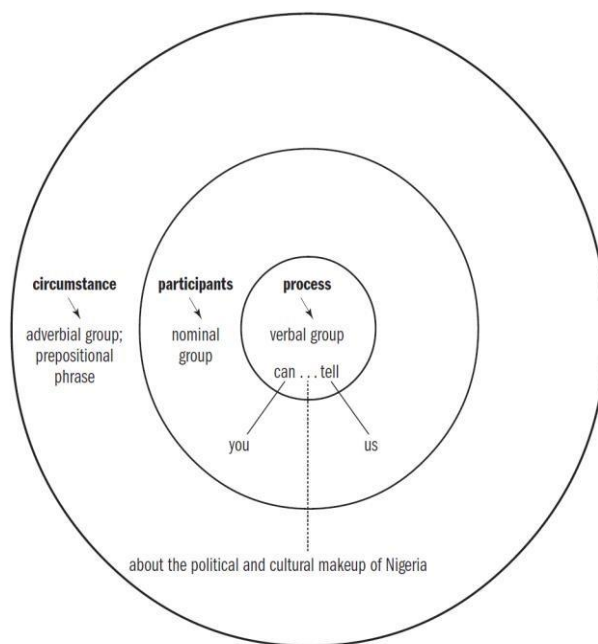


Figure 3.3: Elements in the experiential structure of the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 176)

As it becomes evident in the figure, the process and the participants constitute the '*experiential center* of the clause', while 'the "circumstantial element" *augments this center*; the *participants* are 'directly involved' in the *process* while the *circumstance* is 'more peripheral' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 176). In other words, the process is the 'core' element in the configuration, and the other elements turn around it, being directly (participant) or nondirectly (circumstance) involved in the process.

As we can also see in the figure, each element in the transitivity configuration, i.e. *process*, *participant*, and *circumstance*, is realized by different lexico-grammatical choices (elements or 'word classes' in Hallidayan terms) in the above given clause. Thus, the *process* is *realized by* the *verbal group* (*Can, tell*) the *participants* are *realized by* the *nominal group* (*you, us*) and the

*circumstance* is realized by the prepositional phrase (*about the political and cultural makeup of Nigeria*) depicted in the following table:

type of element	typically realized by			
(i) process	verbal group			
(ii) participant	nominal group			
(iii) circumstance	adverbial group or prepositional phrase			

Can	you	tell	us	about the political and cultural makeup of Nigeria
pro-verbal . . .	participant nominal gp	-cess . . . group	participant nominal gp	circumstance prepositional phrase

Table 3.1: Typical experiential functions of group and phrase classes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 177)

Resulting from the fact that process is regarded as the center of the ideational function of language, which construes our experiential world, the different types of processes construe in different ways the world (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: 512-519; see also, in summary, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170-171). The main processes are the following three:

- The ‘material’ processes (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 179, Section 5.2)
- The ‘mental’ processes (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 197, Section 5.3)
- The ‘relational’ processes (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 210, Section 5.4)

The cutting edge between the ‘material’ and the ‘mental’ processes is that the first ones construe the *outer experience*, i.e. ‘what we experience as going on “out there” in the world around us’, while the second ones construe the *inner experience*, i.e. ‘what we experience as going on inside ourselves, in the world of consciousness (including perception, emotion and imagination)’. The ‘relational’ processes, finally, are the type of process through which, ‘grammar recognizes processes of “identifying” and “classifying” type’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170). In addition, ‘on the boundaries’ of the above three processes, we find the following ones (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 171, see in detail, a diagrammatical depiction of the different types of processes, offered in the Figure 3.4 below):

- The ‘behavioural’ processes (between ‘material’ and ‘mental’), representing the ‘consciousness’ of ‘physiological states’
- The ‘verbal’ processes (between ‘mental’ and ‘relational’), ‘constructed in the consciousness and enacted in the language’
- The ‘existential’ processes (between ‘relational’ and ‘material’), ‘concerned with existence’

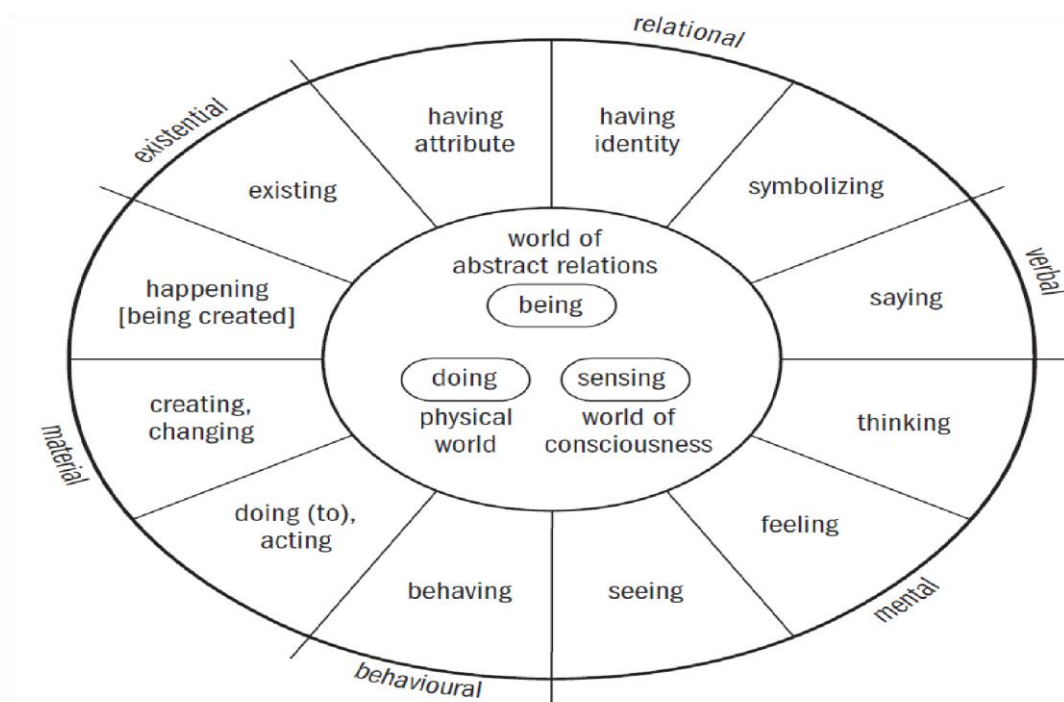


Figure 3.4: The grammar of experience: types of process in English (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 172)

Consequently, the participants, (directly) involved in the different type of processes, are ‘coded’, respective to the process in which they are involved. So, we code as ‘Actor’ and ‘Goal’ the participants involved in ‘material’ processes and so on (see table 3.2 and 3.3 for specific examples).

PROCESS TYPE	category meaning	participants, directly involved	participants, obliquely involved
material: action event	‘doing’ ‘doing’ ‘happening’	Actor, Goal	Recipient, Client; Scope; Initiator; Attribute
behavioural	‘behaving’	Behavior	Behaviour
mental: perception cognition desideration emotion	‘sensing’ ‘seeing’ ‘thinking’ ‘wanting’ ‘feeling’	Senser, Phenomenon	
verbal	‘saying’	Sayer, Target	Receiver; Verbiage
relational: attribution identification	‘being’ ‘attributing’ ‘identifying’	Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier; Token, Value	Attributor, Beneficiary Assigner
existential	‘existing’	Existent	

Table 3.2: Process types, their meanings and characteristic participants (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 260)



PROCESS TYPE	Participants, directly involved	Examples of realization
<b>material</b>	Actor, Goal	( <b>She</b> ) <i>made the coffee</i>
<b>mental</b>	Senser, Phenomenon	( <b>She</b> ) <i>saw the car</i>
relational attribution	Carrier, Attribute	<b>Margaret was strong</b>
identification	Token, Value	<b>Margaret was our leader</b>
<b>behavioural</b>	Behaver	( <b>She</b> ) <i>laughs</i>
verbal	Sayer	( <b>She</b> ) <i>answers</i>
existential	Existent	<b>A beautiful princess exists</b>

Table 3.3. Process types, their participants and examples of realization (See Martin et al. 1997: 103; as quoted in Maniou 2006: 19, 2016: 73, my translation. In **bold** the participants, in *italics* the processes)

### 3.1.4 Language, Transitivity and Texts

As we already mentioned (see Section 3.1.2), language, simultaneously, is perceived by the SFL (a) as a recourse for meaning making upon the reflection of the word (ideational function) (b) as a resource for meaning making upon the interactions of social actors (interpersonal function) and as (c) ‘organizing ideational and interpersonal meaning as discourse’ (textual function) (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 7, 11-12, 2004: 29-31). In this sense, the aforementioned functions - distinct modes of meaning construction (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004) meet together in the textual function, being transformed in *texts* which provide a specific contextualized meaning (discourse, see Fairclough 2003; Archakis 2005; see also Halliday and Matthiessen 1999).

Since our focus is, primarily, on the examination of the ideational function, in this section we will primarily pay attention on how ideational function meets with (or, better, is captured by) the textual one, or, as Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 12) put it, how the *textual* function ‘provides the resources that enable the speaker to produce contextualized discourse and to guide the listener in interpreting it’ upon the representations construed in the grammar of clause (transitivity). In other words, we deal with the relation that binds the system of transitivity and texts; how transitivity structures are unified in *text*, producing contextualized meaning (discourse).

For this reason, we will employ the concepts of ‘cohesion’ and ‘coherence’ (Halliday and

Hasan 1985: Ch. 5) as well as, we will examine the concepts of 'intertextuality' (Bakhtin 1986; Fairclough 1992) and 'recontextualization' (Bakhtin 1986; Bernstein 1990). Employing the concepts of *cohesion*, *coherence* (see Halliday and Hasan 1985), *intertextuality* (see Bakhtin 1986; Fairclough 1992) and *recontextualization* (Bakhtin 1986; Bernstein 1990), enables us to show how the meaning construction at the ideational function is further bound and enriched.

As it will be shown in the analysis, our data do not emerge as 'a linear sequence of sentences,' but as *text* with 'its own principles of organization' (Archakis 2005: 58) which, inductively, construes a coherent discourse within the contexts of situation we examine (Greek crisis). In other words, employing the conceptual armoury of *cohesion*, *coherence*, *intertextuality* and *recontextualization* in our data allows us to argue that they interrelate as part of a *text*, constructing, inductively, a dense representation and organization of reality (Archakis 2005: 57). Thus, we may assume that they are a representative part of the different contextualized meanings-discourses (Fairclough 2003) revealed in the *public sphere[s]* of the Greek crisis. More specifically:

- 'Cohesion' functions to facilitate the interpretation of elements within a text, as for example when the interpretation of a pronoun may depend on the presence of a nominal group in the same text (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 75; Renkema 1993: 35, see also Halliday and Hasan 1976). Cohesion is identified by specific 'cohesive relations' (e.g. *co-referentiality*, *ellipsis*) within the edges of a text (see Archakis 2005: 59, 63-68, for specific examples).
- 'Coherence', on the other hand, activated by elements of the text facilitates interpretation as contingent on common, extra-textual knowledge that the reader of the text is assumed to have (see Archakis 2005: 59; Cook 1989: 9). In other words, although we may not witness a specific 'cohesive relation', the interpretation of a text element/a clause is achieved by the knowledge of the reader/audience about the context in which the element/clause appears.
- As 'intertextuality' we regard 'the properties texts have to be full of snatches of other texts' (Fairclough 1992: 84), i.e. as 'incorporated' into other texts (see Fairclough 2003: 47-51). However, as we will see in our analysis, the fact that snatches of text can be located in other texts is not the result of a linear transfer process, from either a sentential unit to another or from one text to another. Rather, the use of same textual units across texts is a process of anchoring them in different contexts that generate or invoke further meanings. This is what we perceive as 'recontextualization' (see Bakhtin 1986: 89).

As we already highlighted, the aforementioned concepts prove to be significant in order for us to distinguish when a 'written or spoken passage' is a 'text' (see Halliday 1978: 133- 142; Halliday and Hasan 1976: 1-2; Halliday and Hasan 1985: Ch. 1; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 3-11), able to construe contextualized meanings, and dense representations of the reality (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004; Fairclough 2003; Archakis 2005).

### 3.2. Rhetorical *pathos*: Main concepts

Jointly to the SF approach and analysis we will conduct a rhetorical analysis of emotions in discourse ('alternative conception' of *pathos*, see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014) in order to show emotions revealed from different discursive representations in transitivity structures and their argumentative force. As we will show in the following discussion, the joint application of SF and pathos analysis may extend (in the case of the SF analysis) and exemplify (in the case of pathos analysis) each other's analytical and interpretative abilities. In this sense, they may work together contributing as an integrationist analytical framework under the theoretical lines of a CDA approach which determines the present dissertation.

This perception of how emotions (*pathos*) function in discourse (see among others, Plantin 2004, 2011; Micheli 2010, 2014), is primarily grounded on the Aristotelian perception of *pathos* presented in *Rhetoric*, which conceives *pathos* as one of the three main 'means of persuasion' along with *ethos*, *logos*.<sup>24</sup> Our special focus will be on persuasion and pathos. According to Aristotle's (I, 2, 1356a) definition:

Persuasion [may be achieved] through the hearers, when they are led to feel emotion by the speech; for we do not give the same judgement when grieved or rejoicing or when being friendly or hostile.

Under that prism, the emotions provoked and addressed by the speaker to a given audience may become significant factors that will affect audience's judgement and will lead to its final decision in a specific situation. In other words, emotions may provide motivation (*stimuli*, see Plantin 2004) to the audience to follow the speaker's proposals. This is an idea shared even between approaches that do not conceive emotions (*pathos*) as intrinsic part of the argumentation itself (see e.g. Walton 1992).

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<sup>24</sup> An extensive discussion revolving around the relations of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* is beyond the aims of this dissertation.

### 3.2.1 Rhetorical analysis of emotions in discourse

Over the last decades, analysis of emotions in discourse has become a flourishing field of research constituted by different and conflicting approaches (see e.g. Brinton 1988; Besnier 1990; Walton 1992; Scherer 1999, 2004; Plantin 1999, 2004, 2011; Gilbert 2005; Micheli 2008, 2010, 2014). We, especially, argue that the proposed, cross-fertilized analytical approach may track and examine how meaning constructions in transitivity give rise to emotional ones which, consequently, are addressed in order to be legitimately felt by their audience (see, among others, Plantin 2004; Micheli 2010), persuading for the validity of the speaker's view.

Specifically, as we will show in our analysis emotive constructions extend and fulfill the discursive construction of reality, aiming to *motivate* and *persuade* the audience to make the choice proposed (implicitly or explicitly) by, in our case, the Greek PMs, the newspapers and the demonstrators in key-dates of the Greek crisis. And that because, according to the fundamental perception of studies belonging to the framework of rhetorical *pathos*,<sup>25</sup> 'emotions themselves are accessible to argumentation' and more specifically they could be 'the very object of argumentation', since social actors 'argue in favor of or against an emotion' and support what they feel and why they should legitimately feel like this (see, Plantin 2004 as quoted in Micheli 2010, 5, 13).

What distinguishes the 'alternative conception' (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014), which we follow, from other approaches that study the place of emotions (*pathos*) in argumentation (see e.g. Walton 1992) is that it does not perceive emotions (*pathos*) as (only) assisting devices of the argumentation, i.e. as 'appeals' which function 'as "external adjuvants" to argumentation' (see Micheli 2010). The 'alternative conception' places emotions in the very *core of argumentation*, i.e. it argues that 'the emotions possess an argumentable core' (see Plantin 1999, 2004; as quoted in Micheli 2010: 13) which may, in an autonomous way, be addressed to the audience in order to persuade for the speaker's view.

In fact, the *argumentative-persuasive force* of the emotions emerges in Aristotle's (II, 2, 1378a) words: 'The emotions are those things through which, by undergoing change, people come to differ on their judgments', meaning that '[t]hrough a skillful used of *pathos*, the orator modifies the audience's disposition to pass judgment so that it favors the cause which he wants to see prevail' (Micheli 2010: 6).

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<sup>25</sup> We will not make a clear-cut distinction between *pathos* (held as a means to persuade, according to Aristotle) and emotion in discourse. The way emotions may influence the audience, or may help to construct a reality which is in line with speaker's goals or point of view, would be considered in the French vision of argumentation in discourse as rhetoric (see, Amossy 2010).

In our case, by appealing to the ‘alternative conception’ of the rhetorical pathos studies, we, especially, aim to capture this *argumentative-persuasive force* of the discursive representation construed in transitivity structures of the different texts we examine, i.e. parliamentary proceedings, newspapers headlines, graffiti slogans. In other words, we aim to see how meaning construed in transitivity structures may give rise or be transformed into emotional constructions which will be addressed to the audience in order to guide its action according to the speaker’s (i.e. PMs, newspapers, demonstrators) willing.

Moreover, according to approaches of *pathos* if the speaker ‘is to use pathos effectively’ he/she ‘must have an understanding of how emotions work’ in the ‘set of beliefs and judgments which are most commonly associated with this particular emotion’ (see Micheli 2010: 7; see also Nussbaum 1996; Elster 1999 on similar arguments). As we perceive it here, the speaker/orator must know how to construct and employ an emotion (or a set of emotions) in a specific context (of beliefs and values). In other words, the speaker has to take into consideration the *context* in which the specific emotions are addressed to the audience.

As we witness, the studies of rhetorical pathos share with SFL (see Section 3.1.1) the fundamental conception about the centrality of the context. In our case, the effective use of *pathos*, must take into consideration the set of values and beliefs circulating in the Greek cultural context and, more specifically, the respective values and beliefs dominating the specific contexts of the Greek crisis (contexts of situation). Overall, we will show that this framework of analysis of emotions constructed in the different types of text and discourse extends the interpretative abilities of a SF analysis;<sup>26</sup> SF analysis is extensively conducted in CDA approaches (see e.g. Young and Harrison 2004; Van Leeuwen 2008).<sup>27</sup> In other words, the proposed framework extends the analytical and interpretative capabilities of a critical discourse study.

### ***3.2.2 Semiotization of emotions in discourse***

Specifically, we employ Micheli’s (2014) model to analyse emotions (*pathos*) in discourse. This model studies how emotions are *semiotized* in discourse independently of speaker’s or audience’s real feelings. In our case, the aforementioned analytical approach, may track how emotions are realized in transitivity structures of the different type of texts we examine in the

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<sup>26</sup> By showing the *argumentative force* of an emotion, which is construed upon a discursive representation in the system of transitivity.

<sup>27</sup> Therefore, we draw on this framework of emotions analysis instead of that of the *appraisal theory* (see e.g. Martin and White 2005) which has been developed in the SF paradigm and (mainly) focuses on evaluation and emotions examining, mostly, the interpersonal function of language—and not the ideational (transitivity) in which we focus here.

present dissertation. On the same time, it declares that the tracked (through the analysis) emotion may differ from the actual feelings of the audience in which the emotion is addressed.

The model, practically, provides us (as analysts) with a possible ‘cartography’, a broad categorization of emotions appearance upon the discursive representation, taking in mind (a) the interrelation in the transitivity and (b) the aspects of the context which determines it. Therefore, it may be jointly applied with the SF analysis and, specifically, as an extension of the SF analysis of transitivity. This process of ‘emotion semiotization’ occurs through three independent modes, coded as ‘said’, ‘shown’ and ‘argued’ emotion (see, Micheli 2014, Ch. 1). Specifically:

- A ‘said’ emotion is explicitly designated by an emotion term (e.g. a verbal, a nominal type or group) which is (sometimes) tied in with the Actor who provokes or experiences this emotion (e.g. participants in a clause). Let us be clearer employing the following example tracked from the headline of the Greek newspaper *Ta Nea* on July 03, 2015 within the high-polarized context of the Greek Referendum (see in more details Serafis and Herman 2017):

- [...] **ΦΟΒΙΖΕΙ** Η ΨΗΦΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΟΧΙ/[...]THE VOTE FOR NO **SCARES**

In the example/headline, the emotion of *fear* is explicitly designated, realized in the transitivity structure of the headline by the highlighted verbal type *ΦΟΒΙΖΕΙ/SCARES*. Thus, the respective emotion is coded as ‘said’ in the structure. Moreover, it is tied (as provoked by) the participant of the transitivity, which is realized by the nominal phrase *Η ΨΗΦΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΟΧΙ/THE VOTE FOR NO*. In this sense, the emotion of *fear* is tied with the actual voting in favor of the NO answer to the Greek Referendum.

- A ‘shown’ emotion is inferred from semiotic markers and characteristics whose presence seems precisely due to this emotion; this abductive approach -from a sign to probable emotional cause of this sign- considers that e.g. an elliptic clause or an exclamation mark are signs or effects caused by an emotion, the nature of which is not always explicitly definable and needs an analysis of the structure in which the marker (e.g. ellipsis, exclamation mark) reveals. Let us see the following example tracked from the headline of the Greek newspaper *Ethnos* on June 29, 2015 (see Serafis and Herman 2017):

- Σε δίνη η χώρα-ο λαός σε περιπέτεια/In vortex the country-the people at risk

In the provided example, we witness two elliptic clauses; ‘ellipsis’ appears since the ‘core element’ of the transitivity structure, i.e. the verbal element is absent, see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74; see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 561): *Σε δίνη η χώρα/In vortex the country* and *ο λαός σε περιπέτεια/the people at risk*. The nominal groups (*η χώρα/the country* and *ο λαός/the people*) co-exist with the prepositional nominal groups (*in vortex/σε δίνη* and *σε περιπέτεια/at risk*). Their co-existence enforces us to proceed to their co-interpretation, i.e. it enforces us to see them as linked together. Through the interrelation of the elements in the structures the meaning constructed is that *η χώρα/the country* and *ο λαός/the people* are in extreme danger (see in more details Serafis and Herman 2017). Consequently, the emotion of *fear* is ‘shown’ as an explanation/a cause of these elliptic clauses. The non-elliptic structures would (probably) be: *Σε δίνη [είναι/βρίσκεται] η χώρα/In vortex [is] the country* and *ο λαός [είναι/βρίσκεται] σε περιπέτεια/the people [is] at risk*.<sup>28</sup> In this case, the emotion is coded as ‘shown’, meaning that it is tracked in the structure[s] by the emerged ‘ellipsis’ which is, according to Micheli (2014), caused by an emotion.<sup>29</sup>

- The term ‘argued’ emotion, based on Plantin’s work (2011), cannot be described in an explicitly definable linguistic/semiotic element and requires a further analysis (in our case, a SF analysis). The argued emotion is produced through two premises: (a) the representation of a situation in a text (e.g. the interrelation of the main elements of a transitivity structure and the established *cohesive* links) and (b) social and cultural knowledge that ties up this situation with emotions (i.e. the extra-textual knowledge which facilitates *coherence*). Additionally, this coding (‘argued’ emotion) may be seen (though not always) as an ‘umbrella’ of the two others (‘shown’ and ‘said’), exemplifying or loading further/adding more emotions to the ones already represented as ‘shown’ or ‘said’. In other words, since, in this case, the emotion is not, necessarily, realized by e.g. a semiotic marker/characteristic but it is the outcome one can infer from the represented situation, the representation in the transitivity as well as the overall meaning construction tracks the ways an emotion can be inferred. Thus, a SF analysis may

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<sup>28</sup> In square bracket, the verbal types that would be present in a non-elliptical structure.

<sup>29</sup> Worth mentioning here is that, as Micheli (2014) puts it, we can infer that the emergence of ellipsis, of e.g. an exclamation mark is caused by an emotion. However, in order to exemplify which is the actual emotion we need to turn to the analysis of transitivity.

exemplify the analysis of emotion (pathos) in discursive representations. Let us be clearer in the terms of the first example we provided above:

- [...] **ΦΟΒΙΖΕΙ** Η ΨΗΦΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΟΧΙ/[...]THE VOTE FOR NO **SCARES**

As we have already seen, in the above example the emotion of *fear* is (primarily) coded as ‘said’, explicitly designated-realized in the transitivity structure by the verbal type *ΦΟΒΙΖΕΙ/SCARES*.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, in the transitivity structure, it is provoked by the participant (‘Phenomenon’) in the transitivity, which is realized by the nominal phrase *Η ΨΗΦΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΟΧΙ/THE VOTE FOR NO*. So, according to the links established between participants and processes (the interrelation in the transitivity), the (primarily ‘said’) emotion of *fear* is represented as caused by the actual voting in favor of the NO answer to the Greek Referendum. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates the ‘coherence’ in the specific example, since it is well known that the *VOTE FOR NO* was explicitly proposed to the Greek people by PM Alexis Tsipras. Thus, according to (a) the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity as well as according to (b) the extra-textual knowledge, PM’s political proposal is (implicitly) represented as provoking *fear*, violating his presupposed role and the values he should protect (e.g. social integrity and prosperity) in his capacity. In this sense, the emotion of *fear* is ‘argued’ as the one that the PM provokes (or, better, should legitimately provoke) in fully juxtaposition to his presupposed social role. This emotive construction (may) motivate the audience to oppose PM and his political proposals.

Furthermore, following Plantin’s (2004: 270) ‘emotional lines’, Micheli (2014: 114), gives seven ‘criteria’ on which the speaker can base herself to support that the emotion ‘is justified’ or that ‘it relies on good reasons’, that is, why the audience should ‘legitimately feel’ (see Plantin 2004; Micheli 2010, 2014) what the speaker proposes. Worth mentioning that a speaker, based on the following criteria, may put emphasis on one (or several) emotion(s) that seem(s) legitimized by the described situation. Those are included to the following lines (and the respective, possible realizations):

- The *people involved* which refers to the (different) participant roles (e.g. ‘actor’ vs ‘goal’/agent or patient), revealed in the transitivity structures. For example, the possible emotion of *fear* is caused by the Greek government, who is represented as having an active participant role-‘actor’ and about to cause a terrible accident in the following

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<sup>30</sup> The verbal type realizes a ‘mental process’ according to the SF paradigm.



headline of the newspaper 'Le Monde' on June 30, 2015 (see in details Serafis and Herman 2017): *Tsipras and his Ministers are driving us towards the wall*.

- The spatial and temporal *distance* (i.e. the closer in time and space an event, the more justified the emotion it triggers). In the example *Tsipras and his Ministers are driving us towards the wall*, the use of the present continuous states the 'here' and 'now' of the actual action that will cause the—maybe terrible—accident. Thus, the proximity of time/space favors the augmentation of the emotion of *fear*.
- The *potential consequences* and the probability of them happening. For example, the negative emotion of e.g. *fear* because of the tremendous consequences that will follow the collapse of the Greek social formation in the clause *in vortex the country* (headline of the newspaper 'Ethnos', June 29, 2015, see in detail Serafis and Herman 2017).
- The *causes and responsibilities* emphasized. For example, the negative emotion of *indignation* caused by the representation of the Prime Minister who confesses—and he is about to be convicted—for the Bank closure, and thus, for the violation of his role as the guardian of the society. See the headline of the newspaper 'I Kathimerini' on July 03, 2015 *Confession-shock by Tsipras for the opening of Banks* (see in detail Serafis and Herman 2017)
- The *capacity* (the social actors has or not) to command or control the situation. For example, in the headline of the newspaper 'Le Monde' on June 30, 2015 (see in detail Serafis and Herman 2017) *Tsipras and his Ministers are driving us towards the wall* the patient-people, realized by the pronoun *us* is incapable to control the situation (the possible car accident that will be caused), and thus, the emotion of *fear* should be caused and augmented.
- The *allusion to resembling situations* that already present agreed-upon emotions
- The *compatibility* or not with the values defended by a reference group. For example, in the following headline tracked by the newspaper 'Le Figaro' on June 30, 2015 *Sarkozy denounces "the lies of Tsipras' government"* the ex-French President, Nikola Sarkozy, is targeting the liar Greek PM, Alexis Tsipras, being, in this sense, fully compatible with the commonly accepted value, according to which, we should accuse and confront a liar and his actions (see in detail Serafis and Herman 2017).

According to the 'alternative conception' of Micheli (2014), the aforementioned criteria strengthen the speaker's emotive construction, but also appear as lines upon which we (as analysts) may infer how the emotion is addressed ('argued') to the audience in an effective way.

In other words, they function as 'lines' (see Plantin 2004) which lead our analytical effort to track the emotions resulting from the discursive representations.

As we have witnessed during the presentation of the main concepts and analytical devices each of the framework employed, SF and emotions (pathos) analysis share common fundamental conceptions (e.g. the significance of the *context* in the analysis) but apply to different analytical tools and devices while they proceed to the data analysis. In this sense, they may be seen as distinct frameworks that may be jointly applied and combined for the purposes of our analysis which revolves around the characteristics of the discursive and emotive construction produced in different types of texts in key moments of the Greek crisis (see e.g. Serafis and Herman 2017). Under these assumptions, in the following chapter we present our data (chapter 4) before turning to our data analysis (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

## **PART II**



## Chapter 4

### Data presentation – Criteria of selection

#### 4.0 Introduction

In the previous, Chapter 3, we presented the integrationist, analytical framework proposed in the present study. We were based, for that reason, in two analytical frameworks, i.e. the Systemic-Functional (SF) model focused on the analysis of the ‘system of transitivity’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5) and the one of the rhetorical analysis of emotions in discourse (*pathos*) (see Micheli 2014). We presented the main concepts and analytical tools employed by the two frameworks and we proposed a perspective under which this SF analysis of transitivity and rhetorical pathos analysis may be integrated, extending and exemplifying each other’s analytical capacities. This integration will be illustrated in the following chapters regarding the data analysis (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

In chapters 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 the data of the study will be presented, as well as, the criteria based on which the data were selected. As we will show, the selected data are representative of the main discursive and emotional tendencies appearing in focal dates of the Greek crisis in the different types of texts we examine in the present dissertation, alongside providing explicit examples amenable to the proposed analytical framework.

#### 4.1 Parliamentary proceedings

Regarding the examination of the parliamentary discourse, our data consist of four (4) parliamentary speeches given by the following PMs: George A. Papandreou (2009-2011), Lucas Papademos (2011-2012), and Antonis Samaras (2012-2014). The speeches were retrieved from the official website of the Greek parliament.<sup>31</sup>

In our data coming from parliamentary proceedings, we focus on structures that reveal the juxtaposition between an inclusive in-group which includes the PMs, their parties and their audiences (e.g. MPs and Greek people) and an out-group which consists of PMs’ main opponents (e.g. the parties/leaders of the opposition). And that because, as in our data, the in-group versus

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<sup>31</sup> See:

<http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/I-Bibliothiki/Koinovouleftiki-Syllogi/Praktika-Synedriaseon>.

out-group discursive formation is commonly observed in political discourses (see e.g. Van Dijk 2006), giving rise to the discursive strategy that attributes 'blame' to the opponents (see e.g. Angouri and Wodak 2014) along with the effort of the positive representation of the in-group. In other words, this two-fold oppositional axis captures the strategic guidelines around which each PM aims to project his discursive and emotive construing as fundamental in the public spheres confronting, on the same time his opponents. We follow the 'flow' of each speech/text and we divide our analysis in groups of extracts which inductively create the parliamentary discourse by adding further meaning in each stage.

More specifically, two speeches belong to PM Papandreou: (a) the first one given on May 5, 2010, the day of the voting in favor of the first bailout program (henceforth MoU for Memorandum of Understanding) and (b) the one given during the two-day discussion of the voting for the Middle-Term plan of the MoU on June 28-30, 2011. One speech belongs to PM Papademos: the speech he gave to the parliament during the first day of the discussion on the confidence vote in favor of his coalition government.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the last speech belongs to PM Samaras: the speech he gave to the Greek parliament during the first day of the discussion on the confidence vote in favor of his coalition government.<sup>33</sup>

It was chosen to focus on the examination of the speeches of these politicians<sup>34</sup> on the basis of the following criteria: (a) They are all Prime Ministers (PM) of Greece during each examined period, thus they express the parliamentary majority which supports their government on each date. Specifically, George A. Papandreou has been the last PM of a non-multiparty government (PASOK-Socialists and Democrats), although the austerity measures he proposed on May 5, 2010 were also approved by MPs beyond PASOK (see Dinas and Rori 2013: 272): the MPs of the extreme right-wing party LAOS and the MP of New Democracy (ND-European People's Party), Dora Bakoyannis, who was after withdrawn by the parliamentary group of ND forming the short-lived party *Dimokratikí Simmachia* (Democratic Alliance-

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<sup>32</sup> Which was supported by the parties PASOK, ND and LAOS.

<sup>33</sup> Which was supported by the parties ND, PASOK and DIMAR.

<sup>34</sup> We regard Lucas Papademos as having a political role in these parliamentary discussions, although his main role was the one of significant financial institutions official, since he has served as, among others, VicePresident of the European Central Bank (ECB) and Governor of the Central Bank of Greece (see in detail below). Among the MPs of the party LAOS, significant is the presence of Mavroudis (Makis) Voridis, who had been president of the Youth Union of the Party *Ethnikí Politikí 'Enosi* (National Political Union); founded by the exdictator, Papadopoulos. In the leadership of the Youth Union, Voridis succeeded Nikolaos Michaloliakos, leader (until today) of the nationalist party Golden Dawn. Makis Voridis founded also the nationalist party *Ellinikó Μέτωπο* (Greek Front) and became his president until 2005. In 2007, he was elected with LAOS and in 2011 he took part to New Democracy. Makis Voridis, was placed as Minister in various positions by PMs Papademos and Samaras. Worth mentioned that Makis Voridis was head of an armed group who attacked students in the Law School of Athens (April 1985). See more: <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.article&id=226000>

Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party).<sup>35</sup> Lucas Papademos was the first PM of a coalition government during the period of the Greek crisis. He was appointed by the president of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias. His government was supported by the parties PASOK, ND and LAOS and had a wide parliamentary majority (255 MPs in the total 300). Finally, Antonis Samaras, President of ND, after the double elections of 2012 (see Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013) formed a coalition government consisted of MPs and officials coming from the fields of ND, PASOK and DIMAR.<sup>36</sup> (b) The three PMs express different ideological and political positioning. PM George A. Papandreou, president of PASOK during his service as PM, is son of the founder of PASOK and former PM, Andreas Papandreou (1919-1996), and comes from a well-known political family in Greece, oriented in the center-left side of the Greek political spectrum. As his father, also his grandfather, Georgios Papandreou (1988-1968), had served as Prime Minister of Greece. On the contrary, Lucas Papademos had never been politician before being appointed as PM in 2011. As we have already mentioned, he has been Vice-President of the ECB and Governor of the Central Bank of Greece at the time Greece joined the Eurozone. As it is obvious, PM Papademos is a wellknown member of the financial sector, not expressing an explicit, political positioning in the Greek political spectrum but the central guidelines of the financial markets and institutions. Finally, Antonis Samaras, president of ND during his service as PM, was first elected MP in 1977 with ND. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1989-1993) and, in 1993, he founded the party-split of ND, *Politikí Ánoiksi* (Political Spring). He is thought to be on the right fracture of the (center-right wing) ND, since, for instance, during his presidency, former MPs of the extreme-right wing and racist LAOS (e.g. Makis Voridis) joined ND and became Ministers in his government, as well as, the General Secretary of his government, Panagiotis Baltakos, was recorded dealing with MP of the nationalist party Golden Dawn.<sup>37</sup> (c) All the speeches were given on focal dates of the Greek crisis. Regarding May 5, 2010 and June 28-30, 2011, the dates belong to the most significant ones since they were the dates of the voting and approval of the two austerity programs agreed with the EU's institutions and the IMF. As concerns November 15-17, 2011, these cover the parliamentary discussion on the confidence vote in favor of the coalition government of PM Papademos, and on the same time it

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<sup>35</sup> See more: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dora\\_Bakoyannis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dora_Bakoyannis).

<sup>36</sup> DIMAR (*Dimokratikí Aristerá-Democratic Left*) was founded in 2010 as a split of MPs of SYRIZA, under Fotis Kouvelis. In the double national elections of 2012, DIMAR gained (respectively) the 6.11% and the 6.27% of the votes. In the national elections of 2015, DIMAR formed with PASOK the coalition party *Dimokratikí Simparátaksi* (Democratic Front).

<sup>37</sup> Panagiotis Baltakos resigned immediately under the political pressure of the opposition. See more: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZNDTZQleJ\\_w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZNDTZQleJ_w).

is the period of the actual approval of a new austerity package agreed on October 26, 2011, between the Greek Government and its creditors (EU, IMF). Finally, the speech of PM Samaras, July 6-8, 2012 is placed on a point when the discussion about Greece's expulsion from the Eurozone ('Grexit', see Angouri and Wodak 2014) was enforced and Greek parliament approved the guidelines of the second MoU.

As we may primarily assume, the PMs' discursive and emotional construction would revolve around their different background. However, as it will be shown in the analysis, the discourse strategies employed (e.g. in-group/out-group formation) as well as, in many cases, the emotive construction (i.e. the emotions PMs attempt to incite to their audience through their micro-textual choices) is common, despite their different political and ideological orientations.

## 4.2 Newspapers headlines

Regarding the examination of the newspapers - media discourse, our data consist of thirty (30) newspapers headlines and are confined to linguistic material.<sup>38</sup> In particular, headlines come from the Greek newspapers: 'Eleftherotypia' (henceforth 'Ei'), 'Ethnos' (henceforth 'E'), 'I Kathimerini' (henceforth 'K'), and 'Ta Nea' (henceforth 'N').

In our present investigation, we will examine how the main social actors are represented in newspapers headlines (e.g. Greek PM, Greek people). Moreover, for the purposes of the analysis on the data coming from newspapers, we are going to 'bring the various ways in which each category of social actor is represented under a common denominator' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 31). Thus, Greek PM/Government is denominated as 'Governor', Greek people as 'We', Greece as 'Country', EU leaderships/institutions as 'Others', financial sector as 'Economy'. As we will see during the analysis, in some cases, more than one Actors are represented on the same headline. Regarding the representation of the Actors we examine, the total percentages of representation in headlines of the newspapers are the following: 'Governor' is represented in a percentage of 53% of our total data; 'We' and 'Economy' in 23%; 'Others' in 13.33% and 'Country' in 10%.

As in the data coming from parliamentary proceedings, also in the case of the media discourse the study period consists of the following four dates: (a) May 6, 2010: The day after the voting in favor of the first MoU by the government of George A. Papandreou and the arson in Marfin Bank. (b) June 28-30, 2011: The dates of the voting for the Middle-Term plan of the

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<sup>38</sup> Except from special cases when the non-linguistic elements prove to be fundamental for the analysis and interpretation of the headline (see e.g. headline of the newspaper 'Ta Nea' on June 30, 2011).



MoU, by the government of George A. Papandreou. (c) November 15–17, 2011: The dates when the coalition government of Lucas Papademos takes the vote of confidence from the parliament. (d) July 8, 2012: The last day of the discussion revolving around the confidence vote in favor of the coalition government of Antonis Samaras.<sup>39</sup> We selected data during the specific dates aiming to examine media discourse and pathos during key dates of the Greek crisis.

We focused on the examination of newspapers' headlines, as we defend the view that headlines express newspapers' topic(s) (see Van Dijk 1998; 1991a; 1991b); They 'summarize the text and specify the most important information', as well as their selection has significant 'ideological implications' (Van Dijk 1991b: 113): headlines express the chosen 'angle' of the news, giving a perspective that frames the depicted reality and reveals newspapers' point of view on it (see Ruellan 2006; Robin 2009). In other words, headlines encapsulate the main ideological and political standpoint of each newspaper (see Bell 1991).

We focused on the specific newspapers on the basis of the following criteria: (a) They are included in the list of the top five in circulation, daily, up-market newspapers in Greece during the years 2010 – 2012, that is, the total period we examine, according to the records of the Agency for the distribution of the Greek press (Argos).<sup>40</sup> (b) They adopt clear and different ideological and political standpoints: 'E' and 'N' were placed in the political field of center-left, while 'K' was always a newspaper of the conservative field, and finally, 'Ei' is placed on the field of the left but it has significant impact on extra-parliamentary left-wing forces (see in details Psychogios 2004: 477-493). (c) They are connected with broader economic interests: 'E' belongs to Pegasus Company and among its owners there are members (e.g. Bobolas family) who control 'manufacturing and construction companies'; 'N' belongs to Lambrakis Press S.A. publications, a company which 'is also engaged in printing, tourism, digital economy (portals and e-commerce shops), book publishing and reselling, press distribution, and marketing', while 'K' belongs to the Alafouzou family who 'controls [...] a number of shipping and construction industries' (see Leandros 2010: 893-895). As regards the 'Ei', it is the only one that does not belong to a broader oligopoly but, nevertheless, it was a big brand among the Greek newspapers owned by Tegopoulos family (see Psychogios 2004).

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<sup>39</sup> Worth mentioning for the last date we examine, regarding the governmental period of the Antonis Samaras' government, that, on the one hand, we do not analyze titles coming from the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia' ('Ei') since the specific newspaper went bankrupt on December 2011. On the other hand, we have no data coming from newspapers during the dates July 6 and July 7, 2012, since, during these days there was a strike called by the journalists' Union.

<sup>40</sup> See: <http://www.argoscom.gr/eng/index.php>.

With regard to the above criteria, we may provisionally assume that newspapers' discursive and emotional construction processes pivot around their different, economic and political interests (see Fowler 1991: 120; Van Dijk 1995b: 30). However, as we are going to show in our analysis, many times, the specific newspapers, converge to a dense discursive and emotive construction—though their micro textual choices (i.e. headlines)—and despite their different political, ideological and economic orientations.

### 4.3 Graffiti-slogans from anti-austerity protests

As concerns the data coming from the protests during the crisis, those consist of fifty-one (51) graffiti slogans<sup>41</sup> framing the central streets of the demonstrations against austerity in the citycenter of the Greek capital, Athens. They are confined to linguistic material<sup>42</sup> and written in Greek and English.<sup>43</sup> The data, collected from the very site where the demonstrations took place may offer us a representative view of the core of the demonstrations in the Greek capital. The graffiti slogans were retrieved from the archive of a member of the editorial board of the online cultural magazine, *ToPeriodiko.gr*, who kindly shared them with us.

The axis of in-group versus out-group discursive representation (see Van Dijk 2006; Angouri and Wodak 2014) will also be followed in this type of data. In this case the in-group includes the social actors participating in the manifestations juxtaposed to the out-group of the dominant institutions (e.g. government, EU, IMF). The aforementioned oppositional axis proves to be significant during protests in the Greek context (see Serafis et al. 2017).

On the contrary of the dates selected for the examination of the data coming from the parliamentary proceedings (parliamentary discourse) and the newspapers headlines (media discourse), the respective dates, regarding anti-austerity protests, are the ones of May 5, 2010 (demonstrations against the first MoU) and June 28-29, 2011 (demonstrations against the Middle-Term plan of the MoU).

It was not chosen to focus on dates of mobilizations against PMs Papademos and Samaras. And that because of two main reasons: (a) The dates when the discussion regarding the confidence vote in favor of PM Papademos' government takes places, coincide with the threeday

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<sup>41</sup> Henceforth, 'slogans', 'graffiti slogans' or 'graffiti' will refer to these linguistic messages.

<sup>42</sup> However, we should note that there were many slogans composed by more than one semiotic codes (e.g. the slogan *Κουφάλες/Cunts* written on pictured gallows).

<sup>43</sup> Although there were slogans written in other languages (e.g. in Spanish, *No pasaran/They shall not pass*, *Hasta la Victoria siempre/Till the victory always*).

commemoration of the revolt of 1973 (known as *Politechnio*) against the colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974). As a result, the slogans sporting in banners of the Unions and the parties, which participate in the demonstrations, are more or less the same every year. (b) The dates when the discussion regarding the confidence vote in favor of PM Samaras' government takes place, is very close to a double round of national elections, and, consequently, demonstrations of wide scale have not appeared yet.

Despite the differences on the selection of the data coming from protests and data coming from newspapers and the parliamentary proceedings, the criteria on the basis of which the graffiti slogans were selected are the following: (a) All slogans appear during dates of massive demonstrations: On the one hand, on May 5, 2010, there were massive demonstrations in Athens's city-center. While these demonstrations three bank-employees lost their lives when the building of Marfin Bank was set ablaze in Stadiou Str.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, on June 28 and 29, 2011, massive demonstrations took place against the Middle-Term plan of the bailout program (MoU): the specific demonstrations were part of a broader mobilization which last for almost four months in the center of Athens (and in other big Greek cities) and had close relationships with (concurrently occurred) mobilizations in other European capitals (see see Giovanopoulos and Mitropoulos 2011; Goutsos and Polymeneas 2014). (b) All slogans appear in the walls or sport in the banners of Unions at the center of Greek capital, Athens; the very place where the most massive collective actions took place during the respective dates and, on the same time, the very place where the central demonstrations take place historically. As a consequence, we may assume that the selection of the data coming from the protests against austerity, offer us a sufficient view of the discourse and emotions produced in significant collective actions during Greek crisis.

Based on the presentation of the data and the criteria followed in this selection, in the following chapter we proceed to the analysis of the data, beginning with the analysis of the data coming from parliamentary proceedings.

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<sup>44</sup> See for example: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8661385.stm>.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Data Analysis – Parliamentary discourse and pathos**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

As it was already mentioned, in this section we examine four speeches given in the Greek parliament by three Greek Prime Ministers (PMs): George A. Papandreou, Lucas Papademos, and Antonis Samaras. Among the criteria of selection (see in details Chapter 4), the most important are the following: (a) PMs express different ideological positioning, covering wide fields of the Greek political spectrum (e.g. center-left vs center-right) as well as the main trends of the financial markets (in the case of PM Papademos); (b) the speeches are given in focal dates of the Greek crisis giving us a representative view of the crisis formation in the parliamentary debate.

During the examination of the data coming from parliamentary proceedings, we focus on structures that reveal the juxtaposition between the—discursively constructed—in-groups and out-groups. In this sense, we examine the significant discursive strategy (see among others Angouri and Wodak 2014), revealing in parliamentary discourses and promotes the positive self-representation (during the formation of the in-group) opposed to the negative otherrepresentation (during the formation of the out-group). Through this analysis, we will show how Greek crisis is conceptualized by PMs in the public sphere, the organization and representation (discourse) that motivates the public realm as well as the emotional construction (pathos) revealing upon the discursive representation of the opposed groups. We follow the ‘natural flow’ of the speech and we divide the extracts analyzed in groups that show how meaning is construed and further advanced and enriched during the development of each speech.

## 5.1 George A. Papandreou on May 6, 2010<sup>45</sup>

### 5.1.1 The representation of the in-group

- (1) [...] η χθεσινή τραγωδία μας συγκλόνισε όλους. [...] Μας θέτει όλους ενώπιον των ευθυνών μας./[...] yesterday's tragedy shocked us all. [...] [It] makes us face up to our responsibilities.
- (2) Σήμερα, καλούμαστε όλοι, ανεξαιρέτως να αναλάβουμε τις ευθύνες μας/Today, we are all called on, without exception, to accept our responsibilities.
- (3) Ας απομονώσουμε όλοι μας, επιτέλους, τη βία. [...] /Let us all finally isolate the violence. [...]

In the structure [...] η χθεσινή τραγωδία μας συγκλόνισε όλους./[...] yesterday's tragedy shocked us all, of extract (1), the 'we' group is represented, by making use of the nominal *μας/us*. The 'we' group has the participant role 'Senser' in the 'mental process', which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *συγκλόνισε/shocked*. The nominal group *η χθεσινή τραγωδία/yesterday's tragedy* has the participant role 'Phenomenon', coding the 'fact' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 201) that causes the state of shock to the 'we' ('Senser').

Extra-textual knowledge makes the structure 'coherent' since it is well known that the nominal group *η χθεσινή τραγωδία/yesterday's tragedy* refers to the arson attack against Marfin Bank, in the city-center of Athens, on May 5, 2010, when three bank employees died of suffocation. So, according to the interrelation of the elements in the configuration, and the extratextual knowledge ('coherence'), the 'we' group is represented as shocked by the death of the citizens (arson in Marfin Bank).

On the analysis of emotions (pathos), the emotion of shock is (primarily) 'said'- realized by the respective verbal type (*συγκλόνισε/shocked*). Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the respective emotion is 'argued', represented as caused to the ('Senser') 'we' group (see the criterion of the people involved). The extra-textual knowledge about the nature of the tragedy and the short temporal distance from the actual event (see the respective criterion of distance) incites the emotion of fear.

Moreover, in the structure *Μας θέτει όλους ενώπιον των ευθυνών μας/[It] makes us face up to our responsibilities*, of the same extract, the 'we' group, (realized by the nominal type *μας/us*) has the participant role 'Goal' in the 'material process', which is, consequently, realized

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<sup>45</sup> Thursday, May 6, 2010 (Morning). Available at:  
[http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd61a9-4a83-b09a-09f4c564609d/es20100506\\_1.pdf](http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd61a9-4a83-b09a-09f4c564609d/es20100506_1.pdf), pp. 46-49.

by the verbal type *θέτει/[It] makes us face*. The ‘actor’ of the process is the element *η χθεσινή τραγωδία/yesterday's tragedy*, implicitly realized in the structure by the pronoun [It]<sup>46</sup> it is linked with the nominal group *η χθεσινή τραγωδία/ yesterday's tragedy* through the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’, i.e. the two elements have the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Furthermore, in the same structure, the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ is realized by the prepositional nominal group *ενώπιον των ευθυνών μας/face up to our responsibilities*, coding the ‘place’ where the material process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). The nominal group *των ευθυνών μας/our responsibilities* is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the ‘we’ group, realized by the possessive pronoun *μας/our* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Thus, through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the ‘we’ group is represented as placed before the responsibilities it possesses; thus, as being aware of and undertaking its responsibilities. In this sense, it corresponds to the dominant value of being responsible.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis in the structure, through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the emotion of admiration is ‘argued’ represented as felt in favor of the ‘we’ group: the ‘we’ group as the participant (‘Goal’) in the structure (see the criterion of the people involved) is represented as placed before its responsibilities, and thus as corresponding to the respective dominant value (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). The extra-textual knowledge about the nature of the referred *τραγωδία/tragedy* further boosts the emotion to be felt by the audience in favor of the ‘we’ group because of the short temporal distance from the event (see the criterion of distance) before which the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking responsibilities.

In extract (2), *Σήμερα, καλούμαστε όλοι, ανεξαιρέτως να αναλάβουμε τις ευθύνες μας/Today, we are all called on, without exception, to accept our responsibilities*, the ‘we’ group is (implicitly) represented, realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the verbal type *να αναλάβουμε/[we] to accept*.<sup>47</sup> By this choice, the ‘we’ group is represented as ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), thus concealing the political, ideological differences between the members (e.g. MPs, citizens) which make up the group. By the respective verbal type, the ‘material process’ is realized. The ‘we’ group has the participant role

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<sup>46</sup> In Greek the pronoun it is realized by the third-person singular included in the suffix of the verbal type *θέτει/[It] makes*. As we will see, the inclusion of the person in the suffix of the verb is commonly realized (included) in verbal types.

<sup>47</sup> In Greek, as we have already seen, the first-person plural is included in the suffix of the verbal type *αναλάβουμε/[we] to take on* (verbatim).

‘actor’ and the nominal group *τις ευθύνες μας/our responsibilities*, has the role ‘Goal’ where the material process extends. The nominal group (*τις ευθύνες μας/our responsibilities*) is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the ‘we’ group, realized by the possessive pronoun *μας/our* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Thus, through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the ‘we’ group is represented as possessing responsibilities. As a result, it corresponds (once more) to the dominant value of being responsible (see extract [1]). It is worth mentioning that the nominal type *ευθύνες/responsibilities* is repeated in extracts (1) and (2). As Halliday and Hasan (1985: 81) note, cohesive links are established among concepts (i.e. responsibility) through repetition – although repetition is not among the ‘cohesive’ relations in the strict sense of the term – (see also Archakis 2005: 71 on this issue).

On the analysis of emotions (pathos) in the structure, the emotion of admiration is ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group: the ‘we’ group as the ‘activated’ participant (‘actor’) in the structure (see the criterion of the people involved) is represented as taking on its responsibilities, and thus as corresponding to the respective dominant value of responsibility (see the criterion of compatibility with values).

In extract (3), and more specifically in the structure *Ας απομονώσουμε όλοι μας, επιτέλους, τη βία/Let us all, finally, isolate the violence*, the ‘we’ group is represented, realized, once more, by the use of the first-person plural *Ας απομονώσουμε/Let us isolate*.<sup>48</sup> By this choice, the ‘we’ group is, also here, represented as ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 3738), concealing in this sense the differences existing among its members. In the configuration, the ‘we’ group is the participant ‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *απομονώσουμε/Let us isolate*. The nominal group *τη βία/violence* has the role ‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ unfolds. Through this interrelation in the configuration, the ‘we’ group is represented as isolating violence, and thus as acting in favor of the dominant value of the preservation of social peace.

On the emotions’ (pathos) analysis, the emotion of fear is ‘said’ - realized by the nominal type *βία/violence*. The specific emotion turns into admiration for the ‘we’ group, according to the interrelation in the transitivity structure: the ‘we’ group (‘actor’) acts (see the criterion of the people involved) in order to isolate the violence (and the fear it provokes). Thus, it acts to prevent social tension, and to protect the value of social peace (see the respective criterion of the compatibility with values). Consequently, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience.

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<sup>48</sup> Once more, in Greek, the first-person plural is included in the suffix of the verbal type *Ας απομονώσουμε*.



As we can see, up to this point of the analysis, the ‘we’ group (constructed by PM Papandreou) is represented as the ‘activated’ participant ‘actor’ in ‘material processes’ (*accept responsibilities, isolate violence*) or ‘Sensor’ in the ‘mental process’ (*shocked*). It is also represented as the ‘passivated’ participant ‘Goal’ in the ‘material’ process of extract (1) (*put*). Thus, it is the active force that embraces the fundamental values of acting responsibly and against violence, as well as being represented under the state of shock because of the arson that cost three citizens their lives. As we highlighted, the concept of responsibility is constructed as permeating the action of the ‘we’ group since the respective nominal type (*responsibilities*) is repeated in successive extracts. Overall, a representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is sketched in the transitivity structures of extracts (1) – (3); according to which the ‘we’ group is shocked when faced by death, accepting its responsibilities, and acting to isolate the violence as a consensus (see ‘assimilation’ and ‘collectivation’) group.

The specific discourse, produced by the representations in the transitivity structure, provokes (‘argues’) specific emotions to the audience. The representation of the ‘we’ group as the active force (criterion of the people involved) that acts responsibly and against violence (and the consequent fear it provokes), places the Actor-‘we’ in fully compatibility with the fundamental values (criterion of compatibility with values) of responsibility and the protection of social peace (against violence). Thus, the emotion of admiration should be (legitimately) felt by the audience in favor of the ‘we’-group (in which PM Papandreou is a participant); the link between the PM and the ‘we’ constructed group is explicitly revealed, among others, in the following extracts.

As we can primarily assume, the public sphere—as construed by discursive articulations—is, up to this point, sketched as a polarized field (of e.g. violence) in which the consensus in-group (constructed by PM Papandreou) intervenes positively, with responsibility, and being fully conscious of the difficulties it must deal with, to overcome the crisis negative consequences.

(4) Κατανόω και κατανοούμε την οργή, τη συμμερίζομαι, συμπάσχω. Και η δική μου οργή είναι τεράστια/[I] understand and [we] understand the rage, [I] share it, [I] suffer along. And my rage is huge

(5) Ή ψηφίζουμε και εφαρμόζουμε τη Συμφωνία, ή καταδικάζουμε την Ελλάδα στην χρεοκοπία. [...] Εμείς, εγώ, το Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα δεν θα το επιτρέψουμε. Δεν θα επιτρέψουμε την χρεοκοπία και την κερδοσκοπία ενάντια στη χώρα μας!/We either vote for and implement the Agreement or condemn Greece to default. [...] We, I, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement will not allow it. We will not allow bankruptcy to happen and speculation against our country!

In extract (4), as we have already mentioned, the link among the ‘we’ in-group and PM G.A. Papandreou is (explicitly) revealed. The respective realization is achieved by the co-emergence of the choice of the first-person singular *Κατανοώ/[I] understand* and the respective person in plural *κατανοούμε/we understand*, in the structure *Κατανοώ και κατανοούμε την οργή/[I] understand and [we] understand the rage*.<sup>49</sup> The two types are linked together in ‘parataxis’, realized by the common marker *και/and*, having ‘equal status’ in the representation, and ‘extending’ each other’s meaning (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). Thus, the PM and the ‘we’ group are semantically connected Actors.

By the respective verbal types, a ‘mental process’ is realized. The implicitly represented PM and ‘we’ group, are ‘activated’ Actors, since they have the participant role-‘Senser’, while the nominal group *την οργή/rage*, has the participant role-‘Phenomenon’ in the configuration. Through the interrelation of the elements the PM and the ‘we’ group are represented (together) as being aware of the rage. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates ‘coherence’ and offers an advanced interpretation: it is well known that a wave of social rage developed and was expressed, following the implementation of the austerity measures. The rage was aggravated after the death of three citizens during the demonstrations on May 5, 2010, since the government and the state institutions (e.g. police, fire department etc.) failed to ensure social integrity and protect the constitutional right of the demonstration. So, the meaning construction could be paraphrased as: the PM along with the ‘we’ group understand the social rage created by the austerity shock, as well as by the shock of death and the incapability of the state forces to protect the citizens’ lives and the constitutional principles (e.g. demonstration).

Moreover, in the same extract the PM is further (implicitly) represented using the first-person singular in the two verbal types *συμμερίζομαι/[I] empathize*, and *συμπάσχω/[I] suffer along*. Specifically, PM Papandreou is represented as ‘activated’ since he has the active participant role-‘Senser’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the ‘mental processes’, which are, respectively, realized by the verbal types *συμμερίζομαι/[I] empathize*, and *συμπάσχω/[I] suffer along*. In the first structure, the ‘mental process’ *συμμερίζομαι/[I] share* is a ‘transitive’ one, and the ‘Phenomenon’ is realized by the pronoun *τη/it* in the structure *τη συμμερίζομαι/[I] share it*. Through that pronoun the nominal group *την οργή/the rage* is realized, since the two elements are linked together with the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’, i.e. the two elements have the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, the PM is represented

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<sup>49</sup> The first-person (singular or plural) is, once more, included in the suffixes of the respective verbal types.

not only as understanding the social rage (see analysis above) but also as empathizing with it. In this sense, he constructs the image of a governor who feels the same as his people do.

On the pathos analysis of the extract, the emotion of rage is explicitly 'said' - realized by the respective nominal type. Moreover, according to the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity, the specific emotion is 'argued', represented as felt by the PM and the 'we' group (see the criterion of the people involved). Moreover, the PM, represented as empathizing and suffering along with the people (see the criterion of the people involved), invokes the audience's admiration, since he is fully compatible with the view according to which the governor must be aware of the situation of his country, people etc., and characterized by compassion regarding those he governs.

In extract (5) and, more specifically, in the paratactically linked 'clause complex' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 375, see an extensive analysis below), *Η ψηφίζουμε και εφαρμόζουμε τη Συμφωνία, ή καταδικάζουμε την Ελλάδα στην χρεοκοπία*/[We] *either vote for and [we] implement the Agreement or [we] condemn Greece to default*, the 'we' group is implicitly represented, realized (once more) by the first-person plural in the respective verbal types *ψηφίζουμε*/[we] *vote*, *εφαρμόζουμε*/[we] *implement*, *καταδικάζουμε*/[we] *condemn*; the 'we' group is, consequently, 'assimilated'-'collectivized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), concealing the differences that exist within.

More specifically, the 'we' group has the participant role-'actor' in the 'material processes' which are realized by the verbal types *ψηφίζουμε*/[we] *vote*, *εφαρμόζουμε*/[we] *implement*. It undertakes the role-'Sayer' in the 'verbal process', realized by the verbal type *καταδικάζουμε*/[we] *condemn*. Thus, in both structures 'we' is the 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). More specifically, and as we already heralded, in the first structure *Η ψηφίζουμε και εφαρμόζουμε τη Συμφωνία*/Either [we] *vote for and [we] implement the Agreement* the verbal types are connected in 'parataxis', realized by the common marker, *και*/and; the first type *ψηφίζουμε*/[we] *vote* is 'extended' by the second one *εφαρμόζουμε*/[we] *implement* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489). The nominal group *τη Συμφωνία*/the Agreement has the role 'Goal' where the material processes extend.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here since the referred Agreement is the first Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), jointly agreed by the Greek government and Greece's creditors (i.e. the EU and the IMF), and including vast austerity measures (e.g. cuts on salaries and pensions). Thus, the 'we' group is represented as a consensus group that

undertakes action in order to vote for and implement austerity measures (MoU). It is represented as fully compliant to the doctrine of austerity.

Moreover, in the structure *ή καταδικάζουμε την Ελλάδα στην χρεοκοπία/or [we] condemn Greece to default*, the nominal group *την Ελλάδα/Greece* has the role 'Target' to which the 'verbal process' (of the 'Sayer'- 'we') extends. The prepositional nominal group *στην χρεοκοπία/to default* has the role of 'prepositional circumstantial', coding the 'location' of 'place' where the process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, based on the interrelation of the elements in this structure, the 'we' group is represented as undertaking action to condemn Greece to default.

The complexity of the structures is further linked in 'parataxis' which is realized by the markers *Ή[...]/ή/ Either[...]/or*. In this case, the first structure *Ή ψηφίζουμε και εφαρμόζουμε τη Συμφωνία/[We] either vote for and [we] implement the Agreement* is 'extended' by the second one *ή καταδικάζουμε την Ελλάδα στην χρεοκοπία/or [we] condemn Greece to default*, offering an 'alternative' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). Hence, the 'we' group, undertaking action in both structures, is represented as voting and implementing austerity measures or as condemning the country to default. As we can infer, the 'we' group faces a dilemma: to act (*vote, implement*) by imposing austerity measures, decreasing the living standards and violating the value of ensuring societal prosperity, or to act (*condemn*) against the country, thus violating the values according to which it has to act in favor of the national interests.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, two contradicting emotions are 'argued' through the interrelation within the transitivity structure: anger and admiration. Specifically, the 'we' group, represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) in order to vote for and implement austerity measures (the Agreement), provokes the anger of the audience, since it violates the criterion of the protection of social prosperity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). At the same time, the 'we' group, is also represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) to avoid the financial collapse of the country. In this sense, it is fully compatible with the value of securing the national interest (see the criterion of the compatibility with values), and thus should be admired by the audience. As we can see at this point, two different and contradicting emotions may be provoked ('argued') by the same representation and under the same criteria of analysis.

In the same extract, and specifically in the following structure, *Εμείς, εγώ, το Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα δεν θα το επιτρέψουμε. Δεν θα επιτρέψουμε την χρεοκοπία και την κερδοσκοπία ενάντια στη χώρα μας!/We, I, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement will not allow it.*

*We will not allow bankruptcy to happen and speculation against our country!*, the ‘we’ group, realized by the nominal *Εμείς/We* co-emerges with the nominal *εγώ/I*, by which the PM is realized (as the speaker), and the nominal group *το Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα/the Panhellenic Socialist Movement*, by which, the governmental party is represented. The co-emergence of the three elements compels their co-interpretation. Thus, the ‘we’ group, the PM and governmental party are linked together represented as ‘associated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38-39). Also, the choice of the first-person plural *δεν θα επιτρέψουμε/[we] will not allow* represents the Actors as ‘assimilated’-collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), forming a dense group that acts together.

In the configuration, the three Actors are the ‘activated’ participants-‘actor[s]’ in the (negative) ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *δεν θα το επιτρέψουμε/[we] will not allow it*. The nominal *το/it* has the role ‘Goal’ in the structure. In the following structure, *Δεν θα επιτρέψουμε την χρεοκοπία και την κερδοσκοπία ενάντια στη χώρα μας!/We will not allow bankruptcy to happen and speculation against our country!*, this ‘Goal’ is clarified. The verbal type *Δεν θα επιτρέψουμε/We will not allow* is repeated, making the structures more cohesive (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81). The ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, and the nominal groups *την χρεοκοπία και την κερδοσκοπία/bankruptcy and speculation* have the role ‘Goal’ of the structure. The two nominal groups are related anaphorically to the nominal *το/it* (see ‘co-referentiality’, Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). The prepositional nominal group *ενάντια στη χώρα μας!/against our country!*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘cause’, coding on ‘behalf’ of whom the ‘we’ acts. Thus, the ‘we’ group (associated with the PM and the ruling party) is represented as acting against Greece’s potential bankruptcy and speculation.

Extra-textual knowledge offers a further interpretation, making the extract more coherent: it is well known that big rating agencies and financial funds were speculating on Greece’s default. During the pre-MoU period, the Greek state-bond had rallied and the possibilities for the Greek state to borrow from the financial markets were impossible due to the raise of the interest rates. At the same time, there was continuous speculation against Greece’s economy and Greek people, coming from the neoliberal forces of the countries of Northern Europe (see Kelsey et al. 2016: 7-8). Thus the ‘we’ group, the PM and the governmental party, are represented as a group, acting against Greece’s default, the dominant financial institutions and the neoliberal European forces.

Consequently, the emotion ‘argued’ in this structure is once more the emotion of admiration:<sup>50</sup> the ‘we’ group, along with the PM, and the ruling party are represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) to avoid the financial collapse of the country, and to act against the speculation of the financial markets and the neoliberal political forces. In this sense, the Actors are represented as being fully compatible with the value of securing the common good and preventing attacks against the country (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, they should be admired by the audience.

Overall, the analysis of extracts (4) and (5) has shown that the ‘we’ group is linked with the PM (*Εγώ/Ι*) and the ruling party (*Panhellenic Socialist Movement*) constructing an in-group which (commonly) acts. This realization has been tracked in the extracts, since (a) the ‘we’ group and the PM are (implicitly) represented, realized by the choices of the first-person (plural and singular) in extract (4) and (b) by the co-emergence of the respective nominal types and groups in extract (5). Consequently, the ‘we’ group is ‘associated’ with the PM and the ruling party; thus, the in-group represented consists of the ‘we’ group, the PM and the PASOK party.

Moreover, the ‘we’ group (see extract [5]) participates as ‘actor’ in ‘material processes’ (*vote, implement*) and as ‘Sayer’ in the ‘verbal process’ condemn. Through the ‘paratactic’ links (*Either [...] or*), the group is represented as facing a dilemma: that of the action in favor of the MoU and the consequent austerity or the action against the country and the national interests. In addition, in the same extract, the ‘we’ group, the PM and the PASOK party participate (as ‘associated’) as ‘actor[s]’ in the (negative) ‘material process’ (*not allow*), acting against default and speculation. In this sense, and according to the extra-textual knowledge they are confronting the financial institutions and the neoliberal EU’s forces.

Also, the PM is represented (see extract [4]) as an independent Actor. Specifically, the PM is the active force-‘Senser’ in the respective ‘mental’ processes (understand, empathize, suffer along) being fully aware of the rage created by the austerity (MoU), as well as by the shock of death (the arson in Marfin Bank) and the incompetence of state forces (e.g. police) in protecting the citizens and the constitutional principles (e.g. demonstration). In this sense, he is characterized by compassion towards the ones he governs, as well as towards the incapacities of the state institutions.

Similarly to extracts (1) – (3), an inductively construed representation and organization of reality (discourse) is sketched in transitivity structures. According to these, the ‘we’ group,

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<sup>50</sup> The emotion is, also semiotized as ‘shown’, realized by the presense of the exclamation mark and the repetition of *δεν θα το επιτρέψουμε*/we will not allow it.

along with the PM and the ruling party, form an in-group of action (see 'association'), confronting the dominant financial institutions and the neoliberal EU forces, and implementing austerity measures, in order to prevent national collapse. Also, vis-a-vis the social rage created by these strict financial policies, the PM is represented as fully aware of the problems and compassionate towards the Greeks.

Consequently, the specific discourse creates specific emotions that should be legitimately felt by the audience. The emotion of rage, 'said' by the respective nominal group, is 'argued' as also being felt by the PM and the 'we' group, i.e. the 'activated'-'Senser[s]' (criterion of the people involved). It is further transformed into admiration since the PM as the 'activated'-'Senser' (criterion of the people involved) feels the same as his citizens and his actions are compatible with the value according to which the governor has to be aware of the difficulties and characterized by compassion regarding those he governs (criterion compatibility with values).

As we can witness in the analysis of extracts (4) and (5), the internal parts of the in-group are exemplified and the audience of the parliamentary is directly linked with the PM (*Εγώ/Ι*) and the ruling party (*Panhellenic Socialist Movement*) constructing an in-group which (commonly) acts. The public realm, formed via the representation of the social agency, is determined by the inclusive in-group which is compassionate to the Greek people, confronts the dominant financial institutions and neoliberalism and works in order to prevent national collapse. Through this representation PM Papandreou is transforming negative emotions (e.g. rage) into the positive one of admiration which is addressed in order to be legitimately felt and guide the conception of the audience in favor of his and the in-group's presence.

(6) Να ανατρέψουμε δημοκρατικά αυτές τις αντιλήψεις. Να δώσουμε πάλι οξυγόνο στους θεσμούς της Δημοκρατίας. [...] Να αφήσουμε πίσω αυτή την κακή πλευρά της Ελλάδας της Μεταπολίτευσης, [...]. [...] To turn these perceptions around democratically. To give oxygen once again to the institutions of the Republic. [...] /To leave behind this bad part of Greece of the Metapolíteusi (post-Junta period), [...].

(7) Ας κάνουμε αυτή την κρίση ευκαιρία, για να αλλάξουμε εποχή, να αλλάξουμε ζωή [...] /Let us turn this crisis into an opportunity, to enter a new era, a new life [...].

(8) [...] τον πόνο αυτό, τουλάχιστον να τον κάνουμε ελπίδα, και όχι μιζέρια, όχι αγανάκτηση, όχι απλώς οργή. [...] Είμαστε περήφανοι που είμαστε Έλληνες. / [...] at least let us turn this pain into hope, rather than misery, indignation, simple rage. [...] We are proud to be Greek.

(9) [...] πρέπει να είμαστε πράγματι ενωμένοι και ειλικρινείς, με το χέρι στην καρδιά. [...] αναλαμβάνω τις ευθύνες μου [...] / [...] [we] must be really united and sincere, with the hand on the heart. [...] I take on my responsibilities [...]

In the transitivity structures of extract (6) *Να ανατρέψουμε δημοκρατικά αυτές τις αντιλήψεις. Να δώσουμε πάλι οξυγόνο στους θεσμούς της Δημοκρατίας. [...] Να αφήσουμε πίσω αυτή την κακή πλευρά της Ελλάδας της Μεταπολίτευσης, [...]. [...] To turn these perceptions around democratically. To give oxygen once again to the institutions. [...] / To leave behind this bad part of Greece of the Metapolíteusi, [...]*, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ Actor (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van Leeuwen 2003: 37-38), ‘activated’, since it has the participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material processes’, which is realized, consequently, by the verbal groups *Να δώσουμε/To give, Να αφήσουμε πίσω/To leave behind*.

More specifically, in the structure *Να δώσουμε πάλι οξυγόνο στους θεσμούς της Δημοκρατίας/To give oxygen once again to the institutions of the Republic*, the adverbial *πάλι/again* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’ stating the ‘location’ of ‘time’ *when* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process (give) unfolds. The nominal type *οξυγόνο/oxygen* has the role of the ‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ (give) extends, and the prepositional nominal group *στους θεσμούς της Δημοκρατίας/to the institutions of the Republic*<sup>51</sup> has the role of the ‘Recipient’, i.e. the ‘oblique involved participant’ which benefits from the material process, committed by the ‘actor’-‘we’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 260). Extra-textual knowledge provides ‘coherence’ in this case, since it is well known that giving oxygen refers to the fundamental process of giving medical treatment to someone (see Babiniotis 2002: 563). Thus the ‘we’ group, represented as giving oxygen, is taking (medical) care of the institutions of the (Greek) Republic.

Finally, in the structure [...] *Να αφήσουμε πίσω αυτή την κακή πλευρά της Ελλάδας της Μεταπολίτευσης, [...]. / To leave behind this bad part of Greece of the Metapolíteusi, [...]*, the adverbial *πίσω/behind* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’ stating the ‘location’ of ‘place’ *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 260) the material process (leave) unfolds. The nominal phrase *την κακή πλευρά της Ελλάδας της Μεταπολίτευσης/this bad part of Greece of the Metapolíteusi*, has the role ‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ extends. In this case, the nominal group *κακή πλευρά/bad part* is represented as ‘subjected’-‘possessivized’ by Greece, which is,

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<sup>51</sup> In Greek, ‘the distinction between the nominal types Democracy and Republic is not made’, having impact on the ‘conceptualization of the political institutions and processes’ (see Goutsos and Polymeneas 2014: 689).



consequently, represented as ‘subjected’-‘possessivized’ by the nominalization *Metapolíteusi*; in both cases the ‘subjection’ and the ‘possessivation’ is realized (in English) by the of postmodifying the respective nominal type (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34).

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’, advancing our interpretation, since, the nominalization *Metapolíteusi* codes the period starting after the fall of the dictatorship, established by the colonels during the period 1967-1974 (see, in more details, Kitis 2015: 1-2). This period (*Metapolíteusi*) was conceptualized as the one when political freedoms and rights were first established in Greece (e.g. the communist party and the left-wing parties were legitimized by the state, after being illegal for more than three decades, and participated in free elections without the intervention of the army or parastatal groups). On the other side, the period also had a negative connotation to many conservative politicians, being branded as the period responsible for the upsurge of clientelism in Greece. Although PM Papandreou does not belong to the conservative spectrum, it seems that he adopts (implicitly) the conservative notion, which has been upsurging during the period of crisis. Through the representations in the transitivity structure and the extra-textual knowledge, the ‘we’ group is represented as bypassing (To leave behind) the bad part of Greece, (e.g. clientelism), established after the overthrow of the colonels’ dictatorship.

On the emotions pathos analysis, the emotions of indulgence and admiration are ‘argued’ and addressed to the audience: the ‘we’ constructed group, is represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) in a democratic way (democratically) in order to bypass the bad aspect of Greece (and the symptoms of *Metapolíteusi*, e.g. clientelism). Thus, it is represented as promising a future state, free from the bad habits of the past, and as acting according to the democratic motif of the society, being fully compatible with the dominant values of ensuring social prosperity and democracy (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, the ‘we’ group should gain the admiration of the audience and provokes indulgence to it.

In extract (7), *Ας κάνουμε αυτή την κρίση ευκαιρία, για να αλλάξουμε εποχή, να αλλάξουμε ζωή [...]/Let us turn this crisis into an opportunity, to enter a new era, a new life [...]*, the ‘we’ group, realized by the first-person plural choice, is represented as fully consensus, ‘collectivized’ group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), having the participant role-‘actor’ (thus ‘activated’, see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group *Ας κάνουμε/Let us turn*. The nominal type *αυτή την κρίση/this crisis*, has the participant role ‘Goal’ where the material process extends. Moreover, by the deictic pronoun

αυτή/*this* the concretization of time and place is realized, referring (specifically) to the beginning of the crisis; the specific pronouns ‘refer to entities located near to the speaker’ (see Bella 2014: 233). Therefore, the pronoun, combined with the use of the verbal type in present tense, determines the time-space, the here-now of the Greek crisis (see also Kanakis 2007: 199-200). Moreover, the nominal type *ευκαιρία/opportunity* ‘serves as an Attribute specifying the resultant state of the Goal’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 186): the material process belongs to the “transformative” ones, where a pre-existing Actor or Goal, i.e. the ‘Goal’ crisis, ‘is construed as being transformed as the process unfolds’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 184). Thus, the ‘we’ group is (primarily) represented as acting in order to transform the crisis into an opportunity.

In the same extract, the above structure is ‘expanded’ by the two others *για να αλλάξουμε εποχή/ to enter a new era* and *να αλλάξουμε ζωή/[to enter] a new life*, which are linked with the first one in ‘hypotaxis’: realized by the marker *για να/to* (see in details, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 499-500). In both structures, the ‘we’ group is realized by the first-person plural choice, represented, in this sense, as a ‘collectivized’ consensus group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38). It further has the role-‘actor’ (thus ‘activated’, see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the ‘material processes’, which are, consequently, realized by the verbal type *αλλάζουμε/change*. The nominal types: *εποχή/era* and *ζωή/life* have the role ‘Goal’, coding the participant where the material process extends. In this sense, the purpose of the ‘we’ group’s action, i.e. turning the crisis into an opportunity (see above), is to enter a new, promising era and life.

Based on the meaning constructed in extract (7), on the pathos analysis, the emotions of hope and admiration are ‘argued’ by the PM: the ‘we’ constructed group, is represented as acting (see the criterion of the people involved) in order to transform the crisis (and its negative consequences) into an opportunity. Thus, it is represented as promising a future state, discharged by the crisis’ phenomena, fully compatible with the dominant values of ensuring social prosperity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). In this sense, the ‘we’ group’s action is represented as provoking hope, and thus should be admired by the audience.

In extract (8), [...] *τον πόνο αυτό, τουλάχιστον να τον κάνουμε ελπίδα, και όχι μιζέρια, όχι αγανάκτηση, όχι απλώς οργή. [...] Είμαστε περήφανοι που είμαστε Έλληνες./[...] at least let us turn this pain into hope, rather than misery, indignation, simple rage. [...] We are proud to be Greek*, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘collectivized’ Actor, realized by the choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), and as ‘activated’, realized by the participant role-‘actor’ it has in the ‘material transitive process’, which is realized by the verbal group

κάνουμε/*turn*. The nominal group *τον πόνο αυτό*/*this pain*, has the role ‘Goal’ where the material process unfolds. Again, in this extract, as in extract (9), the pronoun *αυτό*/*this* concretizes the time and place, referring (specifically) to the beginning of the actual pain caused by the austerity measures; combined with the use of the verbal type in present tense (see Bella 2014: 233; see also, Kanakis 2007: 199-200). Once more, the nominal type *ελπίδα*/*hope* ‘serves as an Attribute specifying the resultant state of the Goal’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 186): the material process belongs to the “transformative” ones, where a pre-existing Actor or Goal, (i.e. the ‘Goal’ pain), ‘is construed as being transformed as the process unfolds’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 184). Thus, the ‘we’ group is (primarily) represented as carrying out actions to transform pain into hope.

Moreover, in the nominal groups *και όχι μιζέρια*/*rather than misery*, *όχι αγανάκτηση*/*(than) indignation* and *όχι απλώς οργή*/*[than] simple rage*, by the nominal *όχι*/*rather than*, the verbal group *να τον κάνουμε*/*let us turn it into* is ‘substituted’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 9.5.2); the non-elliptical structure would have been: *όχι [να τον κάνουμε] μιζέρια*/*[let us] not [turn it] into misery*.<sup>52</sup> In this sense, the meaning constructed is that pain (transformed into hope in the first structure by the ‘we’ group’s action) should not be transformed into misery, indignation or rage by the ‘we’ group’s action.

On the pathos analysis, different emotions are ‘said’, realized by the respective nominal types (hope, pain, indignation, rage). The specific emotions contradict through the interrelation in transitivity. Specifically, the ‘we’ group, is represented as acting (see the criterion of the people involved), provoking the emotion of hope. Thus, it should be admired (admiration) by the audience for giving hope through its action. At the same time, hope (provoked by the action of the ‘we’) is represented as transforming pain and as substituting the respective emotions of indignation and rage. Thus, the ‘we’ group ensures social peace, and in this sense, is in accordance with the respective value (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Overall, the emotions of hope and admiration are ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group, as opposed to the negative ones of pain, indignation and rage. As we may see here, specific emotions that are explicitly ‘said’ in the structures, are transformed in totally different (‘argued’) through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure.

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<sup>52</sup> In square brackets, the types that would have been present in a non-elliptical structure.

In extract (9), once more, the PM, in his speech, links the ‘we’ group’s representation with the representation of himself. We have already seen the PM’s attempt to represent himself and the ruling party (PASOK) as ‘autonomous’ parts of the group (see analysis of extract [5]).

Specifically, in the structure *πρέπει να είμαστε πράγματι ενωμένοι και ειλικρινείς, με το χέρι στην καρδιά*/[we] *must be really united and sincere, with the hand on the heart*, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ Actor (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), ‘activated’, since it has the participant role-‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’, which is realized, consequently, by the verbal group *πρέπει να είμαστε*/[we] *must be*. The nominal types *ενωμένοι/united* and *ειλικρινείς/sincere* have the role ‘Value’, identifying the ‘we’ group. The two nominal types are linked in ‘parataxis’, realized by the marker *και/and*, having ‘equal status’ in the representation; the first nominal is ‘extended’ by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380, 489). The adverbial *πράγματι/really* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’, coding the ‘quality’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) of the ‘we’ group’s action. Finally, the prepositional nominal phrase *με το χέρι στην καρδιά/with the hand on the heart* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ by which the ‘we’ group is ‘circumstantialized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34) as having the hand on the heart. According to Babiniotis (2002: 1974), the phrase the hand on the heart is a synonym to ‘total honesty’. Thus, the conceptualization of honesty as identifying the ‘we’ group is being repeated. Through the interrelation produced in the transitivity structure, the meaning construction is that of an Actor (‘we’), united and totally sincere.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, the emotions of indulgence and admiration are ‘argued’, since the ‘we’ group-‘activated’ Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) is identified as united, and thus provokes the emotion of indulgence as (more) capable to control the situation (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation). Moreover, it is represented as sincere, and thus as fully compatible with the respective value (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience.

Also, in the same extract, and more specifically in the structure [...] *αναλαμβάνω τις ευθύνες μου* [...] / [...] *I take on my responsibilities* [...], the PM is represented realized by the firstperson singular in the verbal type *αναλαμβάνω*/[I] *take on*. By the specific verbal type, the ‘material process’ is realized, in which the PM is the participant-‘actor’. By the nominal group *τις ευθύνες μου/my responsibilities*, the ‘Goal’ is realized. The ‘Goal’ is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the PM; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the possessive pronoun *μου/my* (see

Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Thus, the meaning constructed in the transitivity structure is that the PM is acting in a responsible way, thus, is acting according to the principles that shape a leader's political behavior. The specific structure is repeated in the speech of PM Papandreou (see extract [2]). The repetition makes the speech more cohesive (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81), advancing the concept of responsibility as key-concept in the discourse (see Fairclough 2003) that the PM constructs for himself and the 'we' group.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, the emotion 'argued' in the transitivity structure is that of admiration. PM Papandreou, as 'activated' Actor (see the criterion of people involved) acts by taking on the responsibilities prescribed to his social role. Thus, he is represented as fully compatible with the value according to which a PM should be responsible (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, he should be admired by the audience.

As we can assume, upon the analysis of extracts (6) – (9), the 'we' group, is represented as the 'activated' participant 'actor' in 'material processes' (turn around, turn into), the 'Token' in the 'relational-identifying process' (must be). It is worth mentioning that the 'material processes' (turn around, turn into, see extracts [7] and [8] above), in which the 'we' is 'activated', are 'transformative-material processes' in which the 'Goal' of the processes (e.g. the crisis) is transformed through the 'Attribute' (e.g. opportunity): the 'Attribute' specifies the resultant state of the Goal (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 186). In this sense, PM Papandreou attempts to present the crisis as a period full of opportunities and not as, for example, a period of financial sacrifices and continuous austerity that would affect negatively the social majority. It is also worth mentioning the fact that in the cases of the relational processes, the 'we' Actor is represented as being honest and united, corresponding to fundamental and broadly accepted values.

At the same time, the PM is represented as an 'activated' 'actor', whose action is permeated by responsibility (take on responsibilities). As highlighted in the analysis above, the concept of responsibility permeates the PM's action, appearing to be a key-concept in his speech. As seen in successive extracts (e.g. extract [2]) the same concept also permeates the action of the 'we' group since the respective nominal type (responsibilities) is repeated. The repetition makes the speech more cohesive (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81), advancing the concept of responsibility in the representation and organization (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) that the PM constructs for himself and the 'we' group.

As a result, the in-group represented has the role of the active force that embraces the fundamental values of acting responsibly. At the same time, it is represented as transforming

the bad effects into positive future states of being (*pain into hope, the crisis into an opportunity*) in an honest and united manner of action. In this sense, the construed discourse (see Fairclough 2003) revealed in the transitivity structures of these extracts, connects semantically the ‘we’ group and the PM as Actors positively represented, occupying the aforementioned characteristics. The self-representation of the in-group is fulfilled and advanced in every ‘step’ of the speech of PM Papandreou. This representation unveils the PM’s effort to dominate in and characterize the discursively formatted parliamentary public sphere of the specific date. He does so by presenting the—inductively construed—positive and ideal image of himself and the associated inclusive group which fights, confronting the unexpected consequences of the crisis, and embracing fundamentally accepted values, such as responsibility, honesty and unity.

The specific discourse gives rise to (‘argues’) specific emotions, that (should) be felt by the audience. The representation of the ‘we’ group and the PM as the active forces (criterion of the people involved), that act responsibly, transforming the bad effects into good ones (*pain into hope, the crisis into an opportunity*), places the Actors in full compatibility with fundamental values, i.e. responsibility, honesty etc. (criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, although some negative emotions (e.g. *pain, rage* etc.) are ‘said’ explicitly, those are transformed through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structures, stimulating (repetitively) the emotion of admiration as the one that should be (legitimately) felt by the audience in favor of the ‘we’ group and PM Papandreou.

(10) [...] Εμείς, πάντως, βάζουμε πλώρη, το Κίνημά μας, η Κυβέρνησή μας, με στόχο να πετύχουμε, για να πετύχει η Ελλάδα./[...] We, however, our Movement, our Government, cast off in order to succeed, for Greece to succeed.

(11) Δεν φοβόμαστε να αλλάξουμε οι ίδιοι, δεν φοβόμαστε να αναγνωρίσουμε ακόμα και λάθη και να τα διορθώσουμε./ We are not afraid to change ourselves, we are not afraid even to recognize mistakes and correct them.

(12) [...] είμαστε συνεπείς απέναντι στη συνείδησή μας, στην πατρίδα και, βεβαίως, στις διεθνείς υποχρεώσεις μας. [...]/[us] to be consistent with our conscience, our country and, certainly, our international obligations.

In extract (10), [...] Εμείς, πάντως, βάζουμε πλώρη, το Κίνημά μας, η Κυβέρνηση μας, με στόχο να πετύχουμε, για να πετύχει η Ελλάδα./[...] We, however, our Movement, our Government, cast off in order to succeed, for Greece to succeed, the ‘we’ group is explicitly represented, realized by the nominal type *Εμείς/We*. The ‘we’ group is also represented as ‘associated’ (see Van

Leeuwen 2008: 37) with the nominal groups *το Κίνημά μας/our Movement*<sup>53</sup> and *η Κυβέρνηση μας/our Government*; the ‘association’ is made here by the paratactic links among the nominal type and the nominal groups. The nominal groups ‘elaborate’, that is, ‘specify in greater detail’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378) the components of the link. Moreover, the referred nominal groups are represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal *Εμείς/We* (and thus by the ‘we’ group); the realization is made by the possessive pronouns *μας/our* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). In this sense, we may primarily see the ‘we’ group, interrelating semantically with the ruling party (PASOK) and the government, creating an associated group of Actors.

More specifically, the ‘we’ group (*Εμείς/We*), along with its ‘associated’ and ‘possessivized’ Actors (*PASOK-Movement, Government*), undertakes the participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *βάζουμε/cast off*. According to Babinotis (2002: 339) the group *βάζω πλώρη/I cast off* signifies the ‘action with a specific purpose’ and the ‘implementation of something’. The specific purpose is stated explicitly by the choice of the prepositional nominal *με στόχο/in order to*, which has the participant role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘cause’, stating the ‘purpose’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 263) of the Actors’ action.

In the same extract, and specifically in the structure *να πετύχουμε/[we] to succeed*, the ‘we’ group is, implicitly represented, realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the verbal type *να πετύχουμε/[we] to succeed*. Thus the ‘we’ group is represented as ‘assimilated’ ‘collectivized’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), undertaking the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized, consequently, by the verbal type *να πετύχουμε/[we] to succeed*. The structure is linked with the previous one in ‘hypotaxis’, ‘elaborating’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 399, 403) further the meaning of the previous structure (We cast off).

In the same way, also, the structure *για να πετύχει η Ελλάδα/for Greece to succeed*, is linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the dominant one (*Εμείς, πάντως, βάζουμε πλώρη, το Κίνημά μας, η Κυβέρνηση μας/We, however, our Movement, our Government cast off*). In this structure the ‘actor’ is realized by the nominal type *η Ελλάδα/Greece*, underdoing the ‘material process’

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<sup>53</sup> Another common way to refer to the party of PASOK. According to the founding principles of PASOK was that it would become the popular movement that wanted to govern Greece in order to give power to the people. A principle which was coded, among others, in the slogan: ‘Το ΠΑΣΟΚ στην κυβέρνηση Ο λαός στην εξουσία/ PASOK in government the people in power’. See more:

<http://www.crashonline.gr/%CE%B5%CE%BA%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%83-18-%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%84%CF%89%CE%B2%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%BF%CF%85-1981-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%BF%CE%BA-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-%CE%BA%CF%85%CE%B2/>.

πετύχει/*succeed*. The meaning construed could be paraphrased as: the ‘we’ group (along with PASOK and the government) takes action (*βάζω πλώρη/cast off*) aiming to succeed and in order to make the country succeed (*Greece to succeed*).

Consequently, on the analysis of pathos, the emotion of admiration is ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group: it acts (see the criterion of the people involved) as a determinant, fully consensus (‘assimilated’) group and with a specific goal. The fact that the goal of the ‘we’ group’s action is to make the country (*Greece*) succeed, appeals to the fundamental value of ensuring social prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, the ‘we’ group (along with the ‘associated’ Actors) stimulates the audience’s admiration.

In extract (11) *Δεν φοβόμαστε να αλλάξουμε οι ίδιοι, δεν φοβόμαστε να αναγνωρίσουμε ακόμα και λάθη και να τα διορθώσουμε/[We] are not afraid to change ourselves, we are not afraid even to recognize mistakes and correct them*, the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), taking on the participant role-‘Senser’ in the (negative) ‘mental process’, realized (consequently) by the verbal type *φοβόμαστε/[We] are afraid*. Thus, the ‘we’ group is (primarily) represented as a fearless Actor.

The ‘hypotactically’ linked structures *να αλλάξουμε/to change* and *να αναγνωρίσουμε/to recognize*, ‘elaborate’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 403) the meaning constructed by the dominant structure. In the first one *να αλλάξουμε/to change* the ‘we’ group has the participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’ realized by the verbal type. In the second one, the ‘we’ group has the role-‘Senser’ in the ‘mental transitive process’ realized by the verbal type; the ‘Phenomenon’ is realized by the nominal type *λάθη/mistakes*.

Thus, the construction of the ‘we’ group as (primarily) fearless, is ‘elaborated’ by its construction as not afraid to change or recognize mistakes. The ‘we’ group is, thus, represented as a determinant and self-critical group.

In these representations, the emotion ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group is the one of admiration. The ‘activated’ group (see the criterion of the people involved) is represented as negating the ‘said’ emotion of fear.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the ‘we’ group is represented as not afraid to change (*να αλλάξουμε/to change*), and to recognize its mistakes. Thus, it is conceptualized as an Actor who brings the new (change) and, at the same time, is self-critical (recognize the mistakes). Thus, it should be admired by the audience since it corresponds to the values of

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<sup>54</sup> It is worth highlighting that the emotion of fear is ‘said’ (according to the Micheli’s [2014] model), realized by the respective verbal type *φοβόμαστε/[We] are afraid*, though the negation avoids expressing this ‘said’ emotion.



change (from the crisis and its effects) and self-evaluation (see compatibility with values criterion).

Finally, in extract (12), [...] *να είμαστε συνεπείς απέναντι στη συνείδησή μας, στην πατρίδα και, βεβαίως, στις διεθνείς υποχρεώσεις μας*/[us] *to be consistent with our conscience, [with] our country and, certainly, [with] our international obligations*, the 'we' group is represented as 'assimilated'-'collectivized' Actor (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), and 'activated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), taking on the participant role 'Carrier' in the relational-attributive process', which is realized, consequently, by the verbal type *να είμαστε*/[us] *to be*. By the nominal type *συνεπείς*/consistent, the 'Attribute' of the transitivity structure is realized. Moreover, the prepositional nominal groups *απέναντι στη συνείδησή μας*/with our conscience, *στην πατρίδα*/[with] our country and *στις διεθνείς υποχρεώσεις μας*/[with] our international obligations have the participant role of the 'circumstantial element' stating the 'location' of 'place' where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the Actor appears to be consistent. Thus, the 'we' group is represented as being fully compatible with the value of respecting its conscience, its country, and its international obligations.

Consequently, the emotion 'argued' in the transitivity structure is (once more) that of admiration. The group, 'activated' in the structures (see the criterion of the people involved), is represented as respecting fully its conscience, its country and its international obligations. Thus, it is fully compatible with the value of respect towards the dominant affairs that constitute the national and international integrity and common good (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). In this sense 'we' should be admired by the audience.

Recapitulating the analysis of extracts (10) – (12), the 'we' group is represented as the 'activated'-'actor' in 'material processes' (*cast off, change*), with the explicitly referred goal to succeed, making the country succeed (*Greece*). It is also the 'Senser' in the (negative) 'mental process' (*[we] are not afraid*) or in the positive one (*we recognize mistakes*); represented, in this sense, as fearless, but also as self-critical. Finally, the 'we' group, as the 'activated'-'Carrier' in the 'relational process' (*[us] to be consistent*), is represented as a fully conscious group, which respects national and international affairs. It is worth mentioning that the 'we' group is linked

associated' with other key-Actors (government, PASOK), forming an ensemble of Actors that participate in the in-group and act together.<sup>55</sup>

In this sense, an inductively produced representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed in the transitivity structures of the extracts, connecting semantically the 'we' group, the government and the ruling party (PASOK) as Actors positively represented: as aiming to make the country change and succeed along with them, as fearless, determinant and self-critical Actors, with full respect for national and international obligations. As we may observe, PM Papandreou, via the construction of the inclusive in-group, is adding positive characteristics in almost every extract selected. As we have seen, the in-group is characterized as responsible and honest promoting the national unity in a determinant way and being self-critical for his possible omissions. In this sense, Papandreou aims to formulate a discussion that will undermine this group's representation in the public discussion held in the public sphere.

Consequently, the discourse produced by the representation of the 'we' group and its 'associated' Actors repeatedly stimulates the emotion of admiration in the audience. Since the Actors are represented as the active forces (criterion of the people involved) acting with the above referred (positive) characteristics (e.g. fearless, determinant and self-critical), they overthrow negative emotions (e.g. fear), which are 'said' explicitly, and transform them into the emotion of admiration in favor of the Actors of the in-group, since they correspond to fundamentally accepted values (e.g. respect for national and international affairs) (criterion of compatibility with values).

Although G.A. Papandreou devotes almost his entire speech to the (positive) representation of the in-group, he also moves towards the negative representation of its opponents (out-group). In the following subsection, this (negative) representation is going to be examined, as it was retrieved in the parliamentary speech on May 6, 2010.

### ***5.1.2 The representation of the out-group***

(1) Η βία δεν δίνει απαντήσεις, δεν δίνει λύσεις, δημιουργεί νέες πληγές/Violence does not give answers, [it] does not give solutions, [it] creates new sores

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<sup>55</sup> This representation demolishes the views that were circulating in the public sphere and aimed to present the ruling majority as fully disintegrated and, thus, unable to govern and lead the Greek society to a positive perspective.

In extract (1), in the structure *H βία δεν δίνει απαντήσεις/Violence does not give answers*, the concept of violence prevails among the opponents of the PM. In the configuration, the nominal type *H βία/violence* has the participant role-‘actor’ in the (negative) ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group *δεν δίνει/does not give*. The nominal type *απαντήσεις/answers*, has the role-‘Goal’ where the material process extends. Also, the nominal type *H βία/violence* has the participant role-‘actor’ in the configuration *δεν δίνει λύσεις/[it] does not give solutions*: the realization of the nominal type is made by the cohesive relation of ‘ellipsis’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). The (negative) ‘material process’, which the ‘actor’ undertakes, is realized by the verbal group *δεν δίνει/[it] does not give*, and the ‘Goal’ is realized by the nominal *λύσεις/solutions*. In the same line, in the elliptic structure *δημιουργεί νέες πληγές/[it] creates new sores*, the ‘material process’ which the ‘actor’ (*H βία/violence*) undergoes, is realized by the verbal type *δημιουργεί/[it] creates*. The ‘Goal’ is realized by the nominal group *νέες πληγές/new sores*. Through the interrelation in the aforementioned structures, violence is represented not as responding to the possible questions (*απαντήσεις/answers*), or resolving problems (*solutions*), but, on the contrary, as creating new sores. Extra-textual knowledge makes the extract more coherent, facilitating the formation of a dense discourse (see Fairclough 2003), since it is well known that the violence to which the PM refers, is the arson on May 5, 2010 (Marfin Bank). In this sense, violence is represented as killing, as violating the value of the protection of human life.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of fear is ‘said’ - realized by the nominal type *H βία/violence* and the nominal group *νέες πληγές/new sores*. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, assisted by the extra-textual knowledge, violence, as the ‘activated’ participant (see the criterion of the people involved), is represented as provoking the emotion of fear, and thus should be avoided by the audience since it totally violates the value of the protection of human life (see the criterion of compatibility with values). The specific emotion is further load due to the temporal distance from the fact (i.e. the arson) (see the respective criterion of distance).

(2) Οι δαπάνες αυξήθηκαν κατά 40 δισεκατομμύρια από το 2004 έως το 2009, από τα 80 δισεκατομμύρια σε 120 δισεκατομμύρια./Spending increased by 40 billion between 2004 and 2009, from 80 billion to 120 billion.

(3) [...] ξεπέρασαν τις 100.000 οι νέοι συμβασιούχοι έργου, [...] 50.000 παιδιά προστέθηκαν με ψευδεπίγραφα, δήθεν STAGE [...]. Ένα δεύτερο δημόσιο φτιάχτηκε μέσα σε πέντε χρόνια./[...] over

100,000 new contract agents were signed on, [...] 50.000 young people were taken on with fake, alleged STAGE, [...]. A second public sector was created in five years.

In extracts (2) and (3), the previous government of New Democracy (ND) is (implicitly) represented. Although the respective nominal types (e.g. New Democracy, previous government) are not present in the extracts, the previous government is represented by the prepositional nominal groups *από το 2004 έως το 2009/between 2004 and 2009* (extract [2]), and *μέσα σε πέντε χρόνια/in five years* (extract [3]), since we may (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29) ‘ask “who was governing during these years?” and reasonably infer’ that New Democracy and PM Kostas Karamanlis were in power. Thus, although the Actor is ‘excluded’ in Van Leeuwen’s words the ‘exclusion is not so radical’ and, consequently, the Actor is ‘backgrounded’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29-31).

More specifically, in extract (2), the nominal type *Οι δαπάνες/Spending* is represented as ‘beneficialized’, i.e. ‘being at the receiving end’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34) of the ‘material process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *αυξήθηκαν/increased*. The prepositional nominal group *από το 2004 έως το 2009/between 2004 and 2009* (by which the previous government is ‘backgrounded’, see analysis above), has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the location of ‘time’ *when* the process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, spending is represented as increasing during the years of the governance of ND, and thus the previous government is represented as being wasteful.

In extract (3), and, more specifically, in the structure *ξεπέρασαν τις 100.000 οι νέοι συμβασιούχοι έργου/ over 100,000 new contract agents were signed on*, the ‘actor’ of the configuration is expressed by the nominal group *οι νέοι συμβασιούχοι έργου/new contract agents*, who are undergoing the ‘material process’, which is reflected by the verbal type *ξεπέρασαν/over...were*. Moreover, in the structure *50.000 παιδιά προστέθηκαν με ψευδεπίγραφα, δήθεν STAGE/ 50,000 young people were taken on with fake, alleged STAGE*, the nominal type *παιδιά/young people* is represented as the ‘beneficialized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34) Actor, by the ‘material process’, which is realized by the verbal type *προστέθηκαν/were taken on*. The prepositional nominal group *με ψευδεπίγραφα, δήθεν STAGE/with fake, alleged STAGE*, plays the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘accompaniment’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 263), coding the ‘extension’ of the ‘material process’ by which the type *παιδιά/young people* is ‘beneficialized’. Finally, in the structure *Ένα δεύτερο δημόσιο φτιάχτηκε μέσα σε πέντε χρόνια/A second public sector was*

created in five years, the nominal group *Ένα δεύτερο δημόσιο/A second public sector* is represented as the 'beneficialized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34) Actor by the 'material process', which is consequently realized by the verbal type *φτιάχτηκε/was created*, the prepositional nominal group *μέσα σε πέντε χρόνια/in five years* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location' of 'time' when (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the 'material process' unfolds.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence', offering an advanced interpretation: the nominal group *συμβασιούχοι έργου/contract agents* refers to an employee who carries out work for the state, for a specific period. They are, by no means, permanent state employees, even though the previous government of ND had attempted to give the specific employees a permanent status, increasing the number of state employees (using non-transparent hiring methods). The same method was applied to the so-called 'stagers', who were hired under the EU STAGE programs to fill in certain positions in the public sector and, at the same time, to gain additional education and working experience. Thus, a wide number of people was hired in the public sector, explaining the nominal group *A second public sector* in the third structure of the extract. That model of placement in the public sector was regarded as one of the reasons for Greece's collapse.<sup>56</sup> Thus, Karamanlis' government was viewed as responsible for the collapse of the economy, due to the bad management of the 2004-2009 period of governance.

On the pathos analysis, the previous government, implicitly represented as acting (see the criterion of the people involved) by augmenting the public sector and leading to the derailment of the state's financial affairs, provokes the emotion of detestation;<sup>57</sup> the previous government, represented as messing with the public financial affairs, violates the criterion of good management of the state for which it is responsible (see the criterion of compatibility or not with values). Thus, the emotion of detestation is 'argued' against it.

(4) Δυστυχώς, και εσείς, κύριε Σαμαρά, παρά τις συγγνώμες σας, αισθανθήκατε πλήρως αλληλέγγυος, σε όσα συνέβησαν τα προηγούμενα χρόνια/Unfortunately, you too, Mr. Samaras, despite your apologies, felt in full solidarity with what happened in previous years.

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<sup>56</sup> See in detail:

<http://www.newsbomb.gr/ellada/apokalypseis/story/323986/papagalakia-mempakaloteftera-psegoynd-%E2%80%93-karamanli-gia-tin-krisi>.

<sup>57</sup> The emotion is also semiotized as 'shown', realized by the choice of the nominal STAGE in capital letters (and, of course, its negative conceptualization).

In extract (4), the actual president of ND is placed among the PM's opponents. The president of ND is represented by 'formal nomination', i.e. 'only by his surname' *κύριε Σαμαρά/Mr. Samaras* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 41). The nominal group *κύριε Σαμαρά/Mr. Samaras* has the participant role-'Carrier' in the 'relational attributive process' which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *αισθανθήκατε/[you] felt* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 238). The nominal *αλληλέγγυος/solidarity* has the role-'Attribute' in the configuration, attributing a characteristic to the president Samaras. So, primarily, the leader of the opposition is represented as solidary. Moreover, the structure *σε όσα συνέβησαν τα προηγούμενα χρόνια/with what happened in previous years* is linked to the previous one in 'hypotaxis', 'expanding' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380) the meaning of the previous one. More specifically, the pronoun *όσα/what* has the role-'actor' in the 'material process' (happening), which is consequently realized by the verbal type *συνέβησαν/happened*. The nominal group *τα προηγούμενα χρόνια/in previous years* has the role of the 'circumstantial element' coding the 'location' of 'time' when the process unfolds. By this element, the previous (negatively represented) government of Kostas Karamanlis is realized, since, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the previous years the government of ND was in charge (see contemporaneously, the analysis of extracts [2] and [3]). Through the meaning construction of the two structures of the extract, the leader of ND is represented as being in solidarity with the previous (negatively represented) government, and, correspondingly, with the management that caused the economy's collapse.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, the leader of the opposition is implicitly represented as (see the criterion of the people involved) being solidary to the previous government, which had led to the derailment of the state's financials. Thus, he is represented as being attuned with the bad management and as violating the criterion of good management of the state for which he is responsible (see the criterion of the compatibility [or not] with values). Thus, the emotion of detestation is also 'argued' against the leader of the opposition party of ND.

Recapitulating the analysis of the (negative) representation of the opponents (out-group) in extracts (1) – (4), it was shown that the out-group consisted of the previous government of ND, its actual leader (*Samaras*), and the concept of *violence*.

Specifically, *violence* is represented as the 'activated'-'actor' in both negative (*does not give answers, solutions*) and positive 'material processes' (*creates sores*). Also, according to the extratextual knowledge, violence is linked to the arson in Marfin Bank, and in this sense, violates the value of protection of human life. As we have seen in the previous chapter (self-

representation), the in-group—consisted of the PM, the ruling party (PASOK) and the audience of the PM's speech (the Greek people)—is juxtaposing explicitly the violence. In this sense, the 'opponent' violence has been already implied during the self-representation, adding conceptual links between the two axes ('we' versus 'others'). Here, it seems that PM Papandreou, via the negative representation, is further adding (explaining the) reasons why violence should be opposed by the audience.

On the (negative) representation of the previous government, it was depicted as 'backgrounded' and 'circumstantialized', i.e. non-realized by a specific nominal group during the period when it governed (from 2004 to 2009). Moreover, the period of the previous governance is represented as the 'location'- 'time' when spending increased, new contract agents were signed on and a second public sector was created. Thus, the period (and consequently ND's governance) is represented as responsible for the augmentation of state spending, and the enlargement of the public sector, which according to the extra-textual knowledge, was among the factors responsible for the economic collapse. Finally, the actual president of ND (Samaras) undertakes the active participant role- 'Carrier', characterized as solidary with the previous governance (and its specific, negative conceptualization).

As we witness, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) reveals the transitivity structures of extracts (1) – (4), in which the previous government and the actual leader of the opposition (ND) are Actors negatively represented, as responsible for the country's collapse and for supporting the regime that led to the collapse. Along with them, violence is placed on the opposite camp of the PM, as being responsible for the violation of human life. Thus, the public realm, apart from being determined by the positively represented agency of the in-group is also informed by the negatively represented agency of the out-group (i.e. in-group's opponents). In this sense, the political process, occurring in the parliamentary public sphere of the specific date is a highly divided one formed in the following lines: it is based on the juxtaposition between the positive social agency of the in-group (responsibility, honesty, determination, national unity and protection of the national interests) and the negative one of the opponents as represented above. Politics, as a process which is revealed upon the continuous articulations and disarticulations on the logic of 'equivalence and difference' (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985) is construed upon the juxtaposed discursive representations. Through these representations, PM Papandreou aims to underpin his political and ideological agenda, retaining and advancing his power via the discussion occurring in the public realm.

The discourse produced by the representation of the Actors-opponents, brings out two negative emotions in the audience: fear and detestation. Since violence is represented as the active force (criterion of the people involved), the act of violating human life (criterion compatibility with values) provokes fear. On the same grounds, the previous government and the leader of the opposition (ND) incites the emotion of detestation since they are the forces responsible for the bad management of the state financials and the support of this management. Thus, they do not correspond to fundamentally accepted values (e.g. good management, reinforcement of social prosperity) (see criterion of compatibility with values) and, consequently should be detested by the audience. As we may—tentatively—assume here, the negative representation of the out-group leads to a dense and inductively developed emotive construction regarding the opponents of the PM. This emotive construction is explicitly juxtaposed to the positive emotive one (e.g. admiration) provoked by the positive selfrepresentation of the in-group; discursive representations and emotive constructions are in mutual extension during the development of PM's parliamentary speech.

In the next section, the representations in PM Papandreou's parliamentary speech on June 29, 2011 are going to be examined, following the same axis of representation (in-group versus out-group). The representation of the in-group, as retrieved in extracts of the specific parliamentary speech will be examined first.

## **5.2 George A. Papandreou on June 29, 2011<sup>58</sup>**

### ***5.2.1 The representation of the in-group***

- (1) [...] για να αλλάξουμε, να σταθούμε στα δικά μας πόδια/[...] in order for us to change, to stand on our feet
- (2) να μείνουμε στην Ελλάδα του διογκωμένου πελατειακού κράτους, ή να πάμε στην Ελλάδα του αποτελεσματικού, δίκαιου, δημοκρατικού και παραγωγικού κράτους./ [we] to remain in Greece of the enlarged clientele state, or [we] to go to Greece of the decisive, fair, democratic and productive state.
- (3) [...] να αρθούμε για ακόμα μια φορά στο ύψος των ιστορικών αποφάσεων και περιστάσεων για τη χώρα. Είναι η ώρα να κοιτάξουμε το μέλλον. Για να διασφαλίσω το μέλλον αυτής και των επόμενων γενεών. Είμαι έτοιμος και είμαστε έτοιμοι να πάρουμε δύσκολες αποφάσεις./[...] to rise once more to the height of the historical decisions and circumstances for the country. It is time [we] to look

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<sup>58</sup> Wednesday, June 29, 2011 (Morning). Available at: <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd-61a9-4a83-b09a09f4c564609d/es20110629%28proi%29.pdf>, pp. 37-39.



into the future. To ensure the future of this and the next generations. I am ready and we are ready to make difficult decisions.

In extract (1), [...] *για να αλλάξουμε, να σταθούμε στα δικά μας πόδια*,/[...] *in order for us to change, to stand on our feet*, the ‘we’ group is, once more, represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’, realized by the choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the verbal types *να αλλάξουμε/us to change* and *να σταθούμε/[us] to stand*, by which consequently, two ‘material processes’ are realized. The ‘we’ group is ‘activated’ since it undertakes the participant role-‘actor’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the respective processes. More specifically, in the structure *να σταθούμε στα δικά μας πόδια/ to stand on our feet*, the prepositional nominal group has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘place’ where the ‘material process’ (*να σταθούμε/ to stand*) unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen: 2004: 262). According to Babiniotis (2002: 1649), the phrase I stand on my feet means that someone is ‘autonomous and independent financially’. Thus, in the overall representation, the ‘we’ group is represented as changing and becoming financially independent (*stand on our feet*). Moreover, the co-emergence of the verbal group *να αλλάξουμε/ to change* in this and previous extracts (see extracts [7] and [11] on May 6, 2010) establishes ‘intertextuality’ among the two speeches of G.A. Papandreou: The specific emergence incorporates semantically and ‘recontextualizes’ (see Bakhtin 1986, Fairclough 1992) the concept of change for a better future state of being. In this sense, it enforces a specific representation of reality (discourse), according to which the ‘we’ group has (in different temporal frames) an active role (is activated) in order to change. The construction of the ‘we’ group as an ‘agent of change’ becomes a key-concept in the speeches of PM Papandreou.

On the emotions’ (pathos) analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ in the elements’ interrelation in extract (1) is, once more, admiration. The ‘we’ group, represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) that aims to provoke change and financial independency (*to stand on our feet*), deserves admiration since it is fully compatible with the value of ensuring social prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility with the dominant values).

In extract (2), *να μείνουμε στην Ελλάδα του διογκωμένου πελατειακού κράτους, ή να πάμε στην Ελλάδα του αποτελεσματικού, δίκαιου, δημοκρατικού και παραγωγικού κράτους*,/[we] *to remain in Greece of the enlarged clientele state, or [we] to go to Greece of the decisive, fair, democratic and productive state* the ‘we’ group is, once more, represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’, realized by the choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38)

in the verbal types *να μείνουμε/[we] to stay* and *να πάμε/[we] to go*, by which consequently, two ‘material processes’ are realized. The ‘we’ in-group has the participant role-‘actor’ in both ‘material processes’ and is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the extract.

Moreover, the two structures of the extract, i.e. *να μείνουμε στην Ελλάδα του διογκωμένου πελατειακού κράτους/[we] to remain in Greece of the enlarged clientele state*, and *να πάμε στην Ελλάδα του αποτελεσματικού, δίκαιου, δημοκρατικού και παραγωγικού κράτους/[we] to go to Greece of the decisive, fair, democratic and productive state* are linked together in ‘parataxis’, realized by the marker *ή/or*, and thus enjoy ‘equal status’ in the representation; the second one ‘extends’ the first ‘offering an alternative’ to it (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). In both structures, the prepositional nominal group *στην Ελλάδα/in Greece* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) each of the two material processes unfold. The prepositional nominal phrases *του διογκωμένου πελατειακού κράτους/of the enlarged clientele state* and *του αποτελεσματικού, δίκαιου, δημοκρατικού και παραγωγικού κράτους/of the decisive, fair, democratic and productive state*, are represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal *Greece*; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the *of* postmodifying the nominal *Greece* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34). In this sense, the country (Greece) has the characteristics of enlarged clientele state and, on the other side, the ones of a decisive, fair, democratic and productive state. Thus, the two opposing conceptualizations of Greece are offered as ‘alternative’ by the PM, based upon the paratactic link in the extract. Overall, in the interrelation in the structures of the extract, the ‘we’ represented group is before two alternatives: to stay in the clientele state or to move to the decisive, fair, democratic and productive state.

As we can see, a bad aspect of Greece is opposed by a better new one in extract (3). The opposition constructed here creates meaningful connections with the representation of the bad part of Greece provided in extract (6) of the PM’s speech on May 6, 2010. At the same time, it creates conceptual connections with the non-transparent, clientele relationships that were revealed in the past of the previous government of New Democracy (see extracts [2] and [3] in the representation of the out-group on May 6, 2010). These conceptual connections lead to the enforcement of a dense discourse (see Fairclough 2003) on behalf of PM Papandreou, where the clientele, non-transparent state is opposed by the new fair, decisive, democratic and productive one, for the creation of which the ‘we’ group acts.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis of the extract, two opposing emotions are ‘argued’: the one of detestation as opposed to indulgence. The ‘we’ group, as the activated Actor in both

structures of the extract (see criterion of the people involved), is represented in two opposing ways: on the one side, it undertakes action to remain in the enlarged clientele state and its consequent crisis effects (e.g. deterioration of living standards, cuts on wages and pensions). Thus, it should be detested by the audience since it violates the criterion of compatibility with the value of ensuring the common good and prosperity. On the other side, it is represented as acting (*to go*) to a more decisive, fair, democratic and productive state, advancing the prosperity of society, and thus is fully compatible with the value of ensuring the common good.

Finally, in extract (3), [...] *να αρθούμε για ακόμα μια φορά στο ύψος των ιστορικών αποφάσεων και περιστάσεων για τη χώρα. Είναι η ώρα να κοιτάξουμε το μέλλον. Για να διασφαλίσω το μέλλον αυτής και των επόμενων γενεών. Είμαι έτοιμος και είμαστε έτοιμοι να πάρουμε δύσκολες αποφάσεις.* [...] [*we*] *to rise once more to the height of the historical decisions and circumstances for the country. It is time [we] to look into the future. To ensure the future of this and the next generations. I am ready and we are ready to make difficult decisions,* the ‘we’ group is linked (directly) in the representations with the PM.

Specifically, the ‘we’ group is implicitly represented, once more, realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the verbal types *να αρθούμε*/[*we*] *to rise* and *να κοιτάξουμε*/[*we*] *to look into*; the ‘we’ group is represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38). Moreover, the group is represented as ‘activated’ since it has the participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material processes’ which are realized by the aforementioned verbal types.

In the first structure [...] *να αρθούμε για ακόμα μια φορά στο ύψος των ιστορικών αποφάσεων και περιστάσεων για τη χώρα.* [...] [*we*] *to rise once more to the height of the historical decisions and circumstances for the country,* the prepositional nominal group *στο ύψος των ιστορικών αποφάσεων και περιστάσεων*/to the height of the historical decisions and circumstances, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the ‘material’ process (*να αρθούμε*/[*we*] *to rise*) unfolds. According to Babiniotis (2002: 91), the structure *αίρομαι στο ύψος των περιστάσεων*/I rise to the height of the circumstances means that someone successfully conforms to a circumstance. In this sense, the ‘we’ group is represented as successfully standing and dealing with the difficult situation created by the crisis. Moreover, the prepositional nominal group *για τη χώρα*/for the country has also the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘cause’, the ‘reason’ why (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the ‘material process’ unfolds. In this sense, the ‘we’ group undertakes successful action (rise) for the country. Thus, its action aims, once more, to safeguard national interests. The ‘we’ group is represented as a faithful fighter.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ is that of admiration. The ‘we’ group is represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) which acts to ensure the national interests, and is fully compatible with the value of guaranteeing the national interests and safeguarding the country (see the criterion of compatibility with values). For this reason, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience. The specific emotion is further loaded since the consequences of an opposite action (i.e. not safeguarding the national interests) maybe extremely serious (see the consequences criterion).

In the second structure *Είναι η ώρα να κοιτάξουμε το μέλλον/It is time [we] to look into the future*, the nominal type *το μέλλον/the future* has the role ‘Goal’ of the material process (which the ‘we’ undertakes). In this sense, the ‘we’ group is represented as looking towards the future; we should also note that the nominal future often states the new and potentially promising (as opposed to the past, which is associated with the old and worn) (see Serafis et al. 2017: 14, on this issue). Overall, the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking successful action (rise) to safeguard national interests and the country, considering the future and potentially promising state of being.

As a result, conducting a pathos analysis, the emotions ‘argued’ are those of admiration and hope. The ‘we’ group is represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) which acts in order to safeguard the national interests, and is fully compatible with the value of guaranteeing the national interests and safeguarding the country (see the criterion of compatibility with values). For this reason, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience. In the same extract, since the action of the ‘we’ group looks into the future and potentially promising state of being, it inspires hope in the audience.

In the same extract, the PM is represented in the structure *Για να διασφαλίσω το μέλλον αυτής και των επόμενων γενεών/To ensure the future of this and the next generations* and in the nexus *Είμαι έτοιμος και είμαστε έτοιμοι να πάρουμε δύσκολες αποφάσεις/I am ready and we are ready to make difficult decisions*.

In the first structure, the PM is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, realized by the active participant role-‘Carrier’ he has in the ‘relational-attributive (intensive) process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *διασφαλίσω/ensure*. The nominal type *το μέλλον/the future* has the role-‘Attributor’ ‘representing the entity assigning the relationship of attribution’ (see more in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 238). In this sense, the PM is (primarily) represented as the active force that guarantees the future. Further, the nominal type *το μέλλον/the future* is ‘possessivized’ by the nominal phrase *αυτής και των επόμενων γενεών/of*

*this and the next generations*; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the of postmodifying the nominal type (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, the future is ‘possessivized’ by the present and the future generations and the PM is conceptualized as the force that guarantees social continuity.

In the nexus of clauses *Είμαι έτοιμος και είμαστε έτοιμοι να πάρουμε δύσκολες αποφάσεις/I am ready and we are ready to make difficult decisions*, the PM is also represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, realized by the active participant role-‘Carrier’ he has in the ‘relational attributive process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *Είμαι/I am*. The nominal type *έτοιμος/ready* has the role-‘Attributor’, characterizing the PM. The ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’ Actor, realized by the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the verbal type *είμαστε/we are*. The ‘we’ group is, furthermore, represented as ‘activated’ having the participant role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational attributive process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *είμαστε/we are*. Finally, it is represented as ‘associated’ with the PM; the ‘association’ is realized by the ‘parataxis’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38) (through the marker *και/and*) with which the PM and the ‘we’ group are linked together. Thus the ‘we’ group along with PM Papandreou form (once more) a group that acts together. The structure *να πάρουμε δύσκολες αποφάσεις/to make difficult decisions*, linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the nexus of the extract ‘enhances’ the meaning (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380) of the dominant structure. In this sense, the PM along with the ‘we’ group are represented as being ready to make difficult decisions, and thus as being decisive.

On the emotions (pathos) analysis, the PM guarantees social continuity and, along with the ‘we’ group, are represented as the ones who are ready to make difficult decisions (in favor of social continuity). Thus, they are represented as participating (see the criterion of the people involved) in making difficult decisions to secure social continuity;<sup>59</sup> in this sense they are fully in line with the respective value (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, admiration should be legitimately felt in their favor.

According to the analysis of extracts (1) – (3) in this speech, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ ‘actor’, underdoing ‘material processes’ (*change, stay, go, rise*) in the structures of the respective extracts. Its actions make the group appear as successfully ensuring the national interests and safeguarding the country, looking into the future and potentially promising state of being. In addition, the material processes in which the ‘we’ group is

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<sup>59</sup> Even if PM’s decisions can be unpopular within the context we examine. Thus, the emotion of admiration is further loaded by the fact that PM Papandreou, as insinuated, does not care about his political survival but only about the societal-survival.

‘activated’ are undertaken jointly with the PM. The ‘we’ Actor is accompanied by the PM, who, consequently, has the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational processes’ (ensure, I am), being ready to ensure the future generations of Greece.

Moreover, it was shown that the re-emergence of the verbal choice *change*, establishes ‘intertextuality’ among extracts from PM Papandreou’s two speeches, recontextualizing the concept in different temporal and social frames, and thus, facilitating the formation of a discourse in which the ‘we’ group is represented as an active force of change. As we may see, the overall discourse revealed in the transitivity structures of extracts (1) – (4), represents the ‘we’ group and the PM as Actors positively characterized (with the aforementioned characteristics).

Worth mentioning that, as in the speech of May 6, once more here, the social agents who participate in the in-group are the same, activated in a positive manner in order to favor and protect fundamentally accepted values and concepts (e.g. secure the future of the country). The intertextual links re-establish and underpin significant concepts which inform the discourse that PM Papandreou addresses to his audience. A conceptualization that the PM aims to dominate the discussion occurring in the public space.

As a result, the discourse produced stimulates specific emotions, i.e. the emotions of admiration and indulgence: the social forces are represented as the Actors (criterion of the people involved) that bring about change and ensure the common good, and thus correspond to the respective fundamental values (criterion compatibility with values). In this sense, they stimulate indulgence and are thus admired by the audience.

(4) Διαχειρίζομαι όμως μια κρίση, που άλλοι δημιούργησαν. [...] χωρίς να φυγομαχήσω, χωρίς να αναλογιστώ το τίμημα/However, I am managing a crisis, which others created. [...] without leaving the battle, without considering the price

(5) Αυτήν τη μάχη θα τη δώσω, θα τη δώσουμε μέχρι τέλους/ I will fight this battle, we will fight it to the end

(6) [...] είμαι αποφασισμένος [...] μπροστά στο εθνικό συμφέρον, δεν λογαριάζω ούτε κομματικούς φίλους, ούτε οποιοδήποτε άλλο μικρό ή μεγάλο συμφέρον./[...] I am determined [...] when it comes to the national interest, nothing matters, neither party friends, nor any small or large interests.

In extracts (4), (5) and (6), the PM’s effort to represent himself as part of the constructed in-group, in connection to the constructed ‘we’ group, is continued.

In extract (4), and more specifically, in the structure *Διαχειρίζομαι όμως μία κρίση* *However, I am managing a crisis*, the PM is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, realized by the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material transitive process’ which is consequently realized by the verbal type *Διαχειρίζομαι/I am managing*. The nominal type *μία κρίση/a crisis* has the role ‘Goal’ where the process extends. In this sense, the PM is represented as managing the crisis. Furthermore, the structure *που άλλοι δημιούργησαν*/which others created, linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the previous structure, ‘enhances’ the meaning of the previous structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). In this structure, the nominal type *άλλοι/others*, has the participant role-‘actor’ undergoing the ‘material process’, consequently realized by the verbal type *δημιούργησαν/created*. The type *που/which* and the *μία κρίση/a crisis* are linked together (semantically) with the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’, i.e. they have the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, the nominal *άλλοι/others* is represented as being responsible for the crisis that the PM is managing. In this sense, the PM is represented as managing someone else’s mistake (crisis); as not being responsible for the crisis. Furthermore, it is evident that the axes of the in-group and out-group representation are interconnected in the PM’s speech, offering findings about the interrelation of the in-group and out-group representations. As we witness, in this case, the one axis implies the other one.

On the pathos analysis of the structure, the emotions of compassion and admiration are ‘argued’ in favor of G.A. Papandreou. The PM, represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) acting to manage the crisis that others created, is represented as a selfless Actor who deserves the audience’s admiration. The possible serious consequences of the crisis (see the consequences criterion) which the PM manages, loads further the emotion of admiration in his favor. In addition, the fact that he did not create the problems (crisis) that he is managing, gives rise to the emotion of compassion people should feel for him.

Moreover, in the structures *[...] χωρίς ναφυγομαχήσω, χωρίς να αναλογιστώ το τίμημα* *[...] without leaving the battle, without considering the price*, the PM is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, initially by the participant role-‘actor’ he has in the (negative) ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *χωρίς ναφυγομαχήσω/without leaving the battle*, and subsequently by the participant role-‘Senser’ in the (negative) ‘mental process’, realized by the verbal type *χωρίς να αναλογιστώ/without considering*. In the last structure, the nominal type *το τίμημα/the price* has the role ‘Phenomenon’. Through the interrelation of the elements in the configuration, the PM is represented as a persistent fighter who refuses to leave the battle and, further, as an Actor who fights without considering the consequences of his struggle.

Extra-textual knowledge offers a further interpretation here, establishing ‘coherence’ in the extract: one of the PASOK government’s significant discursive strategies was to blame the previous government and the former PM Karamanlis for the Greek deficit and the public debt increase (see also the analysis of the out-group representation on May 6, 2010). Moreover, PM Papandreou accused his predecessor of having abandoned the political struggle against the Greek crisis.<sup>60</sup> Thus, through the representation provided in the above-analyzed structures the PM is implicitly represented as a persistent fighter, in full contrast to the previous Greek PM (negatively represented as a deserter).

Consequently, on the analysis of emotions, the PM, represented as the involved Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) fighting without abandoning the struggle, deserves the audience’s admiration, since he corresponds to the fundamental value of not abandoning the battle (see the criteria of compatibility with values and consequences). The respective ‘argued’ emotion is enhanced even further in light of the extra-textual knowledge about the actions of the previous PM and government.

The self-representation of the PM as a persistent fighter continues in extract (5) *Αυτήν τη μάχη θα τη δώσω, θα τη δώσουμε μέχρι τέλους/I will fight this battle, we will fight it to the end*. Thus, inductively, in extracts (4) and (5), a specific representation of the PM as a persistent and selfless fighter reveals a specific discourse, in the terms of Fairclough (2003). Moreover, the attempt of the PM to combine self-representation with the representation of the ‘we’ group, continues in this extract.

More specifically, the PM and the ‘we’ group are represented as ‘activated’ Actors (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), having the role-‘actor’ in the respective ‘material processes’; realized by the verbal types *θα δώσω/I will fight* and *θα δώσουμε/we will fight*. The nominal type *τη/it* has the role-‘Goal’ where the material process extends. Furthermore, it is linked anaphorically to the nominal type *τη μάχη/the battle*, (‘co-referentiality’, see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). The prepositional nominal group *μέχρι τέλους/to the end* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location’ of ‘time’ when (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. Thus, through the interrelation of the elements in the configuration, the PM along with the ‘we’ group are represented as fighting a battle to the outcome (*to the end*). They are represented as decisive fighters.

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<sup>60</sup> See e.g. the accusation of PM Papandreou against the previous governor. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=roTrvLRtkWA>.



On the analysis of emotions (pathos), the emotion of admiration is, once more, ‘argued’ as the one that should be legitimately felt in favor of the PM and the ‘we’ constructed group. The two Actors (the PM and the ‘we’ group) are the activated Actors (see the criterion of the people involved), undertaking action until its final outcome. In this sense, they are represented as fully determined to complete their struggle, and thus fully compatible with the value (see the respective criterion of compatibility with values) of the fighter who fights to the very end (see contemporaneously the analysis of extract [5]). In this sense, they should be admired.

As we can see, a dense emotive construction, focusing on admiration as the main emotion that should be felt in favor of the PM and the ‘we’ group, is developed along with the inductively constructed discourse upon the representations in the transitivity structures of the extracts. Thus, the emotive construction is ‘argued’ using the discursive representations; in other words, it is based on the representation provided in the transitivity configurations, as shown in the foregoing analysis.

Finally, in extract (6), [...] *είμαι αποφασισμένος. [...] μπροστά στο εθνικό συμφέρον, δεν λογαριάζω ούτε κομματικούς φίλους, ούτε οποιοδήποτε άλλο μικρό ή μεγάλο συμφέρον.* [...] *I am determined. [...] when it comes to the national interest, nothing matters, neither party friends, nor any small or large interests*, and more specifically, in the structure *είμαι αποφασισμένος/I am determined*, the PM is ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), having the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’. The nominal type *αποφασισμένος/determined* has the role ‘Attributor’, providing the PM with the respective characteristic.

Moreover, in the structure [...] *μπροστά στο εθνικό συμφέρον, δεν λογαριάζω ούτε κομματικούς φίλους, ούτε οποιοδήποτε άλλο μικρό ή μεγάλο συμφέρον.* [...] *when it comes to the national interest, nothing matters, neither party friends, nor any small or large interests*, the PM is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since he undertakes the active participant role-‘Senser’ in the ‘mental process’, which is consequently realized by the (negative) verbal type *δεν λογαριάζω/nothing matters [to me]*. The nominal type *κομματικούς φίλους/party friends*, and the nominal phrase *μικρό ή μεγάλο συμφέρον/small or large interests*, linked together in ‘parataxis’ (realized by the markers *ούτε/neither [...] ούτε/nor*), enjoy ‘equal status’ in the representation and the first type is ‘extended’ by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 405). In the structure they have the role-‘Phenomena’ in the ‘mental’ process. In this sense, the PM is represented as refusing to take into consideration his political friends and various interests. The prepositional nominal group *μπροστά στο εθνικό συμφέρον/when it comes to the national interest* has the role of the ‘prepositional

circumstantial', coding the 'location' of 'place' where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the PM is represented as putting nothing above the national interest, thus being fully compatible with values according to which PMs should ensure above all the national interests of the countries they govern. Thus, the meaning construction is that PM Papandreou is determined to ensure only the national interest and ignore individual interests or partisan friendships. He is self-represented as the ideal, democratic leader.

Consequently, the emotions 'argued' in the extract are those of indulgence and admiration. The PM is represented as the activated Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) who appears determined, and thus capable of controlling the situation (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation). In addition, he is represented as considering nothing but the national interest, being fully compatible with the value of ensuring the national interest (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, the PM deserves indulgence for his capabilities and admiration for his compatibility with fundamental values.

Up to this point, we have shown how the PM attempts to be self-represented (as an individual and as part of the in-group) on June 29, 2011. This attempt is similar to the attempt of PM Papandreou on May 6, 2010, confirming his will to be represented as positioned within the specific mosaic of the social actors-allies. Specifically, the PM undertakes the active participant role-'actor' in respective 'material processes' (e.g. manage the crisis, fight the battle), represented as a persistent fighter not responsible for the crisis; in this last case, the 'in-group versus out-group' axes interrelate, and the other-representation is implied during the self-representation; since the Actors responsible for the crisis, as retrieved in extract (4), are the abstract others, who are not members of the in-group represented. Moreover, the PM has the participant role-'Carrier' in 'relational processes', represented as a determinant Actor, as well as the role-'Sensor' in the respective (negative) 'mental processes' (*nothing matters, without considering*), represented as the Actor who puts no specific interests (e.g. partisan interests) above the national interest. In addition (see analysis of extract [5]), the PM is represented as an Actor linked semantically with the 'we' group, jointly undertaking the 'material process' (*fight the battle*), and thus represented as forming an in-group of persistent fighters. As we have also shown, these representations, inductively, in almost every extract of the speech, create and develop a specific representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), in which the PM and the 'we' group are included as positively represented Actors.

Consequently, the emotive construction based on these representations is a series of positive emotions, 'argued' and addressed in favor of the PM and the associated 'we' group. Specifically, the PM as the 'activated' Actor (criterion of the people involved) acts (e.g. fights), determined and without considering the cost and the individual interests. In this sense, he corresponds to the value according to which the governor has to act in favor of the national interests, leaving individual interests aside, ensuring the national common good (criterion compatibility with values). Thus, he brings about the audience's admiration and indulgence. It is worth mentioning here that the PM, represented as 'associated' with the 'we' group, makes the most, benefiting from the aforementioned positive emotions; which are, consequently 'argued' in his favor too. In addition, the fact that the PM is represented as non-responsible for the situation in which he has become involved (e.g. the management of the crisis) gives rise ('argues') to the emotion of compassion in his favor.

(7) να συνεχίσουμε τη μεγάλη και δύσκολη προσπάθεια, να βάλουμε τάξη στο σπίτι μας, να οικοδομούμε πια πάνω σε στέρεες βάσεις/[we] to continue the huge, difficult effort, [we] to put our house in order, [we] to build on a stable base.

In extract (7) *να συνεχίσουμε τη μεγάλη και δύσκολη προσπάθεια, να βάλουμε τάξη στο σπίτι μας, να οικοδομούμε πια πάνω σε στέρεες βάσεις/[we] to continue the huge, difficult effort, [we] to put our house in order, [we] to build on a stable base*, the objectives of the 'we' group's action are clarified.

More specifically, in the following structures *να συνεχίσουμε τη μεγάλη και δύσκολη προσπάθεια/[we] to continue the huge, difficult effort, να βάλουμε τάξη στο σπίτι μας/[we] to put our house in order*, and *να οικοδομούμε πια πάνω σε στέρεες βάσεις/[we] to build on a stable base*, the 'we' group is represented as the 'assimilated' and 'collectivized' Actor, realized by the common choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the respective verbal types *να συνεχίσουμε/[we] to continue, να βάλουμε/[we] to put, and να οικοδομούμε/[we] to build*. Moreover, the 'we' group is represented as an 'activated' Actor, since it undertakes the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material processes' which are, consequently, realized by the aforementioned verbal types.

In the first structure *να συνεχίσουμε τη μεγάλη και δύσκολη προσπάθεια/[we] to continue the huge, difficult effort*, the nominal group *τη μεγάλη και δύσκολη προσπάθεια/the huge, difficult effort*, has the role-'Goal' where the material process extends. In this sense, the 'we' Actor is represented as continuing a broad and difficult effort. In the second structure *να*

*βάλουμε τάξη στο σπίτι μας/[we] to put our house in order*, the prepositional nominal group *στο σπίτι μας/[in] our house*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. According to Babinotis (2002: 504) the group *βάζω τάξη/I put[something] in order* is a ‘synonym’ to the verbal types *διευθετώ/arrange* and *επιλύω/resolve* (e.g. a problem). Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking action in order to resolve actual problems (caused as a result of the crisis). Finally, in the structure *να οικοδομούμε πια πάνω σε στέρεες βάσεις/[we] to build on a stable base*, the prepositional nominal group *σε στέρεες βάσεις/on a stable base*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. In this sense, the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking action (*build*) which will lead to a construction on a stable base.

Correspondingly, on the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ that should be felt in favor of the ‘we’ group, is, once more, that of admiration. The ‘we’ group, represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see the criterion of the people involved), undertakes actions that continue the broad and difficult effort, it arranges and resolves problems, and provides constructions of stability. In this sense, it is represented as the Actor who tries to put things in order and provide stability (see also the criterion control of the situation). It corresponds to the value according to which social stability should always be ensured and social problems should be resolved (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus ‘we’ should be admired by the audience.

(8) εμείς, θα πράττουμε και πράττουμε υπεύθυνα/*we, will act and [we] act responsibly*

(9) [...] πρώτο καθήκον μας είναι να αναλάβουμε εμείς τις ευθύνες μας. [...] Παλεύω, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, εδώ και δύο χρόνια, για να αποφύγει η χώρα την κατάρρευση./[...] our first duty is [we] to accept our responsibilities. [...] I have been fighting, dear colleagues, for two years, to prevent the country from collapsing.

(10) Δεν φυγομαχούμε, δεν σηκώνουμε τα χέρια ψηλά, δεν πετάμε «λευκή πετσέτα»/[We] are not deserting the battle, [we] are not throwing our hands up in the air, we are not throwing in the “white towel”.

In extracts (8) and (9), the ‘we’ constructed in-group is represented as a fully-consensual and responsible group, along with the PM (who is self-represented as an individual in extract [9]).

More specifically, in extract (8), *εμείς, θα πράττουμε και πράττουμε υπεύθυνα/we, will act and [we] act responsibly*, the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ Actor,

realized by the common choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the respective verbal types *θα πράττουμε/[we] will act* and *πράττουμε/[we] act*. Furthermore, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor since it undertakes the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material processes’ which are realized by the respective verbal types. The adverbial *υπεύθυνα/responsibly* acts as the ‘circumstantial element’, coding the ‘manner’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) in which the processes are undertaken by the ‘we’ Actor. In this sense, the ‘we’ Actor is represented as acting in a responsible way corresponding to the respective value.

The emergence of the adverbial type *υπεύθυνα/responsibly*, establishes ‘intertextuality’ with extract (2), on May 6, 2010, *Σήμερα, καλούμαστε όλοι, ανεξαιρέτως να αναλάβουμε τις ευθύνες μας/Today, we are all called on, without exception, to accept our **responsibilities***.<sup>61</sup> In this sense, the call for taking on responsibilities by the ‘we’ constructed group (see the analysis of extract [2] on May 6, 2010), is ‘recontextualized’ here as being done in the responsible manner of action of the ‘we’ group (as this is retrieved in the structures of extract [8]). The establishment of ‘recontextualization’ enforces a dense representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), in which the concept of responsibility is highlighted as permeating the goals and the manner of action of the ‘we’ group in the parliamentary speeches of G.A. Papandreou. The same concept is also highlighted (once more through the establishment of ‘intertextuality’) in the next extract.

Specifically, in extract (9), *[...] πρώτο καθήκον μας είναι να αναλάβουμε εμείς τις ευθύνες μας. [...] Παλεύω, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, εδώ και δύο χρόνια, για να αποφύγει η χώρα την κατάρρευση./[...] our first duty is [we] to accept our responsibilities. [...] I have been fighting, dear colleagues, for two years, to prevent the country from collapsing*, almost the whole structure *να αναλάβουμε εμείς τις ευθύνες μας/our first duty is to accept our responsibilities* of extract (2), on May 6, 2010, is re-emerging. As in the previous extract the meaning constructed is ‘recontextualized’ here as permeating the goals action of the ‘we’ group (see specifically the analysis of the structure of extract [9] below). The establishment of ‘recontextualization’ facilitates a dense, inductively evolved discourse (see Fairclough 2003).

In the transitivity configuration, the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘assimilated’/‘collectivized’ Actor, realized by the common choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the respective verbal type *να αναλάβουμε/[we] to accept*.

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<sup>61</sup> Highlighted, in bold, the elements that provide the intertextual links.

Furthermore, the 'we' group is represented as the 'activated' Actor since it takes on the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material process' which is realized by the respective verbal type. The nominal group *τις ευθύνες μας/our responsibilities*, represented as 'possessivized' (see the possessive pronoun *μας/our*, Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) by the 'we' group, has the participant role-'Goal' which the material process aims for. In this sense, the 'we' group is represented as taking on its responsibilities, and is thus fully compatible with the respective value.

According to the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the emotion 'argued' in favor of the 'we' group is admiration. The 'we' group, represented as the 'activated' Actor (see the criterion of the people involved), carries out actions in a responsible manner (see extract [8]), or acts to take on responsibility (see extract [9]). In both extracts the actions of the 'we' Actor correspond to the dominant value of responsibility (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, it deserves the audience's admiration.

Moreover, in the same extract, and specifically in the nexus [...] *Παλεύω, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, εδώ και δύο χρόνια, για να αποφύγει η χώρα την κατάρρευση./I have been fighting, dear colleagues, for two years, to prevent the country from collapsing*, the PM, once more is represented alongside the 'we' group. Specifically, the PM has the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', realized by the verbal type *Παλεύω/I have been fighting*. Thus, the PM is once more represented as a fighter, since the same representation is provided in extract (5) *Αυτήν τη μάχη θα τη δώσω, θα τη δώσουμε μέχρι τέλους/ I will fight this battle, we will fight it to the end* of the same speech. As we have already seen, following Halliday and Hasan (1985: 81), repetition establishes 'cohesion', highlighting the respective concept (fight) in the discourse provided by the PM.

Furthermore, the structure *για να αποφύγει η χώρα την κατάρρευση/to prevent the country from collapsing*, 'hypotactically' linked with the dominant one *Παλεύω/I have been fighting*, 'expands' and 'enhances' the meaning of the dominant structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380); it codes the 'purpose' for which the PM has been fighting (process *Παλεύω/I have been fighting*). In the structure the nominal type *η χώρα/the country* has the role-'actor' in the 'material process', realized by the verbal group *για να αποφύγει /to prevent*. The nominal group *την κατάρρευση/the collapse* has the participant role-'Goal' to which the process extends. Through the connection among the dominant and the dependent structure in the nexus, the PM is represented as taking on action (*Παλεύω/I have been fighting*) in order to protect the country and prevent it from collapsing. In this sense, he is represented as a fighter

for the national stake, and thus as compatible with the value according to which he should ensure the national interest and prosperity.

As a consequence, from the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the emotion ‘argued’ in favor of PM Papandreou is (once more) admiration. The PM, represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see the criterion of the people involved), acts (*Παλεύω/I have been fighting*) to protect the country and is thus fully compatible with the value according to which PMs should ensure the national interest and prosperity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In extract (10), *Δεν φυγομαχούμε, δεν σηκώνουμε τα χέρια ψηλά, δεν πετάμε «λευκή πετσέτα»*/[We] are not deserting the battle, [we] are not throwing our hands up in the air, we are not throwing in the “white towel”, the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘assimilated’ and collectivized’ Actor, realized by the common choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) in the respective (negative) verbal types *Δεν φυγομαχούμε*/[We] are not deserting the battle, *δεν σηκώνουμε*/[we] are not throwing up in the air and *δεν πετάμε*/we are not throwing in. Furthermore, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor since it undertakes the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material processes’ which are realized by the respective verbal types.

In the structure *δεν σηκώνουμε τα χέρια ψηλά*/[we] are not throwing our hands up in the air, the nominal type *τα χέρια*/the hands has the role-‘Goal’ where the process extends, and the adverbial *ψηλά*/up has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the ‘material process’ unfolds. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ and offers an advanced interpretation, since it is well known that the act of throwing one’s hands up in the air indicates that one surrenders. In this sense, the meaning construction is that the ‘we’ group is not giving up being fully compatible with the image of the persistent fighter construed in previous extracts.

In the structure, *δεν πετάμε «λευκή πετσέτα»*/we are not throwing in the “white towel”, the nominal group *«λευκή πετσέτα»*/“white towel” has the role-‘Goal’ to which the process extends. According to the extra-textual knowledge, *throwing in a “white towel”* signifies surrender (see also Babiniotis 2002: 1585). Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented, repetitively, as not giving up.

Finally, the repetition of the (negative) verbal type *φυγομαχούμε*/deserting the battle in this and in extract (4) of the same speech establishes once more ‘cohesion’, leading to a repetitively construed discourse (see Fairclough 2003), according to which the PM and the ‘we’ group are not giving up their fight.

Correspondingly, on the analysis of emotions (pathos), the 'we' group, represented as the 'activated' Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) that does not give up, emerges as the Actor that tries to be compatible with the value of not giving up, deserving the audience's admiration.

Recapitulating, the 'we' group is represented in the aforementioned extracts as the 'activated'-actor, undergoing 'material processes' (*to continue, to build, to put, to act, to accept*) in the structures of the respective extracts. The representation provided from the interrelation in the structures makes the group appear as acting to continue the effort of resolving the crisis' problems, to accept responsibilities; thus to act in a responsible manner, and to manage the state financials (*put in order*). In addition to the 'we' group's representation, the self-representation of the PM is once more linked here; he (combined with the 'we' group, see extract [10]) is the 'actor' in the 'material process' (fight) repeating the key-conceptualization (as evidenced through repetition) of the fighter he constructed in previous parts of his speech. Moreover, the re-emergence of the verbal choice responsibility, establishes an 'intertextuality' between extracts from PM Papandreou's two different speeches, thus recontextualizing the specific concept, leading to the formation of a discourse in which the 'we' group is represented as an active force whose action is characterized by responsibility.

As we may see, PM Papandreou, tries to enforce his positioning in the public sphere, created during this specific moment of the crisis, in almost every extract by applying to different discursive means: He re-establishes positive conceptualizations regarding himself and the ingroup in which he participates (see e.g. the intertextual links created using *responsibility*), aiming to dominate in the public discussion. He also implies his opponents in this stage of his discourse development aiming, explicitly, to favor the appearance of the juxtaposition between a prominent fighter against the crisis (i.e. the construed in-group) and the supposed-to-be responsible forces (out-group of others) for the birth of the crisis.

Overall, the discourse construed contributes to the construction of admiration that is 'argued' in favor of the 'we' group and the PM: the represented social forces, as the Actors (criterion of the people involved) who fight in a responsible manner to overcome the crisis, correspond to the fundamental values of struggling for the common good and responsibility (criterion compatibility with values). In this sense, they deserve the audience's admiration. It is worth mentioning that in the aforementioned extracts the emotion of admiration is the only one constructed (repetitively) in the representations.



Apart from the positive representation of the in-group, the PM also gives a negative representation of the out-group (i.e. his opponents). In the next subsection, we will proceed with the analysis of the out-group's representation in extracts from the PM's speech on June 29, 2011.

### 5.2.2 The representation of the out-group

- (1) Μια Ευρώπη, που αδυνατεί να αξιοποιήσει τα πλεονεκτήματά της, [...] που δεν καταλαβαίνει τη δύναμή της, που εγκλωβίζεται σε συντηρητικά αντανακλαστικά./A Europe, which cannot capitalize on its advantages, [...] which does not understand its power, which is trapped in conservative reflexes.
- (2) Μια Ευρώπη, όπου αναδύεται ένας νέος εθνικισμός, ένας εύκολος ρατσισμός/A Europe where a new nationalism is born, an easy racism.

In the first two extracts of the out-group's representation, the political characteristics of Europe are highlighted by the PM.

In extract (1), and more specifically, in the 'nexus' *Μια Ευρώπη, που αδυνατεί να αξιοποιήσει τα πλεονεκτήματά της/A Europe, which cannot capitalize on its advantages*, the nominal group *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe*, is represented as 'activated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it takes on the active participant role-'actor' in the (negative) 'material process', realized by the verbal type *αδυνατεί/cannot*. The structure *να αξιοποιήσει τα πλεονεκτήματά της/[to] capitalize on its advantages* is linked with the previous one in 'hypotaxis', 'enhancing' the meaning of the Actor's action. Through the verbal type *να αξιοποιήσει/[to] capitalize on* the respective 'material process' is realized and by the nominal group *τα πλεονεκτήματά της/its advantages* the 'Goal' of the structure is realized, coding where the material process extends. The nominal group is represented as 'possessivized' by the nominal *Europe*; realized by the possessive pronoun *της/its* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Through the interrelation of the elements in the nexus of clauses, *Europe* is (primarily) represented as possessing but not being able to control its advantages.

Moreover, in the structure *που δεν καταλαβαίνει τη δύναμή της/which does not understand its power*, Europe is represented, realized by the pronoun *που/which* that is linked with the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe*, through the cohesive relation of 'co-referentiality'; the two types have the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe*, is represented, once more, as 'activated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it takes on the active participant role-'Senser' in the (negative) 'mental process', realized by the verbal type *δεν καταλαβαίνει/does not understand*. The nominal group *τη δύναμή της/its*

*power* has the role-‘Phenomenon’ in the structure. The nominal group is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal Europe; realized by the possessive pronoun *της/its* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Thus, through the interrelation of the elements in the structure, Europe is (also) represented as having, but not conceiving its power.

Finally, in the structure *που εγκλωβίζεται σε συντηρητικά αντανακλαστικά/which is trapped in conservative reflexes*, once more Europe is represented by the pronoun *που/which*, that is linked with the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe* through the cohesive relation of ‘coreferentiality’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). The nominal *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe* is represented, in this case as ‘passivated’; ‘as being at “the receiving end”’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) of the ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *εγκλωβίζεται/is trapped*. The prepositional nominal group *σε συντηρητικά αντανακλαστικά/in conservative reflexes*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. Thus, through the interrelation of the elements in the structure, Europe is (finally) represented as being captured by conservative views. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates ‘coherence’ in this structure and leads to an advanced interpretation: it is well known that during the governance of G.A. Papandreou the political forces dominating the European Institutions, i.e. the European Council, the Council of the Ministers of Finance of the Eurozone (Eurogroup), belonged to the European conservative political group (European People’s Part – EPP), supporting strict austerity policies.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions ‘argued’ are those of pity and detestation. Based on the interrelation provided in extract (1), Europe is represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) in the respective transitivity structures, which does not permit drawing on the advantages or understanding power, and thus is trapped in the reflexes of the conservative political forces. In this sense, even though Europe has the potential, the conservative majority in its institutions does not permit the development of this potential. Thus, (the conservative majority of) Europe provokes detestation since it traps Europe (and its institutions), and consequently Europe, as a ‘political body’, provokes pity, since it leaves its potential undeveloped.

In extract (2), *Μια Ευρώπη, όπου αναδύεται ένας νέος εθνικισμός, ένας εύκολος ρατσισμός/A Europe where a new nationalism is born, an easy racism*, and specifically, its structure *όπου αναδύεται ένας νέος εθνικισμός, ένας εύκολος ρατσισμός,/where a new nationalism is born, an easy racism*, is connected in ‘hypotaxis’ with the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη/A*

*Europe*; ‘elaborating’ and ‘specifying’ the meaning construction (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 396) regarding the nominal group *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe*. By the verbal type *αναδύεται/is born*, the respective ‘material process’ is realized. The nominal groups *ένας νέος εθνικισμός/a new nationalism* and *ένας εύκολος ρατσισμός/an easy racism*, are represented as ‘beneficialized’; they (positively) ‘benefit from the action’ *αναδύεται/is born* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34). Thus, *Europe* is (also) represented as the place where nationalist and racist views and phenomena are developed.

Extra-textual knowledge offers a further interpretation of this extract, establishing ‘coherence’. It is commonly known that during 2011 the racist views regarding the so-called ‘lazy Mediterranean’, established in the public sphere by extreme right-wing and conservative parties and media, were widespread.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, extreme right-wing, xenophobic parties (e.g. Lega Nord in Italy, LA.O.S. in Greece), or even nationalist and pro-Nazi parties (e.g. Golden Dawn in Greece, NPD in Germany) were gaining power in the local European societies.<sup>63</sup> It is also well known that the European continent had suffered the tremendous effect of the rise and dominance of the Nazi and Fascist regimes during WWII, and Greece was among the countries most ‘injured’ by the specific regimes. Thus, apart from being trapped in the views and plans of its conservative majority (see analysis of extract [1]), Europe is represented as the place where racism and fascism are once again reborn.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, the emotions of detestation and fear are ‘argued’ through the representations provided in this extract. Europe, represented as the place where racism is born, fails to be compatible with the dominant European value of co-operation among the people (see the criterion of the compatibility with values), thus should be detested by the audience. At the same time, the rebirth of nationalism (and the connections with the Nazi and Fascist regimes) in Europe, give rise to the audience’s fear.

(3) Μια Ευρώπη, που καταγγέλλει την κερδοσκοπία και αδιαφάνεια των παραγώγων, [...] αλλά ουσιαστικά δεν κάνει βήμα, για να σταματήσει τα παράγωγα [...]./A Europe which denounces the speculation and non-transparency of swaps, [...] but substantially [it] takes no action to eliminate swaps.

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<sup>62</sup> See e.g. the public discussion which was revolving around the states of the European periphery, called as P.I.I.G.S. (see in detail, Kelsey et al. 2016: 5-8).

<sup>63</sup> As concerns the Greek case, the nationalist (pro-Nazi) party of Golden Dawn, had just elected his leader in the Council of the Municipality of the Greek capital, Athens, gaining the 5.29% of the votes. See more at: [http://www.eklogika.gr/page/elections/yp\\_athinwn](http://www.eklogika.gr/page/elections/yp_athinwn).

(4) Μια Ευρώπη, που αντιμετώπισε μια τραπεζική κρίση το 2008, [...] αλλά δεν κατάφερε να βάλει τάξη ακόμη και σήμερα, [...] /A Europe that faced a bank crisis in 2008 [...] but has still not managed to put things in order.

(5) Μια Ευρώπη, που αφήνει να οργιάζουν οι φορολογικοί παράδεισοι, [...] /A Europe which permits tax havens to party,

In extracts (3) – (5) of his speech, PM Papandreou targets the dominant European financial policies.

In extract (3) *Μια Ευρώπη, που καταγγέλλει την κερδοσκοπία και αδιαφάνεια των παραγώγων, [...] αλλά ουσιαστικά δεν κάνει βήμα, για να σταματήσει τα παράγωγα [...].* /A Europe which denounces the speculation and non-transparency of swaps, [...] but substantially [it] takes no action to eliminate swaps, the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη* /A Europe is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it undertakes the active participant role-‘Sayer’ in the ‘verbal process’, realized by the verbal type *καταγγέλλει* /denounces. The nominal group *την κερδοσκοπία* /the speculation and *αδιαφάνεια* /non-transparency have the participant role ‘Target’ where the verbal process extends. The two nominal types are linked in ‘parataxis’, and thus ‘are given equal status’ in the representation; the first type is ‘extended’ by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 405). They are, furthermore, represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal type *των παραγώγων* /of swaps; the realization of the ‘possessivation’ is made by the of postmodifying the nominal type (in Greek by the genitive inclination which states the possession, see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34). Extra-textual knowledge proves to be crucial for our interpretation here, at the same time making the extract more coherent. It is known that state bonds may be exchanged/swapped in the financial markets. An EU member may borrow from the financial markets by selling its state bonds at the prevailing yield. At the same time, the markets may speculate on a state’s collapse if the state is unable to repay its debt (e.g. Greece), and, consequently, the state’s cost of lending may increase, even beyond acceptable levels. Through the interrelation of the elements in the structure, and based on the extra-textual knowledge, Europe is (primarily) represented as denouncing the speculation and the non-transparency that characterize the financial markets.

Moreover, in the same extract, the ‘nexus’ *αλλά ουσιαστικά δεν κάνει βήμα, για να σταματήσει τα παράγωγα* /but substantially [it] takes no action to eliminate swaps, is linked in ‘parataxis’ with the previous one, ‘extending’ its meaning; the paratactic link is realized by the marker *αλλά* /but (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380, 405-407). The nominal Europe is realized here by the pronoun [it], implicitly realized by the choice of the third-person singular

in the (negative) verbal type *δεν κάνει/[it] takes no*: the implicitly realized pronoun [it] and the nominal type *Europe* are connected with the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, *Europe* is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the participant role-‘actor’ in the (negative) ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *δεν κάνει/[it] takes no*. The nominal type *βήμα/action* has the role-‘Goal’ where the process extends. In this sense, *Europe* is represented as not moving. Furthermore, the structure *για να σταματήσει τα παράγωγα/ to eliminate swaps*, is linked with the previous in ‘hypotaxis’, ‘adding’ meaning to the previous (dominant) one; the hypotactic connection is realized by the preposition *για να/to* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 409), which codes the ‘purpose’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) of the ‘material’ process (*δεν κάνει βήμα/[it] takes no action*), undertaken by *Europe* in the dominant structure. Thus, *Europe* has the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *σταματήσει/eliminate*. The nominal type *τα παράγωγα/swaps* has the role-‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ extends.

Through the interrelation of the elements in the nexus and based on the extra-textual knowledge about financial swaps (see above), *Europe* is represented as not moving in order to put an end (eliminate) to swaps and the consequent speculation and non-transparency that characterize the financial markets.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ is detestation. Based on the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, *Europe* is represented as undertaking ‘verbal’ (denounce) but not ‘material’ (takes no action) action (see the criterion of the people involved) in the respective transitivity structures to eliminate the speculation and the non-transparency of the financial products’ circulation (swaps). In this sense, *Europe* provokes the emotion of detestation in the audience since it is not acting to ensure the common good of its citizens and its integrity (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, the emotion of detestation should be legitimately felt against *Europe*.

In extract (4), *Μια Ευρώπη, που αντιμετώπισε μια τραπεζική κρίση το 2008, [...] αλλά δεν κατάφερε να βάλει τάξη ακόμη και σήμερα/A Europe that faced a bank crisis in 2008 [...] but has still not managed to put things in order*, the nominal group *Μια Ευρώπη/A Europe* is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it undertakes the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *αντιμετώπισε/faced*. The nominal group *μια τραπεζική κρίση/a bank crisis* has the role-‘Goal’ where the process extends.

In the same extract, the nexus *αλλά δεν κατάφερε να βάλει τάξη ακόμη και σήμερα*/but [it] has still not managed to put things in order, is linked in ‘parataxis’ with the previous one, ‘extending’ its meaning; the paratactic link is realized by the marker *αλλά*/but (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380, 405-407). The nominal Europe is also realized here by the pronoun [it], which is, consequently (implicitly) realized by the choice of the third-person singular in the (negative) verbal type *δεν κατάφερε*/[it] has not managed: the implicitly realized pronoun [it] and the nominal type *Europe* are anaphorically related via the cohesive relation of ‘coreferentiality’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, Europe is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the participant role-‘actor’ in the (negative) ‘material process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *δεν κατάφερε*/[it] has not managed. The structure *να βάλει τάξη ακόμη και σήμερα*/still [...] to put things in order, is linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the previous one (*δεν κατάφερε*/[it] has not managed); the hypotactic link is realized by the preposition *να*/to, coding the ‘cause’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 411) of the previous ‘material’ process (which Europe undergoes). Specifically, by the verbal type *να βάλει*/to put the respective ‘material process’ is realized. The nominal type *τάξη*/order has the role-‘Goal’ where the process extends. As we have already seen (see the analysis of extract [8] in the in-group’s representation on June 29, 2011), the group *βάζω τάξη*/I put things in order is ‘synonym’ to the verbal types *διευθετώ*/arrange and *επιλύω*/resolve (e.g. a problem) (see also Babiniotis 2002: 504). In this sense, Europe is represented as not managing to deal with the financial difficulties caused by the crisis of 2008. The extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ in this extract: the crisis erupted in the United States (USA) in 2008, following the collapse of the Lehman Brothers, causing, inter alia, a huge rise in unemployment.

Consequently, based on the interrelation of the transitivity structures and based on the extra-textual knowledge, the emotions ‘argued’ in this extract are fear and detestation. Europe, represented as the Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) not having settled its financial difficulties (put in order), fails to be compatible with the dominant European value of securing its citizens’ prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, it should be detested by the audience. At the same Europe incites the audience’s fear.

Finally, in extract (5) *Μια Ευρώπη, που αφήνει να οργιάζουν οι φορολογικοί παράδεισοι, [...]*/A Europe which permits tax havens to party, once more, the nominal *Μια Ευρώπη*/A Europe, is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it undertakes the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *αφήνει*/permits. The structure *να οργιάζουν οι φορολογικοί παράδεισοι*/tax havens to party, is linked in ‘hypotaxis’

with the previous one (*αφήνει/lets*); the hypotactic link is realized by the preposition *να/to*, coding the ‘cause’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 411) of the previous material process (which Europe undergoes). In the specific structure, the nominal group *οι φορολογικοί παράδεισοι/tax havens* has the participant role-‘actor’ undergoing the ‘material process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *οργιάζουν/to party*. According to the interrelation of the elements in transitivity, Europe permits tax havens to proceed to financial orgy (party). The extra-textual knowledge makes the extract ‘coherent’, advancing, at the same time, our interpretation: it is known that countries with advantageous tax systems for high-qualified investors exist (e.g. Switzerland) close to the EU and the Eurozone. These are known as tax havens, because tax rates are lower than the respective tax rates existing in the EU. Moreover, at the beginning of the crisis, the financial services of EU member-states had collected evidence, according to which rich Europeans invested, in non-transparent ways, their funds in countries with advantageous tax rates. At the same time, they were tax avoiders in their country of origin. This process was not under the control of the European authorities at the time. Regarding the Greek case, the most significant example of this procedure of evidence collection was the list submitted to the Greek authorities by the former French Minister of Finance, Christine Lagarde, known in Greece as the ‘Lagarde list’; it included hundreds of names to be checked by the Greek authorities for tax evasion.

Consequently, based on the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structures and the extra-textual knowledge, the emotions ‘argued’ in this extract are anger and detestation. By not dealing with the financial orgy in the tax havens, Europe, represented as the Actor (see the criterion of the people involved), fails to be compatible with the dominant European value of securing its citizens’ prosperity and financial justice (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, it should be detested by the audience. At the same time, the extra-textual knowledge about tax evaders (see above) that the EU cannot control, incites the audience’s anger.

So far, the analysis shows that Europe is negatively represented in the speech made by G.A. Papandreou on June 29, 2011, participating in the out-group of his opponents. More specifically, Europe is represented in the above-analyzed extracts, as the ‘activated’ ‘actor’, ‘Senser’ undergoing, respectively, (negative) ‘material’ and ‘mental’ processes (e.g. cannot capitalize on, takes no action, has not managed to put things in order, does not understand). The representation provided in the interrelation in the structures makes Europe appear as failing to control its advantages and failing to perceive its power, as allowing the speculation and the

non-transparency of the financial markets to continue, and as not dealing with the high rates of unemployment. In addition, Europe is represented as the 'passivated' Actor at the 'receiving end' of the 'material' process (*trapped*), captured in conservative reflexes of the conservative political majority of the EU institutions (EPP). Finally, Europe is represented as the place where nationalism and racism are reborn, bearing negative connotations with the appearance of the Nazi and fascist regimes during the 20th century. So, as we may see (also here), an inductively developed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed in the transitivity structures analyzed, in which Europe is a negatively represented Actor, creating negative meaning connections with the neoliberal dominance in the EU, as well as the continent's totalitarian past.

As a result, the discourse produced contributes to the construction of various negative emotions that are 'argued' against Europe: the represented Actor (criterion of the people involved) cannot overcome the crisis, cannot draw on its advantages or take care of the financial speculation and unemployment, does not correspond to the fundamental values of ensuring the common good and the prosperity (criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, it invites the emotions of pity and detestation in the audience. Moreover, the representation of a Europe which resembles its totalitarian past (Nazi/fascist regimes), incites fear in the audience.

(6) [...] την κρίση που δημιούργησε η Κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας/the crisis created by the government of New Democracy.

(7) Ο Αρχηγός της Αξιωματικής Αντιπολίτευσης [...] δεν πείθει κανέναν στην Ευρώπη/The leader of the Opposition [...] does not persuade anyone in Europe.

In extracts (6) and (7), the former government of the New Democracy (ND) and the actual leader of the main opposition party, are (negatively) represented by PM Papandreou.

In extract (6) [...] την κρίση που δημιούργησε η Κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας/the crisis created by the government of New Democracy, the nominal group η Κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας/the government of New Democracy is represented as the 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it undertakes the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', realized by the verbal type *δημιούργησε/created*. The nominal type *την κρίση/the crisis* has the participant role-'Goal' where the process extends. Thus, the previous government is represented as having created the crisis through its actions, as being responsible for the crisis' creation.



On the pathos analysis of this extract, the emotions of detestation and anger are ‘argued’ against the previous government: it is represented as the Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) that created the crisis (and its consequent effects). Thus, it violates the value, according to which governments should ensure social prosperity and work for the common good (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, the previous government should be detested by the audience. At the same time, the extra-textual knowledge about the effects of the crisis on unemployment rates, the austerity measures, etc., (should) provoke the emotion of anger in the audience.

In extract (7) *ο Αρχηγός της Αξιωματικής Αντιπολίτευσης [...] δεν πείθει κανέναν στην Ευρώπη/The leader of the Opposition [...] does not persuade anyone in Europe*, the nominal phrase *ο Αρχηγός της Αξιωματικής Αντιπολίτευσης/The leader of the Opposition* is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it undertakes the participant role-‘Sayer’ in the (negative) ‘verbal process’, realized by the verbal group *δεν πείθει/does not persuade*. The nominal type *κανέναν/anyone* has the participant role-‘Target’ where the process extends. The prepositional nominal group *στην Ευρώπη/in Europe* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the verbal process unfolds. In this sense, the leader of the Greek opposition is represented as being unable to persuade any of Greece’s European partners about the validity of his policies. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’, since the leader of ND, Antonis Samaras, had received a wave of criticism by European leaders, even by members of the EPP (of which ND is a member), with regard to his financial proposals. This had caused a new round of contradictions where PM Papandreou accused Antonis Samaras as an irresponsible country leader.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ in the representation of the transitivity structure, in line with the extra-textual knowledge, is that of detestation towards the leader of the opposition. He is represented as the Actor (see the criterion of the people involved), who is unable to persuade even his political allies for the righteousness of his financial proposals. Thus, he is represented as irresponsible and as the Actor who will (because of his irresponsibility) violate the value according to which governments (or future ones) should ensure social prosperity and work for the common good (see the criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense, the leader of ND should be detested by the audience.

Summing up, the analysis of extracts (6) and (7) shows that PM Papandreou places the previous government and its new leader in the camp of his opponents. The previous

government is represented as the 'activated'-'actor' in the 'material process' (*create*) responsible for the emergence of crisis. Similarly, the leader of ND (at this time in the opposition), taking on the participant role-'Sayer' in the negative 'verbal process' (does not persuade), is represented as failing to convince even his political allies (EPP) about his policies. So, a discourse reveals the transitivity structures of the extracts, in which the conservative ND party and its leader are the negatively represented Actors responsible for the crisis' emergence and unable to convince their allies about their proposals.

As a result, the discourse produced contributes to the construction of two negative emotions that are 'argued' against those Actors: the represented Actors (criterion of the people involved), create the crisis (and its negative effects), and cannot convince their political friends. Thus, they do not correspond to the fundamental values of responsibility that would ensure the prosperity and the national interests (criterion compatibility with values). In this sense, they provoke the emotions of anger and detestation in the audience.

Summarizing the key-points of the analysis so far,<sup>64</sup> PM Papandreou creates two opposing groups in his parliamentary speeches on May 6, 2010 and on June 29, 2011:

- An in-group, positively represented, consisting of himself, the ruling party (PASOK) and the 'we' constructed group, which, consequently, includes the above referred Actors and its audience (e.g. the MPs, the Greeks).
- An out-group, negatively represented, consisting of the previous government of ND, the actual leader of the party (Samaras), and Europe (the conservative, dominant, political forces, i.e. the EPP).

Based on this bi-focal lens, PM Papandreou represents and construes social agency during the two, focal dates of the Greek crisis (i.e. May 6, 2010 and June 29, 2011). According to this representation, a positively conceptualized in-group (composed by the PM, the governmental party and the Greeks) is taking place in the public dialogue vis-a-vis a negative conceptualized out-group which includes its opponents (the conservative opposition-ND and the respective EU elites). According to this representation, the discursively construed public realm, during the specific moments of crisis, is formed as a high polarized arena between two main groups of social agents that fight each other according to the discursive representations of the Greek PM. As a result, in general, crisis is represented as the outcome of the disastrous political choices of

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<sup>64</sup> Of course, the detailed analysis provided in the above sections, exemplifies in more detail the assumptions presented in this subsection, as well as highlighting details which are not referred to here.

the conservative, previous government (ND). A socio-political tempest which is attempted to be resolved by the united and activated Actors included in the in-group. In what follows, we will become more specific, summarizing the findings of our analysis regarding the characteristics of the two opposing groups of social actors. What is important to highlight here, is that the significant discursive strategy of in-group versus out-group formation, as this is realized in the analyzed extracts, gives rise to a highly-polarized public realm of crisis, revealing specific characteristics and conceptualization during the exercise of politics in the public space.

More specifically, on May 6, 2010, the 'we' group, is represented as fully consensual, realized by the use of the first-person plural (see 'collectivation', Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34). Moreover, it is represented as the 'activated' or 'passivated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) participant-'actor' in 'material processes' (*accept responsibilities, isolate violence*), acting responsibly, isolating violence, exiting the crisis, and transforming (*turn*) the crisis into opportunity. Thus, it has the role of the active force that embraces the fundamental values of acting responsibly,<sup>65</sup> against violence and the crisis; that ensure social peace and prosperity while intervening in the public sphere. In addition, 'we' is also 'activated' as the 'Senser' or 'Carrier' in (respectively) 'mental' or 'relational' processes, represented as fearless (e.g. *[we] are not afraid*), united and honest, as well as a conscious Actor serving the national interests. Also, important (during the construction of the in-group) is the 'association' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37), i.e. the links (e.g. 'paratactic' ones, see marker *και/and*) established between the 'we' group, the ruling party (PASOK) and PM Papandreou. As we have seen, through the interrelation in the transitivity structures, the Actors form a group of action, confronting the default (of the country) and the speculation of the neoliberal EU forces, via the 'material' and 'verbal' processes in which they are 'activated'-participants. Furthermore, the PM is self-represented in his speech as the 'activated'-'actor' permeated by responsibility (e.g. *take on responsibility*), and thus conceptualized as the Actor who carries out the same action and in the same manner as the 'we' group (see above). In addition, he is the 'activated'-'Senser' in 'mental processes', being fully aware (e.g. *understand*) of the social rage and fully compassionate (e.g. *empathize*) towards the Greek people. In this sense, he corresponds to the values according to which a leader should understand and empathize with his people.

Correspondingly, on June 29, 2011, the respective representation of the in-group (as retrieved in the transitivity structures of the PM's speech), includes the 'we' group as the

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<sup>65</sup> As highlighted, the concept of responsibility is constructed as permeating the action of the 'we' group since the respective nominal type (responsibilities) is repeated in successive extracts of the political speech.

‘activated’-‘actor’ in the ‘material processes’ (e.g. *change, go, rise*) that ensures the national interests and provides a better future state of being. In addition, the material processes in which the ‘we’ group is ‘activated’ are undertaken jointly with the PM. In this case (a) the ‘we’ Actor is represented as ‘associated’ with the PM, who, consequently, has the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational processes’ (ensure, I am), being ready to save the future generations in Greece.

Overall, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the two speeches of PM Papandreou, as we show, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed, according to which the in-group of the specific dates has the aforementioned (positive) characteristics. As we have highlighted, in almost every extract of his speech, PM Papandreou is trying to determine the discussion in the public sphere by the positive conceptualization and intervention of the ingroup. In this sense, he tries to place himself and his allies (in-group) better in the public discussion favoring his representation and organization of reality and dominating the public sphere that is being created in the specific dates.

The specific discourse produced by the representations in the transitivity structures ‘argues’ specific emotions to be felt by the audience. According to the analysis of emotions (pathos), the representation of the Actors composing the in-group as the forces (criterion of people involved) that act in full compatibility with the fundamental values of e.g. responsibility and the protection of social peace and prosperity (criterion of compatibility with values) provokes the emotions of admiration and indulgence that should be (legitimately) felt by the audience in favor of the constructed in-group.

On the contrary, the out-group’s construction in the PM’s speeches on the specific dates includes (as negatively represented Actors and concepts) the previous government of ND, its actual leader (Samaras), the concept of violence and Europe.

Specifically, on May 6, 2010, violence is represented as the ‘activated’ participant-‘actor’ in (negative) ‘material processes’ (does not give answers, solutions), or in the positive one (creates new sores). ND’s governance, as ‘backgrounded’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29) by e.g. the temporal period in which it took place (2004-2009), is represented as responsible for the increase in state spending, and the augmentation of the public sector. Finally, the actual leader of ND (Samaras) undertakes the active participant role-‘Carrier’, characterized as solidary with the previous governance (and its negative conceptualization).

Respectively, on June 29, 2011, Europe is (negatively) represented, as trapped in conservative reflexes of the conservative political majority of the EU institutions (EPP) and as

the place where nationalism and racism re-emerge. Moreover, it is the 'activated'-'actor', 'Sensor' undergoing respectively, (negative) 'material' and 'mental' processes (e.g. cannot capitalize on, takes no action, has still not managed to put things in order, does not understand), and appearing as not acting to control its advantages, as not perceiving its power, as allowing the speculation and the non-transparency of the financial markets to continue, and as not dealing with the high rates of unemployment. Along with Europe's representation, the previous government is represented as the 'activated'-'actor' in the 'material process' (create), constructed as responsible for the emergence of crisis, and the leader of the ND as the one who does not persuade even his political allies (EPP) about the righteousness of his policies.

As in the representation of the in-group, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the two speeches of the PM regarding the opponents, i.e. the out-group, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed.

Consequently, the discourse produced by the representation of the Actors-opponents, causes three negative emotions, of fear, detestation and pity, to be 'argued' against them. Since violence is represented as the active force (criterion of people involved), the act of violating human life (criterion compatibility with values) provokes fear. In the same extract, the previous government and the leader of the opposition (ND) provoke the emotion of detestation since they are represented as the forces responsible for the bad management of the state financials and the support of this management. Thus, they do not correspond to fundamentally accepted values (e.g. good management, reinforcement of social prosperity, etc.) (see criterion compatibility with values), and thus should be detested by the audience. The same applies for Europe: the represented social force, as the Actor (criterion people involved) that cannot overcome the crisis, cannot draw on its advantages and take care of the financial speculation and unemployment, does not correspond to the fundamental values of ensuring the common good and prosperity (criterion compatibility with values). In this sense Europe incites the audience's pity and detestation. Moreover, the representation of a Europe resembling its totalitarian past (nazi/fascist regimes) brings about the audience's fear.

As already witnessed, the re-emergence of e.g. the verbal choice responsibility, establishes 'intertextuality' (see Bakhtin 1986, Fairclough 1992: 84) among extracts from the two speeches by PM Papandreou, thus leading to the enrichment of a discourse in which the 'we' group is represented as an active force whose action is characterized by responsibility. The reemergence of the verbal choice change, establishes (also) 'intertextuality' between the extracts from the

two different speeches, thus advancing a discourse in which the 'we' group is represented as an active force of change. Moreover, we showed that in many cases, different elements of structures (e.g. nominal groups and pronouns or adverbials) are linked together with the cohesive relations (e.g. co-'referentiality', see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). During our analysis, the extra-textual knowledge often offered advanced interpretative abilities, establishing 'coherence' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985) in the speeches. Apart from the aforementioned insightful observations and the advanced interpretation, the emergence of the relations of intertextuality, cohesion and coherence in the different speeches by PM Papandreou proves that they are part of the same 'text', since they are also viewed as 'criteria of texture', according to the Systemic Functional (SF) approach which is followed here (see Halliday and Hasan 1985, see also Archakis 2005: Ch. 8). Therefore, the extracts examined are part of the same 'text' which leads to the formation of a cohesive and coherent representation of the reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) inductively developed on the two different dates examined.

As shown during the analysis, it is this discourse that makes the audience feel the specific (negative or positive) emotions (pathos), as these were retrieved by conducting an analysis of emotions using the results of the systemic-functional (SF) analysis of transitivity. This last assumption proves (a) that the discursive representations and the emotive construction are interdependent, and (b) the consequent analytical approaches, i.e. SF analysis of transitivity and analysis of emotion in discourse, can and should be (jointly) applied to our data in order to offer advanced analytical finds.

### **5.3 Lucas Papademos on November 14, 2011<sup>66</sup>**

#### ***5.3.1 The representation of the in-group***

- (1) Η νέα Κυβέρνηση συνεργασίας κι εγώ προσωπικά, αναλαμβάνουμε την ευθύνη αυτήν την κρίσιμη στιγμή/The new coalition government and I personally undertake the responsibility at this critical moment
- (2) Δύο βασικές προϋποθέσεις για να κερδίσουμε τη μάχη, είναι η αλήθεια και η αποκατάσταση της εμπιστοσύνης/Two basic conditions for [we] winning the battle, are the truth and the restoration of confidence.

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<sup>66</sup> Monday, November 14, 2011. Available at:  
<http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd-61a94a83-b09a-09f4c564609d/es20111114.pdf>, pp.14-17.

In extracts (1) - (2), PM Papademos proceeds to the representation of himself, the government and the 'we' constructed group. As evidenced by the analysis of the speeches by PM Papandreou, the association of the leader (PM) with the ruling party and the 'we' group is common.

In extract (1) *Η νέα Κυβέρνηση συνεργασίας κι εγώ προσωπικά, αναλαμβάνουμε την ευθύνη αυτήν την κρίσιμη στιγμή*,/*The new coalition government and I personally undertake the responsibility at this critical moment*, the Greek government, realized by the nominal group *Η νέα Κυβέρνηση συνεργασίας*/*The new coalition government* and the PM, realized by the pronoun *εγώ*/*I*, are represented as 'associated' in the extract; 'association' is realized by their link in 'parataxis' through the marker *κι*/*and* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38). They are, furthermore, represented as 'activated', since they have an active participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', which is consequently realized by the verbal type *αναλαμβάνουμε*/*undertake*. The nominal type *την ευθύνη*/*the responsibility* has the participant role-'Goal' where the material process extends. Through the interrelation of the elements in the configuration, the Greek government and the PM are (primarily) represented as undertaking the responsibility, and thus as being responsible. The nominal group *αυτήν την κρίσιμη στιγμή*/*at this critical moment* has the role of the 'circumstantial element' stating the 'location' of 'time' when (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. Thus, the 'associated' Government and PM are represented as undertaking action (responsibility) during a critical moment. Moreover, the emergence of the clause *αναλαμβάνουμε την ευθύνη*/*[we] undertake the responsibility*, establishes 'intertextuality' between the specific speech and those by PM Papandreou: the representation of the government and the PM undertaking action (responsibility), is incorporated and recontextualized in PM Papademos' speech and becomes a key concept in different speeches by Greek PMs, who, as seen previously (see the chapter on data presentation) have different backgrounds.

On the pathos analysis of this extract, the emotion of fear is 'said' - realized by the choice of the nominal group *κρίσιμη στιγμή*/*critical moment*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the emotion of admiration is 'argued' in favor of the 'associated' PM and government: the two Actors, as an 'associated' group, are represented as undertaking the responsibility (see the criterion of the people involved) during a critical moment. Thus, they are represented as being responsible, and despite the gravity of the moment (and the fear it brings about). As a result, they should be admired by the audience. As we see here, a 'said' emotion can be transformed into another one and 'argued' from the interrelation in the transitivity structure.

In extract (2) *Δύο βασικές προϋποθέσεις για να κερδίσουμε τη μάχη, είναι η αλήθεια και η αποκατάσταση της εμπιστοσύνης/Two basic conditions for [we] winning the battle, are the truth and the restoration of the confidence*, the ‘we’ constructed group is represented as an ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) group, realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the verbal type *για να κερδίσουμε/for [we] winning*. The ‘we’ group is also ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the participant role-‘actor’ in the respective ‘material process’ (*για να κερδίσουμε/for [we] winning*), and the ‘Goal’ where it extends is realized by the nominal type *τη μάχη/the battle*. So, the ‘we’ group is (primarily) represented as a fighter, i.e. as giving a battle, and further, as willing to win it. The structure is linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the dominant one *Δύο βασικές προϋποθέσεις [...] είναι η αλήθεια και η αποκατάσταση της εμπιστοσύνης/Two basic conditions [...] are the truth and the restoration of confidence*, ‘extending’ and ‘enhancing’ the meaning; it states the ‘purpose’ of the previous structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380).

More specifically, in the (dominant) structure *Δύο βασικές προϋποθέσεις [...] είναι η αλήθεια και η αποκατάσταση της εμπιστοσύνης/Two basic conditions [...] are the truth and the restoration of confidence*, the nominal group *Δύο βασικές προϋποθέσεις/Two basic conditions* has the participant role-‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *είναι/are*. The nominal type *η αλήθεια/the truth* and the nominal phrase *η αποκατάσταση της εμπιστοσύνης/the restoration of confidence* have the role-‘Value’, identifying the ‘Token’ *Two basic conditions*. The nominal type and the phrase are linked in ‘parataxis’, realized by the common marker *και/and*, having ‘equal status’ in the representation (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 384). Thus, from the interrelation of the elements in the extract, the conditions under which victory of the ‘we’ group will be achieved, are the truth and the confidence. Consequently, these two characteristics are (or they should be) the identification of the ‘we’ group.

As a result, on the pathos analysis, the emotions ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group are those of indulgence and admiration: the group, represented as a fighter (see the criterion of the people involved), (primarily) deserves admiration. Furthermore, since the ‘we’ group acts as willing to win the battle (for winning), it provokes indulgence in the audience. The respective emotions are loaded further since the preconditions for the fight and its positive outcome are two fundamental values (truth and trust). Thus, the ‘we’ group is fully compatible with these values during the action it undertakes (see the respective criterion of compatibility with values).



(3) [...] το κύριο έργο αυτής της Κυβέρνησης, [...] είναι η υλοποίηση των αποφάσεων της Συνόδου Κορυφής της Ευρωζώνης της 26ης Οκτωβρίου, καθώς και η εφαρμογή της οικονομικής πολιτικής η οποία συνδέεται με αυτές τις αποφάσεις./[...] the main task of this government, [...] is the application of the decisions of the Euro Summit of October 26th, and the implementation of the economic policies associated with them.

(4) [...] τό έργο που πρέπει να κάνει αυτή η Κυβέρνηση είναι δυσανάλογα μεγάλο σε σχέση με τη χρονική θητεία της [...] πρέπει να ξεκινήσουμε αμέσως και με πολύ ταχείς ρυθμούς./[...] the task [that needs] to be carried out by this government is disproportionately large compared to its term in office [...] we must start immediately and very rapidly.

In extracts (3) – (4), the main tasks of the coalition government are presented by PM Papademos, linked semantically with the ‘we’ group (see extract [4] below).

Specifically, in extract (3) [...] το κύριο έργο αυτής της Κυβέρνησης, [...] είναι η υλοποίηση των αποφάσεων της Συνόδου Κορυφής της Ευρωζώνης της 26ης Οκτωβρίου, καθώς και η εφαρμογή της οικονομικής πολιτικής η οποία συνδέεται με αυτές τις αποφάσεις./[...] the main task of this government, [...] is the application of the decisions of the Euro Summit of October 26th, and the implementation of the economic policies associated with them, the nominal group το κύριο έργο/the main task is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal group της Κυβέρνησης/of this government: ‘possessivation’ is realized by the nominal group in genitive inclination; in English by the preposition of, postmodifying the nominal group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34).

More specifically, the nominal group το κύριο έργο/the main task has the participant role ‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’, realized by the verbal type είναι/is. The nominal types η υλοποίηση/the application and η εφαρμογή/the implementation have the role- ‘Value’, identifying the ‘Token’ το κύριο έργο/the main task. The nominal types are respectively ‘possessivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34) by the European Institutions, realized by the nominal phrase των αποφάσεων της Συνόδου Κορυφής της Ευρωζώνης της 26ης Οκτωβρίου/of the decisions of the Euro Summit of October 26th and the nominal group της οικονομικής πολιτικής/of the economic policies. They are linked in ‘parataxis’, realized by the common marker και/and, enjoying ‘equal status’ in the representation (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 384). Thus, from the interrelation of the elements in the extract the main task of this government is the full implementation of the decisions and policies determined by the Eurozone. Thus, the Greek (coalition) government is represented as fully compatible with the dominant European financial decisions and agreements.

As we have already seen (see analysis of extracts [1] – [5] revolving around Europe's representation in G.A. Papandreou speech), the dominant European political forces and policies were those of the EPP's party and the conservative, neoliberal agenda it promoted in the EU. Thus, the governmental tasks are identified by the PM as being fully compatible with the respective policies in the extract. Once more, it is worth mentioning that these policies have since then resulted in a deterioration in the living standards of Greeks (e.g. cuts in salaries, pensions).

Consequently, the emotions 'argued' in this extract are the oppositional admiration and detestation; On the one hand, admiration because the government is represented (see the criterion of the people involved) as true to the agreements it signed in the Eurozone, thus as fully compatible with the value of trust (see the criterion of the compatibility with values); a value with which the government is (continuously) compatible (see the analysis of extract [2] of the same speech). On the other hand, based on the same analytic criteria, by implementing the respective agreements in the frame of the Eurozone, the government (see again, the criterion of the people involved) is represented as applying policies that result in the deterioration of the living standards of the people, and thus as not compatible with the value, according to which governments should ensure the common good and prosperity (see again the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, the PM provokes the emotion of detestation against the coalition government.

In extract (4) [...] *το έργο που πρέπει να κάνει αυτή η Κυβέρνηση είναι δυσανάλογα μεγάλο σε σχέση με τη χρονική θητεία της [...] πρέπει να ξεκινήσουμε αμέσως και με πολύ ταχείς ρυθμούς/[...] the task to be carried out by this government is disproportionately large compared to its term in office[...]* we must start immediately and very rapidly, the repetition of the nominal type *το έργο/the task* makes the speech more 'cohesive' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81), establishing (inductively) the conception of a government which is going to produce work. Specifically, in the structure *το έργο [...] είναι δυσανάλογα μεγάλο/the task [...] is disproportionately large* the nominal type *το έργο/the task* has the role-'Carrier' in the 'relational-attributive process' which is, consequently realized by the verbal type *είναι/is*. The nominal type *μεγάλο/large* has the role-'Attributor' which attributes the respective characteristic to the 'Carrier'. The adverbial *δυσανάλογα/disproportionately* has the role of the 'circumstantial element', coding the 'manner' and the 'quality' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) of the task. The prepositional nominal phrase *σε σχέση με τη χρονική θητεία*

της/*compared to its term in office* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘manner’ and the ‘comparison’ of the task with its term in office.

Moreover, the structure *που πρέπει να κάνει αυτή η Κυβέρνηση/to be carried out by this government* relates to the previous (dominant) one in ‘hypotaxis’, realized by the pronoun *που/[that]*, ‘enhancing’ the meaning of the dominant one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). The pronoun is related with the nominal type *το έργο/the task* with the ‘cohesive relation’ of ‘co-referentiality’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74): they refer to the same element. In the structure the nominal group *αυτή η Κυβέρνηση/this government* has the role-‘actor’ undergoing the ‘material process’, which is realized by the verbal type *κάνει/carry out*. Thus, in the interrelation of the elements in the structure, as well as in the ‘hypotactic’ connection with the dominant structure, the (coalition) government is represented as acting, as carrying out a task which is large with respect to the term in office during which this task must be fulfilled.

Finally, in the structure *πρέπει να ξεκινήσουμε αμέσως και με πολύ ταχείς ρυθμούς/we must start immediately and very rapidly* the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) undertaking the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *ξεκινήσουμε/start*. The choice of the first-person plural represents further the ‘we’ as an ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’, full consensus group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38). The adverbial type *αμέσως/immediately* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’ coding the ‘manner’, the ‘quality’ by which the material process takes place (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262).

The meaning constructed in extract (4) could be paraphrased as follows: the coalition government is undertaking an enlarged range of tasks with respect to the time it will govern, and, along with (as part of) the ‘we’ group, it must hurry up.

On the pathos analysis of this extract, the emotion of admiration is once more constructed, based on the meaning produced in transitivity, and ‘argued’ in favor of the government and the ‘we’ in-group: the government and the ‘we’ group are undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) working in a quick manner, despite the lack of time—which creates the sense of emergence. In this sense, they are represented as industrious and with self-sacrifice (see the lack of time), corresponding to the respective value that should characterize a governor (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, the government, and the ‘we’ group to which it belongs, should be admired by the audience.

Recapitulating so far, the analysis has shown that the discursive strategy of PM Papademos places the ‘we’ group as the ‘collectivized’ (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van

Leeuwen 2008: 38) and ‘activated’ Actor, since it has the role-‘actor’ in respective ‘material processes’ ([*we*] *winning the battle*, [*we*] *to start*); the ‘we’ group is represented as a fighter who wants to win based on truth and confidence.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the coalition government takes part in the in-group constructed. It is represented as ‘possessing’ a task, the full implementation of the decisions and the policies of the EU,<sup>68</sup> and as having to produce results in the short run; realized by the respective ‘relational process’ and circumstantial elements. Finally, the PM and the government are ‘associated’ (see the link in ‘parataxis’ through *και*/and, Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), and as ‘activated’-‘actors’ in a ‘material process’ (undertake responsibility) at a critical moment. The clause undertake responsibility establishes ‘intertextuality’ between the speeches of PMs Papandreou and Papademos,<sup>69</sup> providing us with a specific representation and organization of reality (discourse, Fairclough 2003), according to which responsibility becomes a key-concept in the governments’ actions. Thus, a specific discourse (Fairclough 2003) appears from the transitivity structures of extracts (1) – (4), in which the PM, the government and the ‘we’ group are among the positively represented Actors who undertake action at a crucial moment, to fight and win under the premises of truth and confidence. Worth mentioning at this point that the conceptualization of the ‘we’ in-group as a fighter is construed in both the speeches of PM Papademos and Papandreou. As we witness, PMs of different political and ideological origins, apart from employing the same discursive strategies, are proceeding to similar key-conceptualizations and meaning constructions during the self-representation.

As a result, the discourse produced contributes to the construction of two positive emotions ‘argued’ in favor of those Actors: the represented social forces (criterion of people involved) who act responsibly and are fighting to win in a sincere and fast manner, at a critical moment, correspond to the fundamental values of responsibility, of the combat that would ensure the common good at a bad moment (criterion of compatibility with values). In this sense they provoke the emotions of indulgence and admiration in the audience, transforming even the negative emotions (‘said’ e.g. fear realized by the choice *critical moment*). Even though in one case (see extract [3]) the representations in transitivity and the extra-textual knowledge: the

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<sup>67</sup> The concept of confidence seems to be prominent in PM Papademos speech, as this emerges repetitively in extracts of his speech, establishing ‘cohesion’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81). Also, the conceptualization of the government as fighter is similar in the discursive representation of the two PMs.

<sup>68</sup> According to the interpretation offered by extra-textual knowledge, the dominant EU policies at the time were those of the EPP party, i.e. the implementation of strict austerity measures.

<sup>69</sup> The specific choices are repeatedly employed by the PMs in their speeches. Also, the fact that the extracts are coming from the proceedings of the parliament, where the written version of the parliamentary speech is included, strengthens our argument that the choice of the specific phrase and the consequent concept of responsibility, is far from being a coincidence.

government, represented as the Actor (criterion of people involved) fully compatible with the dominant EU policies, i.e. the austerity policies of the EPP, provokes the audience's detestation, since these policies lead to the deterioration of the living standards, thus violating the respective value (criterion of compatibility with values) of ensuring social prosperity. But, in this case, the respective representation and the emotive construction is contrasted with the representation of a government which acts, being fully compatible with the values of trust and faith. As we witness, based upon the same criteria, different and opposing emotions maybe constructed and provoked in the audience.

(5) Με εθνική συνεννόηση και κοινωνική συνοχή μπορούμε να αντιμετωπίσουμε την κρίση ταχύτερα και με μικρότερο κόστος, μπορούμε να αποδείξουμε ότι είμαστε ικανοί να αλλάξουμε τη χώρα και να διαμορφώσουμε μια θετική προοπτική για το μέλλον και ειδικότερα για τους νέους. [...] Ενωμένοι, με συνείδηση των δυσκολιών, με καθαρό στόχο, με αποφασιστικότητα και συστηματική προσπάθεια πιστεύω ότι θα τα καταφέρουμε/With national understanding and social cohesion we can confront the crisis faster and at a lower cost, we can prove that we are capable of changing the country and of shaping a positive prospect for the future, particularly for the young people. [...] United, aware of the difficulties, with a clear goal, with determination and systematic effort I believe that we will make it.

The 'we' group construction is continued in extract (5). The 'we' group is represented as an 'assimilated'-'collectivized' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the following verbal types *μπορούμε/[we] can*, *να αντιμετωπίσουμε/[we] confront*, *είμαστε/we are*, *να αλλάξουμε/[we] of changing*, *να διαμορφώσουμε/[we] of shaping*. The 'we' group is also 'activated', realized by the (different) active participant roles it undertakes in the respective processes (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33).

More specifically, in the following structures *Με εθνική συνεννόηση και κοινωνική συνοχή μπορούμε να αντιμετωπίσουμε την κρίση ταχύτερα και με μικρότερο κόστος, μπορούμε να αποδείξουμε ότι είμαστε ικανοί να αλλάξουμε τη χώρα και να διαμορφώσουμε μία θετική προοπτική για το μέλλον και ειδικότερα για τους νέους/With national understanding and social cohesion we can confront the crisis faster and at a lower cost, we can prove that we are capable of changing the country and of shaping a positive prospect for the future, particularly for the young people*, the 'we' group has the role-'actor' in the 'material processes', realized by the verbal types *να αντιμετωπίσουμε/[we] to confront*, *να αλλάξουμε/[we] of changing*, *να διαμορφώσουμε/[we] of shaping* and the role-'Carrier' in the 'relational-attributive process', realized by the verbal type *είμαστε/we are*. The 'Goals' to which the 'material processes' (respectively) extend are realized

by the nominal type *την κρίση/the crisis*, *τη χώρα/the country*, and the nominal group *μία θετική προοπτική/a positive prospect*. The ‘Attributor’ of the ‘relational process’ is realized by the nominal type *ικανοί/capable*. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as being capable and as carrying out actions in order to confront the crisis, to change the country, and to shape a positive prospect for the future.

Moreover, in the structure to confront the crisis the prepositional nominal groups *Με εθνική συνεννόηση και κοινωνική συνοχή/With national understanding and social cohesion* have the role of the ‘circumstantial elements’, coding the ‘manner’, the ‘means’ with which the government is fighting the crisis (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, the ‘we’ group is represented as permeated by national consensus and social cohesion, corresponding to the respective dominant social values.

In the structure [we] of changing the country the ‘circumstantial element’ is realized by the adverbial *ταχύτερα/faster*, coding the ‘manner’ and the ‘quality’ of the material process (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). By the prepositional nominal group *με μικρότερο κόστος/at a lower cost* the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ is realized, coding the ‘means’ how (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the action takes place. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking action in order to change the country in less time (faster) and at a minimum cost. It is, therefore, represented as industrious and economizing.

In the structure of shaping a positive prospect, the prepositional nominal groups *για το μέλλον/for the future* and *για τους νέους/for the young people* have the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘cause’ of the material process. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking action for shaping a positive prospect aiming at the future and the Greek youth. It is, therefore, represented as acting in favor of a positive direction for the sensitive social groups.<sup>70</sup>

Also, in the same extract and in the structures *Ενωμένοι, με συνείδηση των δυσκολιών, με καθαρό στόχο, με αποφασιστικότητα και συστηματική προσπάθεια πιστεύω ότι θα τα καταφέρουμε/United, aware of the difficulties, with a clear goal, with determination and systematic effort I believe that we will make it*, the PM is self-represented along with the ‘we’ group. The realization of the PM’s representation is made by the choice of the first-person singular in the verbal type *πιστεύω/[I] believe*. The PM is ‘activated’ undertaking the active

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<sup>70</sup> It is worth mentioning here that the youth unemployment rate rose to almost 50% in Greece, during the two first years of the crisis. See: <http://www.kathimerini.gr/798525/article/oikonomia/ellhnikoikonomia/eurostat-arnhtikh-prwtia-ths-elladas-sthn-anergia>.

participant role-‘Senser’ in the respective ‘mental process’ (*πιστεύω/[I] believe*). In addition, the ‘we’ group is represented, realized by the first-person plural in the verbal type *θα τα καταφέρουμε/we will make it*. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as an ‘assimilated’ and a ‘collectivized’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) of full consensus. The two structures are linked together in ‘hypotaxis’, realized by the marker *ότι/that*, ‘projecting’ and ‘expanding’ the meaning construction of the dominant structure (*πιστεύω/[I] believe*). Thus the action of the ‘we’ group is represented as ‘projecting’-‘expanding’ the construction on the PM’s conscience. The prepositional nominal groups *με συνείδηση/aware*, *με καθαρό στόχο/with a clear goal*, *με αποφασιστικότητα και συστηματική προσπάθεια/with determination and systematic effort* have the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘manner’ and the ‘means’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) by which the action of the ‘we’ group takes place (according to the PM’s conscience). Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as a conscious, determinant group, making a systematic effort. The meaning construction made in the structures of extract (5), includes the ‘we’ group, represented as being capable, and as carrying out actions in order to confront the crisis, to change the country, and to shape a positive prospect. Through the circumstantial elements it is (moreover) represented as permeated by national consensus and social cohesion, corresponding to the respective dominant social values, as well as industrious and economizing, acting in favor of the sensitive social groups (young people) in a conscious, determinant and industrious manner.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions constructed and ‘argued’ in the extract are admiration and indulgence. Through its actions, the ‘we’ group (projecting the PM’s conscience) (see the criterion of the people involved) is represented as willing to confront the crisis, to change the country, and to shape a positive prospect for vulnerable social groups. In this sense it corresponds to the value of the confrontation of the dangers and the protection of the social common good, providing a (future) positive perspective. Thus, it is fully compatible with the respective values (see the criterion of the compatibility with values) and should be admired by the audience. At the same time, the representation of the ‘we’ group and the (included) PM as a consensus group of action advances the possibilities to control the situation (see the respective criterion), thus, it should provoke also the emotion of indulgence for the (possible) positive outcome of the action undertaken.

(6) [...] αναλαμβάνω την ευθύνη του Προέδρου της Κυβέρνησης στην δυσκολότερη στιγμή της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της χώρας/[...] [I] take on the responsibility of the Head of Government at the most difficult moment of the country’s recent history.

(7) Θέλω να είμαι σαφής απέναντι σε εσάς και τον ελληνικό λαό. [...] θα εκτελώ τα καθήκοντά μου με αποκλειστικό γνώμονα το συμφέρον της χώρας/I want to be clear towards you and the Greek people. [...] I will perform my duties aiming solely at the country's interests.

In extracts (6) and (7), the PM is, once more, self-represented. More specifically, in extract (6) *αναλαμβάνω την ευθύνη του Προέδρου της Κυβέρνησης στην δυσκολότερη στιγμή της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της χώρας/I take on the responsibility of the Head of Government at the most difficult moment of the country's recent history*, the PM represents himself, realized by the first-person singular in the verbal types *αναλαμβάνω/[I] take on* and *Έχω/[I] have*. In the structure *αναλαμβάνω την ευθύνη του Προέδρου της Κυβέρνησης στην δυσκολότερη στιγμή της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της χώρας/I take on the responsibility of the Head of Government at the most difficult moment of the country's recent history*, the PM is represented as the 'activated' Actor, since he has the active participant role-'actor' in the respective 'material process' (*αναλαμβάνω/[I] take on*). The nominal type *την ευθύνη/the responsibility* has the participant role-'Goal' where the material process extends. Through the (up to now) interrelation between the participants and the process, PM Papademos is represented as undertaking responsibility, as acting responsibly. Moreover, in the prepositional nominal phrase *στην δυσκολότερη στιγμή της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της χώρας/at the most difficult moment of the country's recent history*, the prepositional nominal type *στην δυσκολότερη στιγμή/at the most difficult moment* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location' of 'time' where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. The prepositional nominal type is represented as 'possessivized' by the nominal phrase *της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της χώρας/of the country's recent history*; 'possessivation' is realized by the preposition *of*, postmodifying the prepositional nominal type (in Greek by the genitive inclination stating the possession) (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, the PM is further represented as acting responsibly during the country's most difficult moment. Thus, he is represented as undertaking responsibility despite the extreme and historical difficulties.

It is worth mentioning that the emergence of the nominal *την ευθύνη/the responsibility* establishes 'intertextuality' (see Bakhtin 1986, Fairclough 1992) among extracts of the speeches by PMs Papademos and Papandreou (see extracts [1] and [2] in PM Papandreou's speech on May 6, 2010). The intertextual connections recontextualize a new meaning, contributing to the formation of a discourse (see Fairclough 2003) where the concept of responsibility is significant in the PMs' speeches and, specifically, in the representation of the ingroup.



On the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ in the extract is, once more, the emotion of admiration which has to be felt in favor of PM Papademos: he is the activated Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) undertaking responsibility (thus, acting responsibly) and, moreover, at a historical moment of extreme difficulties for Greece. Thus, he should be admired by the audience since he is acting in favor of the national common-good (see the criterion of the compatibility with the values).

In extract (7) *Θέλω να είμαι σαφής απέναντι σε εσάς και τον ελληνικό λαό. [...] θα εκτελώ τα καθήκοντά μου με αποκλειστικό γνώμονα το συμφέρον της χώρας/I want to be clear towards you and the Greek people. [...] I will perform my duties aiming solely at the country's interests*, the PM is represented, realized by the first-person singular in the verbal types *Θέλω/[I] want*, *να είμαι/to be* and *θα εκτελώ/[I] will perform*.

Specifically, the represented PM Papademos has the active participant role-‘Senser’ in the ‘mental process’ which is realized by the verbal type *Θέλω/[I] want*. He has the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’, realized by the verbal type *να είμαι/to be*. Finally, he has the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal type *θα εκτελώ/[I] will perform*. Thus, the PM is represented as the active force in the three processes; as ‘activated’ in the structures of transitivity (see Van Leeuwen 2004: 33).

Specifically, in the structure *να είμαι σαφής απέναντι σε εσάς και τον ελληνικό λαό/to be clear towards you and the Greek people*, the prepositional nominal type *απέναντι σε εσάς και τον ελληνικό λαό/towards you and the Greek people*, plays the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘place’ where (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. The two prepositional types are linked in ‘parataxis’, realized by the common marker *και/and*, having ‘equal status’ in the representation (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 374). Thus, the PM is represented as being clear in front of the MPs and the Greek people, in line with the value according to which the PM should be candid towards parliament and the people he represents.

Moreover, in the structure *θα εκτελώ τα καθήκοντά μου με αποκλειστικό γνώμονα το συμφέρον της χώρας/[...] I will perform my duties aiming solely at the country's interests*, the nominal group *τα καθήκοντά μου/my duties*, has the role-‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ (*θα εκτελώ/[I] will perform*) extends. The nominal group is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the PM, realized by the possessive pronoun *μου/my* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The prepositional nominal phrase *με αποκλειστικό γνώμονα το συμφέρον της χώρας/aiming solely at the country's interests* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘manner’ and the ‘means’

by which the process takes place (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense the PM is represented as acting, with the national interest as his only guideline. Overall, in extract (7), PM Papademos is represented as being clear towards the parliament and the Greeks and as acting guided only by the national interest.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion 'argued' is the one of admiration that has to be felt for PM Papademos: the PM, represented as the 'activated' Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) is clear towards the Greek people and the MPs, acting in the national interest. Thus, he is represented as fully compatible with the value of sincerity, as well as with the value of the protection of the national interest (see the criterion of compatibility with values).

Recapitulating up to now, in extracts (5), (6) and (7), the 'we' constructed group and the PM are taking part (once more) in the formation of the positively characterized in-group.

Specifically, the 'we' group (see extract [5]) is represented as an 'assimilated' 'collectivized' Actor, undertaking the active participant roles-'actor' and 'Carrier' in the respective 'material' (*to confront, to change, to make*) and 'relational' (*we are*) processes. The meaning construction in the structures of extract (5) could be paraphrased as: the 'we' group, is capable of confronting the crisis, of changing the country, and of shaping a positive prospect. Through the circumstantial elements it is (moreover) represented as permeated by national consensus and social cohesion, consistent with the respective dominant social values, as well as industrious and economizing, acting in favor of the sensitive social groups (young people) in a conscious, determinant and industrious manner. The conceptualization of an inclusive group fighter proves to be important in the political speeches we have examine up to now, showing that the respective characteristic permeates the meaning constructions of PMs with different political origins and background.

In addition, PM Papademos is self-represented as the 'activated' Actor, taking on the participant roles-'actor', 'Senser' and 'Carrier' in the respective 'material' (*undertake responsibilities, perform my duties*), 'mental' (*I want*) and 'relational' (*to be clear*) processes. In this sense, he is self-represented as acting responsibly at an extremely difficult moment for the country, as well as being sincere towards the MPs and the Greeks.

It is worth mentioning that the co-emergence of the clause take on responsibility establishes 'intertextuality' with the speeches of PM Papandreou: as seen above, the intertextual connections incorporate one textual choice into another text (and context), and thus they recontextualize the meaning construed, leading to the formation of a discourse (see Fairclough

2003) where the concept of responsibility becomes significant in the PMs' speeches and, specifically, in the representation of the in-group.

On the analysis of emotions (pathos), the discourse produced contributes to the construction of two positive emotions that are 'argued' in favor of those Actors: admiration and indulgence: the represented social forces, as the Actors (criterion people involved) who act responsibly and confront the crisis in a sincere manner and during a moment of extreme difficulties, correspond to the fundamental values of responsibility, of the battle for the common good at a bad moment (criterion compatibility with values). In this sense, they provoke the emotions of indulgence and admiration in the audience.

### **5.3.2 The representation of the out-group**

(1) το δημόσιο χρέος αυξάνεται, γιατί το έλλειμμα της γενικής κυβέρνησης δεν έχει περιοριστεί επαρκώς/*the public debt is increasing because the general government deficit has not been reduced sufficiently.*

(2) η κρίση καθώς και η ασκούμενη περιοριστική δημοσιονομική πολιτική, έχουν επιτείνει την ύφεση και έχουν επιδεινώσει την ανεργία περισσότερο/[...] *the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy have intensified the recession and have worsened unemployment further.*

As we may primarily see, the out-group constructed in the above extracts by PM Papademos, includes the crisis,<sup>71</sup> the debt and the deficit as the main 'opponents', against which his action is addressed.

In extract (1) *το δημόσιο χρέος αυξάνεται, γιατί το έλλειμμα της γενικής κυβέρνησης δεν έχει περιοριστεί επαρκώς*/*the public debt is increasing because the general government deficit has not been reduced sufficiently*, the nominal group *το δημόσιο χρέος*/*the public debt* has the role-'actor' in the 'material transformative process', i.e. a process 'where a pre-existing Actor or Goal is construed as being transformed as the process unfolds' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 184). In our case, the pre-existing Greek public debt is represented as modified (is increasing). Moreover, in the structure *γιατί το έλλειμμα της γενικής κυβέρνησης δεν έχει περιοριστεί επαρκώς*/*because the general government deficit has not been reduced sufficiently* the nominal phrase *το έλλειμμα της γενικής κυβέρνησης*/*the general government deficit* is

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<sup>71</sup> Crisis is a very abstract concept. However, the fact that it is included among the concepts against which PM Papademos is fighting highlights the importance that the specific concept has in the specific speech. It is permitting to the PM represent himself (along with the in-group in which participates) as fighting directly the phenomenon and not only the consequences of the crisis or the responsible—for the crisis—forces.

represented as ‘passivated’, i.e. is ‘at the receiving end’ of the ‘material process’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34), which is consequently realized by the (negative) verbal type *δεν έχει περιοριστεί/has not been reduced*. The adverbial *επαρκώς/sufficiently* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’, coding the ‘manner’ and the ‘degree’ of how much (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262), the material process has taken place. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the general government deficit is represented as not being reduced. The respective structure is linked with the previous one in ‘hypotaxis’, realized by the marker *γιατί/because*, ‘enhancing’ the meaning of the previous (dominant) structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380); it specifically states the ‘reason’ why the public debt is increasing.

Overall, through the representations produced in extract (1), the public debt and the general government deficit are following an almost parallel course of increase—non-reduction, and, more specifically, the debt is increasing because of the non-reduction of the deficit. Extra-textual knowledge makes the extract more ‘coherent’, advancing our interpretation in this case: it is a well-known fact that the austerity measures listed in the Economic Adjustment Program (MoU), implemented by the Greek government, and responsible for the deterioration in the citizens’ living standards, aimed for the reduction of the public deficit, which in turn was supposed to lead to a sustainable level of public debt. A non-reduction of the deficit would lead (almost automatically) to the implementation of additional measures and to a further deterioration in the living conditions.

Consequently, the emotion to be felt by the audience from the representations of the extracts and the extra-textual knowledge is that of fear. The debt increase, because of the non-reduction of the deficit, will lead to a deterioration in the living conditions (e.g. new measures). A development which cannot be controlled by the audience (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation). Thus, fear is ‘argued’ and has to be felt by the audience.

In extract (2) *η κρίση καθώς και η ασκούμενη περιοριστική δημοσιονομική πολιτική, έχουν επιτείνει την ύφεση και έχουν επιδεινώσει την ανεργία περισσότερο/[...] the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy, have intensified the recession and have worsened unemployment further*, the nominal type *η κρίση/the crisis* is represented as ‘associated’ to the nominal group *η ασκούμενη περιοριστική δημοσιονομική πολιτική/the pursued contractionary fiscal policy* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38): the ‘association’ is realized by the link of the two elements in ‘parataxis’, realized by the common marker *και/and*. In this sense, they enjoy ‘equal

status' in the representation. Moreover, the implemented policy 'extends' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378) the conceptualization of the crisis.

More specifically, in the transitivity structure *η κρίση καθώς και η ασκούμενη περιοριστική δημοσιονομική πολιτική, έχουν επιτείνει την ύφεση/the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy, have intensified the recession*, the nominal groups *the crisis* and the pursued *contractionary fiscal policy* have the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process' realized by the verbal type *έχουν επιτείνει/have intensified*. The nominal group *την ύφεση/the recession*, has the participant role-'Goal' where the process extends. In this sense, the crisis, along with the implemented policies, are represented as (equally) intensifying the recession (and the consequent effects on the Greek economy).

In addition, the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy have the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', realized by the verbal type *έχουν επιδεινώσει/have worsened* in the structure *και έχουν επιδεινώσει την ανεργία περισσότερο/and have worsened unemployment further*. The realization of the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy as 'actors' in the material process is made through the 'cohesive relation' of 'ellipsis' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74) where an element is replaced by its absence; the non-elliptic structure would be [*η κρίση καθώς και η ασκούμενη περιοριστική δημοσιονομική πολιτική*] *έχουν επιδεινώσει την ανεργία περισσότερο/[the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy] have worsened unemployment further*.<sup>72</sup> By the verbal type *έχουν επιδεινώσει/have worsened*, a 'material process' is realized, which the 'actors' (*the crisis and the pursued contractionary fiscal policy*) are carrying out. The 'Goal' where the process extends is realized by the nominal type *την ανεργία/unemployment*. Finally, the adverbial *περισσότερο/further* has the role of the 'circumstantial element', coding the 'manner' how (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process takes place. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the crisis along with the implemented policies are represented as (similarly, see the link in 'parataxis') increasing unemployment.

Extra-textual knowledge offers a further implementation facilitating 'coherence': it is well known that the policies (that worsened unemployment) had already been implemented by the previous government, i.e. the one headed by G.A. Papandreou. In this sense, the PM is distancing himself from the previous government, accusing it (implicitly) for the augmentation of unemployment.

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<sup>72</sup> In square bracket, the elements that would be present in a non-elliptic form of the structure.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions of fear and detestation are 'argued' in the examined extract: the crisis and the implemented policies lead to an economic deterioration and an increase in unemployment. A development which cannot be controlled by the audience (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation). Thus, fear is (primarily) 'argued' and has to be felt by the audience. At the same time, the extra-textual knowledge and the established 'coherence' provide evidence, according to which the economic deterioration and the increase in unemployment are caused by the fiscal measures implemented by the previous government. Thus, the previous government is (implicitly) represented as the Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) in an action which deteriorates the economy and the living standards; violating the criterion, according to which the governments should ensure the common good and the prosperity of a society (see the criterion of compatibility with values). Thus, the previous government should be detested by the audience.

Summarizing the key points of the current analysis, the creation of two opposing groups in the extracts of PM Lucas Papademos' parliamentary speech reveals:

- An in-group, positively represented, consisting of himself, the coalition government and the 'we' constructed group, which, consequently, includes the above referred Actors and its audience (e.g. the MPs, the Greek people).
- An out-group, negatively represented, consisting of the debt, the deficit, the crisis and the policies implemented by the previous government of PASOK.

The discursive strategy of the juxtaposition between in-groups and out-groups, which was, significantly, followed in the speeches of PM Papandreou, is also employed in the speech of PM Papademos. The fact that this strategy is used in speeches of PMs with totally different background, proves its significance in the parliamentary-political discourse. On this juxtaposed pole, he represents and construes social agency during the first date of the discussion revolving around the voting in favor of his government in the Greek parliament (i.e. November 14, 2011). According to this representation, a positively conceptualized in-group (composed by the PM, the coalition government and the Greeks) is taking place in the public dialogue vis-a-vis a negative conceptualized out-group which includes its opponents (the crisis and its consequences along with the previous government). On this juxtaposition, the discursively construed public realm, during the specific moment/date of crisis, is formed as a locus where the in-group intervenes in order, almost exclusively, to confront the crisis and its

consequences.<sup>73</sup> As a result, in general, crisis is represented as the outcome of the financial factors of the Greek economy (e.g. deficit) and previous political choices (e.g. of the previous government). A socio-political environment which is attempted to be confronted by the responsible fighters-Actors included in the in-group. The scheme of an in-group which intervenes in order to fight against the difficulties is followed both in the three parliamentary speeches. Worth mentioning also that the concepts of 'responsibility' and 'fighter' permeate and have an advanced role in both the parliamentary speeches we examined up to now. This proves the fact that although the speeches were given by PMs of different background and interests, they seem to be in a 'dialogue' in the public discussion, using similar key-concepts and, of course, the same, significant, discursive strategy (i.e. the juxtaposition between in-group and out-group). In what follows, we will become more specific, summarizing the findings of our analysis regarding the characteristics of the two opposing groups of social actors.

More specifically, PM Papademos places the 'we' group as the 'collectivized' (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van Leeuwen 2008: 38) and 'activated' Actor, since it has the participant role-'actor' in respective 'material processes' ([we] winning the battle, [we] to start); the 'we' group is represented as a fighter who wants to win based on truth and confidence.<sup>74</sup> In addition, the 'we' group is the 'actor' and 'Carrier' in the respective 'material' (*to confront, of changing, of making*) and 'relational' (*we are*) processes; represented as being capable of confronting the crisis, of changing the country, and of shaping a positive prospect, as well as industrious and economizing, acting in favor of sensitive social groups (young people) in a conscious, determinant and industrious manner.

Moreover, the coalition government is represented as 'possessing' a task, the full implementation of the decisions and the policies of the EU,<sup>75</sup> and as having to fulfil its task in the short run (see the respective circumstantial elements).

Finally, the PM and the government are 'associated' (see the link in 'parataxis' through *και*/and, Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), and as 'activated'-'actors' in a 'material process' (undertake responsibility) at a critical moment. The emergence of the clause takes on responsibility in the proceedings, as we show in the analysis, establishes 'intertextuality' among the speeches of PMs

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<sup>73</sup> In this sense, PM insinuates also the characterization of its political apparatus as a government of a 'special objective'.

<sup>74</sup> The concept of confidence seems to be prominent in PM Papademos speech, as this emerges repetitively in extracts of his speech, assigning 'cohesion' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81).

<sup>75</sup> According to the interpretation offered by extra-textual knowledge, the dominant EU policies at the time were those of the EPP party, i.e. the implementation of strict austerity measures.

Papandreou and Papademos, providing a specific representation and organization of reality (discourse, Fairclough 2003), according to which responsibility, as a concept, has a central role in the governments' actions. In addition, PM Papademos is self-represented as the 'activated' Actor, taking on the participant roles-'actor', 'Senser' and 'Carrier' in the respective 'material' (take on responsibilities, perform my duties), 'mental' (I want) and 'relational' (to be clear) processes. In this sense, he is self-represented as acting responsibly at an extremely difficult moment for the country, as well as being sincere towards the MPs and the Greeks. Overall, as we witness also here, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the speech of PM Papademos, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed, according to which the in-group of the specific dates has the aforementioned (positive) characteristics.

As a result, the discourse produced contributes to the construction of two positive emotions that are 'argued' in favor of those Actors: the represented social forces, as the Actors (criterion people involved) who act responsibly and fight to win in a sincere and fast manner at a critical moment, correspond to the fundamental values of responsibility, of the combat that would ensure the common good at a difficult moment (criterion of compatibility with values).

In this sense, they provoke the emotions of indulgence and admiration in the audience, transforming even the negative emotions ('said' e.g. fear realized by the choice critical moment).

On the contrary, the out-group's construction, as retrieved in the PM's speech, includes (as negatively represented Actors and concepts) the debt, the deficit, the crisis and the policies implemented by the previous government of PASOK.

Specifically, the public debt is represented as an 'actor' of the 'material-transformative process' (*is increasing*) increasing in parallel with the deficit, which is consequently 'passivated' at the receiving end' of the (negative) 'material process' (*has not been reduced*). Moreover, the crisis and the implemented policies are targeted by the PM, represented as 'associated' (see the link in 'parataxis': marker *kai/and*) and 'activated'-'actors' in the 'material process' (*have worsened unemployment*); thus as deteriorating the living standards. It is worth noting, once more, that it was the previous government of PASOK that implemented the specific policies; thus (implicitly), among the opponents included in the out-group is the previous Prime Minister (G.A. Papandreou). PM Papademos distances himself from the previous ruling period and its effects on Greek society. As in the representation of the in-group, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the PM's speech, regarding the opponents, i.e. the out-group, an inductively constructed discourse is revealed.



Consequently, the discourse produced by the representation of the Actors-opponents causes the two negative emotions of fear and detestation, 'argued' against them. Since the above referred concepts-opponents, i.e. crisis, debt, deficit, etc. are the active participants (criterion of people involved), that act, augmenting unemployment rates and violating social prosperity (criterion of compatibility with values), they provoke fear. In the same extract, the previous government and PM (implicitly) provoke detestation since they are represented as the forces responsible for the implementation of policies which decreased the living standards; thus, violating the fundamentally accepted value of the reinforcement of social prosperity (see criterion of compatibility with values).

As we have also seen, also in this speech, the re-emergence of e.g. the choice responsibility, establishes 'intertextuality' (see Bakhtin 1986, Fairclough 1992: 84) with extracts from the two different speeches of PM Papandreou, thus enriching the formation of a discourse in which the PM (as part of the in-group) is represented as an active force whose action is characterized by responsibility. In addition, also in this speech, the extra-textual knowledge offered throughout the analysis, advanced interpretative abilities, establishing 'coherence' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985) in the speeches.

As heralded in the analytical framework, the emergence of the above-mentioned relations (intertextuality, cohesion, coherence) in the different speeches of the PMs show that they are part of the same 'text', since they are viewed at the same time as 'criteria of texture', according to the Systemic-Functional approach which is followed here (see Halliday and Hasan 1985, see also Archakis 2005). Consequently, the extracts examined are part of the same 'text' that leads to the formation of a cohesive and coherent representation of the reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), which is, respectively, inductively developed during the two different dates examined. This is an important find since the speeches analyzed are given by PMs who have different ideological, political backgrounds and political texture.

As shown before, it is this discourse that makes the audience feel the specific emotions (pathos), as these were retrieved by conducting an analysis of emotions using the results of the SF analysis of transitivity. This last assumption also proves that the discursive representations and the emotive constructions are interdependent, and the consequent analytical approaches, i.e. SF analysis of transitivity and analysis of emotion in discourse, can and should be applied (as integration) to our data to offer advanced analytical finds.

## 5.4 Antonis Samaras on July 6, 2012<sup>76</sup>

### 5.4.1 *The representation of the in-group*

- (1) θα σας μιλήσω χωρίς περιστροφές, χωρίς γενικολογίες [...], χωρίς εύκολες υποσχέσεις/[I] will talk to you head on, without generalities [...], without easy promises

In extract (1) PM Samaras is self-represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), realized by the choice of the first-person singular in the verbal type *θα μιλήσω*/[I] *will talk*; by the verbal type, a ‘verbal process’ is realized, in which the Actor (PM Samaras) has the participant role-‘Sayer’. The ‘Target’ where the process unfolds is realized by the pronoun *σας/to you*, i.e. his audience. The prepositional nominal groups *χωρίς περιστροφές/head on*, *χωρίς γενικολογίες/without generalities*, *χωρίς εύκολες υποσχέσεις/without easy promises*, have the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘accompaniment’ in the structure, ‘extending’ the meaning constructed by the interrelation of the directly involved participants (‘Sayer’, ‘verbal process’, ‘Target’). In this sense, PM Samaras is represented as acting (*talking*) directly (head on), specifically (without generalities) and sincerely (without easy promises), corresponding to the respective values (directness).

On the pathos analysis, the emotion constructed in the representations and ‘argued’ in favor of the PM is admiration: PM Samaras, as the ‘activated’ Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) acts (*talks*) head on, without generalities and easy promises. Thus, he is acting according to the fundamental values of straightness and sincerity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Consequently, he should be admired by his audience.

- (2) Αυτή η Κυβέρνηση, όμως, είναι αποφασισμένη να πει την αλήθεια, να δείξει αποφασιστικότητα και να εμπνεύσει στο λαό εμπιστοσύνη και αυτοπεποίθηση/This government is determined to tell the truth, to show determination and to inspire trust and self-confidence in the people.

In extract (2) the PM proceeds to the representation of his (coalition) government. The nominal group *Αυτή η Κυβέρνηση/This government* is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), taking on the active participant role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive

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<sup>76</sup> Friday, July 6, 2012. Available at: <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd-61a9-4a83b09a-09f4c564609d/es20120706.pdf>, pp 46-50.

process', which is consequently realized by the verbal type *είναι/is*. The nominal *αποφασισμένη/determined* has the role-'Attributor', attributing the respective characteristic (i.e. determination) to the government. Thus, the coalition government is (primarily) represented as active-determinant Actor.

In the same extract, the structures *να πει την αλήθεια/to tell the truth*, *να δείξει αποφασιστικότητα/to show determination*, and *και να εμπνεύσει στο λαό εμπιστοσύνη και αυτοπεποίθηση/and to inspire trust and self-confidence in the people* are linked in 'hypotaxis' with the previous (dominant) one, 'enhancing' its meaning (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). The nominal group *Αυτή η Κυβέρνηση/This government* has the role of the 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in these structures.

Specifically, the nominal group *This government* has the participant role-'Sayer' in the 'verbal process', realized by the verbal type *να πει/to tell*, and the nominal type *την αλήθεια/the truth* has the role-'Target' where the process extends. In this sense, the government is represented as telling the truth; as being sincere. The same type (*This government*) has the participant role-'Token' in the 'relational-identifying process', realized by the verbal type *να δείξει/to show*. The nominal type *αποφασιστικότητα/determination* has the participant role-'Value' identifying the government as a determinant Actor. Finally, the government has the participant role-'actor' in the material process, realized by the verbal type *να εμπνεύσει/to inspire*. The nominal types *εμπιστοσύνη και αυτοπεποίθηση/trust and self-confidence*, have the role-'Goal' where the process extends. The prepositional nominal group *στο λαό/in the people* has the role of the 'Recipient', coding the 'indirectly involved' participant benefiting from the process (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 190-191). In this sense, the government is acting to make the people self-confident and full of trust. Overall, according to the representation provided in the extract, the government formed under PM Samaras is determined, and sincere (truth), acting to make the people trustful and self-confident.

Consequently, the emotions 'argued' in the representations of extract (2), are those of indulgence and admiration. The government is (primarily) represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) which is characterized by determination. In this sense, it is (more) capable to control the situation in which it has engaged (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation). Thus, it provokes the audience's indulgence. Secondly, the government acts to provide the people with trust and self-confidence, and thus acts in favor of uplifting the Greeks. Further, its action is to tell the truth to the people. As a result, the government is

represented as acting under the prism of fundamental values (see the criterion of the compatibility with values) and should be admired by the audience.

(3) πρέπει να πούμε όλη την αλήθεια στον κόσμο. Ακόμη περισσότερο, πρέπει να τολμήσουμε/we have to tell the whole truth to the people. Even more, we have to dare.

In extract (3) the 'we' constructed group is represented as the 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), as this is realized by the active participant role in the respective processes, realized by the verbal types: *να πούμε/[we] to tell*, *να τολμήσουμε/[we] to dare*.

More specifically, in the structure *πρέπει να πούμε όλη την αλήθεια στον κόσμο/we have to tell the whole truth to the people* the 'we' group has the participant role-'Sayer' in the 'verbal process', which is, in turn, realized by the verbal type *να πούμε/[we] to tell*. The nominal group *όλη την αλήθεια/the whole truth* has the role-'Target' where the 'verbal process' extends. The prepositional nominal group *στον κόσμο/to the people* has the participant role-'Receiver' to whom the 'verbal process' is addressed (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 278). In this sense, the 'we' group is represented as telling the truth; as being sincere. Thus, it is conceptually connected with the representation of PM Samaras (see extract [1]), and the respective of the government (see analysis of extract [2]); as we can see, the concept of sincerity is highlighted in the speech of PM Samaras. In the same extract, and in the structure *πρέπει να τολμήσουμε/we have to dare*, the 'we' group undertakes the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', consequently realized by the verbal type *να τολμήσουμε/[we] to dare*. Thus, the in-group is represented as daring; as being brave.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis of the extract, the emotion 'argued' upon the representation is that of admiration. The 'we' group, represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) which acts in favor of the truth, corresponds to the respective value of sincerity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values) and should be admired by the audience.

(4) μια Κυβέρνηση με στόχο να διασφαλίσει τη θέση της Ελλάδας στην Ευρώπη και την Ευρωζώνη/a government whose goal is to secure the position of Greece in Europe and the Eurozone

In extract (4) the representation of the government is, once more, revealed in the speech of PM Samaras. As we may see, during the flow of the PM's speech, the representation of the

government is in constant interdependence with the representation of the 'we' group (see above, the representations in extracts [2] and [3]).

The nominal group *μια Κυβέρνηση/a government*, has the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process', which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *να διασφαλίσει/to secure*. The nominal type *τη θέση/the position* has the participant role-'Goal' where the process extends. Moreover, the nominal type *τη θέση/the position* is represented as 'possessivized' by the nominal type *της Ελλάδας/of Greece*; the 'possessivation' is realized in Greek by the nominal type in genitive inclination, and in English by the preposition of postmodifying the type *τη θέση/the position* (see, more in Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, the government is represented as acting to secure the position of the country it governs; as acting in favor of the national interests. The prepositional nominal types *στην Ευρώπη/in Europe* and *την Ευρωζώνη/the Eurozone*, are linked in 'parataxis' among them, and thus enjoy 'equal status' in the representation (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). In the transitivity structure, they have the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location' of 'place' where the process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, the national position (which is ensured by the action of the government) is 'placed' inside Europe and the Eurozone.

Extra-textual knowledge facilitates 'coherence', advancing our interpretation: it is well known that during 2012 a 'powerful discourse' revolving around Greece's exit from the Eurozone, coded as 'Grexit', took place in the European public sphere (see Wodak and Angouri 2014). Moreover, the ND of Antonis Samaras accused the main opposition party, SYRIZA, and its leader, Alexis Tsipras, of aiming to make Greece exit the Eurozone (see, in more details, Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013: 528-538). Exit from the Eurozone had been conceptualized as a social destruction which would results in the extensive deterioration of the living standards and the implementation of additional, potentially stricter, austerity measures. Thus, the government is (positively) represented as a pro-Eurozone government in (implicit) contrast to the main opposition.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion 'argued' in the representation is (once more) admiration. The government, represented as the active force (see the criterion of the people involved) which acts in favor of the national interests, corresponds to the respective value, according to which the governments should ensure the national common good (see the criterion of the compatibility with values) and should be admired by the audience. The emotion of admiration is further loaded since the protection of the national interests meant the avoidance of the 'Grexit' and the consequent deterioration in the people's living standards.

As seen so far, the PM, the government and the 'we' group are, once more, present in a PM's speech, as part of the (positively represented) in-group. In his attempt to intervene effectively in the public sphere, PM Samaras employs (as PM Papandreou and Papademos) the discursive construction of allies which along with him will underpin his political efforts as a united and consensus group.

Specifically, PM Samaras is the 'activated' Actor, having the participant role-'Sayer' in the respective 'verbal process' (*[I] will talk*), represented as direct, specific and sincere, as realized by the prepositional circumstances (*head on, without generalities, without easy promises*) that 'accompany' the PM's action. The government is the 'activated' Actor, represented as determined and sincere (*truth*), acting in order to make the people trustful and self-confident and securing the country's continued EU membership;<sup>77</sup> as this is realized by the active participant roles 'actor', 'Sayer', 'Carrier', 'Token', the nominal group This government has in the respective 'material' (to inspire, to secure), 'verbal' (to tell the truth), 'relational-attributive' (is), 'relational-identifying' (*to show determination*) processes. Finally, the 'we' constructed group is represented as sincere and brave; it is 'activated', realized by the active participant roles-'actor' and 'Sayer' in the respective 'material' (*dare*) and 'verbal' (*tell the truth*) processes. As we have also shown, the concept of sincerity is highlighted in the speech of PM Samaras, as permeating the Actors included in the in-group.

The representations provided in the transitivity structures of extracts (1) – (4), as well as the extra-textual knowledge, sketch (inductively) a specific organization and representation of the reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) according to which the aforementioned Actors are positively represented, forming an in-group of action with the above characteristics. Consequently, the construed discourse, provokes specific positive emotions that should be felt by the audience. Specifically, the emotions of admiration and indulgence are 'argued', since the respective Actors participate jointly in actions (criterion people involved) which ensure the national interest and the societal prosperity, being at the same time brave and sincere, corresponding, in this sense, to the respective values (criterion compatibility with values).

(5) Είμαστε η Ελλάδα, [...]. Είμαστε μια χώρα που πρέπει να γίνει φιλική προς τις επενδύσεις,/[We] are Greece, [...]. [We] are a country which must become investment-friendly.

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<sup>77</sup> EU membership was extremely insecure at the time, since the 'Grexit' discourse was dominant in the public sphere.

(6) είμαστε αποφασισμένοι να κάνουμε το σωστό, να κάνουμε τη διαφορά/we are determined to do the right thing, to make a difference.

(7) να ξανακάνουμε την Ελλάδα προπύργιο, [...] να ανακτήσουμε το σταθεροποιητικό μας ρόλο σε ολόκληρη την περιοχή /[we] to make Greece a bastion once again, [...] to regain our stabilizing role in the whole region.

In extracts (5) – (7), the ‘we’ constructed in-group dominates the speech of PM Samaras, fulfilling the representation of the in-group constructed.

More specifically, in extract (5) *Είμαστε η Ελλάδα, [...] Είμαστε μία χώρα που πρέπει να γίνει φιλική προς τις επενδύσεις*,/[We] are Greece, [...]. [We] are a country which must become investment-friendly, the ‘we’ group is represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the active participant role-‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’, realized, consequently, by the verbal type *Είμαστε*/[We] are. It is, moreover, represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the respective verbal type (*Είμαστε*/[We] are). The nominal type *η Ελλάδα*/Greece has the participant role-‘Value’ identifying the ‘we’ group. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as being identical to the nominal type *η Ελλάδα*/Greece and, in this sense as determined by the country.

Furthermore, in the same extract and in the structure *Είμαστε μία χώρα που πρέπει να γίνει φιλική προς τις επενδύσεις*,/[We] are a country which must become investment-friendly, the ‘we’ group is, once more, represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), participant-‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’, realized, consequently, by the verbal type *Είμαστε*/[We] are. In addition, it is represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the respective verbal type (*Είμαστε*/[We] are). The nominal group *μία χώρα*/a country has the participant role-‘Value’ identifying the ‘we’ group. The structure *που πρέπει να γίνει φιλική προς τις επενδύσεις*,/which must become investment-friendly is linked in ‘hypotaxis’ with the previous, dominant one: it ‘expands’ and ‘elaborates’ its meaning (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). By the pronoun *που*/which the nominal group *μία χώρα*/a country is realized, since the two elements are linked together through the ‘cohesive relation’ of ‘co-referentiality’ (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Thus, the nominal group (through the pronoun) has the participant role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’, which is realized by the verbal type *να γίνει*/become. The nominal type *φιλική*/friendly has the participant role-‘Attributor’, attaching the respective characteristic to the ‘Carrier’ (*μία χώρα*/a country). The prepositional nominal group *προς τις*

*επενδύσεις/investment-[friendly]*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. In this sense, the country is represented as becoming attractive to investors.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ and offers an advanced interpretation. According to the (dominant neoliberal) perception permeating the MoU one of the fundamental problems of the Greek economy was the lack of competitiveness, which had to be overcome for Greece to exit the crisis. In line with that perception, the parties of ND and PASOK believed that the lack of competitiveness could be addressed by new investment plans, to be developed by private institutions using a mixture of lower taxes and flexible labor, accompanied by a wide range of privatizations (e.g. trains, ports, airports). In this sense, Greece would become attractive to investors, making itself capable of improving its competitiveness and exiting the crisis. PM Samaras (as part of the ‘we’ group) is fully compatible with the (neoliberal) view of overcoming the crisis, which was dominant during the first two years of the crisis and the implementation of the MoUs.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of admiration is, once more, ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ constructed group. The ‘we’ group in the respective relational processes is represented as being the country (Greece) (see the criterion of the people involved), and through that, as aligning itself with the national interests. On the one hand, this representation makes the neoliberal concept of privatizations, etc. (see above) ‘take cover’ under the pretext of the nation’s survival and, on the other hand, it makes the ‘we’ group fully compatible with the value of securing the country (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In extract (6) *είμαστε αποφασισμένοι να κάνουμε το σωστό, να κάνουμε τη διαφορά/we are determined to do the right thing, to make a difference*, the ‘we’ group is, once more, represented as ‘activated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the active participant role ‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’, realized, consequently, by the verbal type *Είμαστε/[We] are*. Moreover, it is represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the respective verbal type (*Είμαστε/[We] are*). The nominal type *αποφασισμένοι/determined* has the participant role-‘Attributor’ giving the respective characteristic to the ‘we’ group. Thus, the ‘we’ group is represented as a full consensus and determinant group of action.

In the structures *να κάνουμε το σωστό/[we] to do the right thing*, and *να κάνουμε τη διαφορά/[we] to make a difference*, the ‘we’ group is (implicitly) represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material



processes', realized, respectively, by the verbal types *να κάνουμε/[we] to do, [we] to make*. The nominal types *το σωστό/the right thing* and *τη διαφορά/the difference*, has the participant role- 'Goal' where the material processes unfold. The two structures are linked in 'hypotaxis' to the dominant one (*είμαστε αποφασισμένοι/[we] are determined*), 'expanding' its meaning construction (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 380). In this sense, the 'we' group is represented as being determined to act in favor of the right thing and in order to make a difference. Consequently, it is represented as acting properly and in contradiction to other (e.g. previous) Actors, i.e. 'we' groups constructed by other PMs.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions 'argued' as provoked by (and in favor of) the 'we' group, are the ones of indulgence and admiration. The 'we' group, as the 'activated' and full consensus Actor (see the criterion of the people involved) is represented as determined, and thus as having more possibilities to control the situation provided (see the respective criterion of the capacity to control the situation). In addition, the Actor favors the right action to make a difference from previous attempts. In this sense, it corresponds to the dominant value of acting in favor of the right (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, through the contemporary fulfillment of the two criteria, the Actor 'we' provokes the emotion of indulgence in the audience and is thus admired by it.

Finally, in extract (7) *να ξανακάνουμε την Ελλάδα προπύργιο, [...] να ανακτήσουμε το σταθεροποιητικό μας ρόλο σε ολόκληρη την περιοχή/[we] to make Greece a bastion once again, [...] to regain our stabilizing role in the whole region*, the 'we' group is represented as an 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), since it has the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material processes' realized by the verbal types *να ξανακάνουμε/[we] to make again* and *να ανακτήσουμε/[we] to regain*. Furthermore, the 'we' group is represented as 'assimilated'/'collectivized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), realized by the choice of the first-person plural in the respective verbal types.

Specifically, in the structure *να ξανακάνουμε την Ελλάδα προπύργιο/[we] to make Greece a bastion once again*, the 'we' group is the 'actor' which undergoes the 'material process' *να ξανακάνουμε/[we] to make again*. The nominal *την Ελλάδα/Greece* has the participant role- 'Goal' in the structure. The nominal type *προπύργιο/bastion* has the role-'Attribute', constructing 'the resultant qualitative state of the Goal after the process has been completed' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 195). According to Babinotis (2002: 1488), the nominal type *προπύργιο/bastion* is used to signify the institution or a means of protection of the values and views. Thus the 'qualitative state' of the 'Goal' (*την Ελλάδα/Greece*) is that of the place of

the protection of well-established values and views. Based on the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure, the ‘we’ group is (primarily) undertaking action in order to make the country a place that protects fundamental values.

In the structure *να ανακτήσουμε το σταθεροποιητικό μας ρόλο σε ολόκληρη την περιοχή*/[we] to regain our stabilizing role in the whole region, the ‘we’ group is the ‘actor’ which undergoes the ‘material process’ *να ανακτήσουμε*/[we] to regain. The nominal group *το σταθεροποιητικό μας ρόλο*/our stabilizing role has the participant role-‘Goal’ where the process extends. The prepositional nominal group *σε ολόκληρη την περιοχή*/in the whole region has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. In this sense, the ‘we’ constructed group is represented as acting in order to regain the role it had in the region. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ in this structure since it is well known that since its entry in the EU (1974) Greece was the only state in the Balkans that had not entered a war (see e.g. the war in the ex-Yugoslavia in the specific region). Moreover, Greece is the state-border between the EU and Asia (Turkey). Thus, the role of Greece, as an EU-member and as a border with Asia was always upgraded. The implicit meaning constructed by the extract of the PM’s speech, is that Greece has lost (it should regain) its upgraded role.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion constructed and ‘argued’ in favor of the ‘we’ group is, once more, admiration. The ‘we’ group takes on an active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved) in actions that make the country a place where fundamental values are protected, and re-upgrade the country’s geopolitical role. In this sense, its action is fully compatible with the fundamental values and the protection of the national interests (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience.

So, recapitulating the analysis of extracts (5) – (7), the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor, since it has the active participant roles-‘Token’, ‘Carrier’ and ‘actor’ in the respective ‘relational-identifying’ ([we] are), ‘relational-attributive’ ([we] become) and ‘material’ (to do, make, regain) processes of the transitivity structures. More specifically, the ‘we’ group is represented as identical to the country ([we] are Greece), as becoming investment-friendly,<sup>78</sup> as determined and as willing to make the country a significant pillar of stability in the wider region. In this sense, the ‘we’ group is (positively) represented as an Actor whose

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<sup>78</sup> And thus, as overcoming the lack of competitiveness, which was one of the key-problems, according to the MoU’s assumptions.

actions contribute and correspond to the fundamental values of acting in favor of the national interests and the dominant (neoliberal) interests of competitiveness.

Due to the meaning construction in every extract analyzed, a specific organization and representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is provided, according to which the 'we' group is positively represented, taking part in the in-group of action.

Consequently, the discourse constructed provokes specific positive emotions that should be felt by the audience. Specifically, the emotions of admiration and indulgence are 'argued', since the 'we' group is 'activated', participating in actions (criterion people involved) which ensure the national interests, corresponding, in this sense, to the respective value (criterion compatibility with values).

#### ***5.4.2 The representation of the out-group***

- (1) οι Έλληνες πολίτες, [...] να είναι σήμερα άστεγοι [...] να τρέφονται από συσσίτια, να κοιμούνται στους δρόμους ή να αναζητούν τροφή στους κάδους απορριμμάτων/the Greek citizens, [...] to be homeless today [...] to be fed in soup kitchens, to sleep on the streets or to search for food in the trash bins.
- (2) οι συμπολίτες μας να μη νιώθουν ασφαλείς, να ζουν με το φόβο της εγκληματικότητας/our cocitizens not to feel safe, to live in fear of crime
- (3) ξένοι αξιωματούχοι να μιλάνε για πιθανότητα επιστροφής της Ελλάδας στη δραχμή. [...] [...] Εκείνοι τα τινάζουν στον αέρα/foreign officers to talk about the possibility of Greece returning to the drachma. [...] they are blowing everything up [in the air].
- (4) Η ανεργία είναι το πρόβλημα, [...] Η διόγκωση της ανεργίας απειλεί το έλλειμμα, απειλεί την κοινωνική συνοχή, απειλεί κάθε Έλληνα εργαζόμενο, κάθε ελληνική οικογένεια/Unemployment is the problem, [...] the increase in unemployment threatens the deficit, [it] threatens social cohesion, [it] threatens every Greek employee, every Greek family.

In the first two extracts, even though PM Samaras does not represent (explicitly) any of his opponents, he proceeds with the representation of the social problems that he believes the citizens are facing and he aims to confront. That is why, although the social problems, presented here, are not social actors/individuals (such as e.g. the previous governors, EU elites-opponents of other PMs), we choose to perceive them as the opponents (out-group) against which the political action of the in-group is addressed.

More specifically, in extract (1) *οι Έλληνες πολίτες, [...] να είναι σήμερα άστεγοι [...] να τρέφονται από συσσίτια, να κοιμούνται στους δρόμους ή να αναζητούν τροφή στους κάδους*

*απορριμμάτων/the Greek citizens, [...] to be homeless today [...] to be fed in soup kitchens, to sleep on the streets or to search for food in the trash bins*, the nominal group *οι Έλληνες πολίτες/the Greek citizens* undertakes the participant role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’, consequently realized by the verbal group *να είναι/to be*. The nominal type *άστεγοι/homeless* has the role-‘Attribute’ providing the ‘Carrier’ with the specific characteristic. Finally, the adverbial *σήμερα/today* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’ in the structure, coding the ‘location’ of ‘time’ when (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the ‘Carrier’ is attributed the characteristic homeless. In this sense, Greek citizens, for whom the government must care according to the dominant perception and value, are represented as homeless, and thus the specific social phenomenon has to be confronted.

In the same extract by the verbal groups *να τρέφονται/to be fed*, *να κοιμούνται/to sleep* and *να αναζητούν/to search for*, three ‘material processes’ are realized. In the first case, the nominal group *οι Έλληνες πολίτες/the Greek citizens* undertakes the participant role-‘Goal’ where the ‘material process’ unfolds; thus they are represented as ‘passivated’, being at the ‘receiving end’ of the process (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The prepositional nominal group *από συσσίτια/ in soup kitchens* has the role-‘actor’ (see, in details Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 180-181). Thus, the citizens are represented as resorting to the soup kitchens in order to be fed. In the two other ‘material processes’, the *οι Έλληνες πολίτες/the Greek citizens* undertakes the participant role-‘actor’; thus they are represented as ‘activated’ in the structure, as the ‘active forces, undergoing’ the processes (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Specifically, in the structure *να κοιμούνται στους δρόμους/to sleep on the streets*, the prepositional nominal group *στοις δρόμους/on the streets* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. In this sense, the citizens are represented once more as homeless, repeating the respective concept and providing a sense of ‘cohesion’ in the extract (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 81). In the structure *να αναζητούν τροφή στους κάδους απορριμμάτων/to search for food in the trash bins*, the nominal type *τροφή/food* has the role-‘Goal’ where the process extends and the prepositional nominal group *στοις κάδους απορριμμάτων/in the trash bins* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the process unfolds. In this sense, the citizens are represented as completely impoverished.

Overall, according the representations provided in the structures in extract (1), the Greek citizens are represented as not being able to cover their basic needs; as not being able to survive.

Extra-textual knowledge advances our interpretation here since it is known that the specific state of being emerged in Greece during WWII and the Nazi occupation in Greece.<sup>79</sup> The conceptualization of the Greek citizens in 2012 as similar to their ancestors during the Nazi occupation contributes to the construing of a bound organization and representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), according to which the social majority has already reached the historical levels of poverty and misery.

Consequently, the emotions constructed in this extract are fear and detestation. They are both 'argued' as the ones that should be felt in the PM's representation of the Greek citizens. Specifically, Greek citizens, as the Actors participating in the structures (see the criterion of the people involved), are represented as being totally impoverished (homeless, sleeping in the streets) and dependent on the soup kitchens or, even worse, on the trash bins to find food. Thus, they are represented as unable to control the situation (see the criterion of capacity to control the situation), thus feeling fear. At the same time, the representation of a population in the situation in which the Greek population is represented to be, violates the values of the protection of the human life and dignity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, the representation of the Greeks citizens' state of being provokes the emotion of detestation in the audience.

In extract (2) *οι συμπολίτες μας να μη νιώθουν ασφαλείς, να ζουν με το φόβο της εγκληματικότητας/our co-citizens not to feel safe, to live in fear of crime* the nominal group *οι συμπολίτες μας/our co-citizens* has the participant role-'Carrier' in the 'relational-attributive (intensive) process', which is realized by the (negative) verbal type *να μη νιώθουν/not to feel* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 238).<sup>80</sup> By the nominal type *ασφαλείς/safe* the 'Attributor', linked to the process, is realized. Thus, the citizens are represented as not having the feeling of security.

In the same extract, and specifically in the structure *να ζουν με το φόβο της εγκληματικότητας/to live in fear of crime*, the nominal group *οι συμπολίτες μας/our co-citizens* is (implicitly) represented; realized by the cohesive relation of 'ellipsis' where an element is

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<sup>79</sup> See the following link a documentary providing a brief presentation of various aspects of the Nazi occupation in Greece. Among others, the phenomena of poverty and hunger of the Greek population <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l80fgUoKTD0>.

<sup>80</sup> We should mention that the verbal type *feel* is a common realization of a 'mental process'. Although, in the specific case, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 237-238), 'the "intensive" kind' of relational processes 'have the option of ASSIGNMENT: they may be configured with a third participant representing the entity assigning the relationship of identity of attribution'. Thus, 'in the case of "attributing" clauses, this is the Attributor'. For examples of verbs serving as process in intensive clauses see Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 238).

replaced by the gap (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). By the verbal group *να ζουν/to live* a 'relational-identifying process' is realized. The propositional nominal group *με το φόβο/in fear* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' of 'Accompaniment' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 263) extending the meaning construction made by the process. In the prepositional group, the nominal group *fear* is represented as 'possessivized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), by the nominal group *της εγκληματικότητας/of crime*; realized by the nominal group in genitive inclination (in English with the preposition of postmodifying the nominal group). In this sense, the citizens are represented as afraid of crime.

Overall, in the representations provided in the two structures of extract (2) the citizens are represented as not being safe and as living in fear of crime. Thus, the value, according to which a frame of safety should be provided by the state to the citizens, is totally violated. At the same time, the social phenomenon that is represented as the opponent of the PM, is the lack of security.

On the pathos analysis, we may (primarily) see the emotion of fear as 'said' - realized by the respective nominal group *fear*. The emotion is further 'argued' as being felt by the citizens, who are the Actors participating in the structures (see the criterion of the people involved) and facing (feel) the fear of crime. The fact that crime violates the frame of safety which should be provided by the state to its citizens (see the compatibility with values) transforms the emotion of fear to detestation which should be felt against the respective phenomenon.

In extract (3) *ξένοι αξιωματούχοι να μιλάνε για πιθανότητα επιστροφής της Ελλάδας στη δραχμή. [...] Εκείνοι τα τινάζουν στον αέρα/foreign officers to talk about the possibility of Greece returning to the drachma. [...] they are blowing everything up*, the foreign officers are placed in the 'puzzle of the opponents' of PM Samaras.

Specifically, the nominal group *ξένοι αξιωματούχοι/foreign officers* has the role-'Sayer' in the 'verbal process', realized consequently by the verbal type *μιλάνε/talk*. Also, the nominal type *Εκείνοι/They* -which has the participant role-'actor' in the 'material process' which is realized by the verbal type *τινάζουν/are blowing up*- is connected with the nominal group *ξένοι αξιωματούχοι/foreign officers* with the 'cohesive relation' of 'co-referentiality'; they refer to the same element, i.e. the nominal group *ξένοι αξιωματούχοι/foreign officers*. Thus, the respective nominal group is represented as 'activated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in both the respective structures of extract (2).

More specifically, in the structure *ξένοι αξιωματούχοι να μιλάνε για πιθανότητα επιστροφής της Ελλάδας στη δραχμή/foreign officers to talk about the possibility of Greece*

*returning to the drachma* the prepositional nominal phrase *για πιθανότητα επιστροφής της Ελλάδας στη δραχμή/about the possibility of Greece returning to the drachma*,<sup>81</sup> has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘Accompaniment’, coding the ‘Matter’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 263) of the verbal process (which the foreign officers undertake). In this sense, the foreign officers are represented as favoring the return of Greece to the previous currency standard. Extra-textual knowledge offers us a further interpretation, making the structure more coherent and leading to the formation of a specific representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003): it was well-established as a view that the exit of Greece from the Eurozone and a return to the previous currency would cause a further deterioration of the living standards, as well as additional austerity measures. According to this perception (which was dominant among the MPs of the coalition parties, i.e. ND, PASOK, and DIMAR) the represented foreign officers are acting as if favoring the return to the previous currency, thus favoring a deterioration in the Greeks’ living standards (*inter alia*).

Finally, in the structure *Εκείνοι τα τινάζουν στον αέρα/They are blowing everything up*, as we have already indicated, the nominal type *Εκείνοι/They* has the participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’ which is realized by the verbal type *τινάζουν/are blowing up*. The prepositional nominal group *στον αέρα/[in the air]* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’ of ‘place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process unfolds. According to Babiniotis (2002: 176), the phrase *blow up [in the air]* is synonym to the verbal type *blast*; which leads to destruction. In this sense the nominal type *Εκείνοι/They*, i.e. the foreign officers, are undertaking action that leads to destruction.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’, advancing our interpretation: there were EU officials (e.g. EU MPs, MPs of other EU countries) who argued against a Greek bailout program. Among the proponents of this opinion were MPs from the conservative parties that belonged to the European People’s Party (EPP), a European political group of which ND is a member. This created political problems for ND inside Greece, since its European ‘political allies’ included officials who did not favor the financial rescue of Greece. Thus, PM Samaras was obliged to distance himself from these perceptions. Overall, the (specific) foreign officers are represented as belonging to the opponents’ camp in the extracts examined from PM Samaras’ speech.

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<sup>81</sup> The Drachma was the Greek currency before the entry of the country in the Eurozone.

Consequently, the emotion ‘argued’ in the extract is detestation: addressed against the foreign officers who are represented as the active forces (see the criterion of the people involved) in the structures of the extracts. The respective actors are undertaking action which leads to the further deterioration of Greeks’ living standards and to total destruction; consequently, they are violating the value, according to which the life and the living standards should not deteriorate (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, they should be detested by the audience of the PM’s speech.

Finally, in extract (4) *Η ανεργία είναι το πρόβλημα, [...] Η διόγκωση της ανεργίας απειλεί το έλλειμμα, απειλεί την κοινωνική συνοχή, απειλεί κάθε Έλληνα εργαζόμενο, κάθε ελληνική οικογένεια/Unemployment is the problem, [...] the increase in unemployment threatens the deficit, [it] threatens social cohesion, [it] threatens every Greek employee, every Greek family*, unemployment is part of the social problems that the PM opposes.

In the structure *Η ανεργία είναι το πρόβλημα/Unemployment is the problem*, the nominal group *Η ανεργία/Unemployment* has the participant role-‘Token’ in the ‘relational-identifying process’ which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *είναι/is*. The nominal group *το πρόβλημα/the problem* has the role-‘Value’ which identifies unemployment as a problem.

Moreover in the sequence of the following structures *Η διόγκωση της ανεργίας απειλεί το έλλειμμα, απειλεί την κοινωνική συνοχή, απειλεί κάθε Έλληνα εργαζόμενο, κάθε ελληνική οικογένεια/the increase in unemployment threatens the deficit, [it] threatens social cohesion, [it] threatens every Greek employee*, and, more specifically, in the nominal phrase *Η διόγκωση της ανεργίας/the increase in unemployment*, the nominal group *της ανεργίας/[of] unemployment* is represented as ‘possessing’ the nominal group *Η διόγκωση/the increase*; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the nominal group *της ανεργίας/[of] unemployment* in genitive inclination, which in English is realized by the preposition of postmodifying the nominal group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38). The nominal phrase represents unemployment as increasing.

The nominal phrase has the participant role-‘Sayer’ in the above mentioned structures, undergoing the ‘verbal processes’ which are realized by the verbal type *απειλεί/threatens*. The nominal groups *το έλλειμμα/the deficit* and *την κοινωνική συνοχή/social cohesion, κάθε Έλληνα εργαζόμενο/every Greek employee, κάθε ελληνική οικογένεια/every Greek family* have the role-‘Target’ where the process extends. In this sense, unemployment is represented as acting against the Greek economy and society, the productive citizens and the core-value of family. Overall, it is represented as acting against the fundamental values and institutions of society.



As a result, the emotion (primarily) 'argued' against the respective social phenomenon (unemployment) is detestation, since it undertakes the active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved), targeting the fundamental societal values (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). The fact that the audience is incapable of controlling the social phenomenon (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation) also gives rise to fear.

Summarizing the key-points of the analysis, PM Antonis Samaras also creates two opposing groups in his parliamentary speech:

- An in-group, positively represented, consisting of himself, the coalition government and the 'we' constructed group, which, consequently, includes the above referred Actors and its audience (e.g. the MPs, the Greek people).
- An out-group, negatively represented, consisting of the citizens' social problems (homeless, poverty, crime, lack of security) and (some of) the foreign officers.<sup>82</sup>

It becomes more than evident, that the discursive strategy of the 'we' group formation lies at the core of the parliamentary discourse since it is revealed in both the three speeches we examined so far, given by PMs with totally different background and interests in different phases of crisis development. The construction of in-group juxtaposed to the out-group of opponents, facilitates his intervention in the public sphere where he—along with the 'allies' of the ingroup—attempts to place himself in order make his political conceptions prevail vis-a-vis the ones of other Actors in the public discussion.

More specifically, PM Samaras places the 'we' group as the 'collectivized' (see the choice of the first-person plural, Van Leeuwen 2008: 38) and 'activated' Actor, since it has different, active participant roles ('Token', 'Carrier', 'actor') in the respective processes ('relational-identifying' (*[we] are*), 'relational-attributive' (*[we] become*) and 'material' (*to do, make, regain*) of the transitivity structures. More specifically, the 'we' group is represented as identical to the country (*[we] are Greece*), as overcoming the basic problem of the Greek economy, according to the (neoliberal) assumptions of the MoUs (e.g. become investment-friendly), and as determined to make the country once again a significant pillar of stability in the region.

Moreover, the government and the 'we' group are once more present in a PM's speech, as part of the (positively represented) in-group. Specifically, PM Samaras is the 'activated' Actor,

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<sup>82</sup> As we noted at the beginning of the analysis of the other-representation, although the social problems presented in PM Samaras' speech (e.g. homeless, crime etc..) do not represent specific individuals/social actors, we do choose to include them in the out-group since they represent the main objectives against which the action of the in-group should be addressed.

represented as direct, specific and sincere, as this is realized through the interrelation of the participants and the processes in the respective transitivity structures.

The government is the 'activated' Actor, represented as determined, and sincere (truth), acting in order to make the people trustful and self-confident and securing the country's EU membership;<sup>83</sup> as this is realized by the different (active) participant roles (e.g. 'actor', 'Sayer', 'Carrier', 'Token'), the government has in the respective processes (e.g. *to inspire, to secure, to tell the truth*). Finally, the 'we' constructed group is represented as sincere and brave; it is 'activated', realized by the active participant roles-'actor' and 'Sayer' in the respective 'material' (*dare*) and 'verbal' (*tell the truth*) processes. Overall, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the speech of PM Samaras, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed, according to which the in-group constructed has the above mentioned (positive) characteristics.

As a result, the discourse constructed provokes specific positive emotions that have to be felt by the audience. Specifically, the emotions of admiration and indulgence are 'argued', since the respective Actors jointly participate in actions (criterion of the people involved) that ensure the national interests and societal prosperity, while at the same time being brave and sincere, corresponding, in this sense, to the respective values (criterion compatibility with values).

On the contrary, the out-group's construction, as retrieved in the PM's speech, includes (as negatively represented Actors and concepts) the citizens' social problems (*homeless, poverty, crime, lack of security*) and (some of) the foreign officers.

Specifically, citizens are represented as not being able to take care of their basic needs, and as not being able to survive, since they are having the active participant role-'Carrier', characterized as homeless, or they are 'passivated'-'Goal' represented as being fed in soup kitchens. Moreover, the citizens are represented as not being safe, and as living in fear of crime; these representations are realized by the respective 'relational processes' where the citizens have the active participant roles ('Carrier', 'Token'), characterized as insecure and afraid.

In addition, (some) of the foreign officers are placed in the camp of PM Samaras' opponents, since they act favoring the return to the previous currency (*drachma*), thus favoring a deterioration of the Greeks' living standards, as well as being the active forces taking action that leads to total destruction (*blowing up*). According to the extra-textual knowledge, among

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<sup>83</sup> It is worth mentioning, once more, Greece's insecure EU membership, according to the 'Grexit' discourse.

these officials were MPs from the conservative parties that belonged to the European political group in which ND participates. Thus, PM Samaras was distancing himself from these perceptions.

As in the representation of the in-group, according to the representations revealed by the transitivity structures in the speech of the PM regarding the opponents, i.e. the out-group, an inductively constructed representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) is revealed.

Consequently, the discourse produced by the representation of the Actors-opponents causes two negative emotions of fear and detestation 'argued' against them. Since the above referred concepts-opponents, i.e. poverty, crime, etc. are the active participants (criterion of the people involved) that act violating the social common good (criterion compatibility with values), they provoke fear.<sup>84</sup> In the same extract, the EU officials (should) provoke detestation since they are represented as the forces that favor a deterioration in Greeks' living standards (see the choice *drachma*) and total destruction; thus, they are represented as violating the fundamentally accepted value of reinforcing the social common good and prosperity (see criterion compatibility with values).

As we have also seen, in this speech, the extra-textual knowledge offered, many times during the analysis, advanced interpretative abilities, establishing 'coherence' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985) in the speech. Also, the emergence of the cohesive relations of 'co-referentiality' and 'ellipsis' among elements of the extracts analyzed shows that they are part of the same 'text', since they are viewed at the same time as 'criteria of texture', according to the SystemicFunctional approach followed (see Halliday and Hasan 1985; see also Archakis 2005). As a consequence, the extracts examined are part of the same 'text' which leads to the formation of a cohesive and coherent representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), inductively developed during the speech examined.

As shown before, it is this discourse that makes the audience feel the specific (negative or positive) emotions (pathos), as these were retrieved by conducting an analysis of emotions using the results of the SF analysis of transitivity. This last assumption also proves that the discursive representations and the emotive construction are interdependent, and the consequent integration of the analytical approaches, i.e. SF analysis of transitivity and analysis

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<sup>84</sup> The emotion of fear is also 'said', realized by the respective nominal type in extract (2).

of emotion (pathos) in discourse, can and should be applied to our data in order to offer advanced analytical finds.

## 5.5 Concluding remarks

Attempting to summarize the key-findings of our analysis regarding the parliamentary speeches, some tentative conclusions could be outlined in the following lines:

- The discursive strategy of in-groups vs out-groups construction sits at the core of the four parliamentary speeches examined. This confirms the centrality of the respective strategy in the parliamentary-political discourse - as this is highlighted by CDA practitioners (see among others Angouri and Wodak 2014; see also Wodak and Reisigl 2001). The emergence of this strategy in our data becomes more interesting since we examined speeches given (a) by Greek PMs who have different political background and interests and (b) in different moments of the Greek crisis development. Thus, it becomes evident that despite the different positioning and timing, i.e. despite the audience and the contextual framing, PMs construe and employ the juxtaposition between in-groups and out-groups while entering in the public discussion.
- Through the employment of the respective discursive strategy, PMs manage to positively represent themselves and their allies (in-group) against their negatively represented opponents (out-group). This positive self-representation vis-à-vis the negative otherrepresentation (see also Angouri and Wodak 2014), as we witnessed during the analysis, conceptualize positively the Actors included in the inclusive in-group (e.g. as fighter, responsible Actor) while deconstructing the image and the respective conceptualization of the opponents (e.g. wasteful previous PMs and governments). In this sense, it assists PMs' attempt to place themselves better in the public sphere of the specific dates.
- More specifically, the analysis of transitivity structures shows us that PMs—as part of the in-groups—represent themselves—in different kind of processes (e.g. material processes)—as the 'activated' Actors who, followed by their allies (e.g. the governmental parties, MPs, Greeks), intervene as 'united' and 'collectivized' social forces in the public sphere, characterized as responsible, sincere and determined fighters, willing to face and confront the (negative) outcome of the crisis. On the

contrary, the camp of the opponents (out-group) varies among the negative conceptualization of e.g. the wasteful government of ND, the leader of the opposition who favors the decisions of the ND government (in PM Papandreou's case), the bad choices of the government of PASOK and the public debt/deficit (in the case of PM Papademos), and the social problems that the Greeks are facing (in the case of PM Samaras). Apart from the partial differences and the conceptualizations of each PM, the aforementioned characteristics permeate the presence of the in-groups in all the four speeches providing us with evidence about the fact that, the four speeches 'communicate' among them; consequently, despite the different positioning, PMs found their intervention in the same conceptual lines.

- As it was mentioned in various stages of the analysis, following the lines of the discursive construction of the in-group versus out-group, each PM, inductively create a specific organization and representation regarding the in-groups and out-groups that participate in the public sphere. In this sense, specific discourses (see Fairclough 2003) reveal in the parliamentary public sphere which, in some cases, intersect. The discourse intersections—and the consequent conceptualizations—are further enriched via the emergence of the phenomena of cohesion and coherence (Halliday and Hasan 1985), intertextuality (see Fairclough 1992) and recontextualization (Bakhtin 1986). The aforementioned emergence shows us the textual and extra-textual lines that determine and bind and interconnect the parliamentary discourses given by the different PMs. Upon this discursive construction, specific emotions are provoked and addressed to the audience (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). In fact, as we witnessed, the central emotional construction revolves around the emotion of admiration that the audience should legitimately feel in favor of the in-group and the contradictory emotions of detestation and fear that should be felt due to the representation of the out-group. Apart from differences in the emotional construction, we saw that the discursive representation and their intersections lead to an almost bound emotional construction. In this sense, as we argued, discourse and emotions (pathos) are in mutual extension and exemplification in the speeches examined. Therefore, the analysis of transitivity provides us with evidence how the emotions are semiotized in discourse and the rhetorical analysis of emotions extends transitivity analysis

by showing us what emotions are legitimately construed and addressed to the audience in order to frame its decisions regarding the governmental policies.

- Based on this core discursive strategy, the provided representational meaning, PMs represent social agency in their speeches, causing specific emotions to the audience. The public sphere as an outcome of the discourse of different individuals (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) is construed as a highly-polarized space determined by the conflicting presence of the two collective Actors (i.e. in-group and out-group) and the characteristics that this presence has. As the analysis shown, the polarized public sphere, in different moments of the crisis, is characterized—in general lines—by the presence of an in-group (e.g. PMs, governmental parties, Greek people) that positively deals with and confront the crisis (and its outcome) that an out-group created (e.g. previous governments). Given the fact that, as we discussed in the theoretical part, the public space is, substantially, a political space (see among others Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989; Psylla 2003), where politics emerge as a process founded on various and continuous articulations and disarticulations, based on the logic of equivalence and difference (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Fairclough 2003), the juxtaposition construed on the discursive strategy of in-group vs out-group formation serves the political goal of PM to intervene in order to legitimize their policies in the public discussion by disputing their opponents.

## Chapter 6

### Data Analysis – Media discourse and pathos

#### 6.0 Introduction

In this chapter we analyze newspapers headlines appeared during the voting of the First Adjustment Agreement and the Middle Term Agreement (MoU) by the government of PASOK. We also proceed to the analysis of headlines coming from the dates Lucas Papademos' government and Antonis Samaras' government asked for a confidence vote in the Greek parliament promising to implement further fiscal reforms. For the purposes of our analysis, in this chapter, we are going to “bring the various ways in which each category of social actor is represented under a common denominator” (Van Leeuwen 2008, 31): the Greek PM/Government is denominated as the “Governor,” Greeks as “We,” Greece as “Country,” EU leaderships as “Others,” the financial sector as “Economy”.<sup>85</sup>

We will also pay special attention to the phenomenon of the ‘grammatical metaphor’ (see Halliday 1985; Taverniers 2003; Van Leeuwen 2008; Maniou 2016) and its realization (by nominalizations, process nouns, see below) in specific cases of our data. Although dealing with this phenomenon is not among our analytical priorities (for extensive discussion regarding this issue with data coming from Greek, see Maniou 2016: Ch. 6), in some cases, its examination proves to provide us with advanced analytical abilities.

#### 6.1 Newspapers headlines on May 6, 2010

- (1) Οργή λαού για τα μέτρα - Φονικός εμπρησμός  
Rage of the people for the measures - Killing arson (‘E’, May 6, 2010)
- (2) Έγκλημα στην πλάτη του ελληνικού λαού  
Crime on the back of the Greek people (‘E’, May 6, 2010)
- (3) Η στυγνή βία προκαλεί σοκ  
The brutal violence causes shock (‘K’, May 6, 2010)

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<sup>85</sup> The ‘common denominator’ helps us to create categories which include the different ways in which social actors are represented. In other words, even in cases where, for example, the government or the PM are not explicitly nominated, as we will see in the analysis, we can reasonably infer that they are the implicitly represented Actors. Consequently, we gather these implicit and explicit representations under a common category/denominator.

(4) Η άβυσσος και η ευθύνη - Οργή και ανησυχία μετά το έγκλημα

The abyss and the responsibility - Rage and anxiety after the crime ('N', May 6, 2010)

In the headline of 'El', on May 6, 2010, *Οργή λαού για τα μέτρα - Φονικός εμπρησμός/Rage of the people for the measures - Killing arson*, the Actor 'We' is (primarily) represented, realized by the nominal type *λαού/people* in the postmodified nominal group *Οργή λαού/Rage of the people*. The 'We' is first represented as 'assimilated', realized by the use of the nominal type *λαού/people* which is 'denoting a group of people' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37). In this sense, the social stratification, the political/ideological etc. differences are concealed and the 'We' Actor is represented as a fully consensus group. Furthermore, in the same nominal group the nominal type *Οργή/Rage* is represented as 'subjected' and, moreover, as 'possessivized' by the people; the 'possessivation' is realized by 'the of postmodifying' the nominal *Οργή/Rage* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34, 43).<sup>86</sup> Thus, through 'possessivation' the Actor 'We' is represented as 'possessing' the rage; 'We' is represented as enraged. Moreover, the presence of the nominal group *Οργή λαού/Rage of the people* establish intertextual links with clauses appealing to the cultural tradition of the Greek people (see e.g. *Οργή λαού φωνή θεού*) recontextualizing aspects of this tradition in the headline, and thus, enforcing the newspaper positioning in the public sphere as institution highly linked with the cultural background of the Greek people. The prepositional nominal group *για τα μέτρα/for the measures*, has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' in the configuration, coding the 'reason' why (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the 'We' Actor has ('possesses') rage. According to this, the Actor 'We' is represented as possessing the rage (as enraged) because of the measures that had been voted in the parliament. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates 'coherence' in this headline since it is well-known that:

- The measures the newspaper is referring to are the austerity policies which were about to be implemented upon the approval of the first MoU by the MPs' majority.
- The above measures were leading to strict fiscal cuts (e.g. cuts on salaries and pensions), affecting the living standards of most of the citizens (people).

Based on the extra-textual knowledge, we may infer that, by the nominal type *measures* the parliamentary majority is represented, since we may ask, following Van Leeuwen (2008: 29): 'who voted for the measures?' and answer (according to the extra-textual knowledge) that

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<sup>86</sup> In Greek, 'possessivation' is realized by the nominal type in genitive inclination *λαού* which states the possession.



the Actor is the 'Governor'.<sup>87</sup> So, the meaning construction may be paraphrased as: the measures (implemented by the 'Governor') enrage the 'We' (Greek people); thus, the 'Governor' is represented as violating the value, according to which, they should ensure the societal peace and prosperity. On the same headline, the extra-textual knowledge allows us the interpretation according to which, by the nominal group *Φονικός εμπρησμός/Killing arson* is realized the fact that took place on May 5, 2010 in the Bank Marfin at Stadiou Str., where three employees lost their lives.<sup>88</sup> The nominal *Φονικός/Killing* loads further the representation coding (explicitly) the 'quality' of the arson (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 38). More specifically, by the nominal type *εμπρησμός/arson* the 'material process' of setting intentionally fire is realized, and, thus, the respective nominal type is regarded here as a 'process noun' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 30, see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439-440). By the 'process noun' the Actor of the arson is 'excluded' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28-30). However, 'this exclusion does leave a trace' since 'we can ask "But who did the arson?"' and 'we can infer with reasonable certainty' that the Actor of the arson was among the 'We' Actor already represented in the headline; thus the Actor is 'backgrounded', 'deemphasized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). The 'backgrounding' of the Actor conceals the fact that the actual responsible for the arson that took three people's lives were among the demonstrators ('We'). Thus, it permits the newspaper to represent the respective Actor (only) as enraged because of the measures.<sup>89</sup> Two aspects of the extra-textual knowledge enforce our interpretation here, since:

- It was commonly known that the actual perpetrator of the arson was not caught by the police immediately (when the newspaper was released on May 6, 2010).
- It was attempted, by media of the (opposite of 'El') conservative field, to incriminate social groups that participated in the movements (e.g. students) or specific political groups (e.g. anarchists).<sup>90</sup>
- A rumor was widely spread that the police officers did not allow the firemen to approach the bank, as well as that Bank executives gave the order to the personnel

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<sup>87</sup> We should mention that the first bailout program was voted both by the MPs of the Socialist Party (PASOK) and the extreme right-wing party LAOS, as well as, by the MP of the New Democracy, Dora Bakoyannis.

<sup>88</sup> See more at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/may/06/greek-debt-crisis-athens-greece>. In Greek see also: <http://www.lifo.gr/team/sansimera/57322>.

<sup>89</sup> And not e.g. as responsible for killing; this last representation would be possible in a clause where the Actors of the arson would be (explicitly) represented.

<sup>90</sup> See, among other indicative examples, the report of the conservative I Kathimerini during the trial for the Marfin arson: <http://www.kathimerini.gr/875504/article/epikairothta/ellada/dikh-marfin-akoygame-ap-e3wkayte-toys>.

of the Bank to remain inside the building. Thus, the police and the Bank owner were also regarded to be (partly) responsible.<sup>91</sup>

So, the 'We' Actor (implicitly or explicitly) represented in the headline is avoided to be represented as part of the arsonists of the Bank and thus it is represented (only) as enraged because of the austerity measures implementation.

On the pathos analysis of the specific headline, the emotion of rage is 'said' in the headline, realized (respectively) by the nominal type *Οργή/Rage* and the nominal group *Φονικός εμπρησμός/Killing arson*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity, the respective emotion is 'argued', attributed to the Actor 'We' along with the emotion of fear: In the first case (rage), the Actor is represented (explicitly) as enraged in the transitivity process through the 'possessivation' (see the criterion of the people involved). In the second case (fear), the 'We' Actor is incapable of controlling the possible consequences of the austerity measures implementation (see the respective criteria of the capacity to control the situation and the one of the possible consequences). Also, based on the results of the transitivity analysis, the emotion of rage is 'argued' as provoked by the 'Governor' since this is the Actor who approves and implements the measures that enrage the 'We' Actor (see the criterion of the people involved).

In the headline of 'E' on May 6, 2010, *Έγκλημα στην πλάτη του ελληνικού λαού/Crime on the back of the Greek people*, the 'We' Actor is once more represented, realized by the nominal group *ελληνικού λαού/Greek people*. Using the nominal type which is 'denoting a group of people', the 'We' is first represented (by the 'E') as 'assimilated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37), concealing, in this way, (once more) the social stratification and the political/ideological differences occurring among the social stratum. The 'We' Actor is, furthermore, represented as 'possessing' the nominal type *πλάτη/the back* (in the prepositional, nominal group *στην πλάτη/on the back*): The nominal type is 'possessivized' by the Actor 'We' (Greek people), realized by the genitive inclination coding the possession *του ελληνικού λαού/of the Greek people* (in English 'possessivation' is realized by the nominal type *πλάτη/the back* postmodified by of, see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Through this representation, the 'We' Actor is 'somatized', i.e. Actors are 'represented by means of reference to a part of their body' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 47). Moreover, in the transitivity structure of the specific headline, the nominal type *Έγκλημα/Crime* (coding the 'material process' of killing) codes the actual death of the three

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<sup>91</sup> In the following link there are some of the testimonials of the victims' relatives. In the same article it is stated that among the accused in the trial there were four members of the Marfin Bank executives. See more at: <http://www.koutipandoras.gr/article/sygklonizoyin-oi-martyries-sti-diki-gia-ti-fotia-tis-marfin>.

bank employees on May 5, 2010. The *Έγκλημα/Crime* is, furthermore, represented as ‘circumstantialized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34) on the back of the Greek people: the prepositional nominal group on the back has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location’ where the Crime unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, the Crime is represented as taking place on the back of the Actor ‘We’. According to Babiniotis (2002: 1411), the entry *στην πλάτη*, (syn. *Πισώπλατα*), signifies, at the same time, the devious action (behind people’s back). Thus, the meaning construction here is that a Crime takes place in a sneaky way, (on the back of the ‘We’ Actor). Thus the ‘We’ Actor is represented as not being responsible for the Crime; on the contrary, someone else has acted in a sneaky way, taking advantage of the massive presence of the ‘We’ Actor (Greek people) in the manifestations. Extra-textual knowledge offers that last interpretation since, just the day after the fire in Marfin Bank, many political groups and parties, expressed the opinion that the arson was planned (by provocateurs) in order to stop the massive social disobedience against the austerity measures (MoU). A view that has become, since then, the official standpoint (among others) of the Greek Communist Party (KKE).<sup>92</sup>

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion of fear is ‘said’, realized by the nominal type *Έγκλημα/Crime*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure (see above), the specific emotion is ‘argued’ and addressed to the ‘We’ Actor (Greek people): the Actor as participant in the transitivity process (see the criterion of the people involved) has to feel the emotion of fear because of the fact that someone is acting (killing, Crime) taking advantage of the ‘We’ Actor’s (Greek people) massive manifestations. Thus, the Actor is represented as powerless to control the manifestation (see the criterion of (lack of) capacity to control the situation), and thus, ‘We’ should feel fear for that, i.e. both for demonstrating and for not having the control.

On the headline of ‘K’ on May 6, 2010, *Η στυγνή βία προκαλεί σοκ/The brutal violence causes shock*, none of the referred Actors is explicitly represented. In the transitivity structure of the headline, the nominal group *Η στυγνή βία/The brutal violence* has the participant role-‘phenomenon’ in the ‘mental process’ which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group *προκαλεί σοκ/causes shock*. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: The brutal violence shocks. Through the nominal type *βία/violence*, the actual arson of the Marfin Bank on May 5 is represented. Extra-textual knowledge about the violent events of May 5 establishes ‘coherence’ here, permitting us this interpretation. However, as we show in the analysis of the

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<sup>92</sup> See in brief: <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.article&id=159966>.

two previous headlines (see above), the actual Actor, culpable of this arson, is not (explicitly) represented. A choice which is totally in line with the one of the newspaper 'K'. Thus, the meaning construction which permits the spread of various rumors (regarding the responsible for the incident in Marfin Bank) is continued here.<sup>93</sup> As we can see up to now, the meaning construction about the perpetrator of the arson is followed by both the three newspapers, although they belong to different political and ideological fields and backgrounds.

On the analysis of emotions (pathos) revealed through this headline, the emotions of fear and shock are explicitly 'said', realized by the nominal types *βία/violence* and *σοκ/shock*. The nominal type *Η στυγνή/The brutal* in the nominal group *Η στυγνή βία/The brutal violence* loads further the emotion of fear. The fact that no Actor is represented as causing the specific emotions in the transitivity structure, those may be caused by anyone who exercises violence (particularly in a sneaky way [see, contemporaneously, the analysis of the newspaper 'E']), and, thus, this violence is not easily under control. Thus, the 'said' emotions are transformed into 'argued' ones, and should be legitimately felt by the audience of the newspaper since (as it is represented) there is no easy way (by no one) to control the situation (see the respective criterion) and, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the consequences are very strong, i.e. death (see the criterion of the possible consequences).

Finally, on the headline of the newspaper 'N' on May 6, 2010, *Η άβυσσος και η ευθύνη - Οργή και ανησυχία μετά το έγκλημα/The abyss and the responsibility - Rage and anxiety after the crime*, no Actor is explicitly represented again. In the elliptic transitivity structure,<sup>94</sup> the nominal types *Η άβυσσος/The abyss* and *η ευθύνη/the responsibility* are bound together in 'parataxis' and thus they have 'equal status' in the representation; the paratactic link is realized by the marker *και/and*. The first nominal type is 'extended' by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 374-375, 377-378). Thus, the *Η άβυσσος/The abyss*, signifying the countless depth of the ground, or the moment before the disaster (see Babiniotis 2002: 46) is extended by the *η ευθύνη/the responsibility*. Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here and permits us the interpretation of this headline: as we have already shown, the various rumors regarding the responsible (responsibility) for the tragic incidence of Marfin Bank were 'touching' groups of the social movements (e.g. anarchists), state institutions (e.g. the police, the fire department), and the Marfin Bank's executives. Moreover, according to the Greek

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<sup>93</sup> We refer to the rumors that were expressed then, and, according to which, political groups of the movements (e.g. anarchists), state institutions (e.g. the police, the fire department), the Bank's executives, may have had responsibilities for the arson that caused the death of the three bank employees.

<sup>94</sup> 'Ellipsis' appears when one significant element of the structure is absent, i.e. the 'core element' by which the 'process' is realized (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74; see also Archakis 2005: 60).

constitution, the government of the country and the police are responsible for the protection of the right in the demonstration. So, we may reasonably infer that the responsibility which appears in the headline concerns the dominant state, financial institutions and social actors; which are, therefore, 'backgrounded' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). Consequently, the responsibility, by which the abyss is 'extended' (see the paratactic link), regards the responsibility of the Actor 'Governor', the Actor 'Economy' (Bank's executives) and (part of) the 'We' Actor, and, thus, the respective Actors are (implicitly) negatively represented through their 'backgrounding'.

On the same headline, in the structure *Οργή και ανησυχία μετά το έγκλημα/Rage and anxiety after the crime*, by the nominal type *το έγκλημα/the crime* (in the prepositional nominal phrase *μετά το έγκλημα/after the crime*), the actual arson in Marfin Bank is realized. The nominal types *Οργή/Rage* and *ανησυχία/anxiety* are linked in 'parataxis', realized by the marker *και/and*, and thus are given 'equal status' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 374-375, 377-378). By the specific nominal types, the 'mental processes' of enrage and worry are represented, and, thus, we may regard the specific nominal types as 'process nouns' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439; Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). The prepositional nominal phrase *μετά το έγκλημα/after the crime* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location (time)' *when* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the mental processes occur. So, the overall meaning construction upon the headline may be paraphrased as: the dominant Actors (i.e. 'Governor', 'Economy', [part of] 'We') are responsible (responsibility) for the disaster (abyss) and enrage (rage) and provoke anxiety after the crime, i.e. the one in Marfin bank's arson.

On the pathos analysis of the newspaper's headline, the emotions of fear and rage are explicitly 'said', realized, respectively, by the nominal types *Η άβυσσος/The abyss*, *ανησυχία/anxiety* (fear) and *Οργή/Rage* (rage). Through the 'backgrounding' of the Actors 'Governor', 'Economy', (part of) 'We' in the configuration, the respective emotions are 'argued' and addressed against the specific Actors (see the criterion of the people involved) because of their lack of compatibility with the dominant value of social cooperation for the common good of the society (see the criterion of compatibility with values).

As we may see, recapitulating up to this point, despite their different positioning, the newspapers we examine proceed to a dense representation regarding the 'We' Actor (except from the 'N', see below) as an Actor enraged (*Οργή λαού/Rage of the people*, see the 'El') because of austerity measures implementation (*για τα μέτρα/for the measures*), as a victim of the crime and the violence (see the headlines of 'E' and 'K') and thus not responsible for both the arson

and the social disaster (abyss, see the newspaper 'N').<sup>95</sup> In this sense, we may infer that they identify themselves with PM Papandreou who, as we shown in the analysis of the parliamentary discourse, empathizes with the Greek people-victim of the violence (see chapter 5.1.1). As we may assume there is a peculiar conceptual connection between the media and the parliamentary discourse, in this case, regarding the empathy in front of the death of three people and against the violence revealed on May 5, 2010. The newspapers 'El' and 'N' proceed to a negative representation of the 'Governor: In the case of the newspaper 'El', the 'Governor' is represented as enraging the Greek people ('We') because of the measures implementation to which 'Governor' proceeds, and, thus, as violating the value according to which governors should protect the societal prosperity and peace. In the case of 'N', the 'Governor' is represented as being responsible (responsibility) for the social disaster (abyss) that has been created. Finally, the Actor 'Economy', i.e. the executives of the Marfin Bank, are (implicitly) negatively represented as responsible (responsibility) (along with the 'Governor' and (part of) the 'We') for the social disaster (abyss) that has been created. We also show that the meaning is inductively constructed and advanced in each headline, although the newspapers we examine, i.e. belong to different political/ideological fields and backgrounds. As we can see in this point the political and financial elites are construed as responsible for the Greek socio-economic tempest, permitting to the newspapers appear as institutions that stand on the side of the Greek people. In other words, newspapers favor their positioning in the public discussion by opposing the Actors who were perceived as being responsible for the affliction of the Greek society (i.e. the political and financial elites). Consequently, according to the representation of the social agency in newspapers headlines, crisis is regarded to be the outcome of the—negatively conceptualized—policies, implemented by the Greek political personnel and the financial elite.

The representation and organization of reality which is provided by the newspapers' discourse (see Fairclough 2003) leads to the formation of a dense emotive construction: this includes the emotions of rage provoked to the 'We' by the 'Governor' (see the newspaper 'El' and 'N') and fear as well as shock (see the newspaper 'K'), because of 'We' incapacity to control the situation (violence, crime) and the possible consequences (see contemporaneously, the newspapers 'El', 'E' and 'K') regarding the cruel Crime.

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<sup>95</sup> In the only case (in the newspaper 'N') where the Actor 'We' is represented as responsible for part of the social disaster, the representation is strongly implicit ('backgrounding') and there is a need for a very careful analysis of the transitivity structure in order for the role of the 'We' to be revealed.

## 6.2 Newspapers' headlines on June 28, 29, and 30, 2011

- (1) 8 αλλαγές πριν απο την εκτέλεση  
8 changes before the execution ('E', June 28, 2011)
- (2) 4 μισθούς χάνουν οι δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι  
4 salaries are losing [lost by] the civil servants ('E', June 28, 2011)
- (3) Κρίσιμες για 5ή δόση και ΠΑΣΟΚ οι ψηφοφορίες  
Crucial for 5th instalment and PASOK the votings ('K', June 28, 2011)
- (4) Γαλλικό κλειδί για το χρέος  
French key for the debt ('N', June 28, 2011)

In the headline of the newspaper 'E', on June 28, 2011, *8 αλλαγές πριν από την εκτέλεση/8 changes before the execution*, no specific Actor is (once more) explicitly represented. However, by the nominal type *αλλαγές/changes* premodified by the 'numerative' *8*, *8 αλλαγές/8 changes*, the last modifications to which the Greek government proceeded (before the voting of the Middle Term MoU), are realized; extra-textual knowledge facilitates coherence here. Thus, according to Van Leeuwen (2008: 29), the Actor 'Governor' is 'backgrounded', represented implicitly, since, once more, 'we can ask: who made the changes?', inferring reasonably that it is the 'Governor' that made them. The prepositional nominal group *πριν από την εκτέλεση/before the execution*, has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial element' that codes the 'location (time)' *when* the 'Governor's' action unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, through the connection between the elements in the transitivity process, the meaning constructed is that the (backgrounded and negatively represented) 'Governor' modifies the terms of the execution in which he leads (the society) via the further implementation of the MoU. As a result, 'Governor' is once more represented, by the newspaper 'E', as violating the value according to which governors should ensure the social common good.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion of fear is (primarily) 'said', realized by the nominal type *εκτέλεση/execution*. Moreover, through the interrelation of the different elements in the transitivity, and according to the extra-textual knowledge, the Actor 'Governor' is represented as provoking the emotion of fear (see the criterion of the people involved), and, thus, the additional emotion of detestation is 'argued' (and should be felt) against the 'Governor' for violating the role he was supposed to have in the society (see the criterion of the (lack of) compatibility with the dominant values and views).

In the headline of 'E' on June 28, 2011, *4 μισθούς χάνουν οι δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι/4 salaries are losing the civil servants*, (part of) the Actor 'We' is represented, realized by the nominal

group *οι δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι/the civil servants*. The respective nominal group has the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material transitive process’ which is realized by the verbal type *χάνουν/are losing*. The nominal group *4 μισθούς/4 salaries*, has the role-‘Goal’ in the transitivity structure. The representation produced by the interrelation in the transitivity structure creates meaning, according to which the civil servants are undergoing an (extensive) income decrease. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ here and provides the contextual frame since: it was well known that the civil servants had undergone extreme and horizontal income decreases during the implementation of austerity measures before the MoU agreement in 2010. Moreover, they were blamed by the government and by conservative politicians (e.g. MPs of ND and LAOS) that they were (partly) responsible for the Greek crisis according to the benefits they had before crisis, the non-transparent ways in which they were hired and the respective relations they had with the political elites.<sup>96</sup>

Conducting an analysis of emotions in the specific headline, the emotions ‘argued’, based on the interrelation in the transitivity process and the extra-textual knowledge, are those of fear and anger; they are ‘argued’ as being felt by the ‘We’ Actor: according to the participant role he has in the transitivity process (see the criterion of the people involved), ‘We’ is represented as undergoing a significant income decrease and a living standards deterioration (see the criterion of the possible consequences). Thus, the emotion of anger should be legitimately felt because of this progression. ‘We’ Actor is, furthermore, incapable of controlling the situation (see the respective criterion), given the fact that the decrease is decided by the Greek MPs and thus the ‘We’ Actor cannot intervene. Consequently, the emotion of fear is (or should be) legitimately felt by the ‘We’.

In the headline of ‘K’ on June 28, 2011, *Κρίσιμες για 5η δόση και ΠΑΣΟΚ οι ψηφοφορίες/Crucial for 5th installment and PASOK the votings*, on the one side, (part of) the Actor ‘Governor’ is represented, realized by the nominal *ΠΑΣΟΚ/PASOK*. Moreover, the Actor ‘Governor’ is represented as ‘backgrounded’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29) by the nominal group *οι ψηφοφορίες/the votings*. And that because we may ask, following Van Leeuwen (2008: 29): ‘who votes?’ and ‘reasonably infer’ that it is the PMs of PASOK who (at least) vote in favor of the bailout program; extra-textual knowledge enforces this interpretation and makes us conceive the nominal group *οι ψηφοφορίες/the votings* as the nominal group which codes the actual

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<sup>96</sup> Significant was the actual phrase of the Vice-President of the government of PASOK, Theodoros Pangalos, who stated that the political personnel of the country should respond to the enraged (because of the measures) Greek people, that the money of the Greek state were spent in nominations of civil servants etc. Phrase that became famous as ‘We ate [i.e. the money] all together’ (In Greek: «Τα φα γαμέ ολοι μαζί»). See more at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_m1PWwxdg\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_m1PWwxdg_s).



action (voting) which was taking place in the Greek parliament during June 28 and 29, 2011; thus, the nominal group is realized as a ‘process nominal group’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439; see, also, Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). On the other hand, the Actor ‘Economy’ is represented, realized by the nominal group *5η δόση/5th instalment*. Extra-textual knowledge offers us this interpretation (about the Actor ‘Economy’) since it is well-known that the disbursements agreed on the bailout program (MoU) were approved, to be given in specific periods, after the conclusions of the committee of evaluation were formed by executives of the EU institutions and the IMF. Every instalment was being made with the proviso that the committee’s evaluation (about the recovery rate of the Greek Economy) was positive. Moreover, the types *ΠΑΣΟΚ/PASOK* and *5η δόση/5th instalment* are linked together in ‘parataxis’ and thus they have ‘equal status’ in the representation; the paratactic link is realized by the marker *και/and*, and the first nominal type is ‘extended’ by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 374-375, 377-378). Thus, we may primarily see that (part of) the ‘Governor’ and the ‘Economy’ are represented as two Actors of ‘equal status’, and, moreover, the ‘Governor’ extends the meaning constructed upon the ‘Economy’. The prepositional nominal phrase which included the two represented Actors has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘cause’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262), i.e. for whom the voting in the parliament are crucial. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: the voting in the Greek parliament are crucial both for the ‘Economy’ and (part of) the ‘Governor’. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ once more in this headline and permits us a further interpretation:

- It was well known that the government of the Socialist Party (‘Governor’) was facing a tremendous social opposition which had taken the form of a massive collective action named ‘Aganaktismenoi’ (Indignants) for more than one month, and was expressed, centrally, in the manifestations of June 28 and 29, 2011 (see Goutsos and Polymeneas 2014).<sup>97</sup> Moreover, many MPs of PASOK were declaring their willing not to vote in favor of the measures.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the government of PASOK, (part of) the ‘Governor’, was in danger of collapse.

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<sup>97</sup> See also: <https://left.gr/news/28-29-ioynioy-2011-oi-imeres-poy-dakryse-i-dimokratia-vinteo>.

<sup>98</sup> See for examples at:

<http://www.iefimerida.gr/news/10732/%CE%B8%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%81-%CF%87%CF%89%CF%81%CE%AF%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%AD%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BC%CE%B5-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%82-%CE%B2%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%84%CE%AD%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%BF%CE%BA>  
and <http://www.inewsgr.com/135/den-psifizoun-to-mesoprothesmo-lianis-kai-athanasiadis.htm>

- It was also well-known that the international creditors were demanding an approval of the Middle-Term Agreement (MoU) by the Greek parliament so as the instalment to be released. Thus, a possible collapse of the Government would create problems in the release of the 5th instalment; and therefore, on the Greek 'Economy'. That explains further the 'equal status' the 'Governor' and 'Economy' Actor have in the representation; They are conceptualized as equally interrelated social entities.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion of fear is 'argued': According to the analysis of the transitivity and the extra-textual knowledge, the two-day voting in the parliament would affect (positively or negatively) the 'Governor' and the 'Economy'. A possible governmental collapse would cause the violation of 'Economy'. Thus, the audience should legitimately feel the emotion of fear because of its incapacity to control the situation (see the respective criterion of capacity to control the situation), and the possible consequences (see the criterion of the possible consequences) that would follow a governmental collapse and a violation of the Greek economy. An emotion which is provoked by the 'Governor' (implicitly represented by the process noun the votings) as the actual Actor that would cause the governmental and economic violation.

Finally, in the headline of 'N' on June 28, 2011, *Γαλλικό κλειδί για το χρέος/French key for the debt*, by the nominal group *Γαλλικό κλειδί/French key* the French President is realized and thus, a significant figure of the Actor 'Other' is represented as 'objectivized' and 'instrumentalized'; that is, an Actor is represented 'by means of reference to the instrument by which [he] carr[ies] out an action' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). In our case here, according to the common extra-textual knowledge, a French key is a specific tool used to fix, for instance, a damage, to repair a drain. Moreover, during the specific period, the French president made a proposal for the resolution and the relief of the Greek public debt. By prepositional nominal group *για το χρέος/for the debt*, the Actor 'Economy' is represented. The prepositional group has the role of 'prepositional circumstantial element' in the structure coding the 'reason' what for (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the French key is used. Thus, the interrelation between the nominal group and the prepositional circumstantial element constructs meaning, according to which a significant political figure of the 'Others' is employed in order to resolve/repair the Greek debt crisis. As a result, the 'Other' is positively represented.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion of admiration is 'argued' in favor of the 'Other' Actor; in the sense that the specific emotion should be legitimately felt in favor of the 'Other'. The interrelation in the transitivity structure represents the specific Actor as acting (see

the criterion of the people involved) in favor of the Greek debt relief and thus, in favor of the 'Economy'. Consequently, the 'Others' should be admired because of their action in favor of the Greek 'Economy'.

(1) Ψηφοφορία με δάκρυα λαού

Voting with tears of people ('E', June 29, 2011)

(2) Διλήμματα τρόμου βάζουν οι Βρυξέλλες

Dilemmas of terror put [by] Brussels ('E', June 29, 2011)

(3) Τελεσίγραφα και υποσχέσεις Ε.Ε.

Ultimatums and promises of E.U. ('K', June 29, 2011)

(4) Ψήφος εκτάκτου ανάγκης

Vote of Emergency State ('N', June 29, 2011)

In the headline of 'E' on June 29, 2011, *Ψηφοφορία με δάκρυα λαού/Voting with tears of people*, by the nominal type *Ψηφοφορία/Voting*, the action taking place inside the Greek Parliament is realized. Thus, we may primarily conceive the nominal type as a 'process noun' through which (part of the) MPs are 'backgrounded' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29); we may ask 'who votes?' and reasonably infer that the Actor is the 'Governor', i.e. the parliamentary majority.<sup>99</sup> The nominal type is 'associated' with the prepositional nominal group *με δάκρυα λαού/with tears of people*; association is realized by the marker with introducing the prepositional nominal group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 39). By the nominal group *δάκρυα λαού/tears of people* the Actor 'We' is represented as crying: the *δάκρυα/tears* is 'possessivized' by the nominal type *λαού/of people* postmodified by *of* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34).

Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here and makes the headline comprehensible since it is commonly known (and already shown, see headlines of June 28, 2011) that, during the discussion for the Middle-Term Agreement (MoU), outside the parliament massive demonstrations took place, facing extensive suppression (e.g. tear gas) by the Greek police (MAT). Thus, the meaning construction produced by the interrelation of the transitivity elements and the extra-textual knowledge associates the voting of the new MoU ('Governor') with the suppression of the Actor 'We'. Thus, the 'Governor' is (negatively)

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<sup>99</sup> Worth mentioning here that the parliamentary majority in this voting was formed by 154 PASOK's MPs and the MP of ND, Elsa Papadimitriou who was, consequently, withdrawn by the parliamentary group of ND after the decision of the President of ND, Antonis Samaras. The MP of PASOK, Panagiotis Kouroumplis, voted against the measures and was also withdrawn by the parliamentary group of PASOK according to the decision of the President of PASOK and PM, G.A. Papandreou. Panagiotis Kouroumplis, was then re-elected with SYRIZA and was placed Minister of Health in the first government (January 2015 - September 2015) and Minister of Internal Affairs in the second government of Alexis Tsipras.

represented as suppressive force against the 'We', violating the dominant value, according to which the governors should protect the social common-good and free demonstration.

On the pathos analysis of this headline, the emotion of sorrow is (primarily) 'said', realized by the nominal type δάκρυα/tears. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure the specific emotion is represented as provoked to the 'We' Actor (see the 'possessivation' realized by the nominal group δάκρυα λαού/*tears of people*) by the 'Governor' ('backgrounded', realized by the nominal type Ψηφοφορία/*Voting*) (see the criterion of the people involved). Moreover, the 'coherence' established by the extra-linguistic knowledge offers us the interpretation that the tears were provoked by the massive police repression that took place on and around Syntagma Square during the mobilizations. Therefore, the emotion of sorrow is transformed and 'argued' as fear and anger: Anger because the 'We' is represented as suppressed by state forces ('Governor') while exercising the constitutional right of demonstration (see the criterion of the (lack of) compatibility with values) and fear because the 'We' is incapable of controlling the situation represented (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation).

In the headline of 'E' on June 29, 2011, Διλήμματα τρόμου βάζουν οι Βρυξέλλες/*Dilemmas of terror put Brussels*, the Actor 'Other' is represented, realized by the nominal group οι Βρυξέλλες/*Brussels*. The 'Other' is 'objectivized' and 'spatialized'; 'spatialization is a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place with which they are, in the given context, closely associated' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). Extra-textual knowledge offers us this interpretation, establishing 'coherence', since it is commonly known that the headquarters of the European Commission (EU's central institution) are based in the city of Brussels. The 'Other' is 'activated', realized by the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material transitive process', which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type βάζουν/*put*. The nominal group Διλήμματα τρόμου/*Dilemmas of terror* has the role-'goal' where the 'material transitive process' extends. Through the interrelation in the transitivity process, the 'Other' is represented as terrorizing and violating, in this sense, the value according to which he should secure the European integration and prosperity.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of fear is explicitly 'said', realized by the nominal group Διλήμματα τρόμου/*Dilemmas of terror*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity process, the specific emotion is 'argued', represented as provoked by the Actor 'Other' (see the criterion of the people involved). At the same time, the specific emotion is transformed into detestation, since 'Other', represented as terrorizing, is violating the value of securing the EU's integration and prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility (or not) with dominant values and views).

In the headline of 'K' on June 29, 2011, *Τελεία και υποσχέσεις Ε.Ε./Ultimatums and promises of E.U.*, once more, the Actor 'Other' is represented, realized by the acronym *E.E./E.U.* In the transitivity structure, the nominal types *Τελεία/Ultimatums* and *υποσχέσεις/promises* are linked in 'parataxis' and thus 'are given equal status' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489); 'parataxis' is realized by the marker *και/and*. The respective nominal types code, respectively, two 'verbal processes' and thus are seen as 'process nominal types' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439; Van Leeuwen 2008: 30) which are 'postmodified by the of, represented in this way as 'possessivized' by the *E.U.* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Through the 'possessivation' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34), the 'Other' is 'activated' as Actor addressing Ultimatums and promises. Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence', enforcing the interpretation here:

- The scenario of Greece's exit from the Eurozone was imposed in the public dialogue and had taken the form of 'a powerful discourse' called 'Grexit' (see Angouri and Wodak 2014: 451). The 'Grexit' represented the no alternative to the austerity measures implementation in order for Greece to remain in the core of the Eurozone.
- Furthermore, in the Greek context, the nominal type Ultimatums establishes specific conceptualizations since Greece had received at least two times in its national history Ultimatums from invader enemies during the Second World War (i.e. from the Fascist Italy and the Nazi Germany). Thus, we may infer that the nominal group produces specific and negative meaning constructions, and consequently, 'Others' are negatively represented as (future) forces of occupation.

However, this negative representation is confused by the nominal type *υποσχέσεις/promises*. Once more, extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here, since it is known that in the respective period, there has been a financial plan, launched by the dominant, supranational institutions (EU, IMF), for the reduction of the Greek Debt; a plan (coded as PSI) which was implemented in March 2012, with Evangelos Venizelos (PASOK) in the Ministry of Economics. Thus, the specific nominal represents a positive possible plan for the Greek debt relief. Overall, 'K' in its headline mixes a negative and a positive representation of the 'Other' and the meaning construction could be paraphrased as: the EU sends (negative) ultimatums but also (positive) promises for Greece, producing confusion about the role of the EU in the Greek bailout.

Consequently, conducting a pathos analysis on this headline, the contradictory emotions of detestation, anger (on the one side) and hope (on the other) are ‘argued’, represented as provoked by the Actor ‘Other’, through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure. More specifically, the ‘Other’ is represented as addressing Ultimatums (see the criterion of the people involved), and, therefore, violating the dominant value according to which ‘Others’ is regarded to be a democratic institution ensuring the prosperity of the Union (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). In this sense, the emotions of fear and anger should be legitimately felt against the Actor ‘Other’. On the opposite side, the ‘Other’ is also represented as giving promises (see the criterion of the people involved). Also, drawing upon the extra-textual knowledge, these promises regard a future debt relief, and, thus, an improvement on Greece’s economy and living standards. As a result, ‘Other’ is in full compatibility with the dominant value according to which ‘Other’ is regarded to be a democratic institution ensuring the prosperity of the European Union (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). In this sense, the emotions of hope should be legitimately felt as provoked by the Actor ‘Other’.

Finally, in the headline of ‘N’ on June 29, 2011, *Ψήφος εκτάκτου ανάγκης/Vote of emergency state*, the Actor ‘Governor’ is represented realized by the nominal type *Ψήφος/Vote*. Through that type, as we have already seen, the process of voting inside the parliament (by the Governmental majority, see above) is represented. Thus, the nominal type is seen as a ‘process noun’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439; Van Leeuwen 2008: 30) which is postmodified by the *of*, represented in this way as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal group *εκτάκτου ανάγκης/emergency state* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Through the above representation, the vote of the ‘Governor’ is imposed by the state of emergency occurring in Greece.

Extra-textual knowledge offers us further interpretation since there were widespread statements addressed by Governmental executives, according to which no one in the government of PASOK wanted to implement such a large scale of austerity measures; they were all attributing these measures implementation to the fact that there was going to be a financial collapse if the bailout did not happen. In this sense, the ‘Governor’ is represented as acting (vote) against its will, due to the tremendous financial difficulties. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: Governmental majority votes (against its will) due to the (financial etc.) emergency.

Based on the analysis of the transitivity process, and conducting a pathos analysis in the headline, the emotions of sympathy and admiration are ‘argued’ and should be legitimately felt in favor of the ‘Governor’. That is because the ‘Governor’ is represented in the transitivity

process as the Actor who votes the austerity measures (see the criterion of the people involved), not according to their will but because of Greece's emergency state. In this sense, although 'Governor' is (primarily) represented as not being compatible with the values of the political background of the Socialists-Democrats (PASOK), the voting in favor of the measures is imposed by the need of country's rescue and thus, is fully compatible with the dominant value, according to which 'Governor' should ensure the societal prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility with dominant values). Thus 'Governor' should be admired and provoke sympathy to the audience.

- (1) Όργιο κρατικής τρομοκρατίας  
Orgy of state terrorism ('Ε', June 30, 2011)
- (2) Η Ελλάδα των στεναγμών  
The Greece of Sighs ('Ε', June 30, 2011)
- (3) Δανειακή ανάσα και ξέσπασμα βίας  
Loan breath and outbreak of violence ('Κ', June 30, 2011)
- (4) 155 ψήφοι = 120 δισ. Ευρώ  
155 votes = 120 billion Euro ('Ν', June 30, 2011)

In the headline of 'Ε' on June 30, 2011, *Όργιο κρατικής τρομοκρατίας/Orgy of state terrorism*, by the nominal group *κρατικής τρομοκρατίας/state terrorism*, the 'Governor' is (negatively) represented. The 'Governor' is explicitly represented as exercising terrorism, violating the value according to which governors should secure the societal common good. Furthermore, through this representation, the ideological view according to which the state has the legitimate right of using violence is deconstructed and the 'Governor' is represented as terrorist. The nominal type *Όργιο/Orgy*, codes and represents 'each lecherous act due to rampant carnal passions' as well as 'the sequence of illegal and unfair actions' (see Babiniotis 2002: 1269). The nominal type is 'possessivized' by the 'Governor' (represented as terrorist); 'possessivation' is realized by the of postmodifying the *Όργιο/Orgy* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Through the interrelation of the different elements in the configuration, the Actor 'Governor' is represented as proceeding to continuous illegal and unfair, terroristic actions. Moreover, the emergence of the nominal types *τρομοκρατίας/terrorism* and *τρόμου/terror* (see the headline of the newspaper 'Ε' of June 29, 2011) establishes 'intertextuality' among the two different newspapers, 'incorporating' and 'recontextualizing' the meaning of the one headline into the other (see Fairclough 2003: 51) leading to the construing of a consequent discourse (see Fairclough 2003), due to which the 'Other' (Brussels, see 'Ε' of June 29, 2011) and the

‘Governor’ (this headline) are terrorizing; thus, violating their role, according to which they should protect the common good both in Greece and in the EU.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotions of fear and terror are ‘said’, realized by the nominal *τρομοκρατίας/terrorism*. The specific emotions, along with the one of detestation are ‘argued’, and should be legitimately felt by the audience, against the ‘Governor’, according to the analysis of the transitivity: the ‘Governor’ represented as proceeding to terroristic actions (see the criterion of the people involved), provokes the emotions of fear and terror. The specific emotions are accompanied with the one of detestation since the ‘Governor’ violates the value according to which he should protect and ensure in his capacity, i.e. the social common good (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In the headline of ‘E’ on June 30, 2011, *Η Ελλάδα των στεναγμών/The Greece of sighs*, ‘Country’ is the Actor explicitly represented, realized by the nominal group *Η Ελλάδα/Greece*. The Actor ‘Country’ is ‘possessivized’ by the nominal group *των στεναγμών/of sighs*; ‘possessivation’ here is realized by the of postmodifying the nominal group *Η Ελλάδα/The Greece* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 43), representing the ‘Country’ as being possessed by moaning.<sup>100</sup> In the headline ‘intertextuality’ is established with the (almost explicit) incorporation of the nominalization of the famous ‘Bridge of Sighs’ (Italian: Ponte dei Sospiri), a bridge located in Venice, Italy. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates ‘coherence’ here, enriching

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<sup>100</sup> We need to highlight, here, the phenomenon of ‘metaphor’ which is broadly employed to describe the replacement of a word with another of similar meaning. In our, SF lexicogrammatical view, we pay attention to the phenomenon of ‘grammatical metaphor’ (see among others Halliday 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999) and the occurring difference between the SFL conceptualization of ‘metaphor’ and other approaches informed, mostly, by the cognitive psychology (see Lakoff and Johnson 2003). Although the examination of the specific concept is not among the analytical priorities of the dissertation, as we will also see next, ‘grammatical metaphor’ appears in some of our data, so some brief clarifications are necessary (for a detailed discussion on this issue with data coming from Greek, see Maniou 2016: Chapter 6). Since the SF lexicogrammatical view pays attention on the realization of meaning via the lexicogrammatical level (view from above), in the case of the grammatical metaphor, SFL examine ‘the differentiation between the realization of meaning: starting by a conceptual category in the experiential level and the subsequent different ways in which this conceptual category is realized in the lexicogrammatical level. For example, το πέταγμα του πουλιού/the flight of the bird instead of το πουλί πετάει/the bird flies’ (see Maniou 2016: 102). In this case the same—external—experience (i.e. the fact that a characteristic of a bird is that it is flying) is realized in two different grammatical categories (i.e. a nominal group the flight vs a verbal group flies). So, we do not have the replacement of a word with another of a similar meaning (as in the broad perception of the concept of ‘metaphor’) but the replacement of a grammatical category with another. Also in this case, according to the Hallidayan perception, ‘[t]he view is a “view from above” (see Taverniers 2003: 6; as quoted in Maniou 2016: 102) from the meaning/semantics to the realization’ (Maniou 2016: 102). Moreover, focusing on the ideational function, as we do here, SFL pay attention on the ‘ideational grammatical metaphor’ (see Taverniers 2003:8; Halliday and Martin 2004: 636) which are also called ‘metaphors of transitivity since the grammatical differentiation [...] takes places in the system of transitivity’ - The most usual realization of the grammatical metaphor in the system of transitivity is the phenomenon of the ‘nominalization’ (see Maniou 2016: 105), as in our case, instead of having the structure *Greece sighs* we have the structure *The Greece of sighs*, which, as we will see in the overall analysis of the headline, has further consequences in the meaning construction and the conceptualization, in our case, of the Actor ‘Country’. In our data, following Van Leeuwen (2008), we choose to see the phenomenon of nominalization, also, as ‘process nouns’.



the construed conceptualization, since the certain bridge was the actual place where convicts viewed their city (Venice) for the last time before their imprisonment. We, thus, may see that in the meaning construction the 'Country' is negatively represented as the actual place where convicts (i.e. Greeks) are taken before their imprisonment.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of mourning is (primarily) 'said', realized by the nominal group *των στεναγμών/of sighs*. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure and, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the emotion of mourning is transformed into the one of fear and 'argued' as provoked by the 'Country': The 'Country', represented as the actual place where convicts take a last view of the free world before being imprisoned, provokes the emotion of fear to the audience (Greeks) due to the incapability of Greeks to control the situation represented (see the respective criterion).

In the headline of 'K' on June 30, 2011, *Δανειακή ανάσα και ξέσπασμα βίας/Loan breath and outbreak of violence*, the respective nominal groups are linked together in 'parataxis' and thus, 'they are given equal status'; 'the former [is] elaborating in function' and 'the latter extending' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489). More specifically, through the nominal group *Δανειακή ανάσα/Loan breath* the 'Economy' is represented as 'elaborating' the nominal group *ξέσπασμα βίας/outbreak of violence*,<sup>101</sup> which, consequently, 'extends' the representation of 'Economy' (Loan breath). The 'Economy' is represented as breathing after the loan reimbursement but, although the bailout programs (and the respective loans) are positively characterized by 'K', in this structure the newspaper constructs meaning in which bailout and violence have equal status: the meaning construction is that the bailout is extended by a wave of riots. Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' allowing us a further interpretation of this headline: it is widely known that during the voting of the Middle-Term Agreement (MoU) widespread and massive demonstrations took place in Greek cities (see Giovanopoulos and Mitropoulos 2011). During these demonstrations, extended riots occurred (mostly in front of the Greek parliament).<sup>102</sup> Thus, the newspaper, by the nominal group *ξέσπασμα βίας/outbreak of violence*, represents (implicitly) a part of the 'We' Actor: following, once more, Van Leeuwen (2008: 29), 'we may ask "But who proceeded to this violence outbreak?"' and, 'we may infer reasonably' that the Actor represented, as 'backgrounded', is (part of) the 'We'. Thus, the meaning constructed in the transitivity structure could be paraphrased as: the 'Economy'

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<sup>101</sup> The nominalization *ξέσπασμα/outbreak* within the nominal group is, again, a realization of grammatical metaphor. The unmarked case would be *η βία ξεσπά/*the violence outbreaks.

<sup>102</sup> See in detail: <http://news.in.gr/greece/article/?aid=1231113474>.

breaths (after the bailout) and (part of) the 'We' proceeds to violence. Thus, 'We' is, implicitly, accused as undermining 'Economy's' recovery.

On the pathos analysis, two opposite emotive constructions are provided here. The emotion of hope is 'argued' in favor of the 'Economy' and the ones of anger and detestation against the 'We' Actor. More specifically, the 'Economy', represented in the transitivity structure as breathing (breath), causes hope for a (possible) recovery. On the contrary, the 'We' is implicitly represented ('backgrounded') as causing violence (see the criterion of the people involved), and thus, as being incompatible with the dominant value of the social peace guarantee (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In the headline of 'N' on June 30, 2011, *155 ψήφοι = 120 δισ. Ευρώ/155 votes = 120 billion Euro*, the non-linguistic elements (i.e. 155, 120, =) must be taken into consideration since they are significant for the interpretation of the headline. By the nominal type *ψήφοι/votes*, the 'Governor' is represented as 'backgrounded' and 'assimilated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29, 3738): The 'Governor' is represented as 'backgrounded' since there is no (explicit) reference to the relevant Actors while their activities are included, realized by the nominal type 'process noun' *ψήφοι/votes*, which indicates the action of voting that took place in the parliament (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). 'Governor' is, moreover, 'assimilated', realized by the 'massive (process) noun' *ψήφοι/votes* and more particularly, this kind of 'assimilation' is coded as 'aggregation', treating the Actor as a statistic (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37), realized by the 'numerative' 155 (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317-318), which is premodifying the type *155 ψήφοι/155 votes*. Overall, 'Governor' is represented as a consensus group, and 'N' conceals the fact that the parliamentary majority was composed not only by the MPs of PASOK but also by an MP of ND (see note 13). The Actor 'Governor' by the non-linguistic element = is, furthermore, represented as equal to the nominal group *δισ. Ευρώ/billion Euro* which is quantified by the 'numerative' 120 (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317-318). Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' and provides us with the interpretation that the multimodal type *120 billion Euro* is the actual amount of Greece's bailout, agreed in the MoU. In this sense, 'Governor' is positively represented as a fully consensus group that is equivalent to the country's bailout.

Consequently, on the pathos analysis, and based on the analysis of the transitivity, the emotion of admiration is 'argued' (and should be felt) in favor of the 'Governor': The specific Actor, represented as 'equal' to the financial rescue (see the criterion of the people involved), should be admired by the public for ensuring the prosperity and the common good (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

Recapitulating up to this point, the findings of our analysis show that the newspapers during the dates June 28-30, 2011, are proceeding to diverse (and almost conflicting) representations regarding the same Actors.

More specifically, the newspaper 'El' (i.e. Eleftherotypia) proceeds to a negative representation of the 'Governor' Actor who is represented as carrying out execution (June 28) and as terrorizing (state terrorism) (June 30, 2011). The opposition to the 'Governor' is fully compatible with the conceptualization in which the newspaper proceeded on May 6, 2010 and, contests the representation of the 'Governor' as a force that aims to resolve in a positive manner the outcome of the crisis (see the in-group representation on PM Papandreou's speech, chapter 5.2.1). Thus, Greek crisis is conceptualized as the outcome of the political handling made by the 'Governor'. Consequently, 'Governor' provokes the emotions of fear and detestation to the audience since he is represented as violating the dominant views about the social role of protecting and ensuring the common good. On the contrary, in the same newspaper, the 'We' is undergoing extensive suppression (orgy of state terrorism), represented as having the emotions of sorrow (tears of people), fear and anger. In the same line, the newspaper 'E' (i.e. Ethnos) proceeds to the representation of the 'We', as Actor who undergoes income decrease (salaries [lost by]), and thus, as having the emotions of fear and anger. The empathy towards the Greeks is construed also here. On the contrary, the 'Others' are represented as causing terror and thus, as provoking the emotions of fear and detestation. Significant for this discursive and emotive construction appears to be the 'intertextuality' established among the headlines of 'E' and 'El', realized by the repetitive emergence of the nominal types terrorism and terror in the headlines; it advances the meaning construction, according to which 'Governor' and 'Others' are terrorizing, and leads, consequently, to a dense (negative) emotive construction. Finally, the 'Country' is represented in the headline of the 'E' (June 30, 2011) as a place of mourning (of Sighs) and prison (see the intertextual connections and the 'coherence' established); correspondingly 'Country' provokes the emotions of mourning and fear, according to representation in the transitivity structure and the extra-textual knowledge.

On an (almost) totally different direction, 'K' represents the Actors 'Governor' and 'Economy' as having 'equal status'; connected in 'parataxis' (see headline on June 28), it represents 'Governor's' survival as extending the survival of 'Economy's'. In this sense, it creates the emotion of fear since (according to its representation) a possible governmental collapse would lead to a collapse of the 'Economy'. Furthermore, 'K' proceeds to a mixed and confusing representation of the 'Other', since it is represented as offering both Ultimatum and promises and thus, as provoking the mixed emotions of fear and anger (on the one side) due to the

Ultimatum, and hope (on the other) due to the promises for a (possible) debt relief (see, especially the coherence established in the respective headline). Finally, while it proceeds to the positive representation of the 'Economy' as breathing (breath), creating the emotions of hope, it (negatively) represents the Actor 'We' as rioting (violence) causing the emotions of anger and detestation.

The only newspaper which proceeds (explicitly) to a positive representation of the Actors 'Other' and 'Governor', is the newspaper 'N'. The 'Other' (French key) is represented as resolving the problem of the Greek debt, and, thus, as provoking the emotion of admiration. The 'Governor' is represented as imposing austerity measures, but against his will (see headline on June 29), due to the emergency which exists (emergency state) and thus, as ensuring the common good, being compatible with the dominant view regarding the 'Governor'. In this sense, it provokes the emotions of sympathy and admiration. In the same line, finally, 'Governor' is represented (in the headline of 'N' on June 30, 2011) as a consensus group that rescues the 'Economy', provoking the emotion of admiration.

### 6.3 Newspapers' Layouts on November 15, 16, and 17, 2011

(1) Καρμπόν από το παρελθόν

Carbon paper from the past ('E', November 15, 2011)

(2) Ξεκίνημα με καθαρά λόγια σε όλους

Beginning with clear words to all ('E', November 15, 2011)

(3) Αλήθειες και διλήμματα από Παπαδήμο

Truths and dilemmas from Papademos ('K', November 15, 2011)

(4) Απολύσεις εξπρές στον δημόσιο τομέα

Dismissals express in the public sector ('N', November 15, 2011)<sup>103</sup>

In the headline of 'E' on November 15, 2011, *Καρμπόν από το παρελθόν/Carbon paper from the past*, no Actor is explicitly represented. Extra-textual knowledge (primarily) establishes 'coherence' here, guiding our analysis, since it is commonly known that the Carbon paper is a material used to copy an original paper, object etc. The prepositional nominal group *από το παρελθόν/from the past* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location (time)' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) where the Carbon paper (i.e. the

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<sup>103</sup> The nominal express (see Dismissals express) is used in the sense of a furious action that takes place.

copy) extends. Primarily, following Van Leeuwen (2008: 29), we may ask ‘who is the copy?’ and reasonably infer that the Actor ‘Governor’ is (implicitly) represented as a copy of the previous one. Extra-textual knowledge (once more) dictates this interpretation since it is commonly known that the new coalition government was formed by MPs of the parties PASOK, ND and LAOS, where the overwhelming majority was that of PASOK, since it was (back then) the major parliamentary party. Thus, Papademos’ Government (‘Governor’) is (firstly) represented, in the headline, as ‘backgrounded’. Moreover, the ‘Governor’ is represented as ‘impersonalized’, realized by the nominal type *Καρμπόν/Carbon paper*; ‘impersonalization’ is realized ‘by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature “human”’ (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the ‘Governor’ is represented as identically copying (Carbon paper) the past, and, thus, as an identical copy of the previous ‘Governor’ which had implemented strict fiscal reforms, and had just resigned, facing a huge social and political outrage and continuous, massive demonstrations.

Based on the analysis of the transitivity process, and conducting a rhetorical analysis of emotions, we may see the emotions of anger and fear, ‘argued’ upon this headline: the ‘Governor’, represented as identical to the previous one, i.e. PASOK, brings all the meaning load of the previous government, as this was constructed in previous headlines of this newspaper (see the analysis of ‘El’ in the above subsections). Thus, the specific emotions should be (legitimately) felt against the (new) ‘Governor’, identical to the previous one.

‘E’, in its headline on November 15, 2011, *Ξεκίνημα με καθαρά λόγια σε όλους/Beginning with clear words to all*, represents the ‘Governor’ as ‘backgrounded’; realized by the ‘process noun’ *Ξεκίνημα/Beginning*: ‘we may ask “who does begin?” and infer reasonably that it is the new coalition government which was asking for a trust vote those days (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). The ‘backgrounded’ Actor is ‘associated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 39) with the prepositional nominal group *με καθαρά λόγια/with clear words*, which has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial of manner’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) in the structure. Through the ‘association’, the ‘Governor’ is (positively) represented as straightforward.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, the prepositional nominal type *σε όλους/to all* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial of location’ indicating the ‘place’ *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the clear words unfold. In this sense, the words of the ‘Governor’ are

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<sup>104</sup> It is worth mentioning here that this representation (straightforward) is quite opposite of the dominant representation of the previous PM (Papandreou), who, although he won the elections of 2010 on a program of social benefits, he, nevertheless implemented strict austerity measures. Famous remains until today, his phrase ‘Money do exist’ (in Greek: «Λεφτά Υπάρχουν») which he was arguing in order to support his pro-electoral program. See e.g.: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V3RVWA7uLmw>

intended for an abstract group which is realized by the nominal type all. Extra-textual knowledge is establishing 'coherence' here since it was well known that the formation of the Papademos' Government, although it was supported by a great parliamentary majority (parties of PASOK, ND, LAOS), had to face the internal disagreements of the parties (especially those of ND, which was asking for elections because of the party's rise in the exit-polls) and the clamor of the Greek people.

Conducting an analysis of emotions in the headline, and based on the analysis of the transitivity structure we conducted above, as well as on the extra-textual knowledge, the emotion of admiration is 'argued' (and should be felt) in favor of the 'Governor'. The 'Governor' is represented in the headline as a straightforward Actor (with clear words), and, according to the extra-textual knowledge (see above), as opposite to his predecessors. Thus, he should be admired as he is represented as fully compatible with the dominant values (e.g. honesty, clarity) (see the criterion of the compatibility with the dominant values).

Newspaper 'K', in its headline on November 15, 2011, *Αλήθειες και διλήμματα από Παπαδήμο/Truths and dilemmas from Papademos*, represents (explicitly) the Actor 'Governor'. The 'Governor' is 'nominated' by 'formal nomination' (surname only) (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 41), realized by the nominal *Παπαδήμο/Papademos* in the prepositional nominal group *από Παπαδήμο/from Papademos*. The prepositional nominal group has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' which codes the 'location' *where* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Realized by the prepositional circumstantial, the 'Governor' is activated via 'circumstantialization' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) in the structure. Also, in the transitivity structure, by the nominal types *Αλήθειες/Truths* and *διλήμματα/dilemmas* the 'verbal processes' saying the truth and addressing dilemmas are represented; the nominal types have the role of 'process nouns' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34; see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439). Moreover, the nominal types ('process nouns') are linked together in 'parataxis', realized by the marker *και/and*, thus, 'they are given equal status'; the second nominal 'extends' the first one in the paratactic link (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 379-380). In other words, through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the 'verbal processes' (*Αλήθειες/Truths* and *διλήμματα/dilemmas*) are represented as addressed by (coming from, see prepositional circumstantial) the 'Governor' (*από Παπαδήμο/from Papademos*); the 'Governor' is thus represented as telling the truth and as imposing dilemmas.

Consequently, an emotions (pathos) analysis may present two (different) 'argued' emotions: the one of admiration and, on the other side, the one of fear and anger. The 'Governor', represented as telling the truth, as sincere (*Truths*) (see the criterion of the people involved), is

fully compatible with the respective, dominant value, i.e. sincerity (see the criterion of compatibility with the dominant values), and, at the same time, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the opposite of previous (negatively represented) ‘Governors’. Thus, ‘Governor’ should be admired by the audience. But, on the contrary, the Actor, represented as addressing dilemmas (dilemmas) (see the criterion of the people involved), is provoking the emotion of fear to the audience. Consequently, ‘Governor’ is not compatible with the dominant value, according to which governors should guide and secure the social unity and prosperity (see the criterion of compatibility with the dominant values). Thus, the Actor is represented as provoking the emotions of uncertainty and anger along with the one of fear to the audience.

Finally, in the headline of the newspaper ‘N’ on November 15, 2011, *Απολύσεις εξπρές στον δημόσιο τομέα/Dismissals express in the public sector*, (part of) the Actor ‘We’ is represented, realized by the nominal group *δημόσιο τομέα/the public sector*. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ since it is well-known that a large number of Greeks (‘We’ Actor) were working in the public sector. By the nominal type *Απολύσεις/Dismissals*, the ‘material process’ *απολύω/dismiss* is realized. Thus, once more, via the nominalization, the grammatical metaphor appears in the transitivity structure, marking the meaning. The prepositional nominal group *στον δημόσιο τομέα/in the public sector* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’, coding the ‘location’, the ‘place’ where the ‘material process’ (dismiss) unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, the represented ‘We’ is facing the dismissal.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the interrelation in the transitivity process ‘argues’ the emotion of fear: the ‘We’ Actor is represented as facing the dismissals (see the criterion of the people involved) and thus, as facing the possibility of the deterioration of the (‘We’) living standards (see the possible consequences). The specific emotion is loaded further since, according to the extra-textual knowledge, in case of dismissal in the public sector, the civil servant cannot react, since it is the ‘Governor’ that decides for the dismissal, and second, during the respective period, there was an extensive discussion about the dismissals of civil servants, which was a proposal demanded by the international creditors to the ‘Governor’.<sup>105</sup>

(1) 7 χαράτσια σε 100 ημέρες

7 charatsia [special taxes] in 100 days (‘E’, November 16, 2011)

(2) Εγκύκλιος αλαλούμ για την εφεδρεία

Circular mess for the redundancy (‘E’, November 16, 2011)

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<sup>105</sup> See, e.g.: <http://www.xronos.gr/detail.php?ID=68246>.

(3) Θρίλερ με επιστολές και 6ή δόση

Thriller with letters and [the] 6th installment ('K', November 16, 2011)

(4) Ο Γιώργος μένει και σχεδιάζει λίστα

George stays and plans list ('N', November 16, 2011)

On the headline of the newspaper 'El', on November 16, 2011, 7 χαράτσια σε 100 ημέρες/7 *charátsia* in 100 days, none of the refereed Actors is (once more) explicitly represented. By the nominal type *χαράτσια/charátsia*, premodified by the 'numeration' 7 (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317-318), the special tax (imposed by the previous government) is realized. The extra-textual knowledge facilitates 'coherence' permitting us this interpretation since: it is well-known that the government of PASOK imposed a special tax which had to be paid through the bills of the Hellenic Public Power Corporation (HCCP).<sup>106</sup> Thus, we may (once more) ask, following Van Leeuwen (2008: 29), 'who imposed the extra taxes?' and infer that the Actor is the 'Governor'. Thus, the Actor is represented 'in relation to the given actions' as 'backgrounded' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). On the same time, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the nominal type *χαράτσια/charátsia* refers explicitly to the period of the Ottoman Empire and the special, real strict, taxes they had implemented to the Greek populations during specific periods.<sup>107</sup> Thus the nominal type incorporates and 'recontextualizes' one of the most traumatic incidents during periods of the Ottoman Empire. The prepositional nominal group *σε 100 ημέρες/in 100 days*, premodified by the 'numeration' 100 (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317-318), has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location' of 'time' *when* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the tax imposition is made. In total, through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the 'Governor' is represented as imposing extra taxes (similar to the ones imposed during the so-called slavery of the Greeks to the Ottoman Empire).

On the pathos analysis, and based on the analysis of the transitivity, the emotion 'argued' is the one of anger. The 'backgrounded' Actor (see criterion of the people involved) is represented as imposing new taxes, and thus, as exhausting financially the taxpayers. Thus, it provokes the specific emotion, since 'Governor' is violating the role according to which the governments have to ensure the societal prosperity (see the criterion of the compatibility with the dominant values). The emotion is further loaded since (according to the extra-textual

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<sup>106</sup> See more at: [http://www.aegeanews.gr/default.asp?id=27&lg\\_id=1&Records=Details&\\_id=385675](http://www.aegeanews.gr/default.asp?id=27&lg_id=1&Records=Details&_id=385675)

<sup>107</sup> See more at:

<http://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/i-agria-forologia-ton-tourkon-i-othomani-forologousanakomi-ke-to-mikos-ton-mallion-ke-i-agonistes-epernan-ta-vouna-gia-na-min-plironoun-ta-mallia-tis-kefalistou/>.



knowledge) the taxes are imposed to taxpayers who are already very exhausted and, most of all, since it reminds traumatic periods of Greeks past.

In the headline of the newspaper 'Ε', *Εγκύκλιος αλαλούμ για την εφεδρεία/Circular mess for the redundancy*, by the nominal type *Εγκύκλιος/Circular*, the circular that the government sent to the state services in order for them to implement the measure of the redundancy. The prepositional nominal group *για την εφεδρεία/for the redundancy* has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'purpose' why (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) of the circular. According to the extra-textual knowledge, the specific measure of redundancy, agreed upon the MoU, was leading to the practical dismissal of civil servants under the condition that they should keep receiving the 60% of their salary until they were hired by a new employer.<sup>108</sup> Thus, we may infer that the Actor (negatively) represented in the structure is the 'Governor'. The type of representation here is coded as 'impersonalization'; realized 'by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature "human"' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). The nominal type *αλαλούμ/mess*, postmodifying the nominal type *Εγκύκλιος/Circular* represents the circular as creating a mess. According to Babiniotis (2002: 114) the nominal type *αλαλούμ/mess* signifies 'a state of confusion and upheaval'. Thus, the circular, sent by the 'Governor', is represented as provoking a mess, confusion (to the public sector). The 'Governor' is thus (negatively) represented as violating the role that he has (among others) to control and manage the state services.

The consequent emotions 'argued' upon the representation of this headline, and addressed against the 'Governor', are the ones of fear and anger: fear because the action of the 'Governor' (see the criterion of the people involved), i.e. the sending of the circular for the redundancy, is leading (practically) to the dismissal of civil servants. At the same time, the characterization of this circular as *αλαλούμ/mess*, represents the action of the 'Governor' as creating confusion in the state services and, thus, as being incompatible with the value according to which the 'Governor' ensures the management of the state (see the criterion of compatibility with dominant values).

In the headline of 'Κ', *Θρίλερ με επιστολές και 6η δόση/Thriller with letters and [the] 6th installment*, the extra-textual knowledge proves to be significant for the interpretation of the headline, establishing 'coherence'. During that specific period, the European Commission (part of the international creditors of Greece) asked from the three leaders of the political parties

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<sup>108</sup> See more at:

<http://www.kathimerini.gr/436750/article/oikonomia/ellhnikh-oikonomia/ti-shmainei-h-enta3h-ypallhlwn-se-ergasiakh-efedreia>.

which supported the government of national unity in Greece, i.e. the Lucas Papademos' government, a written confirmation that they would support the MoU and its implementation. If the Commission did not received the written confirmations the imbursement of the money included in the bailout program would not be released.<sup>109</sup> This demand caused strong disagreements even among the partners of the government.<sup>110</sup> Based on the extra-textual knowledge, we may infer that the (implicitly) represented Actor, realized by the nominal type *επιστολές/letters*, is the 'Governor'.<sup>111</sup> The type of representation of the 'Governor' is (once more) that of 'impersonalization'; realized 'by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature "human"' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). The nominal type *επιστολές/letters* is paratactically connected with the nominal type *δόση/tranche*, premodified by the 'numerative' 6η/6th (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317-318). By this type, the reimbursement of the amount of money, agreed upon the bailout program, is realized; thus the Actor is 'Economy'. The two types are (as we already saw) linked in 'parataxis' having 'equal status' in the representation; each type is 'extended' by the other (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 379380). Thus, in the transitivity process the Actors 'Government' and 'Economy' have 'equal status' and 'extend' each other in the meaning construction. Finally, by the nominal type *θρίλερ/Thriller* the situation of great suspense and agony is represented (see Babiniotis 2002: 760). The 'association' of the nominal type *θρίλερ/Thriller* with the nominal type *επιστολές/letters* and the (paratactically connected) *δόση/tranche* is realized by the prepositional circumstantial of 'accompaniment' introduced by the marker *με/with* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2003: 263). Thus, the overall meaning construction could be paraphrased as: there is a political thriller regarding the letters (confirmations) that the three leaders have to send and (in order to) take the money of the MoU.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion explicitly 'said' in the headline is that of fear, realized by the nominal type *θρίλερ/Thriller*. The specific emotion is further transformed in 'argued' emotion, represented (according to the transitivity process and the extra-textual knowledge) as provoked by the 'Governor' (see the criterion of the people involved) and affecting the bailout program ('Economy'). Thus, the 'Governor' is provoking fear for non-ensuring the bailout, therefore, for risking having extremely severe consequences (see the respective criterion) and,

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<sup>109</sup> See more on the following links: <http://www.amna.gr/article/5925/Egkrithike-i-6i-dosi> and <http://news247.gr/eidiseis/politiki/xwristes-epistoles-gia-na-kseleidwsei-h-6h-dosh.1509828.html>.

<sup>110</sup> As someone may see in the following link, the demand of the creditors caused an internal discussion in the party of ND, since partners of Antonis Samaras were advising him not to sign the confirmation to the creditors. See more at: <http://www.skai.gr/mobile/article?aid=187240>.

<sup>111</sup> Meaning the new coalition that had been created and was about to be approved in the parliament.

in this way, 'Governor' is fully incompatible with the value of protecting the prosperity of the society (see the criterion of compatibility with values).

Finally, in the headline of the newspaper 'N', November 16, 2011, *Ο Γιώργος μένει και σχεδιάζει λίστα/George stays and plans list*, the leader of the socialist party (PASOK) is represented through the 'informal nomination' (only first name), *Ο Γιώργος/George*. By this, (part of) the 'Governor' is represented in the headline. By the verbal types *μένει/stays* and *σχεδιάζει λίστα/plans list*, two 'material processes' are realized having as 'actor' the represented (nominated) 'Governor': the second process is a 'material transitive' one and its 'goal' is realized by the nominal type *λίστα/list*. The two processes are linked together in 'parataxis', realized by the marker *και/and*. Thus, they are 'given equal status'; the first is being 'extended' by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 405). Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence': the formation of Lucas Papademos' government was competent after the resignation of G.A. Papandreou. After that, many of his partners were proposing him to resign also from the position of the president of PASOK.<sup>112</sup> Thus, according to the interrelation in the transitivity process, as well as according to the extra-textual knowledge, part of the 'Governor' is represented as staying active and, furthermore, as planning to deal with the internal of its party. One more element of the extra-textual knowledge makes the headline more 'coherent': among the leaders of PASOK and ND, there have been a discussion for the reform of the electoral law. According to this, the president of each party would have to make the list of the candidates in the elections.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the president of PASOK is represented as not resigning in order to deal (exclusively) with the internal of its party.

On the analysis of emotions (pathos), the emotion 'argued' upon this headline is the one of detestation. The specific emotion is represented as provoked by (part of) the 'Governor' (see the criterion of the people involved), since he (*George*) is dealing only with issues in the internal of his party instead of paying attention to the issues of the governance. Thus, he is incompatible with his social role (see the criterion of compatibility with the values).

(1) Το δώρο όμηρος της δόσης  
The gift hostage of the tranche ('El', November 17, 2011)

(2) Παγώνουν τα φουσκωμένα χαράτσια της ΔΕΗ

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<sup>112</sup> One of the significant figures was the one of the Minister of Finance, Evangelos Venizelos, opponent of George A. Papandreou in the internal of the party, who (after) became the next president of the Socialist Party.

<sup>113</sup> See more at:  
[http://www.thessalianews.gr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1685:papandreou-menei&catid=46:politics&Itemid=29](http://www.thessalianews.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1685:papandreou-menei&catid=46:politics&Itemid=29).

Freeze the inflated charàtsia of the HPPC ('E', November 17, 2011)

(3) Ψήφος εμπιστοσύνης και εκκρεμότητες

Vote of confidence and duties ('K', November 17, 2011)

(4) Εδώ φρενοκομείο!

Here madhouse! ('N', November 17, 2011)

Before proceeding to the analysis of each newspaper on the specific date, it should be mentioned that on November 17, national anniversary of the Athens Polytechnic uprising of 1973 (known as 'Politechnío', i.e. the Polytechnic School of Athens) against the colonels' dictatorship (1967-1973). As we will see, almost no newspaper refers to the specific anniversary, revealing their need to downplay it.

In the headline of the newspaper 'El', on November 17, 2011, *To δώρο όμηρος της δόσης/The gift hostage of the tranche*, an 'elliptical' structure reveals: 'ellipsis' is the relation which reveals when a significant element of the structure is missing (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74); in our case, the verbal element (by which the process is realized) is missing. The nonelliptical structure would be: *To δώρο [είναι] όμηρος της δόσης/The gift [is] hostage of the tranche*.<sup>114</sup> By the nominal group *To δώρο/The gift* the extra allowance, given by the state and the employers, to the employees is realized. The extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence', offering us the following interpretation: it is well-known that each employee in Greece used to receive an allowance during Christmas and Easter. Thus, we may primarily infer that the Actor represented is the one of the 'We'. More specifically, the nominal type has the role- 'Token' in the structure having as 'Value' the nominal type *όμηρος/hostage*. Thus, the meaning construction, until now, is that the allowance of the employees is under hostageship. The nominal group *της δόσης/of the tranche* in genitive inclination<sup>115</sup> states the possession; thus the nominal type *όμηρος/hostage* is represented as 'possessivized' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34) by the nominal group. By the nominal group *της δόσης/of the tranche* the reimbursement of the bailout program is realized, and, consequently, we may infer that the 'Economy' is represented (see, also, above the analysis of the headline of 'K', on November 16, 2011). Thus, the representation creates meaning, according to which the employees' allowance is the hostage of the bailout program's instalment.

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<sup>114</sup> In square brackets, the missing element is included.

<sup>115</sup> The respective type in English is realized by the prepositional nominal group with *of*.

Conducting an analysis of emotions in the headline, the emotion of fear is ‘said’, realized by the nominal type *όμηρος/hostage*. The same emotion is, further, ‘argued’, through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure and the meaning produced. More specifically, the Actor ‘We’, represented as hostage of the bailout program (‘Economy’) (see the criterion of the people involved) is unable to control the situation (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation) and thus, is similar to a prey, depending on the outcome of the bailout program’s installation.

In the headline of the newspaper ‘E’, on November 17, 2011, *Παγώνουν τα φουσκωμένα χαράτσια της ΔΕΗ/Freeze the inflated charátsia of the HPPC*, by the nominal type *χαράτσια/charátsia* the special tax that the government of PASOK imposed is realized; taxes which had to be paid via the bills of the Hellenic Public Power Corporation (HCCP). Furthermore, the nominal type is represented in the transitivity structure as ‘possessivized’ by the type *της ΔΕΗ/of the HPPC*; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the type in genitive inclination (in English postmodified by *of*, see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, we may infer that by the specific nominal type, the Actor ‘Governor’ is represented since not only is the tax imposed by the government, but also the company (*ΔΕΗ/HPPC*) to which the citizens have to pay the tax is a state company. Moreover, the nominal type *χαράτσια/charátsia* has the role-‘goal’ in the ‘material process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *Παγώνουν/Freeze*; the specific type of material process is the one that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 186-187) call ‘transformative’ type. This means that the participant, i.e. the ‘goal’ in our case ‘exists prior to the onset of the unfolding of the process’ and the process codes the ‘elaboration’ of the ‘state’ that the participant has (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 186). Specifically, and according to Babinotis (2002: 1298), the specific verbal type is used to signify when something is kept stable, preventing changes or increases. The meaning construction here could be paraphrased as: the special taxes (*χαράτσια/charátsia*) imposed by the ‘Governor’ are no more increased. Thus, the ‘Governor’ is (positively) represented as relieving the strict measures of austerity.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ and addressed to be felt in favor of the ‘Governor’, is the one of admiration. The Actor, represented as freezing the special taxes, therefore as preventing increases in austerity measures (see the criterion of the people involved), is fully compatible with the view according to which the ‘Governor’ protects the social integrity and prosperity (see the criterion of the compatibility with values); thus, the ‘Governor’ should be admired by the audience.

In the headline of ‘K’, November 17, 2011, *Ψήφος εμπιστοσύνης και εκκρεμότητες/Vote of confidence and duties*, the Actor ‘Governor’ is represented, realized by the nominal group *Ψήφος*

*εμπιστοσύνης/Vote of confidence*. That is because, according to common knowledge, the specific nominal group describes the actual parliamentary procedure, during which the Greek PM is being nominated by the majority of the MPs. The nominal group is linked in ‘parataxis’ with the nominal type *εκκρεμότητες/duties*; a choice that is realized by the use of the marker *και/and*. The nominal group is ‘extended’ by the nominal type (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489). Thus, the meaning construction here could be paraphrased as: the government has taken a vote of confidence and, still, there are duties. Extra-textual knowledge, once more, establishes ‘coherence’ providing us with an advanced interpretation of this headline. It is well known that the coalition government of Lucas Papademos, supported by the parties of PASOK, ND, and LAOS, had to undertake prerequisite actions in order to fulfil the terms of the bailout program and to allow the reimbursement of the tranche. So, the representation of the ‘Governor’ in the transitivity structure is extended by duties, and, thus, although the creation of the first coalition government had been achieved, there were still more actions to be done by the government in order for its mission to be fulfilled.

Based on the representations in the transitivity structure, opposite emotions are ‘argued’: the one of relief and the others of insecurity and fear. Relief because the ‘Governor’ is represented (see the criterion of the people involved) as having taken a vote of confidence by the MPs majority, therefore, the governmental stability is re-established in Greece. Still, this development is (represented as) extended by the duties which the government had to undertake in order to execute the bailout terms. The non-execution of these actions (*duties*) would cause extreme financial difficulties, i.e. financial collapse. Thus, (according to the criterion of the possible consequences) the emotions of insecurity and fear are constructed and should be felt by the audience.

Finally, in the headline of the newspaper ‘N’, on November 17, 2011, *Εδώ φρενοκομείο!/Here madhouse!*, by the nominal group *φρενοκομείο/madhouse* the actual place for the cure of mentally ill persons is realized. By the adverbial *Εδώ/Here* the ‘circumstantial element’ of ‘location’ (coding the ‘place’) is realized (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, the interrelation in the configuration permits us to infer that the represented Actor is the ‘Country’; the actual place which is characterized as madhouse. Moreover, an intertextual connection is established, in the headline, with the famous slogan of the uprising of the Polytechnic School (Politechnío) in 1973, *Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο/Here Politechnío*. The specific slogan was the actual initial line by which (almost) every message coming from the occupied

Polytechnic School was beginning during the uprising against the dictatorship in Greece.<sup>116</sup> The intentional replacement of the nominal *Πολυτεχνείο/Politechnío* by the nominal type *φρενοκομείο/madhouse* (producing ‘intertextuality’) and the extra-textual knowledge advances the meaning construction in this headline, since:

- After the fall of the dictatorship (1974), many members of the so-called ‘generation of Politechnío’, i.e. the members of the struggle against the colonels (which reached its peak during the uprising of November of 1973) undertook key-governmental positions, which, consequently, established (according to conservative and liberal politicians, intellectuals etc.) an almost ‘Soviet economy’. A perception which was dominant in this political spectrum until recently.<sup>117</sup> Thus, the ‘generation of Politechnío’ was accused of the negative results in the Greek Economy.
- During the same period, after the fall of the dictatorship, many forms of the social struggle against the dictatorship (e.g. occupation of central state buildings, universities etc.) were adopted by members of the social movements. In addition, and due to the tremendous suppression exercised by the colonels’ regime against its political opponents, by law, the universities became places of asylum, where the police and the army could not enter. Thus, according to the same (conservative) field, the universities were places where illegal activities were taking place. The ‘generation of Politechnío’ (especially the left-wing parties and organizations) and its heritage was also accused of the creation of this ‘anomy’.

Thus, the characterization of the ‘Country’ as madhouse mostly referred to the nonconservative, socio-political heritage in Greece.

Consequently, the emotions provoked in this headline are those of rage, panic and fear. The emotion of rage is ‘said’, realized by the respective nominal type *φρενοκομείο/madhouse* (i.e. I am mad -at something-, thus, I am enraged) and ‘shown’ realized by the exclamation mark (madhouse!). Through the representation produced in the transitivity structure, the ‘Country’ is represented as being the actual place of a madhouse. Thus, the emotions of panic and fear are provoked since, through this representation, ‘Country’, instead of being the place of wealth,

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<sup>116</sup> See in detail the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwL1nvnrk4U>. Among the famous participants of the uprising of 1973 was the announcer of the messages, Maria Damanakis, who then became president of the Coalition of the Left (precursor of SYRIZA), MP of PASOK, and European Commissioner.

<sup>117</sup> It was officially adopted even by the party of New Democracy (N.D.) and its President, Antonis Samaras. See more: [http://www.ethnos.gr/giorgos\\_delastik/arthro/o\\_samaras\\_anetrepse\\_ti\\_sobietiki\\_elliniki\\_oikonomia-64036523/](http://www.ethnos.gr/giorgos_delastik/arthro/o_samaras_anetrepse_ti_sobietiki_elliniki_oikonomia-64036523/).

prosperity and stability, violates the respective values (see the respective criterion) and that fact may have unprecedented consequences for its population (see the criterion of the possible consequences).

Recapitulating up to this point, the findings of our analysis show that the newspapers during the dates November 15-17, 2011, are (once more) proceeding to diverse (and almost conflicting) representations regarding the same Actors. The representation of the (new) 'Governor', i.e. the MPs' majority under the coalition government of Lucas Papademos, seems to be very prominent.

More specifically, the newspaper 'El' proceeds to a negative representation of the 'Governor', Actor who is identical to the previous ones, i.e. the government of PASOK (Carbon paper) and imposes extra taxes (November 16, 2011). The specific newspaper seems to follow its steady, anti-governmental positioning. Thus, the crisis, as the outcome of representation of social agency, is conceptualized as being further deepen and developed by the choices of the new coalition government (Actor 'Governor') which resembles to the previous one. Consequently, 'Governor' provokes the emotions of fear and anger to the audience since he is represented as violating the dominant views about the social role of protecting and ensuring the common good. On the contrary, in the same newspaper, the 'We' is represented as being hostage of the austerity bailout program and thus, as being hostage of the 'Economy'; thus, the emotion fear should be, legitimately, felt.

In an almost confusing political line, the newspaper 'E', proceeds to the representation of the 'Governor' (only): on November 15, 2011, 'Governor' is (positively) represented as straightforward (clear words), on November 16, 2011 'Governor' is (negatively) represented as creating mess (αλαλούμ/mess) in the state services, and, on the contrary (again), on November 17, 2011, 'Governor' is (positively) represented as relieving austerity measures and taxes. Consequently, the emotions provoked upon these representations are the ones of admiration and, at the same time, the emotions of fear and anger.

In the (almost) same line (with the one of 'E'), the newspaper 'K' represents the Actor 'Governor', first (positively), as telling the truth and, at the same time, as imposing dilemmas (headline on November 15, 2011). Secondly, the 'Governor' is (negatively) represented as creating political thriller, and finally (positively), as providing stability (vote of confidence), but also, as having duties to implement. Consequently, upon these representations, fear is provoked by the 'Governor' along with the (opposite) emotion of relief. Furthermore, the Actor 'Economy' is represented in the headlines of 'K' (see, especially, the headline on November 16, 2011) as



being affected by the political thriller the 'Governor' creates. Thus, once more, the emotion of fear related to the 'Economy' is provoked through the headline of the 'K'.

As we can see, although the two, newspapers (i.e. 'E' and 'K') have different political background and positioning, converge to an almost dense discursive and emotional construction. Through this, the 'Governor', although imposing new austerity measures is avoided to be exclusively, negatively represented (as in the case of 'El') giving him 'space and time' to develop his policies without the expected pressure.

The only newspaper which proceeds to the representation of more than two Actors is the newspaper 'N'. The 'We' is represented as facing dismissals and, thus, the emotion of fear should be legitimately felt. The 'Governor' is represented as dealing with the internal of the party, and thus, as ignoring the societal problems (see headline on November 16, 2011). Consequently, 'Governor' is (negatively) represented as not ensuring the common good, being incompatible with the dominant view regarding him. In this sense, it provokes the emotion of detestation. Finally, the Actor 'Country' is represented (in the headline of 'N' on November 17, 2011) as a place of mad people (madhouse) that, in this sense, provokes the emotions of madness, panic and fear. As we can observe here, the newspaper builds on the negative conceptualization of the previous 'Governor', appearing to empathize, on the same time, with the 'We' Actor (the Greek people).

## 6.4 Newspapers' Layouts on July 08, 2012

(1) Πεδίο Μάχης για τα «ασημικά» του Δημοσίου

Battlefield for the 'silverwares' of the Public Sector ('E', July 08, 2012)

(2) Οι «κόκκινες κάρτες» της Τρόικα

The 'red cards' of the Troika ('K', July 08, 2012)

Before starting with the analysis of the newspapers' headlines during the period of the Antonis Samaras government's vote of trust (taking the oath), some initial points need a special clarification.

Firstly, the newspaper 'El' went bankrupt in December 2011. Since the summer of 2011, the Tegopoulos Company, which was publishing the newspaper, had proceeded to the cessation of payment of salaries to its employees.<sup>118</sup> The gap that was created in the media public sphere

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<sup>118</sup> See, for more details on how 'El' went bankrupt at the following link:  
<http://tvxs.gr/news/internet-mme/istoriko-tis-krisis-stin-eleytherotypia-grafei-o-ios>.

after the collapse of the 'El' was attempted to be fulfilled by two new editorial attempts: the newspaper *I Efimerida ton Syntakton* ('EfSyn'), the first cooperative newspaper, published by ex-employees of the newspaper *Eleftherotypia*,<sup>119</sup> and the brief edition of the newspaper *6 meres* (in English 6 days) which ended some months later (see, in more details, Liarou and Serafis 2013). Thus, there is no issue of the newspaper 'El' included in our analysis. Secondly, on July 06 and 07, 2011, i.e. the first two days of the discussion in the parliament about the vote of confidence in favor of the coalition government of Antonis Samaras, there was a strike in the Greek Media. Thus, there are no issues of newspapers on these dates. Thirdly, the newspaper *Ta Nea*, did not publish any sheet on June 08, 2011, due to the new business plan of the newspaper.

In the analysis of the newspapers, and specifically in the headline of the newspaper 'E', on July 08, 2012, *Πεδίο Μάχης για τα «ασημικά» του Δημοσίου/Battlefield for the 'silverwares' of the Public Sector*, by the nominal type *Δημοσίου/Public Sector* the Greek state is represented and therefore, the Actor 'Country'. More specifically, by the nominal group *Πεδίο Μάχης/Battlefield* the actual place where a battle is taking place is realized. By the nominal group *τα «ασημικά»/the 'silverwares'*, in the prepositional nominal group *για τα «ασημικά»/for the 'silverwares'*, every precious (material) object is realized (see, on that issue, Babiniotis 2002: 294). The prepositional nominal group has the role of the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'purpose' why (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the Battlefield is created. In this sense, the representation, until now, creates meaning, according to which a battlefield is created because of the precious (material) objects ('silverwares'). The nominal group *τα «ασημικά»/the 'silverwares'* is 'possessivized' by the nominal group *του Δημοσίου/of the Public Sector*; 'possessivation' is realized by the nominal group in genitive inclination (in English by of, postmodifying the nominal group *τα «ασημικά»/the 'silverwares'*) (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). In this way, the battlefield is created because of the precious (material) objects ('silverwares') 'possessivized' by the Greek state, and thus by the Actor 'Country'. The extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' in this headline since: it is well-known that the extensive program of privatizations, dictated in the MoUs, had caused a social and political struggle among the government and the opposition, revolving around the management of the property of the Greek state. The overall meaning construction could be paraphrased as: there is a battlefield created because of the precious (material) objects which the 'Country' owns (possesses)-there is no consensus around the signed program of privatizations.

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<sup>119</sup> See the official website of the newspaper <http://www.efsyn.gr/>.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion ‘argued’ is that of insecurity: according to the analysis of the transitivity structure, a battlefield -and, consequently, a battle- has been created because of the objects possessed by the ‘Country’; thus, the ‘possession’ of the ‘Country’ (see the criterion of the people involved) is creating a battle and therefore a field of tension that creates insecurity because of the potential consequences (see the respective criterion).

In the headline of the newspaper ‘K’ on July 08, 2012, *Οι «κόκκινες κάρτες» της Τρόικα/The ‘red cards’ of the Troika*, the Actor ‘Others’ is represented by the nominal type *Τρόικα/Troika*. Through that ‘nominalization’ the supranational institutions of EU (i.e. European Committee, and European Central Bank) and IMF, the creditors of the Greek state are represented. The extra-textual knowledge offers us this interpretation and establishes ‘coherence’ in this headline. Moreover, in the configuration, by the nominal group *Οι «κόκκινες κάρτες»/The ‘red cards’* the actual rule of a football game is represented, according to which a referee is showing a red card to the player that should be expelled from the match (see, on that, Babiniotis 2002: 236, 844, 914, 1804). Thus, the nominal group can be perceived as a ‘nominalization of a process’, as a ‘process noun’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439; Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). The nominal group is represented as ‘possessivized’ by the nominal type *Τρόικα/Troika*, and therefore, by the Actor ‘Other’; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the nominal type in genitive inclination, which states the possession (in English with of postmodifying the type *Οι «κόκκινες κάρτες»/The ‘red cards’*) (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, the meaning constructed here could be paraphrased as: the ‘Other’, as a referee (the one controlling the game), is punishing/expelling one of the players of the game.

On the pathos analysis of the headline, the emotion of fear is ‘argued’, represented as provoked by the Actor ‘Other’. The ‘Other’, represented as controlling the game totally (see the criterion of the people involved) and as acting, expelling (red cards), is provoking the emotion of fear. The specific emotion should be felt by the audience against the ‘Other’.

## 6.5 Concluding remarks

A synthesis of the main findings of our analysis, is adumbrated in the following lines:

- All the newspapers, despite their different positioning, proceed to the representation of the main Actors participating in the public sphere, in their headlines. Those are the respective governments and PMs, the financial elites, the Greek people, the European leaderships and Greece. Since, as we saw in our analysis, each Actor is represented in various ways in the headlines, we draw on

Van Leeuwen's (2008: 33) approach, employing a 'common denominator' for each social category represented. Thus, the respective Actors were denominated as 'Governor', 'Economy', 'We', 'Others', and 'Country'.

- More specifically, the representation of the main Actors, as this was retrieved in the transitivity structures of the headlines, varies on the date and on the newspaper. Thus, we cannot argue, as in the case of the parliamentary discourse, that one and dense media discourse is construed; we may say that media discourses circulate in the public sphere and, in some case, they tend to converge: On May 6, 2010, we witness a concurrence of the four newspapers in the construction of the social agency. Thus, the newspapers, appear to empathize with the 'We' Actor (i.e. the Greek people), opposing on the same time the political and financial elites (Actors 'Governor' and 'Economy') for the emergence and the consequences of the crisis. In front of the extensive austerity and the death of three persons during the demonstrations of May 5, 2010 (see the arson - Marfin Bank), the newspapers, despite their different positioning and background are converging in a common conceptualization of the social agency and reality. This conceptualization gives rise to specific emotions such as the ones of fear (in front of the tragic death) and anger, detestation against the governmental and financial elites (Actors 'Governor' and 'Economy'). On June 29-30, 2011, the representations vary: Newspaper 'El' opposes the 'Governor' through his negative representation as the responsible force for the crisis emergence. A negative representation which does not change even in the headlines of November 15-17, 2011, when the 'Governor' has changed.<sup>120</sup> In this sense, newspaper 'El' confirms its—historically established—antigovernmental positioning in the public sphere. The respective construction provokes two main, negative emotions, regarding the Actor 'Governor': Those of fear and anger as provoked by his policies during the crisis. Moreover, empathy towards the Greek people ('We' Actor) is construed via the representations of the newspaper 'E' on June 28-30, 2011. What is impressing is that the same sheet, along with the 'K' share a common—almost confusing—conceptualization of the 'Governor' on November 15-17, 2011, although they belong to different interests and have a different positioning in the public sphere: the specific Actor is

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<sup>120</sup> On June 2011, PM Papandreou and PASOK are still in office, while on November 2011, Papandreou has resigned and the coalition government of Lucas Papademos is about to ask for a confidence vote in the Greek parliament.

represented as relieving austerity creating, consequently, the emotion of relief, while, on the same time, 'Governor' demands sacrifices by his audience, addressing the emotion of fear. Newspaper 'K' seems to be very 'loyal' to its ideological and political background, representing on June 28-30, 2011, the 'Governor' and the 'Economy' as Actors with equal status. The liberal motif of the state that serves (or should serve) the free and smooth development of the financial sector is insinuated by the newspaper. On the same time, the newspaper implicitly represents 'We' Actor as rioting constructing negative emotions regarding his existence in the public realm. The conceptualization could be paraphrased as: 'We' is preventing the free development of the 'Economy' by rioting against the governmental policies (i.e. Actor 'Governor'). 'N', historically placed in the center-left political and ideological spectrum, favors the 'Governor' as the Actor that rescues 'Economy', on June 28-30, 2011, when the center-left oriented, PM Papandreou and PASOK are voting in favor of the Middle-Term MoU, while the same Actor-'Governor' is negatively represented on November 2011, when Lucas Papademos is in office. The 'We' Actor is empathized due to the severe measures that he is subjected to (i.e. MoUs). Finally, on July 8, 2012, during the voting in favor of the coalition government of PM Samaras, the remaining newspapers in the public sphere (since, for example, 'El' had already collapsed), represent the 'Country' as the battlefield of the opposing perceptions regarding the privatizations (included in the MoUs) and the European elites (i.e. 'Others') as the Actor that control the political and financial situation and is about to address severe punishment, by expelling Greece from the Eurozone ('Grexit' scenario and discourse). In this sense, the newspapers, augment and address to the audience the emotion of fear in front of Greece's possible collapse and expulsion from the Eurozone. As we can mention here, the conceptualization of the newspapers, are in line with the main discursive and emotional representation of the PM Samaras, providing us with evidences about the salient 'dialogue' of media and parliamentary discursive and emotional construction.

- It is worth highlighting, as separate outcome, the emergence of the 'grammatical metaphor' (see among others Halliday 1985, 1994) in some of the examined headlines. As it was mentioned, the SF conception of the phenomenon of metaphor differs from other approaches informed by e.g. the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (2003). The most usual realization of the grammatical metaphor in the

system of transitivity is the nominalization where a verbal group moves to the rank of the nominal group. This has consequences as, for example, it marks and sharpens the meaning construction as well as it creates intertextual bonds and recontextualizations enriching the construed discourses.

- It is worth placing more emphasis, also, on the fact that although we analyze distinct types of texts and discourses, up to this point of analysis, those seem to be in 'dialogue' in the public sphere favoring or contesting one the other. Accepting the main perceptions regarding the discursive construction of the public spheres (Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) we do not deal with realms-'closed boxes' but, on the contrary, with public spheres that, during their formation, develop a peculiar dialogue, contest or favor each other in the broad communicative and strategic action which forms the smaller, autonomous public spheres (see Habermas 1989).
- It is worth also mentioning finally that, as in the parliamentary proceedings, the discursive and emotional constructions are in parallel development. This fact, on the one hand, underpins our main assumption: the discursive and emotional constructions are mutually extended and exemplified. On the other hand, this very fact, provides us also with evidence about the compatibility of the joint application of the two diverse analytical frameworks we employ in order to form our integrationist analytical approach.

## Chapter 7

### Data Analysis – Protest discourse and pathos

#### 7.0 Introduction

Finally, in this, last chapter of data analysis, we examine the representation of social agency as this is realized in graffiti slogans of the demonstrators in anti-austerity movement and social actions.<sup>121</sup> We have chosen to examine two of the most massive demonstrations that took place during the development of the Greek crisis: the manifestations of May 5, 2010 against the first MoU and the manifestations against the Middle-Term MoU on June 28-29, 2011 – both against the PM Papandrous' government. All the slogans were retrieved by the personal archive of a member of the cultural magazine *ToPeriodiko.gr* who kindly shared his data with us, and cover the slogans appeared in walls or sporting in banners on the environs of the Greek parliament – thus on the core of the manifestations.

We need to highlight that we do not examine slogans during the governmental periods of PMs Papademos and Samaras since, in the first case, that of PM Lucas Papademos, the beginning of his service coincided with the three-day commemoration of the Politechnio 1973 uprising, and thus the slogans are more or less the same every year. In the second case (i.e. that of PM Samaras) there was no remarkable demonstration since we deal with a newly elected coalition government.

As we already mentioned, our analysis is going to be structured around two interrelated axes: a) the axis of 'self-representation', i.e. the representation of the Actors participating in the demonstrations, and b) the axis of 'other-representation', i.e. the representation of their opponents, as these were retrieved in graffiti slogans. Schematically, the two axes are representing the positive, self-defined 'we' as opposed to the negatively defined 'others' (see, e.g., Van Dijk 2006, Wodak 2012, Angouri & Wodak 2014).

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<sup>121</sup> In what follows, the terms 'graffiti slogans', 'graffiti', and 'slogans' will refer to the same linguistic extracts.

## 7.1 Graffiti Slogans on May 5, 2010

In this subsection we analyze slogans appeared during the mobilizations against the voting of the First Adjustment Agreement (MoU for Memorandum of Understanding) by the government of PASOK. In the following subsection we proceed to the analysis of the ‘other-representation’ as this was retrieved in the graffiti slogans.

### 7.1.1 The ‘other-representation’ on May 5, 2010

- (1) Τσακίζουν τα δικαιώματά μας σε εκπαίδευση-εργασία.  
[They] are beating our rights in education-labor
- (2) Αυτοί με ΔΝΤ Εμείς με TNT  
They with IMF We with TNT

In slogan (1), *Τσακίζουν τα δικαιώματά μας σε εκπαίδευση-εργασία/They are beating our rights in education-labor*, the ‘others’ group is implicitly represented, realized in the suffix in the verbal type *Τσακίζουν/[They] are beating*. By the respective verbal group, a ‘material process’ is realized. The implicitly represented ‘others’ group is ‘activated’ in the transitivity structure since it has the ‘active participant role’-‘actor’ that undergoes the ‘material-transitive process’ *Τσακίζουν/They are beating* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The nominal group *τα δικαιώματά μας/our rights* has the role-‘goal’ where the process extends. Through the ‘possessive pronoun’ *μας/our*, the nominal group *τα δικαιώματά/rights* are represented as ‘possessivized’ by the ‘we’ group (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33, 43).<sup>122</sup> Through ‘possessivation’ the ‘we’ group is implicitly represented since the ‘we’ group of Actors and the pronoun *our* are anaphorically related (‘co-referentiality’, see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Finally, the prepositional nominal group *σε εκπαίδευση-εργασία/in education-labor* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘location/place’ where the material process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Through the interrelation of the participant, process, circumstance in the configuration, the ‘others’ group is represented as undergoing (material) action which smashes the rights of the ‘we’ group in the social domains of education and labor. As a consequence, the meaning constructed characterizes (negatively) the ‘others’ group as the responsible for the shattering

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<sup>122</sup> Although we examine the ‘other-representation’ here, we will see that the representation of the ‘we’ group appears in many slogans related to the ‘other-representation’. The same values for the ‘we’ representation (see below). This emergence provides us with evidence about the interrelation between the two oppositional axes of representation.



of rights in education and labor and could be paraphrased as: The ‘others’ are smashing rights that we have respect to the education and the labor.

Extending the analysis of the transitivity structure, by conducting an analysis of emotions (pathos) on its results, we primarily see the emotion of fear as ‘said’, realized by the verbal type *Τσακίζουν/They are beating*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure the respective emotion is represented as caused by the (material) action of the ‘others’ group and extended in crucial social domains (*education* and *labor*). Thus, the primarily ‘said’ emotion of fear becomes ‘argued’ in the configuration interrelation, constructing the ‘others’ group as that of causing it (see the criterion of the people involved), as well as, incorporating the ‘we’ group (*μας/our*) as powerless to control the situation (see the criterion of the (lack) of capacity to control the situation). By ‘arguing’ the emotion of fear, represented as caused by the ‘others’ against a (powerless) group, fear is transformed in repulsion, addressed against the ‘others’ group. Extra-textual knowledge enforces that interpretation here, and forms a ‘coherent’ emotive construction, since it is well-known that the feeling of repulsion is provoked against those (persons, forces, Actors) who act (*Τσακίζουν/They are beating*) against the frail one(s).

In slogan (2), *Αυτοί με ΔΝΤ Εμείς με ΤΝΤ/They with IMF We with TNT*, an explicit juxtaposition among the ‘others’ and ‘we’ group is represented. The groups’ representation is realized (respectively) by the emphatic deictic *Αυτοί/They* and *Εμείς/We*. The prepositional nominal groups *με ΔΝΤ/with IMF* and *με ΤΝΤ/with TNT* are having the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ of ‘accompaniment’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 263). The ‘prepositional circumstantials’ ‘associate’ (respectively) the groups ‘others’-‘we’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 39) with the acronyms IMF and TNT. By the acronym IMF, the International Monetary Fund is realized. By the acronym TNT, the explosive Trinitrotoluene is realized. Thus, through the ‘association’, the ‘other’ group (They) is represented as accompanied by the International Monetary Fund and the ‘we’ group (in contradiction) as accompanied by explosives.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ in this slogan since it is well-known that the IMF represents the implementation of very strict austerity measures that have devastated successive states and their populations (e.g. the states of Argentina and Ecuador). Thus, the representation of the IMF is explicitly negative and the realized ‘association’ characterizes negatively the ‘others’ group as accompanied by those who implement austerity policies and devastate peoples/states. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, as well as through drawing on the extra-textual knowledge about the role of the IMF, the overall meaning construction revealed by the slogan (2) could be paraphrased as: the ‘we’ group is going to

oppose with explosives the devastation which is going to be brought by 'others' (the 'others' who are accompanied by the IMF).

Based on the results of the transitivity analysis, on the pathos analysis, the emotions of fear and anger are 'argued', realized by the acronyms *IMF* and *TNT*. Extra-textual knowledge offers us this interpretation and forms a 'coherent' emotive construction, since the IMF represents the implementation of very strict austerity measures and the devastation of successive states and populations, while the acronym TNT represents (explicitly) the explosive Trinitrotoluene. The interrelation of the elements in the transitivity and the meaning construction leads to a (respective) emotive construction where each part of the represented conflict (They versus We) causes the emotion of fear to the other part (see the criterion of the people involved). This reveals also the anger of the protesters (associated with explosives against their opponents).

(3) George get out

(4) IMF get out

(5) Goldman Sucks

In the following graffiti slogans, the 'others' group is exemplified, meaning that in the following slogans the 'others', i.e. opponents of the Actors, are (in most of the cases) explicitly and specifically represented. The slogans (3), (4) and (5) above, are part of the slogans written directly in English. Many of them, as the slogan (4), are extensively and identically repeated in many walls of the city-center without further elements (e.g. nominal, verbal groups, adverbial elements). Thus, they gain a centrality in the representations and the (consequent) meaning construction the Actors attempt to reveal on May 5. Furthermore, the repetitive emergence of the 'verbal group' get out in the slogans (3) and (4), establishes 'intertextuality' among the two slogans; thus, we may primarily submit that each one is part of the same text and, moreover, each one elaborates the meaning construction, creating a dense representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003).

More specifically, in slogan (3), *George get out*, the Greek PM is represented, realized by his 'informal nomination (given name only)' *George*, which is 'used as vocative' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 41). Through the verbal group get out, by which a material process is realized, the Greek PM is represented as being expelled, exiting the country. At the same time, in the slogan (4), *IMF get out*, the International Monetary Fund, realized by the respective acronym IMF, is represented as leaving. The intertextual connections we have already tracked create a

new meaning where the PM, along with the IMF, are leaving. As we can provisionally see here, the PM and the IMF are conceptually bound, producing a specific discourse (see Fairclough 2003) regarding the Greek governor and the supranational institutions (IMF).

Conducting an emotions (pathos) analysis on the respective transitivity structures, we see that the emotion of repulsion is once more 'argued' (through the interrelation in the configuration), and addressed against the PM (George) and the IMF (see the criterion of the people involved), i.e. the emotion of repulsion is constructed and should be 'legitimately felt' by the audience against the Greek PM and the IMF (see, Plantin 2004, as quoted in Micheli 2010, 5, 13).

Moreover, the fact that in slogans (4) and (2), the acronym IMF co-emerges, establishes also 'intertextuality' making the slogans interrelate in the construction of a meaning where the Governor of the country and a dominant financial institution are leaving, and, moreover, in a violent way: in the slogan (2) Αυτοί με ΔΝΤ Εμείς με TNT/They with IMF we with TNT, the Actors ('we' group) are represented as 'accompanied' with explosives against the 'others' and the IMF; thus, we may infer that the leave/exit of the PM and the IMF, represented in slogans (3) and (4), is not aimed to be peaceful.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' in these two slogans and elaborates our interpretation since: it is commonly known that in previous cases of austerity measures implementation both by the IMF and Governors, i.e. Presidents, PMs were forced to abandon their countries due to insurrections that were taking place. Significant examples were the Presidents of Argentina, who escaped from the country in helicopters.<sup>123</sup> Through the intertextual connections and the coherence established by the extra-linguistic knowledge, the representation of the 'others' group, realized (implicitly or explicitly) by the nominal Αυτοί/They in slogans (1) and (2), is exemplified, i.e. becomes specific in slogans (3) and (4) and includes (as negatively characterized 'others') the Greek PM (George) and the supranational institution of IMF. As we (primarily) see, slogans are interrelating, constructing a discourse where the negatively characterized national and supranational institutions (Governor, IMF) are leaving the country violently because of their aim to implement devastating policies of austerity that will smash the rights of the Actors in education and labor. Thus, the dominant value, according to which the Governor is securing the common societal good is attempted to be deconstructed in accordance with the view that the bailout programs would

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<sup>123</sup> See more at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-91169/President-resigns-riots-leave-22-dead-Argentina.html>.

ensure the wealth of Greece and its citizens; the last view was both dominant in the EU and Greek political system.<sup>124</sup>

The intertextual connections established among slogans (4) and (2), as well as the extra-textual knowledge lead also to a further emotional construction. That is, the emotion of repulsion ('argued' in the slogans [3] and [4]), is accompanied with anger. And this occurs because the PM, represented as aiming to implement devastating policies (along with the IMF), is violating the dominant view according to which the Governor should protect the prosperity of its country/people (see the criterion of the compatibility or not with the values). Thus, anger should be (also) addressed to the Governor (*George*) and the IMF.

In the slogan (5), *Goldman Sucks*, the significant financial company 'Goldman Sacks' is represented within the arena of the Actors' opponents. However, in the specific slogan, the nominal type *Goldman* is followed by the verbal type *Sucks*, by which the 'relational-intensive attributive process' is realized, 'specifying the quality' of extremely bad smell to the respective name Goldman (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 220-222). The intentional misspelling attributes the characteristic of bad smell to the financial institution (i.e. Goldman Sacks) and thus represents it as not being clean.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here, advancing our interpretation. It was commonly known that powerful financial US institutions (such as 'Goldman Sacks'), were regarded as responsible for the contagion of the global crisis in the beginning of 2008 when the Lehman Brothers collapsed. This conception became dominant since it was accepted and reproduced not only by the dominant political forces in the EU, i.e. the conservative European People's Party, but also by Left-wing EU parties (e.g. SYRIZA-European Left); the last ones were providing as a response (to the contagion transmitted to the EU by the collapse of the north American financial institutions), the political intervention of EU institutions for restraining the rampant action of the financial markets, proposing, at the same time, a more solidary and ethical development of the European economy.<sup>125</sup> According to these heterogeneous views, the handlings of the so-called 'Golden Boys', i.e. the brokers, were responsible (due to the orders of their clients) for the outbreak of the global crisis.

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<sup>124</sup> Notice that the first MoU was voted not only by the PMs of PASOK, but also by the PMs of the extreme right-wing party LAOS, and the MP of ND, Dora Bakoyannis, who was then withdrawn from the parliamentary group of ND. So, the MoU had a wide range of parliamentary consent. Moreover, the Minister of Finance, George Papakonstantinou, was heralding, along with EU and IMF's officials that Greece's bailout program would permit the country to return to stability and growth in only two years. So, the MoU was presented to the Greeks not only as the only way of economic salvation but also as the best recipe for the financial recovery.

<sup>125</sup> See more at: <http://www.syriza.gr/article/id/63959/.html#.V3JCraJwD88>.

On the pathos analysis of slogan (5), the emotion of disgust is 'said', realized by the verbal type Sucks. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure (as analyzed above), the emotion of disgust is represented as provoked by the financial institution 'Goldman Sacks' (see the criterion of the people involved). The extra-textual knowledge about the role the North American financial institutions (and their managers) undertook at the beginning of the crisis, loads further the 'argued' emotion of disgust, attributing it to the whole dominant financial system.

As we may see until this point of analysis, the discursive representation of the Actors' opponents ('other-representation') is inductively developed in (almost) every slogan under study. The abstract They (see slogans [1] and [2]) is exemplified in the following slogans (see slogans below) and incorporate the Greek PM (George) along with the supranational economic and financial institutions (IMF, 'Goldman Sacks') as Actors that deteriorate (beat) significant social domains (e.g. education, labor), or are (Sucks) part of a dirty (financial) system, and, thus, they are expelled (get out).

The 'intertextuality' and the 'coherence' that permeate the slogans lead to the formation of a bound/interrelated representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) according to which Actors of the dominant political and financial system are negatively represented and their dominant characteristics<sup>126</sup> are attempted to be deconstructed by the demonstrators.

The discourse (inductively) constructed in the slogans provokes also specific and negative emotions (pathos) regarding the opponents ('others') of the Actors of the May 5. Those are the emotions of fear and repulsion, caused by the Greek PM (George) and the IMF through the participant role they undertake in the transitivity structures (see slogans [1] – [4]) and the contextualization provided by the extra-textual knowledge ('coherence'). Moreover, the Greek PM and IMF provoke also the emotion of anger since they are represented as not being compatible with the dominant views about their presupposed role in a social formation. Finally, the financial institution 'Goldman Sacks' is represented as provoking the emotion of disgust, according to the participant role it undertakes in the transitivity structure of the slogan (5) and the extra-textual knowledge about the role the managers of the financial institutions are thought to have undertaken at the beginning of the crisis. So we may primarily support that the (negative) discursive representation of the 'others', as retrieved in the slogans, lead to the consequent construction of certain (negative) emotions that are addressed by the Actors of the

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<sup>126</sup> E.g. the dominant view that the governor should protect and ensure the societal prosperity.

manifestations in order to be reasonably felt by their audience. This meaning and emotional construction is further developed in the following slogans.

(6) Κάτω το σφαγείο κυβέρνησης ΕΕ ΔΝΤ

Down with the slaughterhouse of Government EU IMF

(7) Την κρίση να πληρώσουν οι καπιταλιστές

The crisis to pay the capitalists [the capitalists to pay the crisis]

(8) Απόψε πεθαίνει ο φασισμός

Tonight dies the fascism

In slogan (6), *Κάτω το σφαγείο κυβέρνησης ΕΕ ΔΝΤ/Down the slaughterhouse of Government EU IMF*, the ensemble of the national and supranational institutions government EU and IMF is taking place explicitly among the opponents of the Actors. The nominal type *κυβέρνησης/Government* and the acronyms *ΕΕ ΔΝΤ/EU IMF*, co-emerge and in this way they have to be co-interpreted. Moreover, the nominal group *το σφαγείο/the slaughterhouse*, used as a ‘nominalization’ of the place where a slaughter is taking place, is ‘possessivized’ by the ensemble *κυβέρνησης ΕΕ ΔΝΤ/Government EU IMF*; ‘possessivation’ is realized by the nominal type (*κυβέρνησης*) in genitive inclination, stating the possession; in English, the same is realized by the of postmodifying the nominalization *το σφαγείο/the slaughterhouse* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). Thus, the government, along with the supranational institutions are negatively represented as possessing a slaughterhouse. The ‘hortative’ use of the adverb *Κάτω/Down* (see Kitis 2013b: 174-175) is semantically connected with the negative representation of the national and supranational entity of the government EU IMF. The meaning constructed could be paraphrased as Let the government EU IMF fall or be overthrown.

The emergence of the acronym IMF, once more in slogan (6), establishes ‘intertextuality’ among the slogans (2), (4) and (6), making them interrelate, constructing an inductively advanced meaning where the supranational institutions (along with the governors) are expelled by the country (see slogan [4] IMF get out) because they are the very place of slaughtering (as we show in the analysis of the slogan [6]). In this way, a discourse (see Fairclough 2003) is further elaborated in Actors’ slogans, creating a bound representation and organization of reality where the internal and external dominant institutions are negatively represented and thus, opposed by the Actors during the collective action on May 5.

On the analysis of emotions (pathos) revealed from the transitivity structure, we may primarily see that the emotion of fear is ‘said’, realized by the nominal group *το σφαγείο/the slaughterhouse*. The interrelation in the transitivity structure of slogan (6) represents the

respective emotion as being provoked by the national and supranational, political and financial institutions (*κυβέρνησης ΕΕ ΔΝΤ/Government EU IMF*). Thus, the emotion of fear is being ‘argued’ as provoked by the respective institutions (see the criterion of the people involved), which are placed on the ‘camp’ of the (negatively represented) Actors’ opponents.

In slogan (7), *Την κρίση να πληρώσουν οι καπιταλιστές/The crisis to pay the capitalists*, the dominant economic elites are part of the ‘puzzle’ against which the Actors struggle. The nominal group *οι καπιταλιστές/the capitalists* has the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material-transitive process’ which is realized by the verbal group *να πληρώσουν/to pay*. The ‘goal’ to which the ‘material process’ extends is realized by the nominal group *Την κρίση/The crisis*. Through the interrelation of the elements within the transitivity structure, the economic elites (i.e. the capitalists) are represented as the ones that (must) pay for the crisis. In this sense, the representation produced in slogan (7), elaborates the negative characterization of the dominant economic elites (produced already in the slogan [5] *Goldman Sucks*) and contributes to the creation of a specific representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) where the dominant financial and economic elites are to be blamed for the emergence and diffusion of the crisis, and thus, they should pay for what they have created (the crisis).

As concerns the pathos analysis of this slogan, the emotion of anger is ‘argued’, realized by the participant role the economic elites (the capitalists) have in the transitivity structure (see the criterion of the people involved), as well as, by the extra-textual knowledge we have about the role the dominant financial institutions and economic elites are regarded to have had at the beginning of the crisis (see, also, the analysis slogan [5]).

The totalitarian regime of fascism is represented as the opponent of the Actors in slogan (8), *Απόψε πεθαίνει ο φασισμός/Tonight dies the fascism*. The nominal group *ο φασισμός/the fascism*, representing specific and preceding totalitarian regimes in Europe (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy), has the role-‘goal’ in the ‘material/creative process’, realized by the verbal type *πεθαίνει/dies*.<sup>127</sup> The adverb *Απόψε/Tonight* has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’ coding the ‘location/time’ *when* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the material process takes place. Through the interrelation within the transitivity structure, the fascist regime is represented as dying (terminating its existence) during Actors’ collective action. Given the fact that the fascism does not exist, i.e. as actual totalitarian regime with the characteristics of the ones in Nazi Germany and the Fascist Italy, we may infer that the nominal type fascism (with its

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<sup>127</sup> According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 185), these processes (and the respective clauses) ‘have the sense of “come into existence” and shade into clauses of the “existential” process type’. For ‘existential processes’, see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 256, Section 5.5.3).

negative conceptualization) is addressed as characterization to the regime ruling Greece, i.e. the PASOK party and the supranational institutions (EU and IMF).

Also, 'intertextuality' is established in this slogan since the specific slogan 'is full of snatches' (Fairclough 1992: 84) of the graffiti slogan *Σήμερα πεθαίνει ο φασισμός/Today the fascism dies*, which was extensively used during the uprising of the Polytechnic School in 1973 against the dictatorship of the colonels (1967-1974) named Junta.<sup>128</sup> Thus, the Junta regime is implicitly connected to the actual governmental regime of Greece.

Moreover, extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here, advancing our interpretation. It is well known that the colonels' dictatorship in Greece is conceptualized (at least for the majority of Greeks) as a totalitarian, suppressive regime, responsible for a sequence of tortures, expulsions and exterminations of political opponents. As we are going to see in a following Section, the conceptualization of PASOK's government as a fascist regime is explicitly represented in various ways in the slogan written by the Actors.

Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, as well as, the intertextual connections and the extra-textual knowledge, the emotions 'argued' in this slogan are the ones of detestation and hate; addressed against the current government (represented as fascist regime in the slogan) and the institutions with which it is 'associated'.

Recapitulating up to this point, the analysis of 'other-representation', as this was retrieved in the slogans (1) – (8) on May 5, 2010, show that the (negatively represented) opponents ('others') against who the Actors protest, are the Greek PM (*George*), the supranational institutions (*EU, IMF*), the financial institutions (*Goldman Sucks*) and the economic elites (*capitalists*). They undertake the active participant role in transitivity structures, (e.g. in 'material processes' They are beating, slogan [1]), against the citizens and their constitutional rights in education and labor. Furthermore, in some slogans they are represented as 'associated' (see Van Leeuwen 2008), as this is realized by the 'prepositional circumstantials' (e.g. with IMF, slogan [2]).

Additionally, the repetitive emergence of the nominal groups or the acronyms (by which the 'others' are realized) in more than one slogans (e.g. *government EU IMF*) show us that the slogans are 'intertextually' connected (see Fairclough 1992: 84). Thus, as we show in the analysis, they interrelate elaborating each other's meaning construction, creating a dense

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<sup>128</sup> See for example the respective photos:

[https://www.google.ch/search?q=%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%B9%CE%AD%CF%81%CF%89%CE%BC%CE%B1+%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF+%CE%A0%CE%BF%CE%BB%CF%85%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%87%CE%BD%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF&client=firefox-b&biw=1920&bih=979&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiI4IXy7M\\_NAhVEHxoKHZ3wDCKQ\\_AUICCgB#imgsrc=69\\_HIQ2RpuSGiM%3A](https://www.google.ch/search?q=%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%B9%CE%AD%CF%81%CF%89%CE%BC%CE%B1+%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF+%CE%A0%CE%BF%CE%BB%CF%85%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%87%CE%BD%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF&client=firefox-b&biw=1920&bih=979&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiI4IXy7M_NAhVEHxoKHZ3wDCKQ_AUICCgB#imgsrc=69_HIQ2RpuSGiM%3A)



representation and organization of the social reality (discourse) where the dominant institutions are negatively represented as the responsible forces for the crisis, the encroachment of constitutional rights, and resemble to totalitarian forces (fascism) of the past decades. In this sense, protesters are participating in the public realm, opposing, explicitly, and delegitimizing the image of the ruling party, the supranational and the financial institutions. The discourse construed, is an anti-austerity one with anti-totalitarian characteristics. The independent public sphere which is, consequently, construed by the protesters (see Habermas 1997[1989]) is in direct 'dialogue' with the parliamentary one and the discussion within it confronts the conceptualization of the dominant institutions.

The discourse (inductively) constructed in the slogans provokes, also, specific and negative emotions (pathos) regarding the opponents ('others') of the Actors of the May 5, 2010. Those are the emotions of fear, repulsion/detestation, and disgust represented as caused by the national and supranational, governmental and financial institutions (*George, government IMF, EU, Goldman Sucks, capitalists*) through the participant role they undertake in the transitivity structures and the extra-textual knowledge ('coherence'). Moreover, the Greek authorities, the EU and the IMF provoke also the emotions of fear (represented as possessing a slaughterhouse) and anger since they are represented as violating the dominant views about the role they should undertake in a social formation.

Apart from the representation of their opponents, i.e. the axes of the 'otherrepresentation', the Actors proceed to their 'self-representation', which we will investigate in the next subsection.

### **7.1.2 The 'self-representation' on May 5, 2010**

(9) Εξέγερση Ξανά

Insurrection Again

(10) Δικαίωμα η Εξέγερση

Right the Insurrection

(11) Υποταγή η Εξέγερση

Submission or Insurrection

In slogans (9), (10) and (11), an explicit intertextual connection is revealed, realized by the repetitive emergence of the nominal type *Εξέγερση/Insurrection*. The 'intertextuality' established, enforces us to conceive the three slogans as part of the same text which (as we will show next) creates a specific discourse. Moreover, the emergence of the nominal type *Εξέγερση/Insurrection* creates meaning connections with the massive demonstrations and

collective actions which took place during December 2008 in Greece when a police officer assassinated the 15-year-old student, Alexandros Grigoropoulos. Extra-textual knowledge facilitates ‘coherence’ here, advancing our interpretation about the slogans and contributing to the formation of a coherent discourse since: it is commonly known that during the December of 2008 massive manifestations took place in almost every Greek city (see Johnston and Seferiades 2012: 151) after the assassination of the 15-year-old student, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, by a police officer in Athens city-center.<sup>129</sup> The Actors of December 2008 were placing themselves against the political elites and the mainstream media, representing themselves as a new and promising collective action against the dominant elites and repression (see Serafis et al. 2017). The semantic connections produced through the establishment of ‘intertextuality’ and ‘coherence’ in the specific slogans give to the social actors the sense of continuance with important moments of the Greek collective actions (as the one of December 2008). The construction of this specific sense, via graffiti slogans, of continuance with previous, significant collective actions had also been observed during the collective actions of December 2008 (see Serafis et al. 2017).

Specifically, in slogan (9), *Εξέγερση Ξανά/Insurrection Again*, the co-emergence of the nominal type *Εξέγερση/Insurrection* and the adverbial *Ξανά/Again* enforces us to co-interpret them. Through the co-emergence of the two types, the *Insurrection* is being represented as repeated; repetition is realized through the adverbial *Again*, which has the role of the ‘circumstantial element’, coding the ‘location/time’ when the nominal group extends (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, the Actors are constructing meaning according to which an insurrection, like the recent of December 2008, is (or should be) repeated.

The emotion (pathos) argued upon this slogan (respecting also the ‘coherence’ established by the extra-textual knowledge) is the one of indulgence for the repetition (*Ξανά/Again*) of an *Insurrection*, historically connected with significant moments of the Greek social mobilizations (see December 2008, the Polytechnic Uprising in 1973) which had as the focus of their action the restoration of injustices and democracy (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

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<sup>129</sup> The collective actions of December 2008 became an international point of reference, not only for supporters or participants in social movements (e.g. the well-known figure of the Zapatistas’ movement, SubComandante Marcos, expressed his solidarity to the social actors of December 2008, see: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtwQ7Z36O\\_4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtwQ7Z36O_4)). Also, significant and conservative politicians, as the former President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, withdraw the education reform which his government was proposing in front of the fear of massive demonstrations in France that would follow the actions of December 2008 in Greece, see: <https://euobserver.com/social/27330>.

In slogan (10), *Δικαίωμα η Εξέγερση/Right the Insurrection*, an elliptical transitivity structure is revealed; ‘ellipsis’ is the cohesive relation that appears when an important text element is absent (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74), as, in our case, the verbal type-core element of the structure. The non-elliptical form could be: *Δικαίωμα [είναι] η Εξέγερση/Right [is] the Insurrection*. The nominal group *η Εξέγερση/the Insurrection* has the role-‘Value’, in the ‘relational-identifying clause’ (for the main categories of relational clauses, see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 216), ‘identifying’ the nominal type *Δικαίωμα/Right*, which consequently has the role-‘Token’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 230) in the structure. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: the insurrection is the right of the Actors.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ in the slogan (10): The rights of the citizens are explicitly described in the Greek Constitution. Among them there is specific reference and concern on collective forms of action (e.g. strike, demonstration) that are (and should be) protected by the state and its institutions (e.g. police). However, there is no reference to actions such as insurrection. Thus, the social actors, by constructing a reality according to which the insurrection is among the rights of their action, they aim to overcome the constitutional rights (and values).

Upon this construction, the emotions constructed and ‘argued’ are the ones of admiration and indulgence. And that because the ‘we’ group of Actors are self-represented as the ones (see the criterion of the people involved) that add more rights (*Δικαίωμα/Right*) to these that are protected by the Constitution. In this sense, they are self-represented as fighting for the expansion of the constitutional rights (see the criterion of the compatibility with dominant values).

In slogan (11), *Υποταγή ή Εξέγερση/Submission or Insurrection*, the two nominal types *Υποταγή/Submission* and *Εξέγερση/Insurrection* are connected in ‘parataxis’, realized by the respective marker *ή/or* and thus, they have ‘equal status’ in the representation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 384); the first nominal type is being ‘extended’ by the second one (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). The insurrection expands the submission, creating a meaning where the two nominal types have equal but contradicting status; they ‘offer an alternative’ as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 378) put it. Moreover, the two nominal groups can be seen as ‘process nouns’ through which the respective ‘material processes’ are realized. The meaning constructed here could be paraphrased as: there will be a submission (we succumb) or an insurrection (we rise).

Based on the analysis of the transitivity structure of slogan (11), as well as on the intertextual connections established with the two previous slogans, two opposing emotions are

‘argued’ and addressed to the audience. The emotion of indulgence (see Εξέγερση/Insurrection, see also, the analysis of the slogans [9] and [10]) and the opposite emotion of frustration (Υποταγή/Submission). Extra-textual knowledge offers the interpretation regarding the second emotion since the material process realized by the ‘process’ noun’ submission leads to the disappointment of the one that was ought to submit and be humiliated by the opponent.

(12) Κατάληψη στο Κυνοβούλιο

Occupation to the Dogment

(13) Φωτιά στ' άδικο

Fire to the unjust

(14) Το ζωνάρι θα το σφίξουμε στο λαιμό σας καθάρματα

The belt [we] will tighten it around your neck bastards

In the slogan (12), *Κατάληψη στο Κυνοβούλιο/Occupation to the Dogment*, the nominal type *Κατάληψη/Occupation*, contributes to the realization of the ‘material process’ occupying: The material process ‘has been nominalized in the word rank’ and the nominal type Occupation has the role of the ‘process noun’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439-440; see also Van Leeuwen 2008: 30). The prepositional nominal group *στο Κυνοβούλιο/to the Dogment*, has the role of the prepositional ‘circumstantial element’, stating the ‘location/place’ where the material process unfolds. What seems to be prominent in the slogan is the misspelled nominal type *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*. In that, the place of the morpheme *Κοινο-* has taken the morpheme ***Κυνο-***, misspelling the nominal type ***Κοινοβούλιο/Parliament***. According to Babiniotis (2002: 910), the morpheme *Κοινο-* is associated to the Commons, the politics as in the case of the nominal type *Κοινοβούλιο/Parliament*. The morpheme *Κυνο-* corresponds to the genitive inclination of ancient Greek type of the nominal *dog* (κύων, gen. κυνός) (see Babiniotis 2002: 972). Thus, the *Κοινοβούλιο/Parliament*, instead of being associated with politics, is negatively characterized, represented as consisted of dogs through the intentional misspelling in the slogan.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ once more and permits us a further interpretation here. During December 2008 collective action (with which the Actors are semantically connected, see slogans [9], [10] and [11]), many state buildings (e.g. the historical building of the National Technical University –known as the Athens Polytechnic- and the one of

the Law School)<sup>130</sup> were occupied. Inside those buildings, there were held assemblies of students and employers, functioning, in this sense, as a controversial model against the dominant conventions and rules that permeate the dominant institutions (e.g. Parliament, Trade Unions) (see, in details, Kitis 2013b, Serafis et al. 2017). Thus, the Occupation relates semantically to the ‘inheritance’ of buildings occupation during December 2008, and it appears as conceptual consequence of the negative characterization of Parliament as a dogs’ place (*Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*). The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: ‘we’ occupy the parliament belonging to dogs.

On the emotions (pathos) analysis of the slogan, the emotion of detestation is ‘argued’, addressed against the parliament, and realized by the nominal type *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment* which represents the central state building as consisted of dogs instead of being the place of the democratically elected representatives of Greece (see the criterion of the (lack of) compatibility with the values). On the same time, the emotion of indulgence is ‘argued’ realized by the process noun *Κατάληψη/Occupation* which represents the ‘material action’ to which the Actors proceed against the negatively represented parliament (see the criterion of the people involved). The emotion of indulgence is further loaded due to the historical connections that the Actors construct with previous and significant moments of the collective action in Greece (e.g. December 2008, Uprising of Polytechnic School 1973).

In slogan (13), *Φωτιά στ’άδικο/Fire to the injustice*, by the nominal type *Φωτιά/Fire* the ‘material process’ of setting fire is realized; thus, the respective nominal type can be seen as a ‘process noun’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 30, see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439). Through that choice, the ‘actor’ of the material process is ‘excluded’ and ‘backgrounded’ since we can ask ‘who is setting fire?’ and reasonably infer that the Actor is the ‘we’ group which carries out the collective action (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29-30); thus, the Actor is ‘pushed to background’ (Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). Furthermore, the prepositional nominal group *στ’άδικο/to the injustice*, has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ coding the ‘location/place’ where the material process (Fire) extends (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, the ‘backgrounded’ Actor is represented as setting fire to the (abstract) *injustice*.

Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure the emotions ‘argued’ in this slogan are the ones of indulgence and admiration; these emotions are addressed to the audience and

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<sup>130</sup> The specific buildings were symbols of the anti-dictatorship struggle in Greece (1973), as they were the bases of the students’ occupation against the Regime of the Colonels, called Junta. See more: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1967%E2%80%9374](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_military_junta_of_1967%E2%80%9374)

should be felt since the 'backgrounded' group-'we' is acting, setting fire (Φωτιά/Fire) to the *injustice*, they are self-represented as doing something that is fully compatible with the value of the restoration of the injustices (see the respective criterion of compatibility with values).

In slogan (14), *To ζωνάρι θα το σφίξουμε στο λαιμό σας καθάρματα/The belt [we] will tighten it up around your neck bastards*, the Actors are represented implicitly, realized by the use of the first-person plural in the verbal group *θα σφίξουμε/[we] will tighten*; in Greek, the first plural is included in the suffix of the verbal type *σφίξουμε*. Through that, Actors are represented as the 'activated'-'actor' undergoing the 'material process' *θα σφίξουμε/we will tighten up* in the structure (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The nominal group *To ζωνάρι/The belt* has the role-'goal' in the structure, coding where the material process extends.

'Intertextuality' is revealed in this slogan since the clause is explicitly connected to the well-known phrase I tighten the belt which means that someone reduces expenses because of financial scarcity (see Babinotis 2002: 1722). Through the intertextual connection, the Actor is (primarily) represented as making financial sacrifices according to the respective scarcity. But, in the transitivity structure, the material process (*θα σφίξουμε/we will tighten up*) extends also to the prepositional nominal group *στο λαιμό σας καθάρματα/around your neck bastards*, by which the prepositional circumstantial of 'location/place' (where the process extends) is realized (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262); the nominal group *To ζωνάρι/The belt* and the marker *το/it* are connected via the 'cohesive relation' of 'co-referentiality' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74), since they have the same element of reference (*To ζωνάρι/The belt*). Through that interrelation, the representation revealed is that the Actors are activated and dealing with the financial scarcity against the group 'others', realized by the prepositional nominal group, and, more specifically, by the marker *σας/your*; which is connected to the 'others' since it has a 'co-referentiality' relation with the out-group of 'others' (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74): the already (negatively) represented national/supranational institutions (see analysis of the 'other representation').

On the pathos analysis, the emotions 'argued' in slogan (14) are those of anger and detestation, and they are addressed against the representatives of the 'others' group (*καθάρματα/bastards*). The interrelation of the elements in the transitivity structure offers us this interpretation; the Actors carry out a material action *θα σφίξουμε/we will tighten up* against the opponents, negatively represented as *καθάρματα/bastards* (see the criteria of the people involved and compatibility with values). At the same time, their action against the negatively represented opponents 'argues' also the emotion of admiration since, once more,

they act against a commonly accepted bad opponent and thus, it is fully compatible with the dominant societal values (see again, the criterion of compatibility with values).

As we see up to this point of analysis (slogans [9] – [14]), the ‘self-representation of the Actors is inductively developed in (almost) every transitivity structure of the slogans under study adding meaning regarding their action against the negatively represented opponents. More specifically, the Actors are represented as acting (violently, see e.g. *insurrection, occupation, fire, we will tighten up*) against the parliament (represented as consisted of dogs, *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*), the *καθάρματα/bastards*, aiming to restore injustices (see *fire to the injustice*), establishing historical bonds with significant moments of the Greek collective action (e.g. December 2008, Athens Polytechnic Uprising in 1973). This specific representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003) leads to an emotive construction which includes the emotions of detestation and anger against the opponents, and, on the contrary, the emotions of indulgence and admiration for their own action.

(15) Απεργία

Strike

(16) Άγριες απεργίες

Wild strikes

(17) ΓΕΝΙΚΗ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ για ΠΑΝΤΑ

GENERAL STRIKE for EVER

In slogans (15), (16) and (17), an explicit intertextual link is captured once more, realized this time by the repetitive emergence of the nominal types *Απεργία/Strike* and *απεργίες/strikes* in the respective slogans. As in slogans (9), (10) and (11), the established ‘intertextuality’ permits us to conceive the three slogans as part of the same text which, as we will witness, creates a specific representation of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003). By the nominal type *Απεργία/Strike*, the respective constitutional right is represented. At the same time, through the respective nominal type, the ‘material process’ of striking is realized; thus, the respective nominal type is perceived as ‘process noun’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 30; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439).

More specifically, in slogan (15), *Άγριες απεργίες/Wild Strikes*, the nominal type *Strikes*, is explicitly characterized as *Wild* in the premodified nominal group. In the slogan (16), *ΓΕΝΙΚΗ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ για ΠΑΝΤΑ/GENERAL STRIKE for EVER*, the nominal type *ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ/STRIKE*, is characterized as *GENERAL* in the premodified nominal group. The nominal group corresponds semantically to the (constitutionally protected) action to which the General Trade

Confederations, i.e. the General Confederation of the Greek Workers (GSEE) and the General Administration of the Associations of Public Servants (ADEDY), may proceed to protect the right of the workers/employers to strike. The representation emerging by the nominal group *GENERAL STRIKE* is the total obstruction of production in the country. The prepositional adverbial *για ΠΑΝΤΑ/for EVER* functions as the 'prepositional circumstantial' coding the 'location/time' *when* the *GENERAL STRIKE* unfolds. In this sense, the obstruction of the productive process in the country is represented as extending to the eternity. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: There will never be production anymore.

The intertextual connections emerging among the three slogans elaborate a meaning according to which the eternal (*for EVER*) obstruction of the production will have wild (and maybe violent) characteristics. As we can see, in every step of the analysis, we observe a fulfilment of each slogan by a previous or a next one. This meaning fulfilment constructs a dense discourse (see Fairclough 2003): In the case of slogans (15), (16) and (17), this discourse includes the Actors as a self-represented group which wildly (wild) and for EVER is going to block in general (GENERAL) the production by striking (strike).

On the pathos analysis, through the interrelation in the transitivity structures of slogans (15) – (17), as well as the intertextual connections established among them (see the repetitive emergence of the nominal type *Strike*), the emotions constructed are those of anger and confidence. Anger because of the way the 'we'-participant is represented to proceed to the strike (*Άγριες απεργίες/Wild Strikes*) (see the criterion of the people involved) and confidence because according to the analysis of the slogan (17), they are represented as blocking in general (*GENERAL*), and for long period (*for EVER*) the production by striking (*strike*). Thus, they are represented as totally in control of the situation (see the criterion of the capacity to command or control the situation).

(18) Φοιτητές Εργατιά μια φωνή και μια γροθιά.

Students Workers one voice and one fist

(19) Δεν παζαρεύουμε τις κατακτήσεις μας.

We do not bargain our conquests

(20) Με μαχητικούς αγώνες θα νικήσουμε.

With combative struggles we will win

In the 'elliptical' structure of slogan (18), *Φοιτητές Εργατιά μια φωνή και μια γροθιά/Students Workers one voice and one fist*, sporting on the students unions' banner, the nominal types *Φοιτητές Εργατιά/Students Workers*, represent the respective social groups.



Through the respective ‘massive nouns’ the social groups are represented as ‘assimilated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37), concealing, in this way, the differences occurring among these groups.<sup>131</sup> The two nominal types are bound together in ‘parataxis’ and thus they ‘are given equal status’; the first element is ‘extended’ by the second in the form ‘initiating + continuing’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 384-385) and thus, they represent a social unity of two different groups standing equally and forming a social alliance. Also, the nominal groups *μια φωνή/one voice*, *μια γροθιά/one fist* are bound together in ‘parataxis’, realized by the marker *και/and*, and thus they ‘are given equal status’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 384). The ‘ellipsis’ (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74) we stated in the beginning of the analysis of slogan (18), is realized by the absence of the verbal element which codes the process. Still, we may reasonably infer that the non-elliptical form would be: *Φοιτητές Εργατιά [είναι] μια φωνή και μια γροθιά/Students Workers [are] one voice and one fist*. Thus, the elliptical transitivity structure places the nominal types (paratactically linked) *Φοιτητές Εργατιά/Students Workers* in the participant role-‘Token/identified’ while the nominal groups *μια φωνή/one voice*, *μια γροθιά/one fist* have the role-‘Value/identifier’, ‘identifying’ that the *Φοιτητές Εργατιά/Students Workers* have the identity of *μια φωνή/one voice*, *μια γροθιά/one fist* (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 216). Within the configuration of transitivity, well-known social groups are represented as ‘assimilated’ and consensus groups, shouting (voice) and combating (fist), thus struggling unitedly.

Through the analysis of the transitivity structure, the emotion constructed (‘argued’) is the one of the confidence. The social groups represented, *Φοιτητές Εργατιά/Students Workers*, are ‘assimilated’, having active participant role in the structure in which they are ‘identified’ by the nominal groups *μια φωνή/one voice*, *μια γροθιά/one fist*. By this representation the participants (see the criterion of the people involved) are shouting (voice) and combating (fist); in this sense, they are represented as having the capacity to command or control the situation (see the respective criterion) and thus feel confident about their action.

In the same banner, in slogan (19), *Δεν παζαρεύουμε τις κατακτήσεις μας/We do not bargain our conquests*, a ‘we’ group is implicitly represented, realized by the respective suffix in the verbal group *Δεν παζαρεύουμε/[We] do not bargain*. The ‘we’ group undertakes the role-‘actor’ in the ‘material process’ which is realized by the verbal group (in negation) *Δεν*

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<sup>131</sup> As concerns the students’ stratum, inside the students’ Unions, there is a wide variety of political fronts. Among the most important and according to their political influence in the General Students’ Elections, DAP-NDFK is the front of New Democracy (ND), PKS the one of the Communist Party (KKE), EAAK, the front of the extraparlimentary Left (ANTARSYA etc.) which recently collaborated with AREN, the ex-youth of SYRIZA, and finally, PASP the one of PASOK.

*παζαρεύουμε/We do not bargain*. The ‘goal’ of the verbal process is realized by the nominal group *τις κατακτήσεις μας/our conquests*. Through the pronoun *μας/our*, the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’ is established (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74), since the pronoun and the implicit ‘we’ have the same element of reference. Given the fact that the slogan is sporting on the same banner with slogan (18), we may infer that the ‘we’ represented group is the one of the Students Workers, explicitly represented in slogan (18). Thus, the actors Students Workers are once more ‘assimilated’ and, in this case they are, moreover, ‘collectivized’ through the common use of the first-plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), represented as a fully consensus-collective group. Through the interrelation of the elements in the transitivity, the ‘we’ group is represented as not bargaining their conquests and, thus, as acting to maintain them.

Extra-textual knowledge facilitates ‘coherence’ in slogan (19): It is commonly known that achievements-rights of the workers and the students are included in the Greek Constitution. During the implementation of austerity measures by the Government (PASOK), and more intensively, after the signing of the MoU, many rights were under threat. Thus, the representation of well-known social groups as acting for the maintenance of their achievements produces the meaning of a struggle which aims to maintain (already achieved in the past) constitutional rights. Thus, this representation may be seen as preceding the representation of the slogan (10) *Δικαίωμα η Εξέγερση/Right the Insurrection*, in the sense that the Actors are struggling for the retention of their rights and, at the same time, for their expansion through the mobilizations.<sup>132</sup>

On the analysis of the emotions (pathos) revealed by the transitivity structure of slogan (19), we may see the emotions of confidence and determination ‘argued’ through the active participant role the ‘collectivized’, ‘we’ group undertakes; the ‘we’ group represented as a consensus Actor, undertakes action (*Δεν παζαρεύουμε/We do not bargain*) in order to maintain its rights (see the criterion of the people involved). The consensus constructed upon the representation loads further the confidence of the group and its determination, based on the possibility to control the situation (see the respective criterion).

In slogan (20), *Με μαχητικούς αγώνες θα νικήσουμε/With combative struggles we will win*, written in the same unions’ banner, the ‘we’ group is once more implicitly represented, realized by the respective suffix in the verbal group *θα νικήσουμε/[we] will win*. By the implicitly revealed ‘we’ group the Actors Students Workers are represented, as ‘assimilated’ and

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<sup>132</sup> It also reflects the different political, ideological etc. views occurring in the internal of a collective action (e.g. differences among left groups, anarchists etc.). However, this something that we are not going to examine in this dissertation.

‘collectivized’ through the common use of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 3738). The ‘we’ group undergoes the ‘material process’, realized by the verbal group in future tense *θα νικήσουμε/we will win*; the material process is one to happen, meaning it represents a future rather than a present doing (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 196). The prepositional nominal group *Με μαχητικούς αγώνες/With combative struggles* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial’ which states the ‘means’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) by which the ‘we’ group undergoes the process (*[we] will win*). Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure the ‘we’ group is represented as undertaking combative struggles that will lead them to beat their opponents.

The emotions ‘argued’ upon this slogan are the ones of confidence and indulgence. The ‘we’ group, represented as a ‘collectivized’, and, thus, consensus Actor, undertakes action that will lead to their victory (*[we] will win*). Thus, it is represented as the active participant (see the criterion of the people involved) that has the capacity to control the situation (see the respective criterion) that will lead to a positive outcome for the group (see the criterion of the expressed potential consequences).

(21) Λαός-Εργαζόμενοι δεν χρωστάμε τίποτα σε κανέναν

People-Employees we do not owe anything to anyone

(22) Όλοι στον αγώνα ενάντια σε κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ

All to the struggle against government-EU-IMF

In slogan (21), *Λαός-Εργαζόμενοι δεν χρωστάμε τίποτα σε κανέναν/People-Employers we do not owe anything to anyone*, the nominal types *Λαός-Εργαζόμενοι/People-Employees*, undertake the role of the ‘activated’-‘actor’ in the (negative) ‘material-transitive process’ which is realized by the verbal group *δεν χρωστάμε/we do not owe* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Using the noun denoting a group of people and a mass noun respectively, i.e. *Λαός-Εργαζόμενοι/People-Employees* the Actors are represented as ‘assimilated’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37). By the first-person plural, the Actors are, furthermore, represented as ‘collectivized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), constructing a consensus group and concealing the stratification and differences occurring among them. The nominal type *τίποτα/anything [nothing]* has the role-‘goal’ in the structure and the prepositional nominal group *σε κανέναν/to anyone [no one]* has the role-‘recipient’ of the process of the Actors; meaning that it represents the oblique involved participant in the process of the transitivity structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 190191). In this sense, Actors/protesters are represented as totally (and to all directions) negating the public debt.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ in this slogan adumbrating a coherent discourse, as: since the beginning of the austerity measures implementation, groups of left-wing intellectuals, journalists and members of left-wing parties were creating assemblies which aimed at the creation of a movement that would study the way Greek debt was created and, consequently, it would denounce the illegal and onerous part of it. An initiative was formed some months later with the participation of MPs and famous academics under the name ‘Committee for the Audit’.<sup>133</sup> Thus, the discussion which was revolving around the negation of the debt’s repayment was intensive within the social movements.

On the analysis of pathos revealed in this slogan, the emotion ‘argued’ is that of confidence. The Actors, represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’, undertake the active participant role negating the public debt (*δεν χρωστάμε/we do not owe*). The extra-textual knowledge offers us this interpretation since it is known that the negation of the debt was massive as a conception among the members of the mobilizations. Thus, the Actors (*People-Employees*) is represented as the active participant (see the criterion of the people involved) that has the capacity to control the situation according to its massiveness (see the respective criterion of the capability to control the situation) and lead to a positive outcome for the group, i.e. the negation of the debt (see the criterion of the expressed potential consequences).

In slogan (22), *Όλοι στον αγώνα ενάντια σε κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ/All to the struggle against government-EU-IMF*, the Actors are represented as ‘assimilated’ and ‘collectivized’, realized by the mass noun *Όλοι/All*. The prepositional nominal group *στον αγώνα/to the struggle* has the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial element’ coding the ‘location/place’ where (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262) the Actors are ‘activated’; this type of activation is coded as ‘circumstantialization’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) and thus, the Actors are represented as activated in struggle; as struggling. Furthermore, by the prepositional nominal group *ενάντια σε κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ/against government-EU-IMF* the ‘prepositional circumstantial element’ coding the ‘cause’ is realized, representing the opponents on ‘behalf’ of which the Actors are activated (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, Actors are, once more ‘circumstantialized’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), represented as struggling against their (negatively represented) opponents, the government and the dominant institutions (EU, IMF). Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the overall representation constructs a meaning where a consensus ‘collectivized’ group is struggling against the dominant internal and supranational political and financial institutions.

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<sup>133</sup> See more at: <http://eleg.gr/>.

As we witness, the axis of juxtaposition ('we' vs. 'others') interrelate since, in many cases, the one implies the other. Moreover, the emergence of the nominal government and the acronyms (EU, IMF) establish 'intertextuality' with slogan (6), inductively creating a discourse (Fairclough 2003), according to which, the Actors' struggle is continuously oriented against the dominant (national/supranational) institutions.

The emotions 'argued' upon this slogan, are the ones of confidence and indulgence. The Actors, represented as a 'collectivized', and, thus, consensus Actor (*Όλοι/All*), are involved in a circumstance of struggle (*στον αγώνα/to the struggle*) against the negatively represented opponents. Thus, it is represented as the active participant (see the criterion of the people involved) that has the capacity to control the situation according to its massiveness (see the respective criterion of the capability to control the situation).

Recapitulating up to this point, the analysis of the 'self-representation' shows that the 'we' group in slogans of May 5, 2010, the Actors, firstly, proceed to meaning connections with previous, significant moments of the collective action in Greece (e.g. the uprising of December 2008, the Polytechnic Uprising of 1973, see the repetitive use of the nominal type insurrection and the analysis of the respective slogans). The extra-textual knowledge permits us this interpretation since the events of December 2008 were commonly accepted as one of the significant insurrections at the beginning of the crisis and the Uprising of 1973 among the significant actions that led to the fall of the dictatorship in Greece. Secondly, they advance the conceptualization of the insurrection constructing it as part of the constitutional rights of the citizens (see analysis of slogan [10]) and they oppose it to the (possible) submission (see the 'alternative' the two nominal types construe in slogan [11]). Moreover, they are represented as acting against the negatively represented (as place of dogs) parliament (see the type *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*) and as setting fire (*Fire*) to the abstract injustice. The emergence of the nominal type *Απεργία/Strike*, accompanied by nominal or adverbial types (*Wild, FOR EVER*), represents the obstruction of the production (to which they are represented as proceeding) and the wild manner in which they act employing the constitutional right of the strike. The intertextual connection created due to the repetitive use of the nominal type *Απεργία/Strike*, leads to the formation of the above discourse, i.e. the above dense representation and organization of the social reality. Finally, they are represented as creating social alliances among different but well-known social groups (students-workers, people-employees) and as acting in order not to bargain their conquests, and in to negate the debt. Once more extra-textual knowledge facilitates the construing of a coherent discourse, since well-known figures of the political and media field (PMs, parties and unions, journalists, mainly of the Left) were, at that

time, participating in the creation of the ‘Committee for the Audit’ and had a significant impact in the respective discussion which was taking place in the social movements.

As becomes evident, protesters, acting on the antipodes of the—negatively represented—dominant institutions (e.g. *government, EU, IMF*, see section 7.1.1), are placing themselves in the public realm as part of an alliance of significant and well known social groups, attempting to construe a social opposition against the dominance, the institutions (e.g. the parliament) and the injustice (as a broad concept). They are self-represented as doing so, by employing various means of social struggle (e.g. strike), and being the continuance of historical moments of the social movements in Greece. The intertextual connection appearing also in this section of analysis, add, in almost every slogan, meaning and new conceptualizations creating a dense discourse which opposes the dominant ones (as these traditionally appear, for instance, in the parliamentary debates or in the media news).

Upon this representation of the social reality (discourse, Fairclough 2003), a mix of contradictory emotions (pathos) is constructed. On the one side, the representation of the opponents (parliament, government, EU, IMF) create the emotions of anger and detestation, that, consequently, are ‘argued’ (through the interrelation in the transitivity structures) and are addressed (should be felt) against the opponents. On the other side, the ‘self-representation’ of the ‘we’ group as a consensus group made up of well-known social groups (students-workers, people-employees), historically connected with significant moments of the collective action in Greece, ‘argues’ the emotions of indulgence, confidence and determination that, consequently, had to be felt by the audience, regarding the Actors of the manifestations of the May 5, 2010.

## **7.2 Graffiti Slogans on June 28-29, 2011**

In the present subsection, we analyze graffiti slogans revealed during the two-day mobilizations against the voting of the Middle-Term Agreement (MoU), on June 28-29, 2011. The two interrelated axes: a) the axis of ‘self-representation’, i.e. the representation of the Actors and b) the axis of other-representation, i.e. the representation of their opponents, is also followed in our analysis here. We start with the analysis of the ‘other-representation’, as this was retrieved from the slogans on June 28-29, 2011.

### **7.2.1 The ‘other-representation’ on June 28-29, 2011**

- (1) Κάτω η Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ  
Down [with] the Government-EU-IMF

- (2) Κάτω η Χούντα  
Down [with] the Junta
- (3) Παλιοφασίστα Πάγκαλε μας απειλείς με βία Μαζί με την απόλυση και την ανεργία  
Dirtyfascist Pagkalos you threaten us with violence along with the dismissal and unemployment
- (4) Τα Μνημόνια σας Μνημόσυνα για το λαό  
Your Memoranda Memorial [services] for the people
- (5) Δεν είναι ηλίθιοι είναι προδότες  
They are not stupid they are traitors
- (6) Η Χούντα δεν τελείωσε το '73 εμείς θα την κηδέψουμε σε τούτη την πλατεία  
Junta did not finish in '73 we are going to bury it in this square

In slogan (1) *Κάτω η Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ/Down with Government-EU-IMF*, the political and financial institutions are represented, realized (respectively) by the nominal type *Κυβέρνηση/Government*, the acronym *ΕΕ/EU* (European Union) and the acronym *ΔΝΤ/IMF* (International Monetary Fund). The three institutions are bound in 'parataxis' and thus they 'are given equal status' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489); through the paratactic connection, they constitute a solid entity.

Extra-textual knowledge facilitates 'coherence here and provides us with the interpretation as Greek Government, EU and IMF were the three institutions (parts) that signed the MoU and were managing/supervising its implementation. Moreover, the emergence of the paratactically connected Government, EU and IMF creates intertextual links with previous slogans where the specific institutions are explicitly—negatively—represented (see e.g. the slogan [6] *Κάτω το σφαγείο κυβέρνησης ΕΕ ΔΝΤ/Down with the slaughterhouse of Government EU IMF* on May 5, 2011). The demand for the fall of the three institutions emerges, realized by the elliptical and 'hortative' use of the adverbial *Κάτω/Down* (see Kitis 2013b: 174-186) and it is connected semantically to the negative representation of the MoU and the austerity measures which the three institutions (jointly) implement. The meaning could be paraphrased as: the (united) government-EU-IMF must fall.

Conducting a pathos analysis, the emotions 'argued' upon the interrelation in the transitivity process, the intertextual connections with previous slogans and the extra-textual knowledge are those of fear, repulsion and detestation. And that because the three institutions, as entity of equal parts, (see 'parataxis') are explicitly represented as force (see the criterion of the people involved) that devastates the Greeks (see 'intertextuality'), implementing a program of strict austerity ('coherence'): the three institutions are represented as provoking the emotion

of fear (because of the devastation they cause) and thus, repulsion/detestation should be felt against them.

The elliptical-hortative use of the adverbial *Κάτω/Down* emerges once more in slogan (2) *Κάτω η Χούντα/Down [with] the Junta*. In this case, it relates to the nominal group *η Χούντα/the Junta*. The meaning constructed can be paraphrased as follows: the Junta must fall.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ providing the contextual frame of this slogan. Junta was called the military dictatorship imposed by extreme right-wing officers of the Greek Army on April 21, 1967. The dictatorship was imposed by the army when tanks circled the Greek Parliament early in the morning of 21 April. Greek Junta was favored (implicitly) by the United States (US),<sup>134</sup> and it was tolerated by the former King of Greece, Konstantinos (see Karamanolakis 2010). Among others, the Article 14 of the Greek Constitution, which protected freedom of thought and freedom of the press, was immediately suspended and political parties were dissolved. During the dictatorship, along with the abolition of the parliamentary democracy, political opponents of the regime were tortured (see, among others, Korovesis 2007, Giourgos and Kampilis 2009) and exiled in islands-jails (e.g. Yiaros, Makronissos). Thus, the nominal Junta has specific and negative conceptualization.<sup>135</sup>

The co-emergence of the adverbial *Κάτω/Down* with the same (hortative) use establishes ‘intertextuality’ among the slogans (1) and (2). Through the intertextual connection, the nominal Junta is semantically connected with the institutions Government-EU-IMF, and, consequently, they are negatively characterized as institutions of totalitarianism and dictatorship. In this sense, slogans interrelate constructing a discourse (see Fairclough 2003) where the dominant institutions are represented as institutions of totalitarianism and, thus, put on the side of the Actors’ opponents.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions ‘argued’ upon this slogan, are the ones of fear and detestation. The intertextual connections established among slogans (1) and (2), represent (negatively) the governmental and supranational institutions as institutions of totalitarianism and dictatorship. The extra-textual knowledge and the, consequently, established coherence shows us that the regime of Junta (and, consequently, the ensemble Government-EU-IMF) was responsible, among others, for tortures of political opponents. Thus, based on the criteria of the people involved and the compatibility with the dominant values, the dominant institutions,

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<sup>134</sup> The former President of the US, Bill Clinton, apologized in public for the aid the US government offered to the military regime of Junta. See: <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/nov/21/news/mn-35991>.

<sup>135</sup> At least for the majority of the Greek people because the nationalist Golden Dawn Party favors explicitly the dictatorship (1967-1974). See video where Christos Pappas, Golden Dawn’s MP, raises the flag of Junta during an initiative of his party. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YTnfZWpJ3ZQ>.



represented as Junta, are provoking the emotion of fear and detestation. They do so, because of their role in the transitivity process and the fact that they are (represented as) not serving the dominant value, according to which they should ensure democracy. So, they resemble to the totalitarian regime of Junta.

The negative representation of the government as institution of totalitarianism is continued in the slogan (3) *Παλιοφασίστα Πάγκαλε μας απειλείς με βία μαζί με την απόλυση και την ανεργία/Dirty fascist Pangalos you threaten us with violence along with dismissal and unemployment*. In this slogan, the Vice-President of the government is represented by ‘formal nomination’, only with his surname *Pangalos*; the nomination is used as vocative (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 41). In the postmodified nominal group *Παλιοφασίστα Πάγκαλε/Dirtyfascist Pangalos*, he is negatively represented as fascist, and therefore, against the constitution and the democracy which he should protect.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Vice-President is ‘activated’ in the transitivity structure, undertaking the active participant role-‘Sayer’ in the ‘verbal-transitive process’, realized by the verbal type *απειλείς/threaten*. The ‘Target’ of the structure is the ‘We’ group of Actors, realized by the marker *μας/us*. The realization of the ‘We’ group through the marker *us* is established through the cohesive relation of ‘co-referentiality’ where *us* and the Actors-‘we’ have the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Through the connection of the directly involved participants and the process, a significant member of the government, represented as fascist, is threatening the people, violating, in this sense, the fundamental value according to which governments should ensure the common good. Moreover, the prepositional nominal groups *με βία, με την απόλυση και την ανεργία/ with violence, with dismissal and unemployment*, have the role of the ‘prepositional circumstantial of Manner’ stating the ‘quality’ of the process in which Pangalos is activated (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). According to this, Vice-President is represented as being violent (with violence). The nominals dismissal and unemployment are linked in ‘parataxis’, realized by the marker *και/and*, and thus ‘are given equal status’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 489). They are, moreover, linked in ‘parataxis’ with the nominal *violence/βία*, which is ‘extended’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 491-92) by the dismissal and unemployment. Thus, violence, dismissal and unemployment represent the ‘quality’ of the Vice-President’s threat against the ‘We’ group. Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ here and fulfil the interpretation of this slogan, regarding the representation of Pangalos as fascist since:

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<sup>136</sup> It is commonly known that during the formation of the Government, its members give the oath to protect (and not to violate) the Greek Constitution.

Vice-President Pangalos is a member of a well-known military family. A significant member of this family was one of Greece's dictators, Theodoros Pangalos. As Mazower (1994: 353) supports, Theodoros Pangalos participated in the creation of the notorious 'Ta gmata Asfalí as' (Security Battalions) which co-operated with the Nazi army during the respective occupation in Greece. Thus, his family heritage is not famous for its democratic reflexes.

Vice-President Pangalos, facing tremendous manifestations against the measures implemented, referred to the Tanks that would probably secure the Banks and the Greek state in case of a rejection of government's measures.<sup>137</sup> The semantic connection with the Colonels' dictatorship were more than obvious as Junta also had employed tanks to prevail [see above, analysis of slogan (2)].

On pathos analysis, the emotion of fear is 'said', realized by the nominal type violence in the prepositional nominal group with violence and the verbal type threaten. Through the interrelation of the different elements in the transitivity structure, the 'said' emotion of fear is becoming 'argued' and represented as provoked by the Vice-President (*Pangalos*): he has the active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved), threatening the 'we' group (*μας/us*) of the Actors violently (*with violence*). Thus, the Vice-president is violating the value (see the respective criterion of compatibility with values) according to which he should ensure the societal common good, the constitution and democracy. The characterization of the VicePresident as fascist also provokes the emotion of detestation which is consequently 'argued' along with the emotion of fear, and should be legitimately felt against the Vice-President.

In slogan (4) *Τα Μνημόνιά σας Μνημόσυνα για το λαό/Your Memoranda memorial [services] for the people*, the negative conceptualized, (by the Actors), Memorandum, is represented, realized by the 'nominalization' *Τα Μνημόνιά σας/Your Memoranda*; it represents the austerity measures implementation since May 6, 2010. Through that representation, the actual Actor is 'backgrounded' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29), since we may infer that those who implement the Memoranda (the austerity measures) are the government and the supranational institutions (IMF, EU). The Memoranda is 'possessivized' by the 'Others', realized by the possessive pronoun *σας/Your* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The specific realization is established through the 'cohesive relation' of 'co-referentiality' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74); the possessive pronoun *σας/Your* refers anaphorically to the 'Others', i.e. government EU IMF.

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<sup>137</sup> See: <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.article&id=288002>. The specific references of the Vice-President had caused intense reactions even in the internal of the Parliamentary Group that supported the government. See: <http://www.inewsggr.com/141/vouli-entasi-tin-omilia-pagkalou.htm>.

Prominent seems to be also the form of ‘complex repetition’ which establishes ‘cohesion’ between words that share identical phonological segments (see Hoey 1991: 55). This is observed in the slogan (4) among the nominal types *Μνημόνιά* (Memoranda) and *Μνημόσυνα* (memorial service) where the morpheme *Μνημό-* on both the nominal choices note the correlation among the austerity package (Memoranda) and the ceremony in memory of a death person (memorial). So, the semantically negative memorial is connected to the vote and implementation of Memoranda.

Finally, through the nominal group *το λαό/the people* in the prepositional nominal group *για το λαό/for the people*, the ‘Recipient’ of the transitivity process is realized as connected with the ‘process noun’ memorials. Thus, the people is represented as already dead, and, through the ‘cohesion’ established by the ‘complex repetition’ the death is represented as caused by the implementation of the Memoranda. The overall meaning construction could be paraphrased as: The austerity measures implementation (by the government, EU, IMF) are (lead to) the people’s memorial (since they are already dead).

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of fear and sorrow are ‘said’ realized by the nominal type *Memorial [service]*. Through the interrelation in the structure of the slogan, the respective emotions are ‘argued’ as provoked by the actions (implementation of austerity measures, Memoranda) of the ‘others’ group (*your/σας*) against the Greek people (see the criterion of the people involved). According to the overall (negative) representation, the emotion of detestation is addressed also against the ‘others’ (Government, EU, IMF) since they are represented as provoking also (through their actions) the ceremony in memory of a death person (memorial), i.e. the Greek people.

In slogan (5) *Δεν είναι ηλίθιοι είναι προδότες/They are not stupid they are traitors*, ‘Others’, realized by the nominal *They*,<sup>138</sup> have the role-‘Carrier’ in the (negative) ‘relational-attributing process’, realized by the verbal type *Δεν είναι/They are not*. The nominal type *ηλίθιοι/stupid* has the role-‘Attribute’ in the structure, ‘attributing a characteristic’ to the ‘Carrier’ (They). Through the interrelation in the transitivity process, ‘Others’ are represented as ‘not being’ stupid. Thus, we may primarily infer that the meaning construction is that ‘Others’ are smart, intelligent (as ‘antonym’ of the stupid).

However, in the second structure, the ‘Others’ realized by the nominal *They*, have the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributing process’, realized by the verbal type *είναι/They are*. The nominal type *προδότες/traitors* has the role-‘Attribute’ in the structure, ‘attributing [the

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<sup>138</sup> In Greek, the nominal they is included in the suffix of the nominals *ηλίθιοι* and *προδότες* which state the plural of the male gender.

specific] characteristic' to the 'Carrier' (They). Through the connection in the transitivity process, 'Others' are explicitly represented as 'being' traitors. The meaning construction could be paraphrased as: They intentionally betray, not because of stupidity.

The third plural *They*, establishes 'cohesion' among slogans (5), (1) and (2). The nominal *They* is in relation of 'co-referentiality' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74): it has the same point of reference with the explicitly nominated 'Others' *Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΤΝ/Government-EU-IMF* which are represented as Dictatorship (Junta).

Furthermore, extra-textual knowledge facilitates 'coherence' among slogans, leading to the formation of a dense discourse: The colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974) was regarded as responsible for the 'coup d'état' of Cyprus which led to Attila's (Turkish) invasion, to the bisection of the island and the Turkish occupation which still occurs in the northern part.

Among other accusations, Colonels were judged and convicted for betrayal against Greece. Thus the 'Others' represented as traitors, are semantically connected to the Colonels (Junta), convicted for treason against the nation.

Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, and due to the extra-textual knowledge, the emotions of anger and disgust are 'argued' against the 'others' group (They): the 'others' undertake the active participant role in the transitivity process (see the criterion of people involved), betraying and thus violating the dominant value of faithfulness (see the criterion of the compatibility with the dominant values). The extra-textual knowledge loads further the emotions since the betrayal has negative conceptualization for the recent national interests.

In slogan (6), *Η Χούντα δεν τελείωσε το '73 Εμείς θα την κηδέψουμε σε τούτη την πλατεία/Junta did not finish in '73 We are going to bury it in this square*, the nominal group *Η Χούντα/Junta* (with its negative representation, see analysis of the slogan [2]), has the role 'actor' in the (negative) 'material non-transitive, creative process',<sup>139</sup> realized by the verbal type *δεν τελείωσε/did not finish*. The nominal group *το '73/in '73*, has the role of the 'circumstantial element' stating the 'location/time' when the process (does not) unfold(s) (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). The meaning constructed could be paraphrased as: There is still Junta. The co-emergence of the nominal group *Junta* establishes 'intertextuality' among slogans (2) and (6). The new meaning is that the current government, i.e. PASOK, is a totalitarian regime, resembling to the Junta.

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<sup>139</sup> According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 185), these processes (and the respective clauses) 'have the sense of "come into existence" and shade into clauses of the "existential" process type (For existential processes, see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 256, Section 5.5.3).

Furthermore, the meaning produced by the intertextual connection among the slogans (1) and (2) contributes and extends the meaning construction, as we have already seen that the government constitutes an aggregate along with the institutions of EU and IMF. Thus, the new meaning may be paraphrased as: There is still totalitarian regime (Junta) composed by the government, the EU and the IMF. We observe that the slogans interrelate constantly, producing a dense representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003).

Moreover, in the same slogan, the 'We' group is represented, realized by the first plural *Εμείς/We*. As in previous slogans, We is represented as 'assimilated' and 'collectivized' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38), constructing the image of a fully compact group, and concealing, in this sense, the social stratification and political/ideological differences. More specifically, We is the 'activated' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) 'actor' of the 'material-transitive process', realized by the verbal group *θα την κηδέψουμε/will bury it*. Through the pronoun *την/it*, the nominal group *Η Χούντα/Junta*, is realized; the realization is made by the 'cohesive relation' of 'co-referentiality' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74), meaning that the two elements have the same element of reference, i.e. *Η Χούντα/Junta*. The pronoun has the role-'Goal' of the material-transitive process. The prepositional nominal group *σε τούτη την πλατεία/in this square* designates the circumstance of "location/place" where the process unfolds; the deictic pronoun *τούτη/this* specifies the actual place (i.e. Syntagma Square) where the action of the "we" takes place (see Bella 2014: 233). The overall meaning construction could be paraphrased as: We are going to bury the Junta in the very place of our struggle. As we witness also here, the interrelation of the axis 'other-representation' and 'self-representation' is obvious, meaning that even when the opponents 'others' are represented in a slogan the representation of the 'we' group is also implied.

On the pathos analysis, the emotions 'argued' upon this slogan, are the ones of fear and detestation. The intertextual connections established among slogans (6) and (2) represent (negatively) the ruling party as institution of totalitarianism. Extra-textual knowledge and (consequently) the established 'coherence' show us (see analysis of slogan [2]) that the regime of Junta (and, consequently, the PASOK's government) was responsible, among others, for tortures of political opponents. Thus, based on the criteria of the people involved and the compatibility with the dominant values, the governmental party, represented as Junta, is provoking the emotions of fear and detestation, because of their role in the transitivity process and the fact that it is (represented as) not serving the dominant value, according to which it should ensure the societal common good, while it resembles to the regime of Junta. On the other side, the emotion of admiration is 'argued', regarding the representation of the 'we' group. The

‘we’ group is represented as active participant (see the criterion of the people involved), acting (*bury*) against the regime of Junta (and its negative conceptualization). Thus, the emotion of admiration should be legitimately felt in favor of them, since they act against the totalitarianism and suppression (Junta).

(7) P.I.G.S. είναι οι τραπεζίτες όχι οι λαοί

P.I.G.S. are the bankers not the people

(8) Hung some Bankers [In English]

(9) Κανένα σπίτι στα χέρια τραπεζίτη

No home in hands of a(ny) banker

In slogans (7), (8) and (9), the financial elites are represented, realized (respectively) by the nominal groups *οι τραπεζίτες/the bankers*, *some Bankers* and the nominal type *τραπεζίτη/banker*. They are placed in the opponents’ camp through their negative representation to which the Actors proceed in the respective slogans.

More specifically, in slogan (7) *P.I.G.S. είναι οι τραπεζίτες όχι οι λαοί/P.I.G.S. are the bankers not the people*, the financial elites are represented, realized by the nominal group *οι τραπεζίτες/the bankers*. They are furthermore ‘activated’ (Van Leeuwen 2008: 33); realized by the active participant role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational-attributive process’, which is consequently realized by the verbal type *είναι/are*. The neologism, realized in the acronym *P.I.G.S.* has the role-‘Attribute’; attributing a characteristic to the ‘Carrier’. The acronym corresponds (phonetically) to the nominal type *pigs*. According to Babinotis (2002: 436), the entry *pigs* is used in order to state the action of someone who is immoral and uncivilized. Moreover, according to the extra-textual knowledge, the acronym *P.I.G.S.* was initially used to code the countries of the Southern Europe facing extreme problems of debt, i.e. Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain (see Kelsey et al. 2016: 5).

Through the connection among the participants and the process in the transitivity structure, the negative characteristics of immorality and of lack of civilization are attributed to the elites of the financial system (*οι τραπεζίτες/the bankers*). With the nominal *όχι/not*, the verbal type *είναι/are* is ‘substituted’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 9.5.2). The nonelliptical form would be *P.I.G.S. [are] not the peoples*. So, the nominal group *οι λαοί/the peoples* as the ‘Carrier’ of the (negative) process is not characterized by the ‘Attribute’ *P.I.G.S.* The overall meaning construction represents the financial elites as immoral and uncivilized and (in juxtaposition) the peoples as moral and civilized.

Conducting a pathos analysis in slogan (7), the emotions, ‘argued’ upon the interrelation in the transitivity, are those of detestation and disgust. And that because the Bankers undertake active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved) in the process (*είναι/are*), attributed the characteristics of immorality and non-civilization (*Π.Ι.Γ.Σ.*); thus, they are in contravention of the dominant values (morality, civilization) (see the criterion compatibility with values).

In slogan (8) *Hung some Bankers*, written in English, the representation of the financial elites is realized by the nominal type *Bankers*. *Bankers* are the ‘passivated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The ‘passivation’ is realized by the participant role-‘Goal’ that the Bankers have in the ‘material-transitive process’, which is, consequently, realized by the verbal type *Hung*. Through the connection of the participants and the process, the overall representation constructs meaning where the financial elites are (about to be) assassinated. The ‘intertextuality’ established through the co-emergence of the nominal type bankers in both slogans (8)-(7) recontextualizes and creates new meaning which could be paraphrased as: the financial elites are (about to be) hanged for being immoral and without civilization (see analysis of slogan [7]).

Based on the analysis of the transitivity process, as well as on the intertextual connections, established among the slogans (7)-(8), the emotions constructed are that of disgust and hate, ‘argued’ against the financial system. And that because the uncivilized and immoral Bankers (see analysis of slogan [7]) which are represented (see the criterion of the people involved) are about to die (*Hung*) because of their immorality and lack of civilization (see the criterion of (lack of) compatibility with values); thus, they provoke the emotions of disgust and detestation.

Finally, in slogan (9) *Κανένα σπίτι στα χέρια τραπεζίτη/No home in hands of a(ny) banker*, an ‘elliptical’ transitivity structure emerges. The ‘ellipsis’ is realized since the ‘core element’, i.e. the process, which would be realized by the verbal group, is absent (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). By the prepositional nominal group *στα χέρια/in hands*, the ‘circumstantial element’ of the transitivity structure is realized, coding the ‘location/place’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). The prepositional group is ‘subjected’ and ‘possessivized’ (Van Leeuwen 2008: 34) by the financial elites realized by the nominal type in genitive inclination *τραπεζίτη/of banker*.<sup>140</sup> Consequently, the nominal group *Κανένα σπίτι/No home* is ‘subjected’ to the prepositional nominal group *στα χέρια τραπεζίτη/in hands of banker*. The ‘subjection’ here takes the form of ‘circumstantialization’, realized exactly by the prepositional nominal group starting

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<sup>140</sup> In English the same nominal type becomes prepositional with *of*.

with in (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). The meaning constructed, through the interrelation in the transitivity process, is that the financial elites should not confiscate any home.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ here, since among the proposals of the Middle Term Agreement (MoU), there was the one of the gradual deregulation of the auctions for those (e.g. persons, families) who could not repay their mortgage.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, once more, ‘intertextuality’ is established through the co-emergence of the nominal type banker in all slogans (9), (8) and (7). It creates new meaning according to which: financial elites should not take any home because they are immoral and without civilization (see contemporaneously the analysis of slogan [7]).

Consequently, the emotions constructed are, once again, the emotions of detestation and hate, ‘argued’ against the financial elites (Bankers). The financial elites, as represented in the transitivity process and according to the extra-textual knowledge, are about to benefit from the deregulation of the auctions, and thus, to take the properties of those incapable to pay off their loans (see the criterion of the people involved). Also, in accordance to the intertextual connections established between the slogans (7) – (9), the characteristics of immorality and lack of civilization, already attributed to the financial elites, are the reason for which the emotions of detestation and hate should be legitimately felt against them; in this case for benefiting from the auctions of the homes that the impoverished (during the crisis) people cannot pay-off.

(10) Μέσα Μαζικής ΕΞΑΠΑΤΗΣΗΣ

Media of Massive DECEPTION

(11) Γαμιάται η ΕΛ.ΑΣ.

EL.AS. fucks off

(12) ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ

MPATSOK

Finally, among the opponents-‘Others’, two more significant institutions are included: the media, and the police, who (the police) are semantically connected with the governmental party of PASOK (see the analysis of the slogan [12] below).

More specifically, in slogan (10), *Μέσα Μαζικής ΕΞΑΠΑΤΗΣΗΣ*/*Media of Massive DECEPTION*, media institutions are realized by the nominal type *Μέσα*/*Media* (in Greek with

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<sup>141</sup> See in detail:

<http://www.money-money.gr/news/to-schedio-gia-apeleftherosi-ana-examino-ton-plistiriasmon-ke-ta-kritiria-pou-exetazonte/400>.



capital 'M'). They are represented as 'assimilated'; the process of 'assimilation' is realized by the use of the noun denoting a group of institutions (e.g. newspapers, TV Channels) (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 37). Furthermore, they are represented as 'subjected'- 'possessivized' to the nominal group *Μαζικής ΕΞΑΠΑΤΗΣΗΣ/of massive DECEPTION*; 'possessivation' is realized by of 'postmodifying a nominalization' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34), in our case the nominal type Μέσα/Media. Through 'possessivation', Media are represented as being possessed by the act of deceiving deconstructing the dominant value, according to which they (should) inform the public objectively.

The emotions that, consequently, are constructed in slogan (10) are that of detestation, hate and anger. More specifically, the Media institutions are represented as deceiving the audience (of Massive DECEPTION) and thus violating the dominant view, according to which they should inform their audience (see the criterion of the compatibility or not with values and views). According to that lack of compatibility with the dominant views they should provoke (according to the representation) the emotions of the detestation, hate and anger to the audience, who is deceived. Extra-textual knowledge about the fact that people get angry and hate those who deceive, loads further the emotive construction and the above 'argued' emotions.

In slogan (11) *Γαμιέται η ΕΛ.ΑΣ./EL.AS. (Greek Police) fucks off*, the Greek police are represented as 'assimilated', realized again by the acronym *ΕΛ.ΑΣ./EL.AS.*, which codes 'a group of people' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37). It has the role-'goal' in the 'material process', which is realized by the verbal type *Γαμιέται/fucks off*. Extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' since the verbal type *Γαμιέται/fucks off* is used in order to offend someone. Thus, Greek police are offended by the Actors.

The emotions 'argued' upon this transitivity configuration are the ones of repulsion and detestation. The Greek police (*ΕΛ.ΑΣ./EL.AS.*), represented as being insulted in the transitivity structure (see the criterion of the people involved), are represented as provoking the respective emotion to the audience; meaning that the police should be detested by the audience since the police are represented as being insulted in the configuration.

In slogan (12), consisting of one single nominal type *ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ/MPATSOK*, the phenomenon of 'blending' is emerged (see among others Cannon 1986; Xydopoulos 2008; Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012; Katsouda and Nakas 2013; Katsouda 2009; as included in Papanagiotou 2016: 45-47). According to the respective discussion—despite the partial differences—the specific phenomenon emerges when parts of two or more words are merged, with joint phonological overlappings, in a new word-blend construing new meanings (see e.g. Cannon

1986 in Papanagiotou 2016: 45-46). In our case, the nominal type is consisted of the type ΠΑΣΟΚ/PASOK, by which, the ruling party is nominated and the nominal type ΜΠΑΤΣΟ/MPATSO, which is used to code the suppressive aspect of the police. According to Babiniotis (2002: 11361137), the type Μπάτσος/Cop is synonym to the name Αστυνομικός/Police officer and it is used in slang as a derogatory term. At the same time, the nominal type Μπάτσος means also the χαστούκι/slap and is synonym to the nominal type ράπισμα/smack. The blend nominal type produced connects (semantically) the ruling party with the suppressive aspect of the police, and thus, the suppression as negative characteristic is attributed to the PASOK party. Extra-textual knowledge establishes coherence in this slogan since it is well-known that during the two-day mobilization, a massive police operation took place against the demonstrations. There was also denouncement against the police as the police were operating violently even against demonstrators that where not rioting.<sup>142</sup>

The emotions constructed and ‘argued’ upon this slogan’s representation are the ones of fear and hate. The two nominal types combined in the slogan (ΠΑΣΟΚ/PASOK and ΜΠΑΤΣΟ/MPATSO) are represented as conceptually linked, suppressive institutions. For that, the emotion of fear is represented as provoked by PASOK and the police (see the criterion of the people involved). Moreover, according to the representation of the institutions in the slogan (12) the ruling party and the police are violating their (commonly accepted) role, i.e. the citizens’ protection (see the criterion of the compatibility or not with values). Thus the emotion of detestation should be legitimately felt against them.

Recapitulating up to this point, the analysis of the ‘other-representation’, as this was retrieved from the slogans of June 28-29, 2011 show, firstly, that the national and supranational institutions (*government, EU, IMF*) are still on the target of the Actors. More specifically, the respective nominal type (*government*) and the acronyms (*EU, IMF*) are bound in ‘parataxis’ and thus ‘are given equal status’ (see slogan [1]) in the transitivity process. They are followed by the ‘hortative’ use of the adverbial *Down*, constructing a meaning according to which they should fall. The ‘hortative’ use of the adverbial *Down* re-emerges in slogan (2) followed by the nominal type *Junta*, i.e. the totalitarian regime of the period 1967-1974. The co-emergence of the adverbial type in the two slogans creates intertextual connections between the two slogans, advancing the meaning construction according to which the ensemble *government, EU, IMF* reveals the characteristics of the totalitarian regime (*Junta*), and thus, they should fall. Also,

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<sup>142</sup> In the following video, during the police operation the citizen is attacked by a police officer although he is not doing anything illegal and while he is asking by the policeman not to hit him.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S20\\_JuaX8gg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S20_JuaX8gg)

significant members of the government, i.e. Vice-president *Pangalos*, are explicitly, and negatively, represented as fascist, undertaking the active participant role in the transitivity structure, threatening the 'we' group (*μας/us*). Moreover, the bailout program implementation (*Memoranda*) is being represented as leading the Greek people to death (*memorials*). In addition, the dominant financial elites (*Bankers*), in three successive slogans (see slogans [7], [8] and [9]), are negatively represented as immoral and uncivilized (*P.I.G.S.*), and as about to be hanged (*Hung*). The intertextual connections, realized through the continuous emergence of the nominal type Banker[s], advance the meaning construction in every slogan, creating a dense and negative conceptualization regarding the dominant financial elites. Two more dominant institutions are placed on the opposite 'camp' in the slogans: the one of *Media* institutions and that of the police (*EL.AS.*). More specifically, Media are represented as 'assimilated' and, moreover, as being 'possessed' by acts of massive deception (*Media of Massive Deception*), deconstructing, in this way, the dominant view, according to which they (should) inform the public objectively. The Greek police (*EL.AS.*) are represented as suppressive force, and, furthermore, as semantically connected with the government of PASOK, which is negatively represented in previous slogans (see the nominal *ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ/MPATSOK* and the relation with the nominal *Μπάτσος/Cop*, slogan [12]). Finally, the 'others' group (which is exemplified in previous slogans) is represented as a group of traitors, through the active participant role of the type They in the transitivity structure (see analysis of the slogan [5]).

Protesters enter the public sphere on June 28-29, 2011, attempting to deconstruct totally the dominant view and conception regarding the institutions that form and sustain the social formation. Their discursive representations/constructions juxtapose the totalitarian government along with the European and international institutions (EU, IMF), the suppressive police, the deceptive media, the financial elites and the outcome of the bailout programs (i.e. the austerity measures). In this sense, by delegitimizing the image of the dominant institutions-opponents, their view of the dominant society tries to gain power within the overall terrain of the public realm.

According to these representations, as well as the intertextual connections and the extratextual knowledge, the (negative) emotions of fear, repulsion, detestation are 'argued' against the ensemble government, EU and IMF, and significant members of the government (*Pangalos*) are represented as institutions/persons that act against the people (see the criterion of the people involved), having suppressive intentions, since they are semantically connected with Greece's dictatorship (Junta), and thus, violate the value of protecting the society's common good and constitution (see the criterion of compatibility or not with values). Moreover,

the policies (Memoranda), implemented by the national and supranational institutions (government, EU, IMF), are represented as causing the emotions of sorrow, since they lead people to the death (Memorials [services]), as well as the emotions of fear and disgust because they are violating their (commonly accepted) role (see the respective criteria of people involved and compatibility with values). The financial institutions and elites (Bankers) are represented as provoking the emotions of disgust, detestation and hate, since they are represented as immoral and uncivilized (P.I.G.S.), taking advantage of the auctions against impoverished people who cannot afford the re-payment of their mortgages. The same negative emotions of detestation, anger and hate are 'argued' and addressed against the Greek police and the Media institutions.

Juxtaposing the representation of their opponents ('other-representation'), Actors proceed to their (positive) 'self-representation' in their slogans. In what follows we proceed to the analysis of slogans that reveal this 'self-representation' on June 28-29, 2011.

### **7.2.2 The self-representation on June 28-29, 2011**

(13) Δεν Χρωστάμε Δεν Πουλάμε Δεν Πληρώνουμε

We don't Owe We don't Sell We don't Pay

(14) Δεν πουλάμε τη χώρα μας

We don't sell our country

(15) Δεν χαρίζουμε άλλο κλεμμένο πλούτο στους εργοδότες

We don't donate more wealth to the employers

In graffiti (13) *Δεν Χρωστάμε Δεν Πουλάμε Δεν Πληρώνουμε/We don't Owe We don't Sell We don't Pay*, the 'we' group, realized by the first-person plural<sup>143</sup> is represented as the 'activated' Actor of the transitivity structure; 'activation' is realized by the active participant role we undertakes (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 33): 'we' group is the 'actor' in the (negative) 'material-non transitive processes', realized, respectively, by the verbal types (in negation) *Χρωστάμε/Owe*, *Πουλάμε/Sell*, *Πληρώνουμε/Pay*. The 'activated' Actor is furthermore 'assimilated'/'collectivized', realized by the usually choice of the first-person plural (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 38). In this sense, the 'we' group is represented as an active and consensus group, concealing its internal differences. Through the interrelation among the participant (we) and the respective processes, the Actors are represented as denying the debt and its repayment,

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<sup>143</sup> In Greek, the first plural is included in the suffix *χρωστάμε*, *πουλάμε*, *πληρώνουμε* of the respective verbal types.

as well as the sales (privatizations) prescribed in the MoU. This last interpretation is offered to us according to the extra-textual knowledge where the MoUs included a vast program of privatizations (e.g. the Piraeus and Thessaloniki's Ports). Extra-textual knowledge makes the slogan coherent, and, thus, comprehensible.

On the pathos analysis of the slogan (13), we may see the emotion of confidence, 'argued' since the 'we' group is undertaking an active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved) in order to deny the dominant policies implementation. The emotion of confidence is, furthermore, transformed to admiration since the 'we' group is represented as totally capable of controlling its struggle (see the criterion of capacity to control the situation); the emotion of admiration should be felt by the audience in favor of the 'we' group, since he can control the situation in which he is involved as Actor.

In slogan (14) *Δεν πουλάμε τη χώρα μας/We don't sell our country*, the 'we' group, realized once again by the first-person plural in the (negative) verbal type *πουλάμε/we sell*, is represented as the 'activated' Actor (Van Leeuwen 2008: 33); We is undertaking the active participant role-'actor' in the 'material-transitive process', realized by the verbal type (in negation) *πουλάμε/sell*. The nominal group *τη χώρα μας/our country* has the role-'goal' in the structure, coding the participant where the material transitive process extends. The 'goal' our country is furthermore 'possessivized' by the 'we' group; 'possessivation' is realized by the common form of the 'possessive pronoun' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) *μας/our*. Thus, the country is represented as owned by the Actors and it is not for sale according to their action. Moreover, through the co-emergence of the verbal type *πουλάμε/sell* in both slogans (13) and (14), 'intertextuality' is established. In this sense, the two slogans interrelate, producing new meaning where the negation of sale regards the whole country and not only public sectors that were about to be privatized. Thus, we see slogans interrelating, enhancing meaning to each other, and producing a specific representation of reality (discourse).

On the pathos analysis of the slogan, we may see the emotion of confidence, 'argued' once more since the 'we' group is undertaking active participant role (see the criterion of the people involved) in order to deny the sale of the country. The emotion of confidence, is furthermore loaded, since the 'we' group is represented as totally capable of controlling its struggle (see the criterion of capacity to control the situation) and it is transformed to admiration since the actions 'we' undertakes are fully compatible with the value according to which the people (should) decide for the future of their country (e.g. via elections, demonstrations) (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In slogan (15) *Δεν χαρίζουμε άλλο κλεμμένο πλούτο στους εργοδότες/We don't donate more stolen wealth to the employers*, the Actor 'we' is once more represented, realized again by the first-person plural (*Δεν χαρίζουμε/[We] don't donate*). The Actor is 'activated', realized by the active participant role-'actor' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 33) it has in the 'material-transitive process', realized, consequently, by the verbal type (in negation) *χαρίζουμε/donate*. The postmodified nominal group *κλεμμένο πλούτο/stolen wealth* has the role-'goal' in the structure and the prepositional nominal group *στοις εργοδότες/to the employers*, has the role-'recipient, client', coding the obliquely involved participant in the material process. Through that representation, firstly, the wealth is represented as stolen in the respective nominal group. Secondly, through the connection between participants and process, employers are represented as receiving stolen wealth; a receiving that the 'we'-Actor negates. Thus, employers (along with the government, international institutions) and financial elites (see other-representation above) are (implicitly) represented as opponents of the Actors.

Further aspects of extra-textual knowledge establish 'coherence' among the slogans (13), (14) and (15), leading to the further construction of a dense representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003):

- The repayment of the Greek debt was since the first MoU an open discussion within the social movements. Along with the dominant discussions regarding the Greek debt, there have been created collectives that presented a big part of the debt to be 'odious'<sup>144</sup> and thus, it should not be paid-off as whole (see also the analysis of the 'self-representation' in the slogans on May 5, 2010). As we show in the previous section, among the significant initiatives, the 'Committee for the Audit',<sup>145</sup> elaborated a study concerning the so-called 'odious' part of the Greek debt. During SYRIZA's first governmental period (January-September 2015) the committee was officially instituted as 'Committee of Truth about the Public Debt' by the Greek Parliament and its President, Zoe Konstantopoulou, and produced a complete study which was delivered to the Greek government (see Truth Committee of Public Debt 2015).<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> According to the definitions provided by the Committee for the accounting audit of the Greek Debt, in its so-called 'Dictionary of Debt', available at: [http://issuu.com/elegr/docs/debt\\_dictionary\\_english\\_final/6?e=0](http://issuu.com/elegr/docs/debt_dictionary_english_final/6?e=0).

<sup>145</sup> See also: <http://elegr.gr/>.

<sup>146</sup> See: <http://debt-truth.gr/english/>.

Since the first MoU of 2010 a massive movement against privatizations, the increases of the road tolls and the public transports was created, named 'I don't pay' (Den Pliro no).<sup>147</sup>

According to the Greek Workers' General Confederation (GSEE), the bills included in the MoU, were favoring explicitly the employers against workers' conquests and rights. Furthermore, there were rumors according to which employers (e.g. the Federation of the Greek Industries [SEB]) were proposing measures to the EU Institutions and the IMF, which consequently were proposed by the creditors (EU, IMF) to the government.

Thus, the disobedience against the repayment of the Greek Debt, as well as of the consequent new taxes and measures, was spread massively among the Greek people and members of collective actions. Furthermore, there was provoked indignation against the employers' Unions which were trying to deregulate completely the labor market by proposing, continuously, new measures.

Based on the analysis of slogan (15), as well as on the extra-textual knowledge, the emotions 'argued' are those of confidence, admiration and hate. Hate is 'argued' against the employees, represented as thieves (*stolen*). Consequently, the emotions of confidence and admiration are 'argued' in favor of the 'we' group, since it is represented as active participant (see the criterion of the people involved), capable of controlling the struggle he undertakes (see the criterion of capacity to control the situation) and the actions 'we' undertakes are fully compatible with the value according to which someone should fight against thieves (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

(16) Είμαστε Αγανακτισμένοι

We are indignants

(17) Παίρνουμε τις ζωές μας στα χέρια μας

We take our lives in our hands

In slogans (16) and (17), Actors are represented as 'assimilated' and 'collectivized' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 34), realized by the first-person plural in the verbal types Είμαστε/We are, Παίρνουμε/We take. Thus, their self-representation as a compact and consensus group is continued via their slogans. Furthermore, they are 'activated' realized by the active participant role they have in the processes of transitivity (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33).

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<sup>147</sup> See: <http://epitropesdiadiastop.blogspot.ch/>.

More specifically, in the slogan (16) *Είμαστε Αγανακτισμένοι/We are indignants*, Actors has the role-‘Carrier’ in the ‘relational attributive’ process, realized by the verbal type *Είμαστε/We are*. The nominal type *Αγανακτισμένοι/indignants* has the role-‘Attribute’; attributing the indignation as characteristic to the Actors. In the specific slogan, ‘intertextuality’ is established as the nominal *indignants* was used, almost simultaneously, by the protesters in Spain against the austerity measures implemented by their government.<sup>148</sup> Through intertextual connection, Actors are trying to incorporate and recontextualize meaning constructions within their struggle and be self-represented as part of a larger protest against austerity which was expanding in Europe (e.g. Spain, Portugal, and Greece).

On pathos analysis, the emotion of indignation is explicitly ‘said’, realized by the nominal type *indignants*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure (see the criterion of the people involved), and the intertextual connections established, the specific emotion is ‘argued’ along with the emotions of confidence and indulgence; the ‘we’ group, represented as part of a larger movement and thus, more capable of controlling the situation (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation).

In slogan (17) *Παίρνουμε τις ζωές μας στα χέρια μας/We take our lives in our hands*, the Actors are once more represented as ‘assimilated’-‘collectivized’ (see the choice of the first-person plural *Παίρνουμε/[We] take*, Van Leeuwen 2008: 38), undertaking the active participant role-‘actor’ in the material-transitive process, realized by the verbal type *Παίρνουμε/We take*. By the nominal group *τις ζωές μας/our lives*, the ‘goal’ of the material process is realized. The respective nominal group is ‘possessivized’ by the Actors; ‘possessivation’ is realized using the possessive pronoun *μας/our* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). The prepositional nominal group *στα χέρια μας/in our hands*, has the role of the prepositional circumstantial which states the ‘location/place’ where the material process unfolds (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). As before, the prepositional nominal group is possessivized by the Actors; ‘possessivation’ is realized using the possessive pronoun *μας/our* (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Through the

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<sup>148</sup> See e.g.

[https://www.google.ch/search?q=indignados+madrid&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwinteWa65XNAhVFVRoKHUQACRQQ\\_AUIBygB&biw=1920&bih=979#imgsrc=cihJScKJaH2bFM%3A](https://www.google.ch/search?q=indignados+madrid&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwinteWa65XNAhVFVRoKHUQACRQQ_AUIBygB&biw=1920&bih=979#imgsrc=cihJScKJaH2bFM%3A).

Moreover, among Spanish and Greek protests, a particular ‘dialogue’ was created since Spanish demonstrators wrote ironic slogans as Be quite, we are going to wake up the Greeks and took the response in Spanish from Syntagma square We woke up/Estamos despiertos. See:

[https://www.google.ch/search?q=indignados+madrid&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwinteWa65XNAhVFVRoKHUQACRQQ\\_AUIBygB&biw=1920&bih=979#tbm=isch&q=isixia+oi+ellines+koimountai&imgsrc=u6SIK419ihE14M%3A](https://www.google.ch/search?q=indignados+madrid&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwinteWa65XNAhVFVRoKHUQACRQQ_AUIBygB&biw=1920&bih=979#tbm=isch&q=isixia+oi+ellines+koimountai&imgsrc=u6SIK419ihE14M%3A).



interrelation in the transitivity, the 'assimilated' group of Actors is represented as acting to reclaim its life back.

Based on the analysis of the slogan (17), the emotions 'argued' are those of confidence, admiration and indulgence. Admiration is 'argued' (and should be legitimately felt) in favor of the 'we' group since the Actors are represented as undertaking action (see the criterion of the people involved) to reclaim their lives. Consequently, the emotion of confidence and indulgence are 'argued' in favor of the 'we' group, since the 'we' group is represented as totally capable of controlling the struggle he undertakes (see the criterion of capacity to control the situation) and as fighting in favor of fundamental ideals (*life*).

(18) Να συλλογικοποιήσουμε τις αντιστάσεις μας

[We] To collectivize our resistances

(19) Να ανατρέψουμε Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ

[We] To overthrow Government-EU-IMF

(20) Να ανατρέψουμε την πολιτική τους

[We] To overthrow their politics

(21) Να μην ζήσουμε σαν δούλοι

[We] Not to live like slaves

In slogans (18) – (21), the 'we' group of Actors is implicitly represented realized by the use of first-person plural in the respective verbal groups e.g. *συλλογικοποιήσουμε/[we] to collectivize*. By the first-person plural, the 'we' group is 'assimilated' and 'collectivized' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37-38) concealing the differences occurring among the Actors of the mobilizations.

Specifically, in slogan (18), *Να συλλογικοποιήσουμε τις αντιστάσεις μας/[We] To collectivize our resistances*, the 'we' group has the role-'actor' in the material-transitive process' which is realized by the verbal group *Να συλλογικοποιήσουμε/To collectivize*. The nominal group *τις αντιστάσεις μας/our resistances*, has the role-'goal' where the 'material process' extends. The nominal group is 'possessivized' by the 'we' group; 'possessivation' is realized by the possessive pronoun *μας/our* which is related to the implicit we, through the 'cohesive relation' of 'co-referentiality' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). Through the interrelation in the configuration, the meaning construction is that the 'we' (consensus) group is taking action in order to collectivize further its resistances.

On the pathos analysis of the slogan (18), the emotion 'argued' is the one of confidence. The 'we' group, having the active participant role in the structure (see the criterion of the people

involved), represented as undertaking the action of collective resistance, advances the possibilities of controlling the situation (see the respective criterion of capability).

In slogans (19) and (20), an explicit intertextual connection is revealed, realized by the coemergence of the verbal group *Να ανατρέψουμε/[We] To overthrow* in both the two slogans. Through the ‘intertextuality’ we may (primarily) infer that the two slogans interrelate, contributing to the formation of a specific discourse.

Specifically, in slogan (19), *Να ανατρέψουμε Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ/[We] To overthrow Government-EU-IMF*, the ‘we’ group is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), realized by the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material-transitive process’ which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group *Να ανατρέψουμε/[We] To overthrow*. The ensemble *Κυβέρνηση-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ/Government-EU-IMF*, has the role-‘goal’, coding the participant where the material process extends; it represents the three institutions which are repetitively and negatively projected by the Actors. The meaning construction is that the Actors overthrow the dominant (national/supranational) institutions.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion ‘argued’ upon this slogan is the one of admiration in favor of the ‘we’ group: The group has the active participant role in the structure (see the criterion of the people involved), represented as undertaking action against the ensemble of *Government-EU-IMF* which is (previously) negatively represented as a whole of suppressive-totalitarian institutions. Thus, the ‘we’ group is fully compatible with the dominant value of struggling against suppression-totalitarianism (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

In slogan (20), *Να ανατρέψουμε την πολιτική τους/[We] To overthrow their politics*, once more, the ‘we’ group of Actors is represented as the ‘activated’ Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), realized by the active participant role-‘actor’ in the ‘material-transitive process’ which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group *Να ανατρέψουμε/[We] To overthrow*. The nominal group *την πολιτική τους/their politics* has the role-‘goal’, coding the participant where the material process extends. We may infer that by the pronoun *τους/their* the dominant institutions (government, EU, IMF) are represented since the pronoun and the group-‘others’ institutions are linked together by the ‘cohesive relation’ of ‘co-referentiality’, having the same element of reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1985: 74). The meaning constructed upon the intertextual connections established between the two slogans could be paraphrased as: We (must) overthrow the dominant (national and supranational) institutions and their politics.

Extra-textual knowledge establishes ‘coherence’ here advancing our interpretation: Among the different political groups participating in the social movements, the discussion

revolving around the notion of supranational institutions (e.g. EU, NATO) is a very complicated issue and (most of the times) a confusing one for the Actors. In short, there is a big part that favors the maintenance of the supranational institutions such as the EU but struggles for the change of the dominant policies in its internal in favor of the (European) peoples; a political view that is mostly expressed by parties and groups around or inside the SYRIZA (European Left). On the other side, there is a part that supports there is no chance of political change inside the EU that would favor the social majority and thus the struggle should be directed to the total overthrow and destruction of such institutions; this view is mostly expressed by the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and parties of the extra-parliamentary left (e.g. ANTARSYA). The new meaning construction, as it is revealed from the slogans, permits the contemporary (and maybe integrationist) expression of the two (conflicting) views.

Based on the analysis of the transitivity, as well as on the intertextual connections, the emotions 'argued' upon the slogan (20) are the ones of confidence of the 'we' group and admiration in favor of it: Admiration because the group has the active participant role in the structure (see the criterion of the people involved), represented as undertaking action against the (negatively represented) group 'others' (their). The intertextual connections established through the repetitive emergence of the verbal group *Να ανατρέψουμε/[We] To overthrow* illustrate the participants in the 'others' group, allowing us to infer that by the marker *τους/their* the dominant institutions are represented; an ensemble which is (previously) negatively represented as a whole of suppressive-totalitarian institutions. Thus, the 'we' group is fully compatible with the dominant value of struggling against suppression-totalitarianism (see the criterion of the compatibility with commonly accepted values) and it has to be admired by the audience. Moreover, the further meaning established by the extra-textual knowledge offers us a more insight interpretation, according to which, through the meaning of the specific slogan, well-established disagreements among political groups and parties (participating in the social movements) may be bridged over. Thus, the collective action may be able to control the situation in favor of his interests (see the criterion of the capacity to control the situation); this last meaning construction 'argues' (and loads further) the emotion of confidence among the 'we' group.

Finally, in slogan (21), *Να μην ζήσουμε σαν δούλοι/[We] Not to live like slaves*, once more, the 'we' group is represented as the 'activated' Actor (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33), realized by the active participant role-'Token' in the 'relational identifying process' which is, consequently, realized by the verbal group (in negation) *Not to live*. The nominal type has the role-'Value'

identifying the 'we' group. The meaning constructed can be paraphrased as: *We (will not) become slaves.*

On the pathos analysis, the emotion 'argued' upon the transitivity structure is the one of admiration. Admiration because the 'we' group has the active participant role in the structure (see the criterion of the people involved), represented as undertaking action against slavery, something which is commonly accepted as fundamental (see the criterion of the compatibility with values).

(22) Φόλα στους σκύλους της ΕΛ.ΑΣ.

Rodent Bait to the dogs of EL.AS.

In the slogan graffiti (22), *Φόλα στους σκύλους της ΕΛ.ΑΣ./Flop to the dogs of EL.AS.*, through the acronym *ΕΛ.ΑΣ./EL.AS.*, the Greek police are represented as 'assimilated', realized by the acronym which codes 'a group of people' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37), i.e. the police officers. Through the nominal type *Φόλα/Rodent Bait* the 'material transitive process' of Feeding rodent bait is realized; thus, the respective nominal type is perceived as a 'process noun' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 33-34; see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439). The prepositional nominal group *στους σκύλους της ΕΛ.ΑΣ./to the dogs of EL.AS.*, has the role-'Goal' in which the material transitive process unfolds. The nominal group the dogs are 'subjected' and 'possessivized' by the nominal group *της ΕΛ.ΑΣ./of EL.AS.*; 'possessivation' is realized by the of 'postmodifying a nominalization' (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34), in our case, the postmodified nominalization is the nominal group the dogs.<sup>149</sup> Through 'possessivation' the 'assimilated' Greek police, is dehumanized represented as consisted by dogs. The overall meaning construction here is that the negatively represented (as non-human) Greek police, is (about to be) assassinated.

Conducting an emotions analysis in the slogan (22), the emotion of fear is 'said', realized by the nominal type *Φόλα/Rodent Bait*. Through the interrelation in the transitivity structure, the nominal type *Φόλα/Rodent Bait*, perceived as a 'process nominal group', the 'material transitive process' of Feeding rodent bait is realized, which is addressed against the Greek police (*ΕΛ.ΑΣ./EL.AS.*). Thus, the emotion of fear is (attempted to be) provoked (by the 'we' group of the Actors of the demonstrations) against the Greek Police (see the criterion of the people involved). The 'argued' emotion of fear is, furthermore, transformed into repulsion since a

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<sup>149</sup> Again in Greek, the 'possessivation' is realized by the nominal group in genitive **της** ΕΛ.ΑΣ.

human ensemble (as the one of the police, consisted of officers) is represented as being nonhuman in the representation.

(23) Δημοκρατία Τώρα!

Democracy Now!

(24) Ξεσηκωμός Παντου

Uprising everywhere

(25) Εξέγερση Τώρα!

Insurrection now!

(26) Απεργίες Διαρκείας

Continuous Strikes

(27) Συλλογή υπογραφών για δημοψήφισμα

Collection of signatures for Referendum

(28) Οργάνωση-Ρήξη-Ανατροπή

Organization-Rupture-Subversion

In slogans (23)-(28), no Actor is explicitly represented. Thus, according to Van Leeuwen (2008: 29-32) the Actor is 'excluded'. However, 'the exclusion does leave a trace' here, meaning that 'the relevant actions are included' and thus, 'we can ask "Who does the action?" in each case (Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). Moreover, no verbal type is explicitly present. However, as we will witness during the analysis, the verbal types are being transformed in respective nominal (see the nominalization) which is a realization of the ideational grammatical metaphor which was revealed also in data coming included in the media discourse (i.e. newspapers headlines).

In slogans (23)-(26), the realization of the 'actions included' can be made through the use of 'nominalization' i.e. *Δημοκρατία/Democracy* and the 'process nouns', i.e. the nominal types, *Ξεσηκωμός/Uprising*, *Εξέγερση/Insurrection*, *Απεργίες/Strikes* which 'function as nominals, although they refer to actions' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 30, see also, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 439). Through the above 'inclusion of actions' the Actors are 'backgrounded', meaning that 'they are not so much excluded as deemphasized, pushed into the background' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 29).

More specifically, by the nominalization *Δημοκρατία/Democracy* [slogan (23)] the 'material non-transitive process' exercising of Democracy is realized. The extra-textual knowledge establishes 'coherence' here providing us with this interpretation, since it is commonly known that the democracy is exercised (among others) by political parties and state institutions (see Serafis et al. 2017: 10). So, the Actors primarily represented are the state

institutions (e.g. police)<sup>150</sup> and the political parties (e.g. PASOK). As we have already seen in the previous section, during the manifestation on May 05, 2010, the government of PASOK and the (suppressive) police are semantically connected through the nominal type ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ/MPATSOK. The ‘hortative use’ (Kitis 2013b: 174) of the adverbial Τώρα!/Now!, which functions as the ‘circumstantial element’ of ‘location/time’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262), reveals the demand for exercising democracy in actual time (by the institutions). Thus, the meaning constructed is that there is lack of (exercising) democracy by the state institutions/parties in the present (Now). As we track also here, the (negative) representation of the opponents-‘others’ is stated within the axes of the ‘self-representation’, giving us evidence about their interrelation.

In slogans (24)-(26) by the nominal Ξεσηκωμός/Uprising, the ‘material-non transitive process’ Ξεσηκώνομαι/Uprise is realized; by the nominal Εξέγερση/Insurrection, the ‘material-non transitive process’ Εξεγείρομαι/Rise and by the nominal Απεργίες/Strikes, the ‘material-non transitive process’ Απεργώ/Strike. In this sense, the ‘backgrounded’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 29) Actors are represented as undertaking material processes (insurrection, uprising and strike).

Furthermore, the emergence of the adverbials Παντού/everywhere (Slogan [24]), Τώρα!/Now! (Slogan [26]), as ‘circumstantial elements’, construct the ‘location/place’ where (slogan [25]) and the ‘location/time’ when (slogan [26]) the respective material processes unfold (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). In this sense, the ‘material processes’ insurrection and uprising unfold, respectively, in time (Now) and place (Everywhere).

In slogan (26), the ‘Deictic adjective’ Διαρκείας/Continuous, modifying the nominal group.<sup>151</sup> Απεργίες Διαρκείας/Continuous Strikes, ‘projects’ the ‘process noun’ in ‘time’ (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 317). Thus, the ‘material process’ strike (realized by the respective process noun) is represented as being projected continuously in time. Extra-textual knowledge establishes coherence here since striking leads to the violation of a productive process (e.g. in a factory) and the continuous striking usually paralyzes production. Thus, the representation in the slogan constructs meaning where the productive process is paralyzed. Also, it is worth mentioning that the ‘process nouns’ Ξεσηκωμός/Uprising and Εξέγερση/Insurrection are ‘synonyms’, establishing ‘cohesion’ among the slogans (24) and (25)

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<sup>150</sup> Worth mentioning that, in Greece, police are negatively represented by the Actors of collective action through time, as a mechanism of suppression and not as an institution of security’s provision (see Serafis et al. 2017).

<sup>151</sup> The Deictic adjective, postmodifying the nominal group, is observed in Greek. In the English translation, we made the inversion for reasons of interpretation.

(see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 538); they make the two respective slogans interrelate and lead in this way to the formation of a dense discourse, according to which the insurrection and uprising unfold in time (*Now*) and place (*Everywhere*). Also, the co-emergence of the adverbial *Τώρα!/Now!* in the slogans (23), (25), establishes ‘intertextuality’, making again the two slogans interrelate and strengthening the formatted discourse, according to which insurrection is taking place because of the lack of democracy in actual time (*Now*).

Based on the above representations, and conducting a pathos analysis, firstly, the ‘argued’ emotion revealed upon the slogan (25) is the one of admiration. The demand of the ‘we’ group (for exercising Democracy), addressed to the government and the state institutions represents the ‘we’ group as active participant (see the criterion of the people involved) demanding (from the state institutions) the exercise of Democracy, which is commonly accepted as a positive value (see the criterion of the compatibility with values). Thus, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience for its demand/struggle. The fact that the state institutions are represented as forces of suppression-totalitarianism loads further the emotion that should be felt in favor of the ‘we’ group. Moreover, the emotion of confidence is ‘argued’ in these structures based, firstly, on the fact that the Actors of the demonstrations are represented as undergoing material processes (*insurrection, uprising and strike*) (see the respective criterion of the people involved) which unfold immediately and everywhere (as this is realized by the emergence of the adverbials *Παντού/everywhere* (Slogan [24]), *Τώρα!/Now!* (Slogan [26])). Secondly, the extra-textual knowledge; striking leads to the violation of a productive process and the continuous striking usually paralyzes production, enforcing the capacity of the Actors to control the situation in which they are involved (see the respective criterion) and thus, being more confident about the outcome of their fight.

In slogan (27) *Συλλογή υπογραφών για δημοψήφισμα/Collection of signatures for Referendum*, the ‘material non-transitive process’ of signatures’ collection is realized by the ‘process noun’ *Συλλογή/Collection* in the nominal group *Συλλογή υπογραφών/Collection of signatures*. The process noun is ‘subjected’ to the nominal *υπογραφών/of signatures*; subjection is realized by the nominal in genitive inclination *υπογραφών* (In English, in the prepositional nominal group with ‘of postmodifying the process noun’ (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 34). The prepositional nominal group *για δημοψήφισμα/for Referendum* has the role of ‘prepositional circumstantial’ with for coding the ‘cause/purpose’ *why* the collection of signatures takes places (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262). Thus, the representation in the transitivity process constructs meaning where the Actors carry out an action in order for the constitutional right (Referendum) to be implemented.

On the pathos analysis, the emotion of admiration is, once more, ‘argued’ and should be felt in favor of the ‘we’ group, since the ‘we’ group, represented as active participant (see the criterion of the people involved) is acting by democratic means (Collection of signatures) in order to implement constitutional rights (for Referendum); something commonly accepted as a positive value (see the criterion of the compatibility with dominant values). Thus, the ‘we’ group should be admired by the audience for its actions.

In slogan (28) *Οργάνωση-Ρήξη-Ανατροπή/Organization-Rupture-Subversion* the ‘coemergence’ of the respective nominal types forces our co-interpretation. More specifically, three different ‘material processes’ organize, come to rupture, overthrow are realized (respectively) by the ‘process nouns’ *Οργάνωση/Organization*, *Ρήξη/Rupture*, *Ανατροπή/Subversion*. Through the representation in the transitivity structure, the meaning construction is that the Actors are organizing (themselves), they come to rupture and overthrow the ‘others’-opponents.

Upon this representation, the ‘argued’ emotion is that of confidence since the ‘we’ group undertakes action (see the criterion of the people involved) which is represented as organizing the social groups, and thus, advancing the capacity to control the situation (see the respective criterion).

Recapitulating up to now, the analysis of ‘self-representation’ on June 28-29, 2011 shows us that the Actors, firstly, represent themselves as ‘activated’-‘assimilated’ group. The ‘activation’ is realized by the active participant role the ‘we’ group undertakes in material processes, i.e. [not] sell, take back, collectivize, overthrow or in relational ones, i.e. are indignant, not to live. The ‘assimilation’ is realized by the use of the first-person plural we in all the transitivity structures of the slogans (13) – (22). The material processes have, as (explicitly refereed) ‘goals’, the dominant politics, the national and supranational institutions government, EU, IMF constructing a meaning where the action is addressed against the opponents that have been negatively represented before (see the analysis of the ‘other-representation’). As we can see in many cases, the axes of the (negative) ‘other-representation’ is implied within ‘self-representation’, providing us with evidence about the interrelation of the two axes. It also provides us with evidence about the constant juxtaposition of the protesters’ public sphere with the dominant ones (e.g. the parliamentary one). In addition, the intertextual connection revealed (e.g. to overthrow in slogans [19] and [20]), as well as, the ‘coherence’ provided by the extra-textual knowledge, leads to the formation of a bound representation and organization of reality (discourse, see Fairclough 2003), where the ‘we’ group is acting against the dominant policies, and the forces implementing them. Moreover, the Actors are



‘backgrounded’, i.e. deemphasized and represented via their respective actions, as they are realized by the nominalizations (e.g. Democracy) and the process nouns (e.g. uprising, insurrection, strike). The intertextuality, realized by the repetitive emergence of the adverbial *Now* (see e.g. slogans [24] and [25]) and the ‘coherence’ established by the extra-textual knowledge, constructs a dense discourse (Fairclough 2003) where the ‘we’ group acts in specific ways (e.g. rise, strike) to juxtapose its opponents.

Based on this solid representation and organization of the specific social reality, the emotions ‘argued’ are (mainly) the emotions of admiration (in favor of the Actors), since the ‘we’ group undertakes action in favor of commonly accepted values and views (e.g. Democracy, denial of the dominant policies, and the sale of the country), and against negatively represented opponents (e.g. *government, EU, IMF*). The same representation of the ‘we’ group, creates the emotions of indulgence. The fact that they are represented as a fully compact group (see the representation as ‘collectivized’ group) that acts immediately and everywhere *Παντού/everywhere* (Slogan [24]), *Τώρα!/Now!* (Slogan [25]), constructs a group of Actors, full of confidence. Apart from these emotions, the emotion of hate is ‘argued’ in the slogan (15), against the employees, represented as thieves and the emotion of indignation is ‘said’, explicitly realized by the nominal type indignants which characterized the actors (see slogan [16]).

### 7.3 Concluding remarks

Attempting to summarize the key-findings of the analysis regarding the graffiti slogans which framed the central anti-austerity demonstrations on May 6, 2010 and on June 28-29, 2011, some conclusions are offered in the following lines:

- The discursive strategy of the juxtaposition between in-groups vs out-groups appears to be a significant aspect of the graffiti analyzed. This confirms the centrality of the respective strategy in the protest discourse during focal points of the development of the Greek crisis. The same was witnessed in the parliamentary discourse (see Chapter 5). The emergence of this strategy in our data becomes more interesting since we examined slogans frame the action of (a) a wide mosaic of protesters and not of a specific social group (e.g. students) and (b) in different moments of the Greek crisis development. Thus, it becomes evident that protesters construe and employ the juxtaposition between in-groups and out-groups while entering in the public discussion. Through the employment of the respective discursive strategy, Actors manage to positively represent themselves (in-group)

against their negatively represented opponents (out-group). This positive self-representation vis-à-vis the negative other-representation, as it was shown in the analysis, conceptualize positively the Actors included in the inclusive in-group while deconstructing the image and the respective conceptualization of the opponents. As we have shown in different stages of our analysis, each of the two axes implies the other proving that we deal with two interrelated axes during their emergence.

- More specifically, on May 6, 2010, the analysis of transitivity structures show us that protesters—as part of the in-groups—represent themselves—in different kind of processes (e.g. material)—as Actors who participate in the legacy of previous, significant social movements (e.g. the December 2008 insurrection and the Politechnío 1973 uprising), struggling against the dominant institutions and authorities (see e.g. the *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*) and the injustice, and employing various means of struggle (e.g. strike, insurrection). The choice of the first-person plural permits them to appear as ‘united’ and ‘collectivized’ social forces in the public sphere. In cases where specific social groups are nominated (e.g. students, workers) those are creating—in the transitivity structures—a well-bound social alliance, a social opposition to the dominance composed by significant social groups. The intertextual links, presented in different stages of the analysis, underpin and enrich the meaning construed in almost every transitivity structure of the slogans, constructing a dense, positive representation of the reality (discourse) regarding the camp of the protesters. On the contrary, the camp of the opponents (out-group) varies among the negative conceptualization of e.g. the totalitarian (fascist) government and the supranational and financial institutions (e.g. *EU, IMF, Goldman Sucks*). The discourse construed in the transitivity structures of the slogans has anti-totalitarian, anti-governmental and anti-austerity characteristics, denying totally the dominant social reality, and attempting to delegitimize it via the discursive representations. Almost the same representation of the social reality and agency takes place in the slogans on June 28-29, 2011, based on the same bi-focal lens (i.e. in-group vs out-group). In this two-days demonstration the, negatively represented, camp of opponents includes the government, conceptualized via e.g. its vice-President (*Pangalos*), as *dirtyfascist*, *threatening* the people by violence, dismissal and unemployment; Thus, violating totally its presupposed social role. Along with the totalitarian government, which

recalls memories of the traumatic Greek past (e.g. the *Junta* regime), *Media* institutions take part in the out-group, conceptualized as forces of *massive deception* as well as the police as suppressive force in the service of the ruling party (see the type *MPATSOK*). Finally, the bailout programs are contested by the protesters, conceptualized as responsible for people's deaths (*Memoranda Memorials*). In this case, the discourse created and enriched in almost every slogan, is an antiausterity, anti-governmental, anti-totalitarian discourse which attempts to form and sustain a denial of the dominant institutions and the social reality that they represent.

- It is worth mentioning, following the lines of the discursive construction of the in-group versus out-group, that protesters, in various stages of the analysis, inductively create a specific organization and representation regarding the in-groups and out-groups that participate in the public sphere. In this sense, specific discourses (see Fairclough 2003) reveal in the protest public sphere. The discourses intersections—and the consequent conceptualizations—are further enriched via the emergence of the phenomena of cohesion and coherence (Halliday and Hasan 1985) and intertextuality (see Fairclough 1992) and recontextualization (Bakhtin 1986). The aforementioned emergence shows us the textual and extra-textual lines that determine, bind and interconnect the discourse construed by the protesters in focal dates of the Greek crisis.
- The fact that each axis of representation implies the other one, as this was shown in many cases of our analysis, provides us evidence about the interrelation of the in-group vs out-group juxtaposition. Furthermore, it proves that an implicit 'dialogue' takes place among the protesters and the dominant institutions (e.g. media, parliamentary forces) and the respective, individual public spheres (see Habermas 1997). Also in this case, as in the case of the media discourse examination, we deal with public spheres which attempt to juxtapose and exclude the other via the discursive strategy of the negative other-representation via a -vis positive self-representation. As we witness, in our data (graffiti slogans), the dominant word is critically viewed and delegitimized.
- Upon this discursive construction, also in this case, specific emotions are (or, better, should be) provoked and addressed to the audience (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). In fact, as we witnessed, the central emotional construction revolves around the emotions of admiration and indulgence that the audience should legitimately

feel in favor of the ingroup of protesters and the contradictory emotions of detestation, fear, anger and hate that should be felt due to the representation of the out-group (i.e. dominant institutions). Apart from differences in the emotional construction, we saw that the discursive representation and their intersections lead to an almost bound emotional construction. In this sense, as we argued, discourse and emotions (pathos) are in mutual extension and exemplification in the data examined. Consequently, the analysis of transitivity provides us with evidence how the emotions are semiotized in discourse and the rhetorical analysis of emotions extends transitivity analysis by showing us what emotions are legitimately construed and addressed to the audience to frame its conceptualization and decisions regarding the anti-austerity protests.

- Based on this core discursive strategy, protesters represent social agency via their slogans, causing specific emotions to the audience that follows the demonstrations. The public sphere as an outcome of the discourse of different individuals (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989) is construed as a highly-polarized space determined by the conflicting presence of the two collective Actors (i.e. in-group and out-group) and the characteristics that this presence has. As the analysis shown, the polarized public sphere, in these two different moments of the crisis, is characterized—in general lines—by the presence of an in-group (e.g. protesters) that confront the crisis outcome and the responsible—in their view—institutions (out-group). Given the fact that, as we discussed in the theoretical part, the public space is, substantially, a political space (see among others Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989; Psylla 2003), where politics emerge as a process founded on various and continuous articulations and disarticulations which are based on the logic of equivalence and difference (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Fairclough 2003), the juxtaposition construed on the discursive strategy of in-group vs out-group formation serves the political goal of protests to intervene in order to legitimize their action in the public discussion by disputing their opponents. On the same time, this process gives birth to a specific construction of the Greek crisis in the public sphere.

# Chapter 8

## Conclusions

### 8.0 Introduction

The main question that this dissertation has addressed is how significant Greek social actors and institutions (i.e. PMs, newspapers and protesters) represent social agency in different types of texts (i.e. parliamentary proceedings, newspaper headlines and graffiti slogans), and how this discursive representation gives birth to an emotional construction, shaping significant moments of the Greek crisis in the public sphere[s].

In this chapter, first, I will provide a summary of the main findings of our analysis (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).<sup>152</sup> Based on this synthesis we will draw some conclusions regarding the explanatory power of the integrationist, analytical model we proposed (see chapter 3) and applied in this dissertation, drawing on the analytical pillars of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) and semiotization of emotions (pathos) in discourse. We will also highlight its contribution to the emancipatory goals of the agenda of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)—which framed our theoretical apparatus (see Chapter 2). Finally, we will identify some limitations that derive from our present work-in progress, attempting to sketch future, possible research directions to be developed.

### 8.1 Summary of Thesis Findings

Despite the different ways in which social actors are represented and construed in the different types of texts we examined, as we show throughout the analysis, our data offers us a clear view of social agency in the public sphere, in focal dates of the Greek crisis.<sup>153</sup>

More specifically, we saw that a well-known discursive strategy, that is, the *in-groups* vs *out-groups* construction (see e.g. Angouri and Wodak 2014; Wodak and Reisigl 2001), sits at the core of all the four parliamentary speeches under examination (Chapter 5) and is also manifested in the graffiti slogans (Chapter 7). The emergence of this strategy in our data

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<sup>152</sup> For a more detailed summary of the findings, see the respective sections entitled 'Concluding remarks' (i.e. sections 5.5, 6.5, and 7.3).

<sup>153</sup> For instance, May 6, 2010, the date of voting in favor of the first MoU, in the Greek parliament.

becomes more interesting since, on the one hand, we examined speeches given (a) by Greek PMs of a different political background and (b) in different moments of the Greek crisis (for details see Chapter 4.1). On the other hand, the examined slogans frame the action of (c) a multitude of protesters and not of a specific social group (e.g. students) and (d) in different moments of the Greek crisis, managing to positively represent themselves against their negatively represented opponents. In this sense, it becomes evident that the aforementioned discursive strategy structures both the parliamentary and protest discourse since PMs and protesters employ it while entering in the public discussion despite: (a) their different social, ideological and political background, (b) the audience in which they, primarily, focus and (c) the contextual framing.<sup>154</sup> Drawing on this strategy, PMs and protesters manage to positively represent themselves and their allies in the inclusive, in-group against their negatively represented opponents, included in the out-group. In this sense, it also assists Actors' attempt to place themselves better in the public sphere at different dates of the crisis.

In the case of media discourse, as this is realized in newspapers headlines, all the newspapers, despite their different positioning (see in detail chapter 4.2), proceed to the representation of the main Actors participating in the public sphere. Those are the respective governments and PMs, the financial elites, the Greek people, the European leaderships and Greece. Since, as we saw in our analysis, each Actor is represented in various ways in the headlines, for the analysis of this type of text, we drew on Van Leeuwen's (2008: 33) approach, employing a 'common denominator' for each social category represented. Thus, the respective Actors were denominated as 'Governor', 'Economy', 'We', 'Others', and 'Country'. As we highlighted in chapter 6, the main Actors' representation, as this was retrieved in the transitivity structures of the headlines, varies according to the date and the newspaper. Thus, we cannot argue (as we did in the case of parliamentary discourse), that one dense media discourse is construed (or, better, that all the newspapers converge to a dense representation and organization of reality in different dates of crisis development). We may, nevertheless, say that media discourses circulate in the public sphere and, in some cases, they tend to converge despite the different positioning of the newspapers.

Furthermore, as the analysis has shown, in all three types of texts, discursive representation and semiotized emotions (*pathos*) are in mutual extension and exemplification.

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<sup>154</sup> In the case of graffiti slogans, as we show in different parts of our analysis, each of the two axes (in-group and out-group) implies the other, thus pointing to an explicit interrelation of the two axes. This is an additional finding in this type of texts, since the same juxtaposition (in-group vs out-group), although exists and structure the parliamentary discourse, it does not seem so-well integrated in the data coming from parliamentary proceedings.

As a consequence, the SF analysis of transitivity provides us with evidence on how emotions are semiotized in discourse and, at the same time, the analysis of emotions semiotization (pathos) extends transitivity analysis by showing us that emotions are (or, better, should be) legitimately construed and addressed to the audience in order to frame its decisions. In this sense, the proposed integrationist, analytical framework, can be efficiently applied to different kinds of texts. We will return to this discussion in the following section.

The findings of the analysis of our data could be summarized in the following paragraphs. We first present the findings coming from the analysis of parliamentary proceedings (section 8.1.1), then we move towards the findings retrieved from the headlines analysis (section 8.1.2), and finally, the finding of graffiti slogans will be summarized (section 8.1.3).

### ***8.1.1 Parliamentary proceedings***

Since the discursive strategy ‘in-group vis-a -vis out-group’ structures the representation of social agency in parliamentary proceedings, we focused on the analysis of transitivity structures that reveal this very discursive juxtaposition. The analysis showed that PMs—as part of the in-groups—represent themselves, in different kind of processes, as the ‘activated’ Actors who, followed by their allies (e.g. the governmental parties, MPs, Greeks), intervene as ‘united’ and ‘collectivized’ social force in the public sphere, characterized as *responsible*, *sincere* and *determined fighters*, and willing to confront the crisis and its consequences. On the contrary, their opponents’ (out-group) representation varies among the negative conceptualization of e.g. the wasteful government of ND, the leader of the opposition who favors the decisions of the ND government (in PM Papandreou’s case), the bad choices of the government of PASOK and the public debt (in the case of PM Papademos), and the social problems that Greeks are facing (in the case of PM Samaras). Apart from the partial differences (see in detail the respective sections of data analysis), the aforementioned characteristics permeate the presence of the in-groups in all four speeches providing us with evidence about the fact that, the four speeches ‘communicate’ among each other and, as a consequence, PMs found their intervention in the same conceptual lines, despite their different positioning and background. Based on this bifocal lens (*in-group* versus *out-group*), as it was mentioned at various stages of the analysis, each PM inductively creates a specific organization and representation regarding the in-groups and out-groups that participate in the public sphere. In this sense, specific *discourses* (see Fairclough 2003) come to the fore in the parliamentary public sphere and, in many cases, intersect and converge to a dense one. The discourses’ intersections—and the consequent conceptualizations—are further enriched by the emergence of *cohesion*, *coherence* (Halliday

and Hasan 1985), *intertextuality* (see Fairclough 1992, 2003) and *recontextualization* (Bakhtin 1986), showing us the (internal) textual and extra-textual lines that determine, bind and interconnect the parliamentary discourses.

Upon this discursive construction, specific emotions are construed and addressed to the audience (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). In fact, as shown in the data, the central emotional construction revolves around the emotion of *admiration* that the audience should legitimately feel in favor of the in-group and the contradictory emotions of *detestation* and *fear* that should be felt following the (negative) representation of the out-group. As we have seen, the emotional construction follows and expands the discursive representations. This is so because, apart from partial differences in the emotional construction, we suggest that the discursive representation and their intersections lead to an almost bound emotional construction.

### **8.1.2 Newspapers headlines**

Focusing on the analysis of the second type of texts, that is, newspapers headlines, an attempt to synthesize our findings, is adumbrated as follows.

On May 6, 2010, we witness a concurrence of the four newspapers in the construction of social agency. The newspapers appear to empathize the 'We' Actor (i.e. the Greek people), opposing on the same time the political and financial elites (Actors 'Governor' and 'Economy') for the emergence and consequences of the crisis. In view of the extensive austerity and the death of three persons during the demonstrations of May 5, 2010 (see the arson in Marfin Bank), the newspapers, despite their different positioning and background, are converging towards a more or less common conceptualization of social agency. This conceptualization gives rise to specific emotions such as the ones of *fear* (due to the tragic death of the employees) and *anger*, *detestation* against the Actors 'Governor' and 'Economy'.

On June 29-30, 2011, the representations vary; Newspaper 'Ei' opposes the 'Governor' through a negative representation as the responsible force for the emergence of the crisis. A negative representation which is followed even in the headlines of November 15-17, 2011, when the 'Governor' has changed (i.e. PM Lucas Papademos is about to ask for a confidence vote in the Greek parliament). In this sense, newspaper 'Ei' confirms its anti-governmental positioning. The respective construction provokes two main negative emotions regarding the Actor 'Governor': *fear* and *anger*. Moreover, empathy towards the Greek people ('We') is construed via the representations of the newspaper 'E' on June 28-30, 2011. It is noteworthy that the same sheet, along with 'K', share a common—almost confusing—conceptualization of the 'Governor' on November 15-17, 2011, although they have different positioning: the specific Actor is



represented as relieving austerity creating, consequently, the emotion of *relief*, while, on the same time, 'Governor' demands sacrifices by his audience, evoking the emotion of *fear*. Newspaper 'K' seems to be very 'loyal' to its ideological and political background, representing on June 28-30, 2011, the 'Governor' and the 'Economy' as Actors with equal status. The neoliberal motif of the state should serve the free and smooth development of the financial sector, as it is insinuated by the newspaper. On the same time, 'We' Actor is represented as rioting, constructing negative emotions regarding his existence in the public realm. The conceptualization could be paraphrased as: *'We' is preventing the free development of the 'Economy' by rioting against the governmental policies (i.e. Actor 'Governor')*. 'N', historically placed in the center-left spectrum, favors the 'Governor' as the Actor that rescues 'Economy', on June 28-30, 2011 when the center-left oriented PM Papandreou and PASOK are voting in favor of the Middle-Term MoU, while the same Actor-'Governor' is negatively represented on November 2011 when Lucas Papademos is in office, as PM in a 'technical government' supported by PASOK, the right-wing ND, and the extreme right-wing LAOS. In either case, the 'We' Actor is empathized by the newspaper due to the severe measures that he is subjected to (i.e. MoUs).

Finally, on July 8, 2012, during the voting in favor of the coalition government of PM Samaras, the remaining newspapers in the public sphere (since, for example, 'E' had already collapsed), represent the 'Country' as the battlefield of the opposing perceptions regarding privatizations (included in the MoUs) and the European elites (i.e. 'Others') as the Actor that controls the political and financial situation and is about to impose severe punishment by expelling Greece from the Eurozone (the so-called 'Grexit' scenario and the ensuing discourse). In this sense, the newspapers augment the emotion of *fear* in the face of Greece's possible collapse and expulsion from the Eurozone. It is worth noting here that the conceptualization of the newspapers under examination here is in line with the main discursive and emotional representation of the PM Samaras, providing us with evidence about the salient 'dialogue' of media and parliamentary discursive and emotional construction. We will provide a detailed discussion about this last issue in following section of this chapter.

### ***8.1.3 Graffiti slogans***

Finally, a summary of the key-findings of the analysis regarding the graffiti slogans which framed the central anti-austerity demonstrations, is offered here.

On May 6, 2010, the transitivity analysis shows that protesters represent themselves in different process types as Actors who carry on the legacy of previous, significant social

movements (e.g. the December 2008 insurrection and the Politechní o 1973 uprising), struggling against the (negatively conceptualized) dominant authorities (see e.g. the type *Κυνοβούλιο/Dogment*) employing various means of struggle (e.g. strike, insurrection). The choice of the first-person plural permits them to appear as ‘consensus’ and as a ‘collectivized’ social force in the public sphere. In cases where specific social groups are nominated (e.g. *students, workers*) those form—in the transitivity structures—a well-bound social alliance, composed by significant social groups. The intertextual links, presented at different stages of the analysis, underpin and enrich the meaning construed in almost every transitivity structure of the slogans, constructing a dense, positive representation of reality (*discourse*, see Fairclough 2003) regarding the camp of the protesters. On the contrary, the camp of the opponents includes the negative conceptualization of e.g. the totalitarian *government* and the supranational and financial institutions (e.g. *EU, IMF, and Goldman Sucks*).

The discourse construed in the transitivity structures of the slogans has anti-totalitarian, anti-governmental and anti-austerity characteristics, denying totally the dominant social reality, and attempting to delegitimize it via the emergent discursive representations. Almost the same representation of the social reality and agency takes place in the slogans on June 28/29, 2011, based on the same bi-focal lens (i.e. in-group vs out-group). In this two-day demonstration the negatively represented camp of opponents includes the government, conceptualized via e.g. its vice-President (*Pangalos*), as *dirtyfascist*. Along with the totalitarian government, which recalls memories of the traumatic Greek past (e.g. the *Junta* regime), media institutions take part in the out-group, conceptualized as forces of *massive deception*, as well as the police (*ΕΛ.ΑΣ/ΕΛ.ΑΣ*) that is conceptualized as a suppressive force in the service of the ruling party (see the type *ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ/ΜΠΑΤΣΟΚ*). Finally, the bailout programs are contested by the protesters for being responsible for people’s deaths (see the ‘complex repetition’ *Memoranda Memorials*). In this case, the discourse created and enriched in almost every slogan is an antiausterity, anti-governmental, anti-totalitarian discourse which attempts to form and sustain a denial of the dominant institutions and the social reality they represent.

Along the lines of the discursive construction of the *in-group* versus the *out-group*, protesters, inductively, create a dense organization and representation regarding the social agency in the public sphere. In this sense, a specific *discourse* is brought to the fore in the public sphere with the aforementioned characteristics. The discourses’ intersections—and the consequent conceptualizations—are further enriched via the emergence of the phenomena of *cohesion, coherence* (Halliday and Hasan 1985), *intertextuality* (see Fairclough 1992) and *recontextualization* (Bakhtin 1986). Such phenomena show the textual and extra-textual lines

that bind and interconnect the discourses construed by the Actors of the social struggle in focal dates of the Greek crisis.

Upon this discursive construction, specific emotions are (or, better, should be) provoked and addressed to the audience (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). In fact, as we show, the central emotional construction revolves around *admiration* and *indulgence* that the audience should legitimately feel in favor of the in-group of protesters and the contradictory emotions of *detestation*, *fear*, *anger* and *hate* that should be felt due to the representation of the out-group (i.e. dominant institutions). Apart from partial differentiations in the emotional construction, we saw that the discursive representation and their intersections lead to an almost bound emotional construction.

## 8.2 Framing crisis: public sphere[s], politics, discourse and emotions

The findings of this study point to a salient ‘dialogue’ between the discourses derived from each text type. In other words, we saw that there is a juxtaposition of conceptualizations between the different types of texts, and, consequently, between the different social actors and institutions (i.e. PMs, newspapers, protesters) which produce and address these texts. For example, PMs’ attempt to be self-represented as a *fighter* that confronts the crisis consequences is deconstructed by the protesters who represent the government as a totalitarian regime (*Χούντα/Junta*, *παλιοφασίστα/dirtyfascist*) and as being accountable for the crisis and its consequences (*Memoranda Memorials*). Along the same lines, the emotional constructions in each type of text juxtapose one another. For instance, the emotion of *admiration* that the PMs are trying to construe is countered by the emotions of e.g. *fear* and *detestation* that the protesters evoke.

Drawing on the seminal work of theorists such as Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1989[1997]), as this was discussed in the respective chapter of our theoretical framework (see Chapter 2), we, primarily, conceived the public realm as a space of dialogue (i.e., of communication) between individuals (see also Wright 2008). As the proposed analysis suggests, significant social actors and institutions (i.e. Greek PMs, newspapers and protesters) develop a conflicting ‘public dialogue’, with the aforementioned characteristics, via different text types. Thus, the public space is, primarily, founded as a communicative arena where the discursive representations of one Actor—regarding social agency—juxtapose others’ representations in order to legitimize their own perception and view and gain consensus (‘power’ in Arendt’s [1963] words), thus giving meaning to the existence of the public space.

The emotive construction which extends the discursive representations shapes further the dialogue that takes place in the public realm and subsequently the meaning construction on which the existence of the public sphere is founded.

Furthermore, following the Habermasian revision regarding the plurality of public sphere[s], those are 'antagonistic circles' construed as distinct 'fields of [communicative] action beside the [each time] hegemonic public sphere'; excluding and being excluded in the communicative interaction (Habermas 1997: 13). As our analysis showed, here, we deal with three autonomous public spheres (i.e. parliamentary, media, protest) as these emerge in the discursive representations in each type of the examined texts (i.e. parliamentary proceedings, newspapers headlines, graffiti slogans). Furthermore, our analysis confirms that these public spheres (parliamentary, media and protest) are in constant struggle and expulsion (see Habermas 1997). We do not deal with isolated public realms but, on the contrary, with public spheres that contest or favor each other in the broad communicative and strategic action which forms the autonomous public spheres (see Habermas 1989). In other words, each social actor (e.g. each PM), group (e.g. protesters) or institution (e.g. newspapers) forms and binds an autonomous sphere of dialogue, and through this formation, tries to confront and overcome conflicting conceptualizations in the communicative/strategic action (Habermas 1989) taking place in the public realm. As a consequence, we may argue that the various public spheres are interrelated and opposed to each other—via the discursive and emotive construction of each social actor and institution—within the constantly transformed environment of the Greek crisis.

Building on the work of significant political scientists (see e.g. Laclau and Mouffe 1985) who lend weight to the *political* character of the public sphere, we assume that politics is a *process* of conflict within the democratic rules, with power relations being revealed in the public realm (see among others Mouffe 2005; Gerstle 2008) in which discursive production and reproduction has a fundamental role. In other words, the different public spheres (e.g. parliament, media, and protest) are the very spaces permeated by an *exercise of politics* via, in our case, discursive representations. This conception of politics as a discursively produced process has influenced significant (critical) discourse studies (see among others Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). These, in particular, assume that politics may be seen as an ongoing work of *articulations* and *disarticulations*, working on two conflicting 'logics' of 'equivalence' and 'difference' (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985 in Fairclough 2003: 100-101) among individuals, groups or institutions that struggle under the (common) rules that shape the public sphere (or the public spheres) to gain power and consent (see Arendt 1958; Habermas 1997[1989]).

In this sense, public *political* space[s] (see among others Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989; Psylla 2003; see also in details Chapter 2.2.2) becomes the terrain where *politics* emerges as a *process* founded on continuous articulations and disarticulations which are based on the *logic of equivalence and difference* (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Fairclough 2003). In our case, turning back to our findings, the *parliamentary public sphere* (see section 8.1.1 and Chapter 5), as well as the *protest public sphere* (see section 8.1.3 and in more details chapter 7), is construed as a highly-polarized space, determined by the juxtaposed presence of the two collective Actors (i.e. in-group and out-group) and the characteristics that this presence has. In general, the positively represented in-group intervenes in order to confront the crisis and the out-group which creates or reproduces it through its choices. It is worth mentioning that, in our data coming from graffiti slogans, the dominant world and institutions are critically viewed and delegitimized. In the case of the *media public sphere* (see section 8.1.2 and chapter 6), according to our findings, this seems also to be highly polarized but by interweaving social agency since newspapers proceed to the positive and negative representation of significant social actors (e.g. PMs/governments ‘Governor’) and institutions (e.g. financial sector ‘Economy’) in their headlines.

Finally, it is worth noting that although we analyze distinct types of texts and discourses (i.e. parliamentary discourse and media discourse), the fact that those seem to be in ‘dialogue’ in the public sphere favoring or contesting one another, proves that the respective, individual public spheres—and the respective discourses—attempt to juxtapose and exclude the other in their development, thus confirming to our theoretical assumption made upon the Habermasian (1997) conception of the autonomous public spheres.

The integrationist analysis of discursive representation and emotional constructions we propose here proves to be efficient not only in order for us to see how *politics* is developed in—and give rise to—the respective public sphere[s], but also to provide us with evidence about the framing and shaping of the Greek crisis in the public sphere and dialogue. And this was the main aim, around which the analysis of this dissertation revolved.

### **8.3 Implications – Restrictions – Future Perspectives**

We attempted to form and propose an integrationist framework to analyze the three aforementioned types of texts (i.e. parliamentary proceedings, headlines of newspapers and graffiti slogans). This proposal was based on two distinct analytical pillars: The SystemicFunctional (SF) lexicogrammatical approach (see e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004;

Van Leeuwen 2008) and the (rhetorical) analysis of emotions' semiotization in discourse (see Plantin 2011; Micheli 2014). Within the SF approach our main focus was on the analysis of the representation meaning as this is construed in the system of transitivity (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Ch. 5). Based on this analysis we implemented Micheli's (2014) criteria, according to which an emotion should be legitimately inferred by its discursive representation. We show that, although each analytical approach we draw on has distinct analytical tools, nevertheless they may be interrelated and be applied together, extending and exemplifying each other's analytical and explanatory capabilities.

In particular, as we also highlighted in section 8.1, we show that the discursive representations give rise, almost immediately, to specific emotions. We also show that throughout the development of different discourses in our data new emotions are added or already existent ones are further confirmed. To put it simply, for instance, from the positive selfrepresentation of PM Papandreou as a *fighter* who confronts the negative outcome and the consequences of the crisis, the emotion constructed is that of *admiration*. This emotion may be further established via the inductive development of parliamentary discourse or may be framed with other emotions depending on additional positive self-representations. Although this issue calls for further examination, we may tentatively argue here that meaning and emotional construction are in mutual extension (see Herman and Serafis 2017, on a discussion of this issue).

Along the lines of this framework we focused on the micro-level, which includes texts and discursive strategies of individuals and institutions that are in a constant interrelation with the macro-level of (dominant) values and views (see Van Dijk 2008: 85-89). Following this significant CDA principle, we infer that approaches belonging to the framework of CDA employing the proposed integrationist analysis of the micro-level may extend their interpretative scope; in particular, they may capture and unveil the argumentative force of the discursive-emotive construction of different type of texts. In other words, the proposed analytical integration extends the interpretative tools of the CDA approach that aims to unveil the ways social inequalities are reproduced linguistically.

Apart from the explanatory assets of our analytical framework, we need to pinpoint some restrictions that, in an (optimistic) view, we choose to see as a challenging and fruitful source of thought for further research.

Firstly, although a SF analysis of transitivity may provide us with a clear and very descriptive view of meaning construal upon linguistic representations, this kind of analysis may 'stumble' in not being able to fully operate in the contemporary multimodal discursive

production and reproduction (see e.g. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006; Kress 2010). In this sense, the development of multimodal tools of analysis, based on the Hallidayan perception, as this is developed by e.g. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), appears to be more than significant, for instance, in the case of data coming from so-called ‘social media networks’ (i.e. Facebook, twitter etc.), which have a significant impact in contemporary communication (see among others Machin et al. 2016; Machin and Van Leeuwen 2016). This restriction applies mostly to our data coming from graffiti slogans and newspapers layouts.

A second issue raises on the ground of the SF lexicogrammatical view of language: since language, according to SFL, creates meaning not only by representing the (internal and external) experience of the language user (see ideational function-transitivity), but also by construing conversational roles (see interpersonal function), a prominent, future field of research could be the examination of the systems of modality and polarity. And that because, focusing on the interpersonal function of language, and examining e.g. modality, SF linguists have managed to develop tools for tracking and evaluating emotions (i.e. appraisal systems and theories, see e.g. Martin and White 2005). This approach could have analytical impact on the rhetorical (*pathos* and *ethos*) analysis.

Furthermore, on the other pillar of our analytical framework, that is, the semiotization of emotions (*pathos*) in discourse, some further restrictions appear—and, consequently, opportunities for further research. As we already noted, in brief, in the respective chapter of our analytical framework (see chapter 3), according to the Aristotelian conception, except from *pathos*, *ethos* is among the three means—along with *logos*—that may contribute to convince an audience (see Amossy 2010, on this issue). This means that the ‘speaker’s personal character’ (i.e. *ethos*) contributes to persuasion (see Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1356a-4). If we focus, for example, on the self-representation of PMs—via transitivity analysis—we can see how this very construction of the ‘self’ (*ethos*) may contribute to the persuasion of the audience. Thus, SF analysis may further extend to other aspects of rhetorical research.

The aforementioned restrictions are only indicative of the plurality of the methodological approaches to be combined and developed, as well as of the research questions to be raised. The complexity of social development, the advanced questions and dilemmas during a period of severe and profound crisis, demand—at least in my opinion—determined and efficient, interdisciplinary research committed to an emancipatory goal: namely, the contribution to smoother social reproduction in favor of the majority of citizens. This very objective points, also, to the limits of a CDA approach, insinuating, on the same time, further, missing, socio-political attempts in which a CDA perspective could play a crucial role and would be applicable. That is,

for example, the various hotbeds of resistance (and their possible intersections) that, almost every day, leap out from every corner of social reality, related to the worsening of living conditions in the so-called Western societies and their consequences (e.g. racism, sexism etc.). Under this lens, the conscious CDA intervention in the ways social inequalities are constructed may enable to unveil these very social inequalities, being, on the same time, part of broader socio-political events and realities on the side of the oppressed social majority. It was towards this direction and in this spirit that this study was oriented.



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